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Silk, porcelain and lacquer : China and Japan and their trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500-1644. A survey of documentary and material evidence

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Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer

China and Japan and their trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500–1644

A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor
aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van
Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor
Promoties te verdedigen op woensdag
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geboren te Santiago, Chili
in 1964

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Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer

China and Japan and their trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500–1644

A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence

Teresa Canepa

Universiteit Leiden 2015

In memory of Gordon Lang, whose knowledge and passion for Oriental ceramics inspired me to change my career path and pursue research in this field.

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Conversions of units of length, weight and currencies in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

Length
1 li = .40057 miles = .6464 km.
1 Che Foot (*che*) = 12.3 inches = 35.81 cm
1 vara = 0.836 meters
1 *palmo de vara* = 22 cm

Weight
1 *picul* (*dan*) = 100 *catties* = approx. 133 pounds = approx. 60 kilograms
1 *catti* or *cate* (*jin*) = 20.8 ounces to the pound
1 *arroba* = 25 *libras* (25 pounds)
1 *quintal* = 4 *arrobas* = approx. 130 pounds
1 *libra* (1 pound) = 16 *onzas* (16 ounces) = 460.09 grams

Currency
Portugal
1 *cruzado* = 360 *réis* (sixteenth century), 400 *réis* (seventeenth century)
1 *ducado* = approx. 345 to 360 *réis*
1 peso = approx. 320 *réis*

Spain
1 *real* = 34 maravedís
1 *real de a 4* or *tostón* (1 real of 4 pieces) = 136 *maravedís*
1 *real de a 8* or *peso* (1 real of 8 pieces) = 272 *maravedís* = 400 Portuguese *réis*
1 *ducado* (ducat) = 375 *maravedís*

Spanish colonies in the New World and the Philippines
1 *peso de oro común* (1 peso of 8 pieces) = 8 *reales o tomines* = 272 *maravedís*
1 *real* o *tomín* = 34 *maravedís*
1 *peso de oro de mina* = 450 *maravedís*

Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic
1 *gulden* (guilder) or *florin* = 28 *stuivers* = 0.36 Portuguese *cruzados* of 400 *réis*
1 *stuiver* = 8 *duit*

England
1 *pound* = 20 *shillings* = 4 Portuguese *cruzados* of 400 *réis*
1 *shilling* = 12 *pennies*

VOC in Japan
1 *tael* (*thael or thail*) = 10 *mas* (*maes*) = 100 *condarijn* (*condrin*)
1 *rial* (*real*, *rael de Ocho*, *Spaanse mat*) = approx. 6.5 *shillings* = 2.5 *guilders*

Abbreviations

ACA	Arundel Castle Archives, Arundel
ADEEC	Archivo del Departamento de Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales, Santa Fe
AGI	Archivo General de las Indias, Seville
AGNP	Archivo General de las Notarías de Puebla, Puebla
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas
AHEC	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima, Colima
AHMC	Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, Colima
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHPM	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Madrid
AHPNZ	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza, Zaragoza
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Azores
ANHQ	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito
AnotDF	Archivo de las Notarías del DF, Mexico City
ANTT	Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
APMZ	Archivo del Palau, Marquesado del Zenete, Barcelona
ASCG	Archivum Storico Compagnia de Gesù, Rome
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional da Lisboa, Lisbon
CPS, Colonial	Calendar of Estate Papers, Colonial Series. East India, China and Japan
IANTT	Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
NA	Nationaal Archief, The Hague
NFJ	Netherlandse Factorij Japan
VOC	VOC Archives
Leg.	Legajo (Bundle)
Fol.	Folio (Page)
v.	verso

Chronologies of China and Japan in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

Chronology of late Ming China

Reign title	Reign period
Chenghua	1465–1487
Hongzhi	1488–1505
Zhengde	1506–1521
Jiajing	1522–1566
Longqing	1567–1572
Wanli	1573–1620
Taichang	1620
Tianqi	1621–1627
Chongzhen	1628–1644

Chronology of Muromachi/early Edo Japan

Muromachi period	1333–1573
Momoyama period	1573–1615
Bunroku era	1592–1596
Keichō era	1596–1615
Edo period	1615–1868
Kan'ei era	1624–1644

Introduction

Introduction

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the rise of powerful merchant empires on the Iberian Peninsula and northwest Europe, all with small populations and limited natural resources but with access to the Atlantic Ocean and strong naval power, which marked the emergence of a global long-distance trade system in the early modern period.[1] The great maritime voyages of exploration launched by the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain at the end of the fifteenth century in search of a route to the Spice Islands, known as the Molucas or Moluccan Islands (present-day Indonesia), culminated in Barlotomeu Dias's (*c.*1450–1500) discovery[2] of a route to the Indian Ocean round the Cape of Good Hope in 1488,[3] and Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) discovery of the New World, four years later, in 1492,[4] which opened up direct long-distance sea trade routes between Europe, the New World, Africa, and Asia via both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The newly discovered sea trade routes also reinvigorated the missionary goal of bringing Christianity to the peoples of these distant and previously unknown regions of the world.[5] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, trading companies from the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England began to take part in the trade to Asia via the route round the Cape of Good Hope and partly gained control of the Asian maritime trade.[6] The European-Asian encounters and the historically unprecedented growth of direct intercontinental maritime trade between Europe, the New World and Asia prompted an economic interdependence between these distant regions of the world, and ultimately led to a continuous flow of cultural and artistic influences in all directions and a more precise knowledge of foreign cultures.

In the past decades, a number of exhibitions and their respective publications have been devoted to these global mercantile connections, and cultural and artistic influences.[7] This doctoral dissertation attempts to give a better insight and to provide more detailed data on three Asian trade manufactured goods that triggered such influences, i.e Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer.

1 Debin Ma, 'The Great Silk Exchange: How the World was Connected and Developed', in Debin Ma (ed.), *Textiles in the Pacific 1500–1900, The Pacific World. Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900*, Vol. 12, Burlington, VT, 2005, pp. 58 and 60.

2 The term 'discovery' is used here to refer to the process of European penetration into previously unknown regions of the world, which consequently resulted in the contact and unprecedented cultural exchanges with other cultures in Africa, Asia and the New World.

3 Portugal's voyages of exploration brought its merchants first to the islands of Madeira and Azores in the eastern Atlantic and to the kingdom of Benin in 1484 in the west coast of Africa. These voyages soon led the Portuguese further eastward, to Asia. The Portuguese explorer and navigator Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) reached India in 1497–1498 in pursuit of spices, bypassing the powerful Ottoman Empire and rounding Africa. Two years later, in 1500, they went across the Atlantic Ocean and reached Brazil in the New World. For more information on the Portuguese expansion, see C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825*, Carcanet, reprint 1991; Sanjay Subrahmanyan, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700*, New York, 1993; Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, New York, 2007; and A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire. From Beginnings to 1807*, Vol. 2: The Portuguese Empire, New York, 2009.

4 The dispute between the Spanish (the Castilians recently unified with the kingdoms of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia) and the Portuguese Crowns for the possession of the newly discovered lands was partly solved with the Bull *Inter caetera* issued by Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) in 1493 and the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, which established an imaginary line that divided the lands yet undiscovered outside Europe between Spain and Portugal. Spain was granted exclusive rights to acquire territorial possessions and to trade in all lands lying to the west of the meridian situated 100 leagues west of Cape Verde Archipelago and the Azores Islands. The dispute over the Spice Islands was significant because their possession and consequent access to the spice trade would bring vast wealth to whoever owned them. In 1529, with the treaty of Zaragoza, an agreement was finally reached. King Charles V of Spain (r. 1516–1556) sold the Spanish rights to the Spice Islands to the Portuguese Crown. For more information, see Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492–1763*, London, 2002, p. 42 and 199; and Lourdes Díaz-Trecuelo, 'El tratado de Tordesillas y su proyección en el Pacífico', *Revista Española del Pacífico*, no. 4, Madrid, 1994, pp. 11–21.

5 For the spreading of the Christian faith in the New World, see J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, London, 1990, pp. 152–172. For the Jesuit missions to Japan and China, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America. 1442–1773*, Toronto, 1999, pp. 52–104.

6 Maarten Prak, 'The Dutch Golden Age: growth, innovation and consumption', in Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (eds.), *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, Zwolle, 2014, p. 9.

7 It would not possible to cite all the bibliography about the cultural exchanges between Europe and Asia. Publications dealing with China and Japan and their cultural exchange with Europe, especially Portugal, include Musée Cernuschi, *Namban ou de l'Européisme Japonais XVIe–XVIIe Siècles*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1980; Europália 91 Portugal, *Via Orientalis*, exhibition catalogue, Brussels, 1991; Simonetta Luz Alfonso and Vicente Borges de Sousa (eds.), *Do Tejo aos Mares da China. Una epopeia Portuguesa*, exhibition catalogue, Palácio Nacional de Queluz and Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Queluz and Paris, 1992; Sezon Museum of Art, and Shizuoka Prefecture Museum of Art (eds.) *Via Orientalis - Portugaru to Namban Bunka ten*, (Via Orientalis – exhibition of Portuguese and Namban Culture), Tokyo, 1993: José Jordão Felgueiras, *Exotica. The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer*, exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, 2001; Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw (eds.), *Oriente en Palacio: tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas*, exhibition catalogue, Palacio Real de Madrid, Madrid, 2003; Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds.), *Encounters, The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2004; Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *The Art of the Expansion and Beyond*, exhibition catalogue, London and Lisbon, 2009; and Jay A. Levenson, (ed.), *Encompassing the Globe. Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 2009. This latter exhibition was also held at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C., in 2007.

8 The term 'luxury' is used throughout this study to refer to Asian manufactured goods that were considered highly desirable in Europe from the late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries. For a discussion on the use of the term 'luxury' in the context of early modern Europe, see Anne E. C. McCants, 'Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World', *Journal of World History 18*, No. 4 (2007), pp. 433–462.

9 A crucial factor of the tremendous surge in global trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that silver was the dominant export from Europe and the New World, and for a time out of Japan. Tens of thousands of tons of silver were transported to China, where it was worth up to twice as much relative to the rest of the world. For information on the economic aspects of the trade involving silver, see Dennis O. Flynn, *World Silver and Monetary History in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Adelshort, 1996.

Main objectives and research questions [1.1]

This dissertation therefore explores new perspectives on the complex and fascinating trade encounters and cross-cultural interactions that occurred between the East and West in the early modern period. It shows how the material culture of late Ming China and Momoyama/early Edo Japan, and Western Europe and the New World became inextricably linked through an overseas flow of a variety of luxury[8] Asian manufactured goods and currency (silver) during this period;[9] and moreover, of how this intercontinental maritime trade, which created enormous opportunities for profits for all, impacted the local fine and applied arts. This dissertation is based on past and current academic studies and publications, combining them with new research, to provide an overview of these long-distance commercial networks and how they resulted in an unprecedented creation of material culture that reflected influences of both the East and West.

As mentioned already, this study focuses on the prolific trade, overseas transport and consumption of three Asian manufactured goods: Chinese silk[10] and porcelain,[11] and Japanese lacquer,[12] which began to reach Renaissance Europe with more regularity and in larger quantities in the mid-sixteenth century. The selection of these traditional Asian manufactured goods was not random. The trade in Chinese silk, including raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products, was very lucrative for the Iberians at the time. Raw silk, together with Japanese and New World silver, became the main commodity traded by the Portuguese in Macao, though mainly used for their inter-Asian trade. The Spanish traded large quantities of silks for New World silver in Manila. Raw silk and woven silk cloths were the most important goods imported into New Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which were destined for both the local market within the viceroyalty and re-export to the viceroyalty of Peru, and a small quantity to Spain. Moreover, this trade is still largely unknown. Although Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer were only a small part of the Asian cargoes imported into Western Europe and the New World, surviving objects provide important material evidence of the increasing demand for them in Europe and the New World colonies. These Asian goods were closely linked. They were all traded by the Europeans in search for potential profits, and were transported together in the holds or decks of their ships to Western Europe and the New World, with the desire to satisfy the consumer demands of their respective societies.

This dissertation examines the important role played by the Portuguese – the first Europeans to arrive in Asia – and the Spanish merchants, as well as missionaries of the Society of Jesus and Mendicant Orders, followed by the Dutch and English merchants in spreading a taste for this novel Asian material culture, as well as creating a demand for it. It also discusses the commercial networks through which these Asian manufactured goods circulated, the different ways in which they were acquired, used and appreciated within the respective Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English societies in Western Europe, as well as within the multi-ethnic colonial societies of the Spanish, Dutch and English in the New World. The intention is to determine to what extent these Asian goods transformed the everyday life and social customs of the royalty, high-ranking nobility, clergy and affluent merchant class of Renaissance Europe, who in accordance with their high social and economic status, desired the most exclusive,

exotic and curious products from distant enigmatic lands. This research argues that some of these Asian goods reached a wider range of consumers much earlier than has been previously acknowledged. By the late sixteenth century the wide availability and regular supply of Asian goods in some Spanish dominated territories in both Western Europe and the New World (particularly in the Southern Netherlands and the colonial viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru) had changed consumer habits and social attitudes. As will be shown, Asian goods that were initially considered a luxury, Chinese silk and porcelain in particular, became more common in the daily lives and households of the Habsburg governors, the high-ranking nobility and rich merchant class of Antwerp, as well as of the Spanish colonial elite, clergy and new middle class of the viceroyalties capitals, Mexico City and Lima. By the early seventeenth century these Asian goods had also permeated into the northern frontier province of Spanish New Mexico (present-day southwestern United States). Despite the existence of sumptuary laws imposed by European governing authorities against luxurious dress and ornamentation, Chinese silks during this period became inextricably linked to an individual's identity, serving as visible social indices. For the Catholic ecclesiastical institutions they served as material testimonies of both the breath and width of the Iberian expansion into Asia and the missionary work carried out in the New World colonies. Thus Chinese silk and porcelain came to be integrated into the daily life of members of the colonial society of nearly all social classes, if even only in small quantities. This dissertation also argues that the appreciation and consumption of all silk, porcelain and lacquer in Spain was much more limited than in Portugal, despite the fact that the Crowns were united by the Spanish Habsburgs from 1580 to 1640, or in the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England. This appears to have been a consequence of the Spanish Crown's political and mercantile policies, which affected the way Asian goods were acquired by Spanish merchants in the Philippines, who became increasingly dependent upon Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese merchants for their supply. It may also have been due to the commercial networks through which they were imported into New Spain, from where small quantities subsequently were re-exported to Spain, which resulted in a considerable increase in their purchase price when it reached the customers in Spain. Thus Asian goods continued to be consumed only by the secular and religious elites in Madrid, Seville and other important cities of Spain in the early seventeenth century.

This study also aims to break new ground in its presentation of a comparative study of the impact that the Portuguese and Spanish empires, and later the Dutch and English trading companies, had on the material culture of China and Japan between 1500 and 1644. Having been trained at university as a designer and later worked professionally in this field, I thought it was important to pay special attention to an aspect of this material culture that still has some unanswered questions. This is the influence that the European merchants and missionaries themselves exerted on the goods especially made to order for them in both China and Japan, which were intended for secular and religious use in settlements in Asia, and respective mother countries in Western Europe and colonies in the New World. This aim immediately presents some concrete questions, which relate to the material and aesthetic qualities of the variety of goods made to order, but also to the way European demand and Asian production/supply was conducted at a human level. These questions, which closely relate to each other, can be summarized as follows:

10 China had been producing silk from around the fourth or fifth millennium B.C. Silk, which was one of China's primary agricultural and commercial products, was traded along the Silk Road from the third to ninth century, first arriving in Europe during Roman times. The shimmering appearance of silk cloth, at that time a material produced only by China, sparked European demand. Even though the Crusades had brought silk production to the Italian city-states in the thirteenth century and silk farming started in the south of France in the sixteenth century, still most silk was imported from China. For the development of sericulture and silk textile production in China, and the expansion of silk consumption via the Silk Road, see Dieter Kuhn (ed.), Textile Technology: Speening and Reeling, vol. 5, part 9 in the series *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 285-417; Shelagh Vainker, *Chinese Silk. A Cultural History*, London, 2004; Philippa Scott, *The Book of Silk*, London, 1993; James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell (eds.), *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1998; and Milo C. Beach, 'The Ear Commands the Story: Exploration and Imagination on the Silk Road', in Karen Manchester (ed.), *The Silk Road and Beyond. Travel, Trade and Transformation*, Museum Studies, vol. 33, no. 1, Chicago, 2007, pp. 8–19.

11 China had been manufacturing porcelain since the late sixth century, and held the monopoly on its production over centuries. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans in Asia, Chinese porcelain, made from a mixture of kaolin and the porcelain stone *pututse* fired at high temperature, was a valuable trade commodity being exported to Japan, Southeast Asia, Middle East and Africa. Jessica Harrison-Hall, 'Chinese porcelain from Jingdezhen', in Ian Freestone and David Gaimster, *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions*, London, 1997, pp. 194–199; and Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood (eds.), *Ceramic Technology*, vol. 5, part 12 in the series *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 234–235.

12 Japan had been manufacturing high-quality wood lacquered everyday objects since prehistoric times. Japanese lacquer, called *urushi*, was made from the sap of the lacquer tree known as *Rhus verniciflua*, which is native to central and southern China and Japan. It was only after Portuguese traders brought the Jesuit missionaries to Japan in 1549 that organized trade of lacquer objects to Western Europe began. For the historical development of lacquer techniques in China and Japan, see James C. Y. Watt and Barbara Brennan Ford, *East Asian Lacquer: The Florence and Herbert Irving Collection*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1991, pp. 1–11.

13 Amudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors:

1] How and to what extent did the direct or indirect contact of the Europeans and missionaries with the Chinese weavers, embroiderers and potters, or Japanese lacquer craftsmen, influenced the goods made to order for them in techniques, colour palettes and decorative styles?

2] Did the Chinese weavers, embroiderers and potters, and Japanese lacquer craftsmen, faithfully comply with the specific orders placed by the Europeans and missionaries?

3] Did Europeans from different countries order the same types of goods, and request the same decorative styles?

4] Did the types of goods and/or decorative styles ordered change overtime, following the evolving European tastes and/or fashions?

5] How and to what extent did the production costs, and consequently the purchase prices paid by the consumers, affect European orders?

The intention is to answer as accurately as possible these questions, and ultimately to demonstrate that the specific orders placed by the Europeans and missionaries led to the creation of a wide variety of hybrid manufactured goods in China and Japan, which combined elements from two, or sometimes even three, very different and distant cultures, reflecting the fascinating and complex cultural exchanges that occurred in the early modern period between the East and West.

Research methodology and sources [1.2]

The research methodology adopted in this dissertation is to conduct a multidisciplinary study of the trade in Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer, to Western Europe and the New World between 1500 and 1644. Because these Asian manufactured goods are so diverse in regards to their material qualities and ways in which they were traded, consumed and ordered by the Europeans and missionaries, it was decided to study each of them separately. This became more relevant at times when documentary and material evidence proved to be exceedingly scant or insufficient. Therefore each of these Asian goods is dealt with within an individual Chapter, which has its own structure, style and presentation.

The main objectives and concrete questions investigated in this dissertation rely on multiple sources of evidence to a degree that hasn't been explored before. These include unpublished primary sources, and published primary and secondary sources. These all contain valuable information relating to the trade as well as to the varied types and quantities of these Asian manufactured goods imported into Western Europe and the New World via the trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific trade routes as merchandise, private consignments or gifts. In the case of porcelain, they also include a large amount of material evidence provided by both marine and terrestrial archaeological finds from Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English shipwrecks, survival campsites, colonial settlements in Asia, the New World and the Caribbean, as well as from the respective mother countries in Western Europe. This material is complemented by marine archaeological finds from Chinese junks, and terrestrial finds from kiln sites in south China. The analysis and comparison of these archaeological finds, together with

scattered information gathered from a wide variety of textual sources, provide both qualitative and quantitative data.

Extant Chinese silks (woven silk cloths and finished silk products) and porcelains, and Japanese lacquers, housed in public and private collections around the world, and still preserved in monasteries and convents in the Iberian Peninsula, provide crucial tangible evidence of the types of Asian goods traded by the Europeans. More importantly, their analysis and stylistic comparison illustrates the similarities and differences with those reflecting European influence that were made as special orders for the Iberian market for both religious and secular use during the early period of European trade in Asia in the sixteenth century, with those made for the Dutch market, and in some cases also the English market, for secular use in the early seventeenth century. A number of European silk textiles, printed works and objects of a variety of materials that most probably served as models, whether directly or indirectly through others made of less expensive materials or made at their settlements in Asia combining European shapes with local manufacturing and decorative techniques, help to clarify the extent and way in which the Chinese and Japanese responded to suit the tastes and demands of their new European clientele. Whenever possible the documentary and material evidence is complemented by visual sources that help us illustrate the practical and/or ornamental uses of these Asian goods within the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English societies in Western Europe, as well as the Spanish, Dutch and English colonial societies in the New World. It should be noted that this is not an attempt to list all examples of the Chinese and Japanese manufactured goods made for the European market that survive around the world, but rather to point out and discuss some with the goal of demonstrating how the shift from the Portuguese/Spanish supremacy in trade to the Dutch/English markedly led to the development of new styles, shapes and decorations, and establish whether China and Japan were both influenced in the same way or different ways.

Scope and limitations [1.3]

It is imperative to define the scope and limitations of such a multidisciplinary study focusing on the trade of three very diverse Asian manufactured goods, Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer, by four different European countries. Although the Iberian Crowns of Portugal and Spain were united from 1580 to 1640, their economies were kept independent. Therefore when sufficient information relating to trade in these goods was available, these two countries were studied separately. Initially, the dissertation was intended to study a hundred-year period from 1550 to 1650, when the Iberians, and the Dutch and English, traded regularly and in considerable quantities. It did not take long, however, to realise that in order to fully understand the early trade in these Asian goods and the European influence exerted on those made to order for them, it was needed to extend the beginning period of this study to the turn of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese trading in the Indian Ocean had access for the first time to purchase and place special orders of such Asian goods. Then it became apparent that the intended end period also should to be changed. The end period had to acknowledge the seclusion policy of the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan that closed the country to all Europeans and missionaries in 1639 (except for the Dutch who did not proselytize the Christian faith); and the collapse of the Ming dynasty in 1644, which resulted in the interruption of the production of silks and porcelains for export. Therefore it was decided that this research study should cover

Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged Between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)', in Helmut Trnek and Sabine Haag (eds.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2001, Appendix A, p. 36, note 69.

14 The various types of Jingdezhen porcelain traded by the Europeans will be discussed in Chapter III. There are a number of important publications that have been devoted to the trade in Jingdezhen porcelain by the Portuguese and Dutch in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For the Portuguese trade, see Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Azul e Branco da China. Porcelana ao Tempo dos Descobrimentos. Colecção Amaral Cabral*, exhibition catalogue, Colecção Amaral Cabral, Lisbon, 1997; João Rodrigues Calvão, *Caminhos da Porcelana. Dinastias Ming e Qing – The Porcelain Route. Ming and Qing Dynasties*, exhibition catalogue, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1999; Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *The RA Collection of Chinese Ceramics: A Collector's Vision*, London, 2011, vol. 1. One of the most important publications on the Dutch trade is Tijs Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers 1602–1682*, Leiden, 1954. Recent research in records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and on Volker's translations of those records by Viallé has shown that Volker's publication presented some errors. Cynthia Viallé, 'De bescheiden van de VOC betreffende de handel in Chinees en Japans porselein tussen 1634 en 1661 - The records of the VOC concerning the trade in Chinese and Japanese porcelain between 1634 and 1661', *Aziatische Kunst*, No. 3, September 1992, pp. 7–34. Other publications on the Dutch trade include C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, The Hague, 1982; Christiaan Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise', in Rosemary E. Scott (ed.), *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 16*, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1993, pp. 183–205; Christiaan Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch Market', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLV, 1999, pp. 30–37; Christiaan J.A. Jörg, 'Treasures of the Dutch Trade in Chinese Porcelain', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 5 (2002/03), pp. 20–26; and Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (eds.), *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, Zwolle, 2014. Only a few publications devote to the Jingdezhen porcelain trade by the Spanish and English during this period. For the Spanish trade to Western Europe and the New World, see Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (1)', *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, June 2008, pp. 8–10; Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (2)', The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter, July 2008, pp. 6–8; Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, 'The Early Manila Galleon Trade: Merchant's Networks and Markets in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Mexico', in Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (eds.), *Asia & Spanish America. Trans-Pacific & Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850. Papers from the 2006 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* Denver, 2009, pp. 37–57; José Luis Gasch-Tomás, *Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asia Goods in the Atlantic World: The Manila galleons and the social elites of Mexico and Seville (1580–1640)*, unpublished PhD Thesis, European University Institute, Florence, 2012; and Cinta Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain and other Orientalia and Exotica in Spain during the Habsburg Dynasty*, Madrid, 2 vols., forthcoming 2015. For the trade to England, see Susan Bracken, ''Chyna' in England before 1614', *Oriental Art*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2001),

from 1500, a year after the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) first returned from India with Asian goods for the King and the royal court, to 1644, the year of the collapse of the Ming dynasty.

A number of issues have to be considered when analysing both the quantitative and qualitative data available on the trade of Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer, during this early period of intercontinental trade. Although this dissertation includes surviving documentary and material evidence of the volume, composition and value of the cargoes of Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English ships that arrived safely or sank or were captured while en route to Western Europe and the New World, it is very difficult to determine the exact quantities, specific types and values of the manufactured goods that were originally exported from China and Japan. Many records referring to the Portuguese maritime trade were lost during the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which destroyed the *Casa da Índia* and its archives.

The cargoes, which tended to have numerous origins, destinations and customers, had great variations during the period covered in this study. The registers of the ships, when available, give insight into their contents. However, some Asian goods (like small lots of silk, porcelain and lacquer) are not frequently listed. Shipments of such Asian goods, as noted by Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, were packed in bundles, packets, boxes or chests used in the trans-Atlantic route from Goa to Lisbon. The result was that many of these containers were unregistered and untaxed.[13] While it was a time of intense European trade activity, this activity transpired both officially and clandestinely. It is clear that clandestine trade is difficult to trace. Such cargoes may have been disembarked at any of the stopover ports along the homeward journey. Asian goods may also have been brought unregistered as part of personal belongings or private consignments.

It should be mentioned that the Chinese porcelain discussed in this research study relates specifically to the European trade in porcelain which was made in the late Ming dynasty at the private kilns (*minyao*) of Jingdezhen, the largest and most important kiln complex in China, situated in the northeast of Jiangxi province,[14] as well as at the private kilns of Zhangzhou[15] and Dehua,[16] situated in the southern coastal province of Fujian. Material salvaged from maritime archaeological sites in Asia, Africa, Europe, the New World (present-day south and north America) and the Caribbean, a number that is continuously growing, provides invaluable data with regards to the extent of the porcelain trade to Western Europe and the New World, but it is always fragmentary and leaves unanswered questions. A large number of homeward bound ships, often heavily laden, poorly maintained and with leaking hulls, never reached their destinations.[17] It is important to consider that porcelain, regularly used as ballast,[18] together with silk and other precious cargo, may have been thrown overboard in an attempt to keep the ship afloat, or may have been entirely or partially salvaged after the shipwreck, or may have been washed by sea currents or winds to places far removed from the actual wreck site.[19] Furthermore, only a small number of shipwrecks have been professionally excavated, and even fewer have been excavated completely with their finds professionally documented (including full excavation reports and photography). Several shipwrecks, particularly those found in shallow waters, have been disturbed for centuries or decades by local fishermen, and/or plundered by sports divers and treasure-hunters. Relevant shipwrecks of Chinese junks and European ships found to date, some of which have been reported in print, are listed in Appendix 3. It is worth mentioning that when it has not been possible

to identify the name of the ship and the exact date of wreckage in textual sources, the ship has been given a site name and its wreckage date has been ascertained from the archaeological finds, i.e. ship remains (hull) and/or associated cargo. The dates assigned by the marine archaeologists have been considered carefully, and in one particular case a different dating has been suggested because of material evidence found during this research study.

Another important aspect of this research study is the necessity to consider carefully the terminology used in documents written in different languages during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly when the documents refer to the foreign origin of these Asian goods, and/or the types of goods described. For instance, inventories of royal collections that include objects and exotica from Asia, Africa and the New World, often mistakenly describe all Asian goods as 'Indian'.[20] Objects of Asian origin are mentioned in documents from Spain and New Spain as 'de China' or 'de la China'. Thus caution must be taken when interpreting them. Two examples of the use of apparently similar terms in the Iberian Peninsula serve to illustrate the difficulties in interpreting the terminology. In Spain the term '*buxerías*', also known as '*menudencias*', was used in the plural form to refer to things of low price or value.[21] In Portugal, however, the term '*miudezas*' was used to refer to a wide variety of small portable things, but not necessarily of little value, such as semi-precious stones, jewellery and porcelain.[22]

One of the biggest limitations is that silk and lacquer, unlike porcelain, often do not survive in archaeological records.[23] Thus this research study relies on a number of ships registers, post-mortem and probate inventories, and many other contemporary documents, to give a general idea of the quantities, types and practical uses of the silks and lacquers traded. It also relies on rare and fragile extant examples of woven silks and silk finished products, as well as extant lacquer pieces housed in public and private collections, monasteries, convents and churches, and royal collections, to provide tangible evidence of their shapes, textures, decorative designs, and colour palettes, and also in some cases of how they were adapted to suit European tastes.

Given the scarcity of price data in post-mortem and probate inventories as well as in ship registers and invoices of the Portuguese and Spanish, the latter in comparison with those of the Dutch and English trading companies, it is difficult to make judgements about the influence of demand on the price of these goods. Although it is not possible to accurately quantify the demand of each of them, whenever possible documentary and archaeological evidence has been used to evaluate the consumer demand responses to changes in their supply and price.

New and important information has been found during the multidisciplinary research for this doctoral dissertation. The significance is often obvious from what has been discussed throughout the dissertation text. For this reason, as well as space constrains, only three more in-depth discussions that highlight new and/or important aspects have been included, one for silk, one for porcelain and one for lacquer. These three examples can be regarded as *pars pro toto*.

Chinese words and names have been spelled according to the Pinyin system of romanization throughout the dissertation.

Organisation [1.4]

This introduction presents the main objectives and research questions, the research methodology and sources employed, and the scope and limitations of this dissertation.

pp. 8–10; and Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560–1960*, Oxford, 2007. There was also a small number of mid and late Ming private kilns located further south in Jiangxi province, which produced secondary quality blue-and-white porcelain for both the domestic and export markets. These kilns, including Leping, Yiyang, Guangchang, Anyuan and Ji'an (Appendix 2), are important because they provide a link between the kilns of Jingdezhen and those of Fujian. There is a serious lack of knowledge about the porcelain produced in these kilns as only a few of the archaeological finds have been published. However, a brief report of porcelain finds dating to the Jiajing reign made at the Leping kiln includes images of fragments of dishes that closely resemble examples recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Espadarte*, which sank in (1558) (Appendix 3). Thus future research on the porcelain production of these kilns seems imperative to establish if some of the porcelains traded by the Europeans were made at these kilns instead of at those of Jingdezhen. For the Leping finds, see Chen Boquan, 'Jiangxi Leping Mingdai qinghua yaozhi diaocha (Investigations of Ming blue and white kilnsites in Leping, Jiangxi)', *Wenwu* (Cultural Relics), 1973, no. 3, pp. 46–51. For more information on these kilns, see Jiangxi Provincial Museum, 'Hengfeng guyaozhi diaocha (Investigations of old kiln sites in Hengfeng)', *Wenwu gongzuo ziliao* (Reference Material on Cultural Relics Works), 1965, no. 4; Jiangxi Provincial Museum, 'Yiyang guyaozhi diaocha (Investigations of old kiln site in Yiyang)', *Wenwu gongzuo ziliao* (Reference Material on Cultural Relics Works), 1966, no. 1; Chen Boquan, 'Wosheng chutu de Mingdai qinghua ciqi (Some Ming blue and whites unearthed in Jiangxi Province)', *Wenwu gongzuo ziliao* (Reference Material on Cultural Relics Works), 1973, no. 6; Jiangxi Provincial Museum, 'Anyuan Xuan faxian Mingdai qinghua ciyao (Ming blue-and-white kiln sites discovered at Anyuan Country)', *Jiangxi lishi wenwu* (Historical and Cultural Relics in Jiangxi Province), 1984, no. 2; Jiangxi Provincial Museum, 'Guangchang faxian de Mingdai qinghua ciyao (Ming blue-and-white porcelain kiln sites discovered at Guangchang)', *Jiangxi lishi wensu* (Historical and Cultural Relics in Jiangxi Province), 1985, no. 2; and Peng Shifan, Peng Minghan, Peter Y.K. Lam, et. al., *Yuan and Ming Blue and White Ware from Jiangxi*, exhibition catalogue, Jiangxi Provincial Museum and the Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Peter Y.K. Lam, Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, for bringing these kiln sites to my attention and for these bibliographical references.

15 The various types of *Zhangzhou* porcelain traded by the Europeans will be discussed in Chapter III. *Zhangzhou* porcelain, then referred to as *Swatow*, was first described and discussed systematically in 1955, when Aga-Oglu studied the collection of the University of Michigan in the United States. In 1963, Miedema published a catalogue of the extensive collection housed at the Princessehof Museum in Leeuwarden, The Netherlands. Harrison published another catalogue of this collection in 1979. A classification by form and decorative styles for dishes was published by Miedema in 1984. See Kamer Aga-Oglu, 'The So-called 'Swatow' wares: Types and Problems of Provenance', *Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*, vol. VII, no. 2, 1955, pp. 1-37; Hessel Miedema, *Swatow: Catalogus [van het] Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof [te] Leeuwarden*, Leeuwarden, 1963; Barbara Harrison, *Swatow in het Princessehof: The analysis of a museum collection of Chinese trade wares from Indonesia*, Leeuwarden, 1979; and Hessel Miedema, 'A Typology of Swatow Dishes', Oriental Art, vol. XXX, no. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 34–85. For a more recent discussion on *Zhangzhou* porcelain and further bibliographical references, see Teresa Canepa, 'Introduction', in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Zhangzhou Export Ceramics. The So-called Swatow Wares*, London and Lisbon, 2006, pp. 13–43.

16 The Dehua porcelain traded by the Europeans in the first half of the seventeenth century, which appears to have been mostly *Blanc de chine*, will be discussed in Chapter III. There have been a number of publications devoted to *Blanc de chine* porcelain. Although it has been shown that Donnely's book on *Blanc de chine* has some problems of dating, it can be still used as a reference book. Patrick J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine. The Porcelain of Têhua in Fukien*, New York, 1969. More recent publications include Rose Kerr and John Ayers, et. al., *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua, A Catalogue of the Hickley Collection*, Singapore, 2002; and John Ayers, *Blanc de Chine: Divine Images in Porcelain*, exhibition catalogue, China Institute Gallery, New York, 2002.

17 The overwhelming majority of the European homebound ships sank due to bad weather conditions. Other losses were due to late or ill-advised departure dates, excessive ambition by the captains and officials. Filipe Vieira de Castro, *The Pepper Wreck. A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River*, College Station, TX, 2005, p. 69.

18 Porcelain's impermeability, easy packing and storage, and heavy weight made it a perfect ballast item, stored deep down in the hold of the ship to provide stability. Sara R. Brigadier, *The Artifact Assemblage from the Pepper Wreck: An Early Seventeenth Century Portuguese East-Indiaman that Wrecked in the Tagus River*, unpublished MA Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2002, p. 54.

19 A clear example is when the commander of the Portuguese galleon *Aguia* ordered the silks and other Chinese goods to be thrown overboard after the ship was badly damaged due to a storm in 1558 or 1559, which will be discussed in Chapter II.

20 For a discussion on the term Indian in inventories of the early modern period, see Jessica Keating and Lia Markey, ''Indian' objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg inventories. A case-study of the sixteenth-century term', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2011), pp. 283–300.

21 Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 36; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 255–256.

22 James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p. 324.

23 Silk is an organic material, and only in few cases it has appeared in underwater context. Natural silk – made of fibroin (75 per cent) and sericin (25 per cent), which are fibrous proteins secreted by *Bombix mori*, aka silkworm silk, or by *Antheraea pernyi* and *Antheraea Mylitta*, wild silkworm silk. For more information, see Andreia Ribeiro Romão Veliça Macahado, *Conservação de Materiais Orgânicos Arqueológicos Subaquáticos (Conservation of Underwater Archaeological Organic Materials)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Lisboa Luis de Camões, 2013, p. 54.

The rest of the dissertation is composed of five Chapters, including a final Chapter with conclusions, and three Appendixes. It is organized as follows:

Chapter I, divided into two main sections, provides a general background to understand the historical and economic significance of the European entry into the Asian maritime trade in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Each section briefly examines the dynamic processes of exploration, diplomacy, settlement and trade first of the Iberians – Portuguese and Spanish – and later the Dutch and English. A variety of contemporary maps and city views, some of them taken from atlases, as well as paintings, are used throughout this Chapter to visualize the spatial representations of Western Europe and colonial settlements in Asia and the New World that helped to shape the geographical knowledge of these distant regions of the world during this period. The first section focuses on the building of Iberian trading-post empires in the sixteenth century. It examines the Portuguese arrival in Asia and their monopoly of the trans-Atlantic trade route to Western Europe, as well as the beginning of competition when the Spanish subsequently established a trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade route between Asia, through New Spain, to Spain. The second section focuses on the shifting balance of European powers that occurred when Dutch and English trading companies of northern Europe entered and partly gained control of the Asian maritime trade in the early seventeenth century.

Chapters II, III and IV are the core of this dissertation. They discuss extant documentary and material evidence of the trade in Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer to Western Europe and the New World, as well as of the European influence on these Asian goods. Each Chapter, as noted above, has its own structure and presentation according to the subject and the evidence found through this research study. Textual sources and material evidence are discussed in chronologically arranged sections. A discussion that highlights a new and/or important aspect of the research is included at the end of each Chapter, just before the conclusions.

Chapter II explores the importance of Chinese silk, together with New World silver, as the primary forces behind the emergence of a global trade in Asian manufactured goods in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Its first section examines the silk trade to the Iberian Peninsula, the Southern Netherlands and the Spanish colonies in the New World. In the second section, the silk trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England, carried out only in small-scale in the early seventeenth century, are examined. The third section examines the European influence on Chinese silk by discussing textual sources and a small number of extant woven and embroidered silk cloths, and finished silk products, housed in public and private collections in China and the rest of the world, and whenever possible comparing them with contemporary European silks, prints or objects that illustrate the sort of sources that may have served as models. Silks, as will be shown, were mainly made to order for the Iberian market with European motifs and/or shapes for both secular and religious use at this time, but a small number was made for private Italian individuals present in Asia for secular use, as early as the late sixteenth century.

Chapter III is the largest Chapter of this dissertation. Besides textual sources relating to the European trade in porcelain it discusses a vast quantity of material yielded from both marine and terrestrial archaeological sites in Asia, Africa, Europe, the New World (north, central and south America) and the Caribbean that provide a context in which to identify the types and quantities of porcelain exported during the period of this study, as well as visual sources, including still-life and portrait

paintings, drawings and prints, which are used throughout to illustrate the presence, ownership and/or practical and ornamental function of porcelain pieces – depicted individually or in groups – in a particular geographical area and time period. The first section of the Chapter examines the porcelain trade to the Iberian Peninsula and the Southern Netherlands. Its second section examines the porcelain trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England. The third section examines the porcelain trade to the New World, discussing only Spanish, Dutch and English colonial sites in the New World and the Caribbean. It should be noted that the porcelain trade to the Portuguese colonies in the New World is not included because documentary and material evidence are exceedingly scant. The fourth section examines the European influence on Chinese porcelain by discussing a number of extant porcelain pieces made to order with European motifs or after European shapes for the Iberian market in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and for the Dutch market from the third decade on the seventeenth century onwards, and whenever possible compare them with objects of a variety of materials, or with prints and drawings that may have served as models.

Chapter IV focuses on the development and trade of new styles of Japanese lacquer made to order for the missionaries of the Society of Jesus and Mendicant Orders, and later for the Iberians, Dutch and English for both religious and secular use in Japan, European settlements in Asia, as well as to be exported to Western Europe and the New World from *c.*1580 to 1644, during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. It discusses the European influence on Japanese lacquer by relying on textual sources and a number of extant lacquer objects housed in monasteries and convents, as well as in public and private collections in Japan and the rest of the world, which help us visualize the material qualities, colour schemes and decorative patterns of the various lacquer objects made as special orders for the European market during this period. It also relies on visual sources, including paintings and prints, which serve to illustrate the models of the motifs copied by the lacquer craftsmen, as well as to compare the lacquer production for the Japanese domestic market which influenced the decorative style of lacquers made to order for the missionaries and Europeans.

Chapter V presents some final conclusions regarding the documentary, material and visual evidence presented in the three previous Chapters.

Genealogical tables of the Houses of Avis-Beja – Habsburg and the House of Orange corresponding to the period covered by this study are included in an Appendix, Appendix 1. Available data related to the trade in porcelain to Western Europe and the New World yielded from terrestial and marine archaeological excavations in China and the rest of the world is included in the form of two Appendixes. Appendix 2 provides a map of south China showing the late Ming kilns of Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province, and those of Dehua and Zhangzhou in Fujian province, discussed in Chapter III, which produced various types of porcelain for the European market, including the porcelain made to order. Appendix 3 includes all the Chinese junks and European shipwrecks that have been recorded thus far with late Ming porcelain for the export market, listed chronologically.

Finally, a bibliography and index are given.

Historical Background

European entry into the Asian Maritime trade [1.1]

Building Iberian trading-post empires in the sixteenth century.

The Portuguese arrival in Asia, the establishment of Macao and the trans-Atlantic trade route monopoly to Europe [1.1.1]

The maritime voyages of exploration in the Atlantic Ocean in the late fifteenth century led the Portuguese down the coast of West Africa, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope and crossing the Indian Ocean, to India.[1] Vasco da Gama's voyage to India (1497–1498) opened up a new area for Portuguese settlement and trade.[2] Once the Portuguese led by Governor Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515), established their headquarters (*Estado da Índia*) in Goa on the western coast of India in 1510, and gained the support of its Hindu inhabitants, Goa came to replace Calicut as the principal trading port of India, between Cambay and Cape Comorin.[3] The Portuguese presence in Goa, regularly visited by merchants from all over India, led to the development of the first workshops in the coastal region of Gujarat producing luxury mother-of-pearl objects, either inlaid entirely with pieces of mother-of-pearl or overlaid with it, after Indian and Islamic shapes, or more rarely after European shapes, specifically for the European market.[4] In 1511, Governor Albuquerque took Malacca, a thriving port city ruled by a Muslim Sultanate strategically located on the Malayan side of the narrow Strait of Malacca, which had a multi-ethnic merchant community of Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Kelings (Tamils), Gujaratis, Bengalis, Arabs and Iranians (Fig. 1.1.1.1).[5] The conquest of Malacca proved to be of great importance to the Portuguese Crown. By then Malacca controlled the principal gateway from the Indian Ocean into East and Southeast Asia, being linked to China and Eastern Indonesia, as well as to India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.[6] After securing Malacca, Albuquerque took Hormuz on

1 Boxer, 1991, p. 17.

2 A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 'Patterns of Settlement in the Portuguese Empire, 1400–1800', in Bethencourt and Ramada Curto, 2007, p. 178.

3 Since 1471, Goa had been in the possession of the Muslim sultans of Bijapur, but had been previously a principality of Vijayanagar. Disney, 2009, p. 130; and Boxer, 1991, p. 46.

4 Textual sources, including inventories of the Portuguese royalty, suggest that a considerable quantity of mother-of-pearl, as well as tortoiseshell objects, from Gujarat were imported into Portugal in the sixteenth century. For a brief discussion on such objects, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2009, pp. 54–65, no. 3, and pp. 46–53, no. 2; respectively.

5 Disney, 2009, pp. 130–131; and Subrahmanyan, 1993, p. 13. The Portuguese presence in Malacca lasted until the Dutch conquest in 1641.

6 Ibid.

Fig. 1.1.1.1 *De Vloot bij Melaka*, 1606
Etching, 15cm x 20.5cm
Anonymous, 1644–1646
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
(museum no. RP-P-OB-75.447)

Djaroun Island at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, in 1515.[7] With Ormuz at one end of the Indian Ocean and Malacca at the other, the Portuguese had access to the spice trade with the Moluccas, and the trade of luxury goods coming from all over the East.[8]

Direct Portuguese trade relations with China began in the late Ming dynasty, during the reign of Emperor Zhengde (1506–1521) with the arrival of Jorge Álvares (d. 1521) on the Island of Tunmen,[9] off Canton, in 1513 (Fig. 1.1.1.2). Canton in Guangdong province and Amoy in Fujian province, were the most important Chinese ports at this time. These port cities were directly connected with the overseas trade, on the one hand receiving imported goods for the vast Chinese domestic market, and on the other, exporting luxury Chinese manufactured goods, such as silks and porcelain.[10] Four years later, Tomé Pires (1465–1524?), a former court apothecary and scribe of the Portuguese stronghold in Malacca, arrived at the Pearl River off Canton as the first Portuguese ambassador to the Imperial court in Beijing.[11] Although his mission to establish Sino-Portuguese commercial relations failed,[12] Lisbon soon became the most important commercial marketplace in Renaissance Europe for luxury goods from Asia, rivaling Seville, Antwerp, Venice and Genoa (Fig. 1.1.1.3). In 1503, according to Chaudhuri, a French merchant was already promoting the shops of Lisbon's principal commercial street, the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores*, where a wide range of luxury Asian goods and curiosities brought by the Portuguese merchant ships of the *Carreira da Índia* were available for sale.[13]

The sudden influx of Asian imported goods, as will be shown, brought about important changes in the tastes and customs of the royal court of King Manuel I of Portugal (r.1495–1521), which assumed a new role as intermediary between East and West. The exchange of rare and exotic gifts (including silk and porcelain) was a common way for the Portuguese and Spanish courts – related to each other by marriage – to introduce one another to new discoveries from remote lands.[14] A letter

7 Disney, 2009, pp. 132–133; and Boxer, 1991, p. 46.

8 Following the conquest of Malacca, the Portuguese extended their trading activities to the Indonesian archipelago and beyond, to the Spice Islands of Banda, Timor and the Solor Islands and Makassar. Ibid., p. 42.

9 It is important to note that the precise location of 'Tunmen' remains unknown. Scholars have put forward a number of different interpretations and identifications of 'Tunmen', and it may not be an island. I am grateful to Prof. Peter Y. K. Lam for bringing this point to my attention.

10 Michael N. Pearson, 'Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese', in Bethencourt and Ramada Curto, 2007, p. 93.

11 Disney, 2009, p. 141.

12 The Portuguese not only committed breaches of etiquette during their arrival at Canton, but also continued to do following the death of Emperor Zhengde. Ibid., pp. 141–143.

13 Kirti Chaudhuri, 'A recepção da expansão portuguesa', in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (dir.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. I, Lisbon, 1998, p. 529.

14 Mentioned in Teresa Canepa, 'The Iberian royal courts of Lisbon and Madrid, and their role in spreading a taste for Chinese porcelain in 16th-century Europe', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, p. 17.

Fig. 1.1.1.2 Map of China, Japan, the 'island' of Korea, Luzon, Thailand and Burma
Gerard Mercator, Amsterdam, Henricus Hondius, 1613, Latin text edition.
Coloured woodcut, 35cm x 46cm
© Altea Gallery, London

Fig. 1.1.1.3 Lisbona. *Basel, Henricius Petri, c.1580*
Sebastian Munster
Coloured woodcut, 22.5cm x 3.60mm, set in letterpress text
© Altea Gallery, London

written in India in 1522, a year after King John III (r. 1521–1557) had ascended to the Portuguese throne, states that one–third of ship's cargos returning from China contained 'porcelains and damasks, and iron nails and leather shields and necessary things for stock'.[15] This same year, the Portuguese attempted to renew trade relations with China, but were forcibly expelled from the Guangdong coast. An Imperial decree was promulgated banning all trade with the *fan-kuei* or 'barbarians' – as the Portuguese were referred to – as well as with other foreigners. This kept the Portuguese from going directly to Canton to trade, but it did not prevent them from conducting business with Cantonese merchants outside of the city in Patani, Malacca, Siam and a few other ports in the South Seas.

Trade with China was so valuable that the Portuguese were not willing to relinquish this new and promising market without a struggle. Thus, Portuguese merchants continued to visit the south China coast, either clandestinely or sometimes with the support of local officials who were so anxious to do business with the Portuguese that they ignored the Imperial decree. In these circumstances, trade could only be conducted on the offshore islands, not in a major port. In the 1530s and 1540s illegal trade activities concentrated in the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian, where the Portuguese established temporary settlements. The presence of Portuguese merchants in Fujian at this time is described in the *Book of History of the Ming Dynasty*, which indicates that about 500 Portuguese were living in Zhangzhou in 1541.[16] Among the first Portuguese to visit Fujian during this period was George Mascarenhas, who was engaged in trade and became established at Quanzhou and Xiamen, two coastal prefectures that border with Zhangzhou and face the Taiwan Strait.[17]

In the following decade, the Portuguese were using temporary shacks and tents to store and display their goods in Shangchuan, the largest island west of the mouth of the Pearl River, in Guangdong province. In 1555, the Portuguese Jesuit Belchior Nunes Barreto (1519–1571) described Shangchuan as a centre for trade with the Chinese where 'silk, porcelain, camphor, copper, alum and China-wood are bartered for many kinds of merchandise from this land [Japan]'.[18] The Portuguese, as will be shown in section 3.4.1.1 of Chapter III, not only participated in a prolific trade of ordinary trade porcelain at Shangchuan, but also of porcelain made to order for them with European motifs. By this time large quantities of Asian goods were imported into Lisbon. João Brandão in his *Grandeza e abastança da cidade de Lisboa*, written in 1552, informs us that eight hundred cases of Asian goods passed through the *Casa da Índia*[19] that year.[20]

Once the Portuguese settled in Macao at the mouth of the Pearl River in 1557, during the reign of Jiajing (1522–1566), they secured a trading post and virtually monopolized European trade in Asia (Fig. 1.1.1.4). The Portuguese or *casados*, who had retired from the service of the Crown, married and settled permanently in Macao, he *Cidade do Nome de Deus* (City of the Name of God), and consequently found great opportunities for acting as trading agents for the Chinese merchants. Their geographical location gave them the added benefit of fitting into the existing long and middle distance trade networks both in the China Seas and in the Indonesian archipelago centred on Malacca. By then, Portugal's overseas empire extended across the world, from Brazil in the west to Japan in the east. To do so, the Portuguese set up a 'good for goods' trade formula, where they acquired goods at local market prices in one part of Asia and offered them for sale at a profit in another Asian market. They also traded on their own account in pepper, cloves, sandalwood and other goods from

15 Instituto dos Archivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo (hereafter cited as IANTT), *Corpo Chronológico*, part 3, bundle 8, doc. 1. p. 38. Cited in Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art*, vol. 48, no. 5, 2002–2003, p. 38; and Canepa, 2014, p. 18.

16 Huang Shengzhang, '*Mingdai houqi haijin kaifang hou haiwai maoyi ruogan wenti*' (A Few Problems in Foreign Trade in the Late Ming Dynasty after the Uplifting of the Sea-trade Ban', *Haijiaoshiyanjiu, Research on History of China's Communications with the Overseas*, no. 1, Quanzhou, 1988, p. 154. Mentioned in Rita Tan, *Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines. "Swatow" Export Ceramics from Fujian 16th–17th Century*, Singapore, 2007, p. 15; Rita Tan, 'Zhangzhou Ware. Chinese Export Ceramics for the Market in Asia in the 16th–17th Century', in Pei-kai Cheng (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilization*, Hong Kong, 2012, p. 158; and Canepa, 2014, p. 251, note 31.

17 George Mascarenhas owned one of the five Portuguese ships that arrived to China in 1517. Sir Anders Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, Boston, 1836, pp. 1 and 2.

18 Cited in C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan trade 1555–1640*, Lisbon, 1963, p. 22.

19 The royal trading firm entrusted with managing overseas trade with Asia will be further discussed in Chapter III.

20 João Brandão, *Grandeza e abastança de Lisboa em 1552*, edited by José da Felicidade Alves, Lisbon, 1990, 59–50. Mentioned in Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'The Marvels of the East: Renaissance Curiosity Collections in Portugal', in Nuno Vasallo e Silva (ed.), *A Herança de Rauluchantim – The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, exhibition catalogue, Museo de São Roque, Lisbon, 1996, p. 97.

Fig. 1.1.1.4 *View of Macao in Livro das Plantas de todas as fortalezas, ciades e povoaçoens do Estado da India oriental*
Pedro Barreto de Resende, (plans) and Antonio Bocarro (text)
Portugal, *c.*1635
Watercolour on paper, 41cm x 61cm
Biblioteca Pública de Évora (COD-CXV-2-1 115)

the Indonesian Islands and financed voyages to Japan, and later also to Manila. The total ban imposed by China in 1557 on all direct trade with Japan, and the continuing raids by Japanese pirates on the China coast, enabled the Portuguese to gain a virtual monopoly of this trade. In 1586, the Portuguese Crown granted Macao the status of a municipal council identical to that of Évora. The overall command of Macao was in the hands of the Portuguese Captain-major of the Japan voyage, who spent several months in Macao each year en route to Japan from Goa via Malacca. This situation continued until 1623, when the constant menace of Dutch raids in the early decades of the seventeenth century prompted the governor of the *Estado da Índia* to begin appointing a permanent captain in Macao.[21]

The Portuguese trade from India eastwards beyond Cape Comorin to Indonesia and the China Sea introduced a range of new commodities carried from Goa or Cochin. In Goa – the Indian port city where East met West – the Captain-major's ship, known as the Black Ship (*kurofune*), was loaded with goods of European origin including Flemish clocks, wine glasses, crystal and cloths, as well as Indian textiles. The ship sailed with the monsoon in April or May to Malacca, where much of its cargo was traded for Indonesian spices, camphor and sandalwood, and hides from Siam. Much of the cargo destined for China actually originated in India, such as pepper and ivory, but the shipments also included objects carried from Europe such as lenses, timepieces, mechanical devices and prisms. Once the Black Ship docked in Macao, the cargo was exchanged for Chinese products, including raw silk, silk cloth, floss, porcelains, gold and musk. The ship then stayed in Macao for the silk fairs in Canton (held in June and January), where as will be shown, the finest silks from central China were sold. On the next monsoon (between June and August) the Captain-major would set sail to Japan, the final port of call, which after 1571 was Nagasaki.[22]

21 Francisco Bethencourt, 'Political Configurations and Local Powers', in Bethencourt and Ramada Curto, 2007, p. 209.

22 The Portuguese initially traded in the ports of Kagoshima, Funai, Hirado and Fukuda.

The first encounter between Japan and Europe occurred in 1542/1543,[23] during the reign of Emperor Go Nara (r. 1536–1557) in the Muromachi period (1333–1573), when Portuguese merchants arrived by accident, aboard a Chinese junk, on the island of Tanegashima, a small island off the coast of Kyūshū. Japan, semi-isolated and then maintaining commerce only with the Ryūkyū Islands and Korea, was involved in a long civil war under the divided rule of feudal warlords. The ruling imperial house and the emperor were only symbolic figureheads and had no real power. The Ashikaga *shogūns* had established their government in Miyako (as Kyoto was then frequently called) and controlled all the court administration until 1573, when the powerful warlord Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) eliminated this shogunate, bringing the Ashikaga dynasty (1335–1573) to an end.[24]

In 1549, the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552) arrived at Kagoshima in the southern part of Kyūshū and travelled to Miyako to deliver his first sermons.[25] An anonymous Japanese textual source, dating to 1639, inform us of the mixture of fear and fascination that the arrival of the huge three-masted Black Ship and the first sight of a Jesuit missionary caused in Japan some 90 years earlier. It reads 'In the reign of Mikado Go-Nara no In … A Southern Barbarian trading vessel came to our shores. From this ship for the first time emerged an unnameable creature, somewhat similar in shape to a human being, but looking rather more like a long-nosed goblin or the giant demon Mikoshi Nyūdō. Upon closer inspection it was discovered that this being was called Bateren [Father]. The length of his nose was the first thing that attracted attention: it was like a conch shell. His eyes were as large as spectacles and their insides were yellow. His head was small. On his hands and feet he had long claws. His height exceeded seven feet, and he was black all over … What he said could not be understood at all: his voice was like the screech on an owl. One and all rushed to see him, crowding all the roads in a total lack of restraint'.[26] Visual evidence of the annual arrival of the Black Ship to Nagasaki and the exotic nature of the procession of Portuguese merchants, Christian missionaries and their multitude of attendants bringing foreign gifts, exotic birds and animals is provided by a number of extant *Namban* folding screens (*byōbu*), dating to the Momoyama period (1573–1615) (Fig. 1.1.1.5a and b). The Black Ship also brought a variety of both religious and secular goods required for the Jesuit mission in Japan.[27] The Portuguese and their attendants (sailors, African slaves, Indians and Malays) were called *Namban-jin* by the Japanese. *Namban*, literally meaning 'southern barbarians', was a term used by the Japanese to refer to all foreigners except Chinese and Koreans.[28]

After the Portuguese arrived in Japan, they took advantage of the Ming maritime ban on all direct trade to Japan acting as intermediaries between these two countries. Raw silk and silk finished products were in great demand in Japan, where Chinese and Japanese merchants had previously controlled a substantial trade of Chinese silk for Japanese silver during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[29] Once the Portuguese settled in Macao in 1557, and the jurisdiction over Nagasaki was transferred from the *daimyō* Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587) to the Jesuits in 1571, the Portuguese not only secured access to Canton but also established a lucrative triangular illicit silver-for-silk trade, the so-called Nagasaki-Macao-Canton trade.[30] The economy of Macao came to be largely dependent on the direct silk trade with Japan.[31] The Macao authorities, in order to preserve the exclusive monopoly on the silk trade and stabilize its selling price in Japan, decided that silk could be shipped to Nagasaki only in the annual voyage of the Black Ship and also devised a system of bulk sale, which stabilized the price

23 The exact date in which this encounter took place has been subject of much debate among historians. Some believe that the Portuguese arrived at Tanegashima in 1542 and others that it was in 1543.

24 The Ahikaga *shogunate*, also known as the Muromachi shogunate, was the second dynasty of *shogūns*. For this opinion, see Miyeko Murase (ed.), *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven and London, 2003, p. 52.

25 Father Francis Xavier, who had recently been appointed apostolic nuntius, left Portugal in April 1541 with the East Indian fleet and reached India in May 1542 with two companions. There he took charge of the Christian missions in Goa and on the Southwest coast. After working for three years among the pearl-fishers of the Fishery Coast, he continued to the East Indies, Malacca and the Indonesian Spice Islands. Finally, he proceeded to Japan. The presence of Father Francis Xavier in Japan and his Jesuit missionary work there will be discussed in section 4.1.1.1 of Chapter IV.

26 Cited in G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge, MA, 1991, p. 321; and Anna Jackson, 'Virtual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 202.

27 For more information, see Pedro Moura Carvalho, 'The Circulation of European and Asian Works of Art in Japan, Circa 1600', in Victoria Weston (ed.), *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthy Goods*, exhibition catalogue, McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2013, pp. 38–41.

28 Jackson, 2004, p. 202.

29 Japan produced silk, but Chinese silk was of superior quality. Chinese junks continued to visit Japan after the Ming ban was imposed, and thus offered competition to the Portuguese. According to Flynn and Giraldez, 60 to 80 Chinese junks (the largest averaging about 600-tons) visited Japan annually between 1613 and 1640, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century Japanese 'red seal' ships also competed with the Portuguese. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez, 'Silk for Silver: Manila-Macao Trade in the 17th Century', in Ma, 2005/2, p. 38.

30 Ma, 2005/1, p. 13; and Flynn and Giraldez, 2005, p. 37.

31 Michael Cooper, 'The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter, 1972), pp. 423–424.

Figs. 1.1.1.5a and b Pair of six-panel folding screens with the arrival of a Portuguese ship to Nagasaki
Japan, Momoyama/early Edo period, c.1600–1625
Dimensions: 169cm x 363cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. AK-RAK-1968-1-A)

and ensured a fair distribution of profits among most citizens of Macao.[32] The silk-for-silver trade to Japan proved exceedingly profitable.[33] The Jesuits, who used their residence and college in Macao to supervise their missionary activities in Asia, made an agreement with the Portuguese in 1578 for the allotment of a fixed share of raw silk in the annual cargo as a way to finance their mission in Japan.[34] In November, with the northeast monsoon the Black Ship returned to Macao, where the silver acquired in Japan[35] was exchanged for gold, copper, ivory, porcelain, musk, pearls and more silk. From Macao the Captain-major then carried this cargo back to Goa. There was a great demand for silk in India. This was such a profitable trade for the Portuguese that they sold the bulk of their silk cargo there, shipping only a small quantity to Lisbon.[36]

In 1580, two years after the death of King John III's wife, Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598), a member of the Habsburg dynasty, became King Philip I of Portugal, ending the Avis-Beja dynasty.[37] This represented the union of the two Iberian Crowns, which lasted until 1640.

European competition begins: The Spanish establishment of Manila, and the direct trans-Pacific trade route between the Spanish colonies in the New World and Asia, and trans-Atlantic trade route to Spain [1.1.2]

The Spanish, following their Iberian neighbours in the expansion to Asia, sent an expedition led by the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) in search of a westward route to the Spice Islands, which after sailing around the southern tip of present-day South America reached the island of Cebú in the Philippines in 1521.[38] Its location was strategic, bordered by the Philippine Sea on the east, the South China Sea on the west, the Luzon Straight on the north, and the Cebeles Sea on the south. By the time Philip II succeeded his father to the throne in 1556, Spain had established a vast colonial empire in the New World that encompassed the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.[39] Nine years later, in 1565, the Spanish army led by Miguel López de Legazpi (1505?–1572) finally conquered Cebú and established the first Spanish settlement in the Philippines. A letter written in 1567 by Legazpi to King Philip II, describes the existing trade to the Philippines at the time as 'Farther north than our settlement, or almost to the northwest not far from here, are some large islands, called Luzon and Vindoro [Mindoro], where the Chinese and Japanese come every year to trade. They bring silks, woolens, bells, porcelains, perfumes, iron, tin, colored cotton cloths, and other small wares, and in return they take away gold and wax'.[40] Legazpi's desire to establish trade relations with China is clearly stated in his *Relation of the Filipinas Islands* of 1569, as he writes 'We shall also gain the commerce with China, whence come silks, porcelains, benzoin, musk, and other articles. Thus partly through commerce and partly through the articles of commerce, the settlers will increase the wealth of the land in a short time'.[41]

Direct trade between the Philippines and the viceroyalty of New Spain began four years earlier, in 1565, when the Spanish Augustinian friar and navigator Andrés de Urdañeta (1508–1568) discovered a passable eastward route across the Pacific Ocean to Acapulco. We learn from a letter written in June 1596 by Andrés de Mirandola, nephew of Legazpi and auditor of the Royal Treasury, that the ill-fated flagship that had set sail from Cebú in the year 1568 was carrying 'samples of pieces of silk and porcelain and other things as I mentioned were curious and that contented and that were pleasing to Your majesty's vassals to come to this land to serve God and Your Majesty'.[42] In 1571, Legazpi moved northwards to the Island of Luzon, where the city of Manila was founded upon a pre-existing indigenous settlement (Fig. 1.1.2.1). The founding of Manila, only four years after a Ming maritime trade ban had been

32 Ibid., pp. 425–426.

33 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*, Stanford, 1996, p. 533.

34 As noted by Alden, scholars do not agree on the precise date in which the Jesuits gained a share of the silk trade. Boxer and Cooper suggest that it was in the 1550s, but Takase believes it was much later, in about 1570. For this opinion, see Ibid., p. 533, and note 23. The revenue of the Jesuit missionaries, who were rapidly gaining influence in Japan, depended mostly on their investments in the Macao-Japan trade. Tanya Storch (ed.), *Religions and Missionaries around the Pacific, 1500–1900, The Pacific World. Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900*, Vol. 17, Burlington, VT, 2006, p. 361.

35 In Japan, new deposits of silver mines were discovered in Honshu, whilst China possessed very little silver and was willing to acquire it in exchange for gold. Japan supplied between 60 and 70 percent of China's silver during the period of 1550–1650. During the late 1530s, Japanese ships were trading large volumes of silver in Korean markets for Chinese goods, until the Koreans banned this practice in 1539.

36 Boyajian, 1993, p. 70.

37 Portugal's royal house of Avis became linked with the court of the Habsburgs, one of the principal sovereign dynasties at the time, in a double marriage celebrated in 1525 and 1526. King João III of Portugal (r. 1521–1557), who was the son of King Manuel I (r. 1495–1521), married Catherine of Austria (1507–1578). Her brother, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1555), married the sister of King João III, Isabella (1503–1539). The vast Habsburg family network connected Lisbon and Madrid with imperial courts in Brussels and Vienna.

38 This expedition led to the death of Magellan and some of his men. The surviving Spanish departed to Spain across the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope after relations with the local inhabitants deteriorated. Magellan's expedition caused immediate protests from the Portuguese Crown due to the importance that the Spice Islands had for the economy of the *Estado da Índia*. In 1529, with the treaty of Zaragoza, an agreement was finally reached and King Charles V of Spain (r. 1516–1556) sold the Spanish rights on the Spice Islands to the Portuguese Crown.

39 The viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru administrated and governed on behalf of the King of Spain the territories in the New World up until the early eighteenth century. The viceroyalty of New Spain, established in 1535, initially included all land situated north of the Isthmus of Panama. It later included upper and lower California (present-day central and south-western United States), the territory eastward along the Gulf of Mexico to Florida and the Caribbean. The viceroyalty of Peru, established almost a decade later in 1542, included all the land that covered from Panama to Tierra del Fuego (present-day Chile and Argentina) except for the coast of what is now Venezuela and part of Brazil that belonged to Portugal.

40 AGI. Filipinas, Leg. 6, ramo 1, no. 5. Carta de López de Legazpi al Rey de 23 de Junio de 1567. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. II: 1521–1569, p. 110.

41 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 58.

42 AGI, Filipinas, 29 N. 10. 8 June 1596. A transcription of the original document in Spanish and an English translation is published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Document 25, p. 270.

Fig. 1.1.2.1 *View of Manila*
Johannes Vingboons?, c.1630
Ink and wash
Cartas Castello 22, Castello 749
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

lifted, gave the Spanish Crown a foothold in the profitable Asian trade network.[43] The Philippines were financed and administered by the government of New Spain, which had been established in the capital, Mexico City. Manila became a flourishing trading and transshipment port for Spain and a crossroads for their interests in the New World, China and Japan. Manila's exceptional location gave the Spanish the ability to acquire valuable goods from Chinese and other Asian merchants who came there to trade.

By the time of the unification of Spain and Portugal in 1580, when King Philip II became also King of Portugal, and Emperor Wanli (1573–1620) was ruling China, the overseas junk trade between the ports of Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Xiamen prefectures in Fujian province and Manila was well established and highly profitable.[44] In 1589 among the junks that were granted official licences for overseas voyages, sixteen went to trade in Manila.[45] This number varied annually from only seven in 1616 to fifty in 1631.[46] After 1645 the number of junks arriving in Manila decreased sharply as a result of the civil wars in China. The relatively short distance from Fujian to Manila – a journey of about 15 to 20 days that involved relatively few risks on the sea – as well as the exceptionally high profits derived from the junk trade encouraged a large number of Fujian merchants to visit Manila clandestinely. There was a large Chinese community, mostly merchants and craftsmen of Fujianese origin, living and trading in Manila.[47] The Spanish authorities referred to them as *Sangleys*, a term supposedly derived from 'seng-li', the word for business in the Hokkien dialect. In the early 1580s, the *Sangleys* were assigned their own quarter – the *Parián* or silk market – within the Spanish walled city, *Intramuros*. When the *Parián* or silk market was destroyed by fire in 1583 (only a year after it had been founded) probably in the northeastern part of the city, the fifth Spanish Governor, Diego Ronquillo (1583–1584), relocated it to a marshy site on the Pasig River.[48] The Bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, gives a detailed description of the latter *Parián* in a letter written to Fray Sánchez dated June 2, 1588. He says 'Inside this city is the silk-market of the Sangley merchants, with shops to the number of one hundred and fifty, in which

43 Trade contact between China and the Philippines begun as early as the Tang dynasty (618–907), as evidenced by archaeological excavations in Butuan. See Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines, *Chinese and South-East Asian White Wares Found in the Philippines*, Singapore, 1993, pp. 9–13. The Island of Luzon was then part of one of the two established routes of the Chinese junk trading system, that of the Eastern Sea, that included the Muslim Sultunate of Sulu in the southern Philippines, Borneo and the Spice Islands.

44 Despite the fact that the profits of the merchants from Fujian, and partly from Guangdong and Zhejiang provinces, suffered in 1581 because of a new taxation on their goods (which was valued at 3 percent of the imports as well as for the exports), they continued to reach Manila and even increased in number. For this opinion, see Ubaldo Iaccarino, 'Manila as International Entrepôt: Chinese and Japanese Trade with the Spanish Philippines at the Close of the 16th Century', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Vol. 16, 2008, p. 80, note 25.

45 Mentioned in Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes. The Complete Record*, Oxford, 1988, p. 16.

46 William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, New York, 1959, p. 27.

47 The number of Chinese living in Manila rose from about 40 in 1570 to 10,000 in 1588. By 1603, there were an estimated 30,000 Chinese and only a few hundred Spanish settlers living in Manila. For this opinion, see William Atwell, 'Ming China and the Emerging World Economy, c. 1470–1650', in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China, The Ming Dynasty, 1398–1648*, Vol. 8, Part 2, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 390–91.

48 Geoffrey C. Gunn, *History Without Borders. The Making of an Asian World Region, 1000–1800*, Hong Kong, 2011, p. 123.

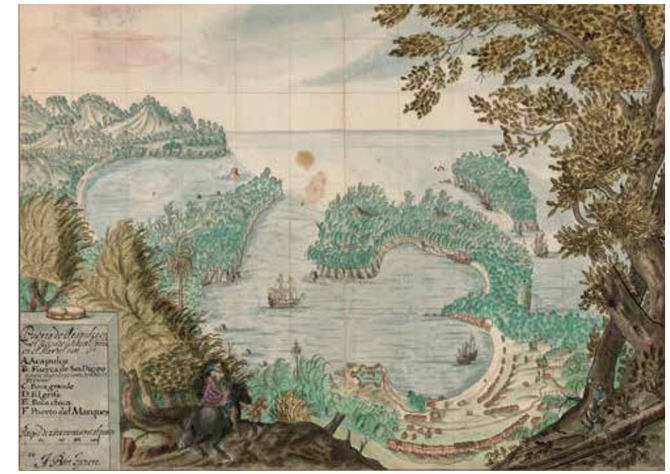


Fig. 1.1.2.2 *Puerto de Acapulco en el reino de la nueva España en el mar del sur*
A. Boot, 1628
Pen, brown ink and watercolour on paper, 42cm x 55cm
Bibliotéque Nationale de France, Paris
(acc. no. VD-31 (2) – FT4, Gaignières, 6470)

there are usually about six hundred Sangleys – besides a hundred others who live on the other side of the river opposite this city; these are married, and many of them are Christians. In addition to these there are more than three hundred others – fishermen, gardeners, hunters, weavers, brickmakers, lime-burners, carpenters, and iron-workers – who live outside the silk market, and without the city, upon the shores of the sea and river. Within the silk market are many tailors, cobblers, bakers, carpenters, candle-makers, confectioners, apothecaries, painters, silversmiths, and those engaged in other occupations'.[49] Three years later, in 1591, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, who had been appointed Governor of Manila in 1589, wrote to the King informing a larger number of shops and Chinese inhabitants. He stated that 'Within the city is the silk-market of the Parian where the Chinese merchants trade. They have 200 stores which probably employ more than 2,000 Chinese'.[50]

The huge profits earned from the trade with Chinese merchants and the potential for further riches that China offered induced the Spanish to try to enter Chinese territory. Between 1574 and 1590, they made several attempts to establish a permanent trading post on the south China coast, as the Portuguese had done earlier with Macao in Guangdong province. In 1598, the authorities in Guangzhou finally granted the Spanish a post in a place called 'El Pinal' somewhere on the coast between Guangzhou and Macao (its exact whereabouts are still unknown), but it was abandoned shortly afterwards.[51] In 1626, they were successful in establishing Fort San Salvador at Keelung and Fort Santo Domingo at Tamsui in the north of the island of Formosa, from the Spanish 'La Isla Hermosa' (The Beautiful Island) (present-day Taiwan), and thus incorporated it in the Manila-Acapulco trade route. In 1646, however, the Dutch who were at war with the Spanish over the Moluccas and had taken control of the southern part of the island in 1624, expelled them and temporarily took over the island.

The so-called Manila Galleon – known in Spanish as *Nao de China* or *Nao de Acapulco* – that traversed the Pacific from the port of Cavite in Manila to Acapulco on the west coast of the viceroyalty of New Spain was the economic foundation of

49 Cited in Ibid.

50 Cited in Alberto Santamaria, 'The Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)', in Alonso Felix Jr. (ed.), *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570–1770*, Vol. I, Manila, 1966, p. 90.

51 Boxer, 1963, pp. 61–62.

Fig. 1.1.2.3 Map of Mexico City from the city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572
Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Attributed to Antoine Du Pinet, 1564; after a plan in B. Bordone, Isolario, 1528)
Coloured engraving
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem & The Jewish National & University Library

Fig. 1.1.2.4 *Puerto de Veracruz nueva con la fuerça de San Ju° de Ulua, en el reino de la nueva España en el mar del norte*
A. Boot, 1628
Pen, brown ink and watercolour on paper, 42cm x 55cm
Bibliotéque Nationale de France, Paris
(acc. no. VD-31 (2) – FT4, Gaignières, 6468)

the colony in the Philippines. The Manila Galleon trade was primarily based on the exchange of Chinese silk,[52] for Mexican and Peruvian silver.[53] New Spain, positioned at the international crossroads of both trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, facilitated the exchange and circulation of large quantities of Chinese and Japanese manufactured goods in both the New World and the Iberian Peninsula.[54] After the Manila Galleon reached Acapulco in November or December, the imported Chinese silk, porcelain and other Asian manufactured goods were sold in the *Feria de Acapulco* (Acapulco Fair), a wholesale and retail fair that was held in January. Merchants from all the Spanish viceroyalties attended (Fig. 1.1.2.2). Most of the cargo was intended for consumption in New Spain, and was carried inland by mule train on an arduous journey over the mountains to the viceroyalty's capital, Mexico City, formerly the ancient Mexica city of Tenochtitlán. There it was sold in the city market (*Parián*) of the Plaza Mayor (present-day Zócalo area) (Fig. 1.1.2.3). The Spanish Bernardo de Balbuena (1562?–1627) in his poem *Grandeza Mexicana*, published in 1604, mentions among other Asian goods that were imported from Spain, the rest of Europe, and Manila, 'the fine porcelain of the Sangley medroso'.[55] In 1625, the English Dominican Thomas Gage, who travelled through the viceroyalty of New Spain and Guatemala until 1637, was quite impressed by the centrality of New Spain. Upon his arrival in Veracruz that year, in 1625, Gage regaled his readers with a lengthy inventory of the regions connected to the colonial New Spain. All of which, the traveller wrote 'The great trading from Mexico, and by Mexico from the East Indies, from Spain, from Cuba, Santo Domingo, Yucatán, and by Portobello from Peru, from Cartagena, and all the islands lying upon the North Sea, and by the River Alvarado going up to Zapotecas, San Idelfonso, and towards Oaxaca, and by the river Grijalva, running up to Tabasco, Los Zoques, and Chiapa de Indions, maketh this little town very rich and to abound with all the commodities of the continent land, and of all the East and West Indies' treasures'.[56] A small quantity of the Asian goods imported into Acapulco was then

52 The trade in Chinese silk from Manila to the Spanish colonies in the New World will be discussed in section 2.1.4 of Chapter II.

53 Vast supplies of silver became available following the Spanish conquest of the New World and the subsequent discovery of rich mines in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru in 1546. The majority of the silver was mined from Potosí in Peru (present-day Bolivia). Productive silver mining was also obtained from Zacatecas, located 300 miles northwest of Mexico City. Silver from these mines flowed into international circulation almost immediately, but it was not until the mercury amalgamation process of refining was disseminated throughout the Spanish colonies in the New World after about 1550 that the production soared. Silver was introduced in Manila shaped in coins (*reales de a ocho* or *peso*) or in bars. For a discussion on the importance of the trade of American silver for silk, see Katharine Bjork, 'The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571–1815', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 25–50.

54 This eastward route became part of the first global trade route in history, which stretched from Manila to Seville crossing two oceans and linking three continents regularly until 1815. It connected Manila with Acapulco across the Pacific, Acapulco with Mexico City overland and finally Veracruz with Seville (later Cadiz) across the Atlantic. For a recent discussion on the Manila Galleon trade and the global trade that emerged in the late sixteenth century, see Arturo Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy*, Lanham, Boulder, New York and London, 2015.

55 The transcription of the original text in Spanish reads: 'La fina loza del Sangley medroso'. Bernardo de Balbuena, *Grandeza Mexicana*, Sociedad de Bibliotecas Mexicanas, Mexico, 1604, Chapter 3, p. 77. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcjx073. Accessed June 2014.

56 J. Eric Thompson (ed.), *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World*, Norman, 1958, pp. 35–36.

Fig. 1.1.2.5 Map of Seville from the city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*
Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg
Cologne, 1588
34.5cm x 51cm
© Altea Gallery, London

carried by mules via Puebla de los Angeles and Japala to the port of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico (Fig. 1.1.2.4), where it was loaded onto the Spanish Treasure Fleet that traversed the Atlantic to Seville in Spain (Fig. 1.1.2.5), after calling at Havana in present-day Cuba.[57] In addition to these trans-oceanic trading ventures, a significant coastal trading network serviced other Spanish colonial settlements and carried such goods, sometimes clandestinely, between the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.

By 1604 the Spanish and Portuguese had suffered great losses after the attacks of the Dutch in Asia. This is clear in a letter sent from Goa by the Englishman Thos. Wilson to the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), in England in July of that year, stating that 'The riches brought home by the Spanish ships, but for the Chinese stuffs were none at all; the Hollanders, by taking the year before the St. Tiago and St. Valentine coming from China, one worth a million the other 400,000 (ducats? *torn*), having disfurnished Goa and those parts of all China stuffs, which with other prizes since taken, had quite spoiled the commerce in the south parts, and no man dares budge forth or venture anything'.[58]

A report to Emperor Chongzhen (1628–1644) written in 1630 by He Qiaoyuan (1558–1632), a Ming court official and historian from Fujian, clearly shows that silk was sold by the Chinese junk traders at a much inflated sale price in the Philippines, and that porcelain from Jiangxi, in all probability Jingdezhen, was sought after by the Spanish. This Chinese source records that 'When our Chinese subjects journey to trade in the [Indian Ocean], the [foreigners] trade the goods we produce for the goods of others. But when engaging in trade in Luzon we have designs solely on silver coins … A hundred jin of Huzhou silk yarn worth 100 taels can be sold at a price of 200 to 300 taels there. Moreover, porcelain from Jiangxi as well as sugar and fruit from my native Fujian, all are vividly desired by the Foreigners'.[59] Although Macao and Manila were competitors in the global silk-for-silver trade in the 1630s, they sometimes collaborated with each other.[60] According to Schurz, the value of the annual silk imports from Macao to Manila between 1632 and 1636 was estimated at about a million and a half pesos.[61] This is, as noted by Flynn and Giraldez, six times greater than the legal limit imposed by the 1633 royal prohibition of the Macao-Manila trade.[62]

57 In 1526, Emperor Charles V issued a royal decree stating that all ships were to travel across the Atlantic in convoy to counteract frequent attacks on their ships by English, French and Dutch raiders. By the 1560s, the Treasure Fleet system was well established and centered on two fleets that sailed from Spain to the New World every year: the Tierra Firme and the New Spain. The two fleets returning to Spain with treasures from the New World sailed to the Caribbean in early spring. The Tierra Firme fleet stopped at Cartagena in present-day Colombia to load gold and emeralds before calling at Nombre de Dios (after 1585 replaced by Portobello as port-of-call) in present-day Panama to load Peruvian silver and gold that had been packed overland across the Isthmus of Panama. The New Spain fleet went on to the harbor of San Juan de Ulúa near Veracruz in New Spain (present-day Mexico) to load specie from the royal mint in Mexico City as well as colonial products, such as cochineal, cacao, indigo and hides. The two fleets would later meet up in the port of Havana to be refitted for the return voyage to Spain in the early summer. The bulk of the precious metals were carried in large, heavily armed royal warships, while smaller, privately owned vessels carried other goods.

58 Extract from Correspondence, Spain. July 28/Aug. 7, 1604, Bayonne. W. Noel Salisbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan*, (Hereafter cited as CPS, Colonial), Volume 2: 1513–1616, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1864, p. 142. Accessed September 2014. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/east-indies-china-japan/vol2/p142.

59 Cited in Richard Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700*, Berkeley, 1996, p. 201.

60 Flynn and Giraldez, 2005, p. 41.

61 Schurz, 1959, p. 135.

62 Flynn and Giraldez, 2005, p. 60.

Shifting European powers [1.2]

Dutch and English trading companies enter and partly gain control of the Asian maritime trade

The *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company or VOC) [1.2.1]

By the end of the sixteenth century, the taste for acquiring Asian manufactured goods continued to grow, not only in Portugal, Spain and the Southern Netherlands, but also in the rest of Europe. For much of the sixteenth century, the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands in northwestern Europe were part of the Spanish Habsburg Empire.[63] When King Philip II invaded the region in 1568 to quell support of the Protestant Reformation, the seven northern, Dutch-speaking provinces revolted.[64] In 1585, Philip II of Spain/I of Portugal, as part of his economic warfare against the Northern Netherlands, imposed an embargo on all Dutch trade and shipping throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Prior to Philip's embargo, the Dutch served as middleman between Northern and Southern Europe and used their position to make hefty profits reselling spices and exotic Asian goods imported by the Portuguese.[65]

Their desire to participate in the highly profitable trade of East Asian spices drove them to search for a route to Asia and this ambition put the Dutch in direct competition with the Portuguese monopoly.[66] Until then these goods, which were expensive and reached Europe only in limited quantities, were acquired in Antwerp and Lisbon, where the Dutch visited regularly.[67] After numerous failed attempts to establish trade contacts with Asia, an expedition led by Cornelis de Houtman round the Cape of Good Hope and reached Bantam (near present-day Banten) on the island of Java (present-day Indonesia) in 1596 (Fig. 1.2.1.1).[68] Two years later, in 1598, a fleet of eight ships under the command of Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck (1564–1638) and Wybrandt Warwijck arrived in Bantam. Although the profits of these expeditions

63 Emperor Charles V, governing from Brussels, not only ruled the dukedom of Burgundy, which included seventeen northern provinces (comprising most of present-day Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg and the region of Nord-Pas de Calais in France) but also Castile and Aragon in Spain, as King Charles I (r. 1516–1556). In 1549, Charles V promulgated the Pragmatic Sanction edict consolidating the seventeen provinces as a state, independent of the Holy Roman Empire, and subject to his rule. When in 1555, Charles V abdicated to enter a monastery, he divided his empire between his brother, Ferdinand, who acquired the original domain of the Holy Roman Empire, and his son, Philip (future King Philip II), who acquired Spain and the Southern Netherlands.

64 The leader of this revolt was William of Orange (1553–1584), a German prince with vast estates in the Netherlands, who had been brought up at the court of Charles V in Brussels as a loyal subject of the Spanish Crown. Eleven years later, in 1579, a treaty was signed to unify these seven provinces into a Protestant Union, known as the Union of Utrecht. William, known as 'the silent', allied himself with the Protestant cause and led his people into a war against Spain that would last for eighty years (1568–1648).

65 Due to the strategic geographic location of the Netherlands on the North Sea, the Dutch developed a strong naval force using modern ships and skilled sailors. Dutch merchants were able to create extensive trading networks in Europe and the Mediterranean that allowed them to participate in large-scale trade of high value merchandise. Spice trading with Portugal had been profitable for Dutch merchants during the years of Habsburg rule. In 1584, Portugal that was technically at war with the Netherlands (after the union of the Iberian Crowns in 1580) diverted the spice trade to the merchants in the southern provinces of the Netherlands.

66 In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) had granted the Portuguese exclusive rights to sail around the Cape of Good Hope.

67 The products that the Portuguese and Spanish imported from Asia and the New World to Lisbon and Seville were carried further north in Holland and Zeeland ships. Antwerp had been the great distributing centre for northern and middle Europe, but after its fall in 1585 and the consequent closure of the Scheldt by the rebels of the Northern provinces, the trading towns of Holland and Zeeland, and particularly Amsterdam, inherited its position.

68 This route, which had been kept secret by the Portuguese, was revealed in 1592 by the Dutch Protestant merchant Jan Hyughen van Linschoten, who in 1583 travelled in a Portuguese carrack to Goa. There he worked as secretary to the Portuguese archbishop for six years. His treatise *Reysgheschrift etc.* (*Travel Document of the Navigation of the Portuguese to the Orient*), published in 1595, contained explicit information and sailing directions to the islands of the South Sea and Indian Ocean, and his *Itinerario*, published a year later exposed how the Portuguese held their trading monopoly. Cornelis de Houtman faced scurvy, piracy and loss of many sailors in his voyage.

Fig. 1.2.1.1 *Situs civitatis Bantam et Navium Insulae Iauae delineatio from Varthema's Travels*
Ludovico di Varthema
Leipzig: Heironymus Megister, 1610,
7.5cm x 11.5cm
© Altea Gallery, London

were not as high as expected, the voyages were instrumental in getting further access to the riches of the Spice Islands. The Dutch historian Pieter Christiaensz Bor (1559–1635), in his *De oospronck, begin ende vervolgh der Netherlandsche oorlogen*, published between 1595 and 1634, describes the treasures brought back to Amsterdam by Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck: 'Never had such ships with such rich cargos reached Amsterdam, as they had 400 loads of pepper, 100 loads of cloves, except of the mace, nutmeg and cinnamon, porcelain, silk, silk cloths and other valuable items (Fig. 1.2.1.2).[69]

The first contacts between the Northern Netherlands and Japan began during the Momoyama period, when the ship *Liefde*, under the command of the Englishman Will Adams, arrived in Bungo by accident, in 1600. The following year, in 1601, Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck left Ternate with two ships, heading for Patani on the northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, but being blown out of his course by a storm near Borneo arrived near Portuguese Macao. The request to conduct trade there was not granted. That same year, in 1601, Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck arrived in the coast of China. Direct trade in China, then under the rule of Emperor Wanli, was not possible. The profit obtained from the sale of the cargo of the Portuguese carrack, the *São Tiago*, which was captured by the Dutch off St. Helena on its homeward journey from Goa to Lisbon, greatly stimulated the Dutch interest in trade with China. The cargo, sold in the autumn of 1602 in the port of Middleburg in the province of Zeeland, included spices, amber and musk, pearls, gold jewellery, raw silk, silk and cotton cloth, bedcovers, gilded woodwork, ebony, and a considerable quantity of porcelain, which belonged in part to the Florentine traveller Francesco Carletti.[70] This same year, the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company, or VOC) was formed as a chartered company to trade directly with Asia. The Dutch East India Company (hereafter VOC) became actively involved in the trade with Asia. In 1609, the Northern Netherlands became the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces (hereafter Dutch Republic) governed by the States General.

The VOC made several failed attempts to establish a permanent trading post in China. In 1609, however, the VOC was able to open a trading factory at Hirado on the western coast of the island of Kyūshū, near Nagasaki.[71] The VOC faced fierce

69 Vol. VI, book 36, fol. 38. J. Keuning (ed.), *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck, 1598–1600*, Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-vereenging 44, 1940, p. lxxx: V. I am grateful to Jan van Campen for this bibliographical reference and the translation of the text. Cited in Canepa, 2014, p. 35.

70 Carletti's porcelain carried on board the *São Tiago* will be briefly discussed in section 3.2.1 of Chapter III.

71 Two Dutch East Indiamen arrived at Hirado with a letter from Prince Maurice of Nassau requesting permission from the *shogūn* Tokugawa Ieyasu to establish a permanent trading factory in Japan. This led to the entrance of two VOC envoys, Abraham van den Broeck and Nicholaes Puyck, to the capital city of

Fig. 1.2.1.2 Profile of the city of Amsterdam from the river IJ, made of 3 separate plates
Print maker: François van den Hoeye; publisher: Peter Queradt, 1620–1625
Print
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
(museum no. RP-P-1902-A-22401)

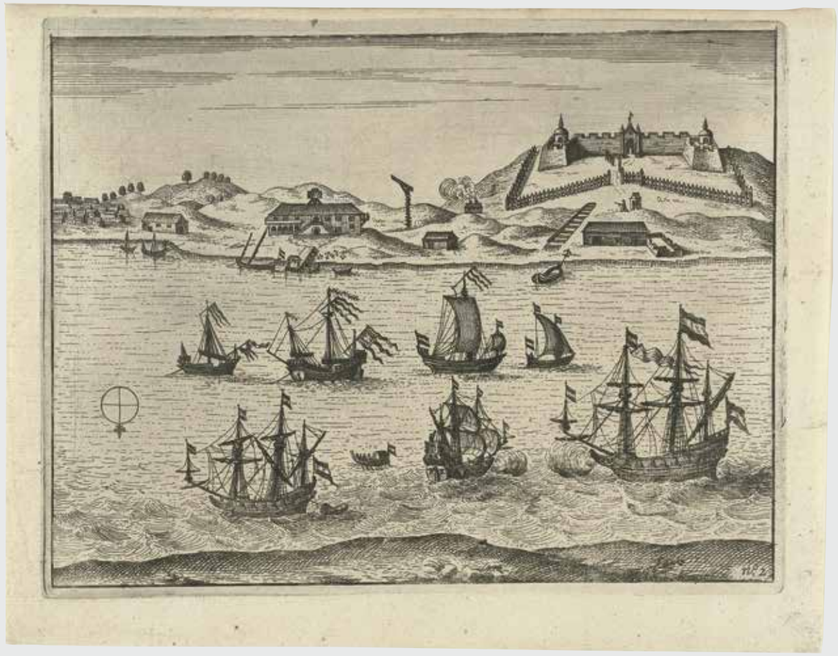


Fig. 1.2.1.3 Fort Zeelandia in Taiwan, 1632
Anonymous, 1644–1646,
Etching, 16cm x 20.8cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. RP-P-0B-75.470)

competition with the Portuguese, who until then were the only Europeans trading directly with Japan and supplying them with Chinese goods.[72] Five years later, in 1614, a general commission was issued by the States General that allowed the VOC to engage in privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships in Asia.

In 1619, the fourth VOC Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen seized from the Sultan of Bantam the small port of nearby Jakarta, and renamed it Batavia (Fig. 1.2.1.3). The VOC headquarters were set up with a central government, the *Hoge Regering*, which supervised and administered all trade in Asia. Chinese goods were initially acquired at Bantam, where the Dutch had established a trading factory in 1603, and shipped to Batavia, located 90 kilometers to the west. Direct trade with China was so valuable that the Dutch established a fortified settlement in 1624 at Fengguiwei, a peninsula situated in the south of Penghu Islands, known by the Portuguese as the Pescadores (Fishermen's Islands), off the western coast of present-day Taiwan in the Taiwan Strait. That year, the Ming military troops besieged the VOC fortress and forced them to move to the larger island in the western Pacific Ocean, known at the time as Formosa (Fig. 1.2.1.3). The location of Formosa was crucial to the VOC. It was within easy access for the merchants and migrants from Fujian and for the Dutch, it was the ideal post to manage the highly profitable trade between China, Japan and Batavia; to fend off Portuguese and Spanish rivals, and ultimately to cut off the Manila-Fujian silk-for-silver trade. The Dutch, as well as private Chinese traders, took over this silk trade in the early seventeenth century, using Formosa as an intermediary base.[73] Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer were some of the many Asian goods used by the VOC as part of its inter-Asian trade, and large quantities of porcelain were also shipped to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic, where it was widely sold.

When the Portuguese were expelled from Japan and the country was closed for all Westerners in 1639 (*sakoku*), with the exception of the Dutch, the VOC was then moved in 1641 to Deshima, a small artificial island in Nagasaki harbor, which had originally been built to house the Portuguese merchants and isolate them from the Japanese population. By then, the VOC had established itself in locations across the Indonesian archipelago. That same year, in 1641, the Dutch captured from the Portuguese the strategic port of Malacca.

Edo (present-day Tokyo) on a diplomatic mission. The delegation was received favorably at the court and the trade permit was issued.

72 The incident with the Portuguese carrack *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, which took place a few months after the Dutch factory was established, resulted not only in the loss of the ship and its cargo, but also in the reinforcement of the Dutch presence in Japan. C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, London and Berkeley, 1951, pp. 272–285.

73 After 1644, the number of Chinese junks arriving in Formosa decreased considerably as a result of the civil wars in China. The lucrative VOC trade from Formosa was further impeded after 1655, when the first Qing emperor, Shunzhi (1644–1661), imposed a ban on foreign exports to eradicate Ming loyalist resistance harboured by the maritime powers. From then on the junk trade fell into the hands of the Ming loyalist and powerful sea-merchant Zheng Zhilong, who wanted to overthrow the Manchu rule on the mainland.

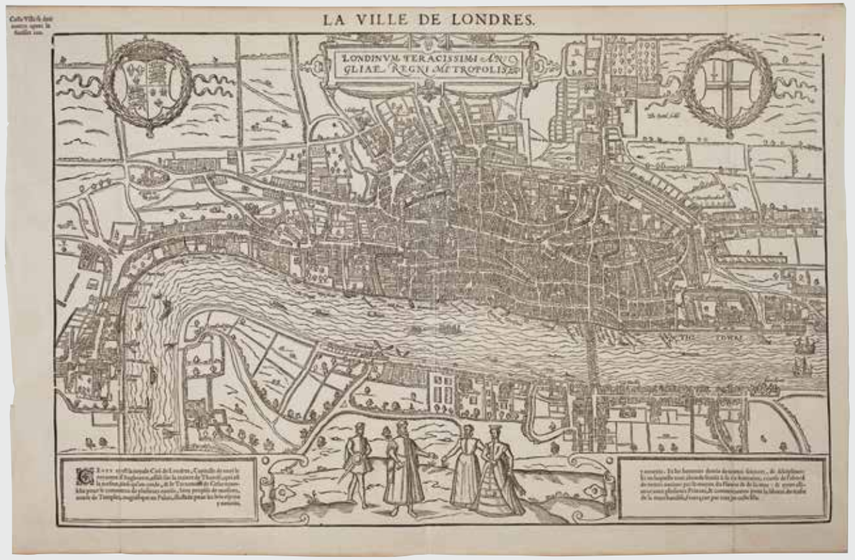


Fig. 1.2.2.1 *La Ville de Londres. Londinium Feracissimi Angliae Regni Metropolis*
François de Belleforest
Paris, 1575
Woodcut, 32cm x 49cm
© Altea Gallery, London

Fig. 1.2.2.2 *The Market in Bantam*
Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereeninghde Nederlandtsche geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, published by Isaac Commelin, Amsterdam 1646
Atlas van Stolk (inv. no. 50442-535)

The East India Company (EIC) [1.2.2]

In the early sixteenth century, English merchants traded with Antwerp but some of them traded directly with the Levant in the eastern Mediterranean. Trade with the Levant was resumed when the Levant Company was founded in 1581, initially as a joint-stock company and later becoming a regulated company with a monopoly over English trade in the Ottoman Empire, which primarily imported spices, and cotton wool and yarn.[74] The remarks made by the German Leopold von Wedel, who travelled to England in 1584–1585, in his dairy stating that 'Rare objects are not to be seen in England, but it is a fertile country, producing all sorts of corn, but not wine', indicates that the luxury imported objects that were seen in Germany were not available for sale in England at this time.[75] As Lack has noted, only a few people in England would have been able to acquire Asian objects before the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603).[76]

At the turn of the sixteenth century, England was still dependent on Italian and Dutch merchants to acquire spices. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth I chartered the Governor and Company of Merchants of London into the East Indies (Fig. 1.2.2.1). This organisation later became known as the East India Company or EIC (hereafter EIC), and was granted a monopoly of trade in all lands touched by the Indian Ocean, from the southern tip of Africa to the Spice Islands for a period of 15 years.[77] The EIC was founded to compete with the Dutch monopoly on the spice trade. The fleet of 1601, commanded by James Lancaster, went to Asia to set up the first EIC factory at Bantam, to purchase pepper and spices.[78] Edmund Scott, who stayed at Bantam as one of nine factors from February 1602 to October 1605, described the city as a 'China towne', where Chinese merchants residing there dominated the pepper trade (Fig. 1.2.2.2).[79] This notion is enforced by a letter sent by George Ball in 1617, who describes the English trade at Bantam as 'most with Chinamen'.[80]

In 1613, the English established a factory in Hirado, but failure to establish good relationships with the ruling *shogūn* and continuous problems with the Dutch merchants led to their presence in Japan for only ten years, until 1623. As Lux has noted, William Adams sent a letter on January 1613 observing that on China goods great profit might be made, and recommended English merchants to 'get the handling or trade with the Chinese', as the EIC would not need to send money out of England, 'for there is gold and silver in Japan in abundance', as well as iron, copper and minerals.[81] From a letter written in December 1613 by Captain John Saris to Richard Cocks, Captain of the EIC factory in Hirado, were lean that the EIC servants in Patani were instructed to 'procure Chinese wares, and return to Siam'.[82] The EIC also acquired Chinese goods at Macassar. George Cokayne wrote to Captain Jourdain the following year, in 1614, stating that 'A junk from China, the first that ever came to this place, with great store of Chinese commodities'.[83] Direct trade contacts between China and England began just over two decades later, during the reign of Emperor Chongzhen, when Captain Wedell landed in Canton, in 1637. His mission, however, to establish trade relations failed. From the early establishment of their factories, the EIC traded on credit with the Chinese as a measure to contain the Dutch political and commercial penetration into the region.

74 T. S. Willam, 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 70, No. 276 (July 1955), pp. 399–410.

75 Cited in Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Vol. II: A Century of Wonder*, Chicago, 1977, p. 33.

76 Ibid.

77 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume III: A Century of Advance*, Chicago and London, 1993, p. 74.

78 Ibid., p. 75.

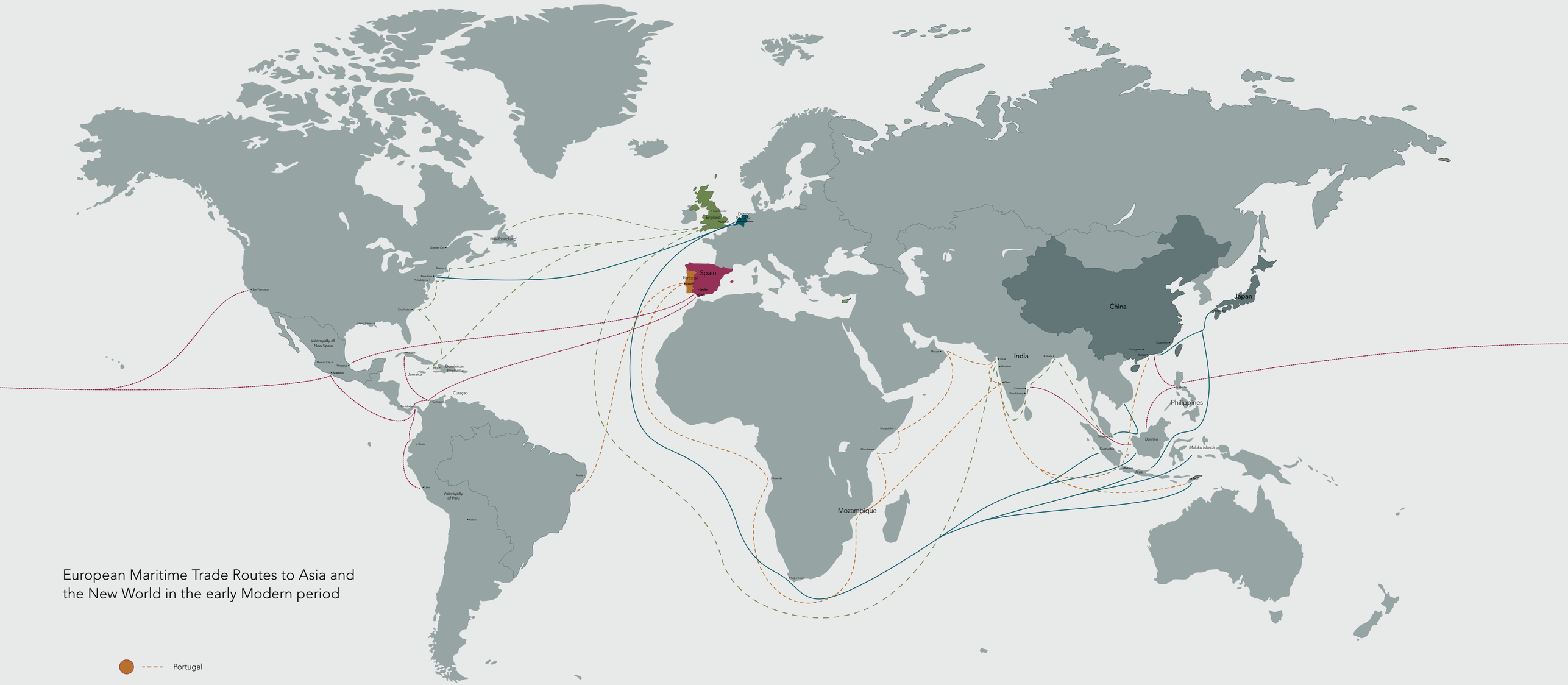
79 Cited in Jonathan E. Lux, *Spelling the Dragon: The Invention of China in Early Modern England*, unpublished PhD. Thesis, Saint Louis University, 2014, p. 173.

80 Cited in Ibid.

81 'East Indies: December 1612', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, p. 245. Cited in Lux, 2014, pp. 158–159, note 174.

82 'East Indies: December 1613', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, pp. 264–267.

83 'East Indies: October 1615', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, pp. 430–440.



European Maritime Trade Routes to Asia and the New World in the early Modern period

- Portugal
- Spain
- Nothern Netherlands/Dutch Republic
- England

[Chapter II]

Trade in Chinese Silk to Western Europe and the New World

1500–1644

This chapter relies mainly on primary and secondary printed sources, which contain valuable information relating to the silk trade as well as to the varied types and quantities of Chinese silks[1] (raw silks, woven silk cloths, and finished silk products) imported into Western Europe and the New World via the Atlantic and Pacific sea trade routes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. China was renowned for its high quality silks first brought to Europe overland via the trade route that came to be known in the late nineteenth century as the Silk Road, the finest being produced in the eastern coastal provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.[2] Silk, which was among the earliest of the global trade goods,[3] remained China's major export throughout the Ming dynasty. This was probably due to both the introduction of improved varieties of mulberry (of smaller size that could be planted closer together and harvested sooner) and the unprecedented number of imperial silk weaving workshops established in regions with a developed silk industry. The workshop in the capital, Beijing, manufactured satins and tabbies for imperial and palace use. Those in Nanjing, the former capital during the early Ming, manufactured silks for officials and official gifts.[4] Silks were also sent to the court from official silk workshops outside the capital, located at Suzhou in Jiangsu and at Hangzhou in Zhejiang, the latter renowned for its twills, brocades, and satins, as well as for local types of gauzes and weaves.[5] Exported from the eastern ports of Canton and Amoy,[6] silk was a much coveted trade good because it was high in value, light in weight and easy to pack, store and transport.[7]

Letters, accounts, chronicles and treatises written by Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and English merchants, explorers and clerics who either travelled themselves to Asia and the New World or based their writings on reports from others who visited these distant places during the period of this study, provide detailed descriptions and personal comments concerning the material qualities, rich colour schemes and decorative patterns, and sometimes even of the purchase or sell price of the various types of silks that were shipped to Europe and the New World as merchandise, private consignments or gifts. Other textual sources such as ships registers, probate inventories, wills, dowry letters, and notarial records, allow us to better understand the functioning of this intercontinental silk exchange in the early modern period, particularly the commercial networks through which these imported silks circulated, and the different ways in which they were acquired, used and appreciated within the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English societies in Western Europe as well as the multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies in the New World. Moreover, they show how these silks, despite the existence of sumptuary laws imposed by governing authorities against luxurious dress and ornamentation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[8] were inextricably linked to the construction of an individual's identity, serving as visible social indices, as well as of the Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, serving both as material testimonies of the Iberian expansion to Asia and the missionary work carried out in this distant region of the world.

Although visual sources depicting silks of the late Ming dynasty are exceedingly rare, a small number of surviving woven and embroidered silk cloths, and finished silk products housed in public and private collections in China and the rest of the world help us visualize the types of silks traded by the Europeans and more importantly, those that were made as special orders for the Iberian market for both religious and secular use during the early period of European trade with China, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

1 Unless otherwise specified, Chinese silks will be referred to as silks throughout this doctoral dissertation.

2 Vainker, 2004, p. 58; and Rui D'Ávila Lourido, 'The Impact of the Macao-Manila Silk Trade from the Beginnings to 1640', in Vadime Elisseff (ed.), *The Silk Roads. Highways of Culture and Commerce*, New York and Oxford, 2000, p. 226.

3 Regular commerce in silk began when the Han emperor Wu (r. 141–187 BC) sent Zhang Qian in 138 BC to seek allies in Central Asia. Although Zhang failed to attract support, his embassy attracted interest in the trade of silk and other Chinese products among the peoples of Central Asia, and later Persia and the Roman Empire. The Silk Road stretched from China to Antioch on the Mediterranean Sea, and onwards by sea to Rome. Vainker, 2004, pp. 58–60; and Morris Rossabi, 'The Silk Trade in China and Central Asia', in Watt and Wardwell, 1997, p. 7.

4 Vainker, 2004, pp. 144–145.

5 There were a total of twenty-two official workshops established across eight provinces. In Jiangsu, workshops were also located in Zhenjiang and Songjiang. In Zhejiang, besides Hangzhou, they were located in Shaoxing, Yanzhou, Jinhua, Quzhou, Taizhou, Wenzhou, Ningbo, Huzhou and Jiaxing. In Fujian workshops were located at Fuzhou and Quanzhou; in Anhui at Huizhou, Ningguo and Guangde; and in Shandong at Jinan. There were also minor silk workshops in Jiangxi, Sichuan and Henan. Ibid., p. 145. The various types of silks produced will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter.

6 Pearson, 2007, p. 93.

7 Ma, 2005, p. 21.

8 Sumptuary legislation was passed intermediately in Europe during the Middle Ages and early modern period to regulate the consumption of goods. Sumptuary laws not only constituted a legal instrument of economic and social control, but also served to intervene on politics. They focused mostly on items of apparel, either limiting or prohibiting certain social groups from wearing certain types of clothing and accessories, and the containment of excessive expending and luxury. For more information on this subject, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, Fall 2009, pp. 597–617; and Saúl Martínez Bermejo, 'Beyond Luxury: Sumptuary Legislation in 17th Century Castile', in Günther Lottes, Eero Medijainen and Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Making, Using and Resisting the Law in European History*, Pisa, 2008, pp. 93–108. For a detailed study of the cultural and monetary value of silk in Europe, especially in Italy, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, see Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1550*, New Haven, 2008.

Silk Trade to the Iberian Peninsula, the Southern Netherlands and the Spanish Colonies in the New World [2.1]

Trade to Portugal [2.1.1]

The earliest documentary reference to the presence of silk in Portugal dates to 1501. On returning from India that year, the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral presented to Manuel I many exotic goods, including porcelain and 'golden coffers full of pieces of damasks and satins from China', which he had acquired from the captain of a ship from Cambay.[9] As discussed in Chapter I, after securing trading posts in Goa in 1509, Malacca in 1511, and Hormuz in 1515, the Portuguese gained access to a variety of Chinese luxury goods that were much sought after in Europe, particularly silk and porcelain.

Evidence of silk in Portugal before the settlement of Macao in 1557

The Portuguese saw an unprecedented opportunity of economic profit in a large-scale trade of raw silk,[10] woven silk cloths and finished silk products[11] by sea via Canton and Malacca. Tomé Pires in his *Suma Oriental*, written in Malacca between 1512 and 1515, informs us of the exchanges made at anchorages off Canton.[12] He notes that '…the chief merchandise from China is raw white silk in large quantities, and loose coloured silks, many in quantity, satins of all colours, damask chequered *enrolados* in all colours, taffetas and other thin silk cloths called *xaas*, and many other kinds of all colours…'.[13] A letter written in Cochin by the Florentine explorer Andrea Corsali (1487–?), then working in the service of the Portuguese, to the Grand Duke Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence (1479–1516) on 6 January, 1516, mentions that 'The merchants of the land of China also make voyages to Malacca across the Great Gulf to get cargoes of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls,

9 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia (c.1563–1583)*, Lisbon, 1858, Vol. I, p. 141. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 124.

10 Raw silk refers to silk retaining its natural gum or sericin. Scott, 1993, p. 239.

11 Finished silk products include both clothing and furnishings for the household, church, and interior/exterior spaces.

12 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Chinese commodities on the India route in the late 16th-early 17th century', *Bulletin of Portuguese – Japanese Studies*, Vol. 20, 2010, p. 83.

13 Cited in Armando Cortesano (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires. An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to China, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues. Pilot-Major of the Armada that Discovered Banda and the Moluccas*, Vol. I, London, 1944, p. 125. The text of this citation from volume I was translated by Cortesano from the Portuguese MS in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Deputés, Paris (ff. 106–7).

14 Quoted in Chang Tien Tse, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*, Leyden, 1934, p. 36. The author used Yule's translation as given in Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thiter*, Vol. I, London, 1913, p. 180. According to Longworth Dames the date of this letter should be corrected to one year later, that is to January 6th 1516, because it alludes to the death of Albuquerque that occurred after his arrival from Hormuz at Goa on December 16th, 1515. Mansel Longworth Dames (trans. and ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants/written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, Vol. II, New Delhi, second reprint 2002, p. 211, note. 1.

15 Mentioned in Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Chinese Textiles for Portuguese Tastes', in Amelia Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe. The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2013, p. 47.

16 Cited in Cortesano (ed.), Vol. I, 1944, p. xlii. The author notes that the Portuguese humanist and historian, João de Barros (1496–1579), gives a slightly different list of goods confiscated and states that the goods were taken from Pires. Thus, it is unclear whether the confiscated goods belonged to Pires and his companions or exclusively to Pires.

17 The painting *Nandu Fanhui Tu* (Roaring Gathering in the Southern Capital), bearing a spurious signature of Chiu Ying (c.1510–1551), depicts a busy street and market in and outside Nanking city. Published in Hsu Wen-Chin, 'Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen During the Late Ming and Early Qing Period', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 120, Issue 1, 1988, p. 136, note 1, and p. 155, pl. I.

18 Margarete Braun-Ronsdorf, *The History of the Handkerchief*, Leigh-on-Sea, 1967, pp. 11–24.

19 Damião de Góis, *Chronica de Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel composta per Damiam de Goes diudida em quarto partes …- Em Lisboa: em casa de Francisco Correa*, 1566–1567, pt. 4, chap. 25, fol. 31. Digital copy from Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (res-22-a). Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

20 Ibid.

21 Archaeological excavations in China indicate thus far that *kesi* tapestry, based on ancient Near East weaving techniques, developed during the Tang dynasty. The *kesi* weave is composed of a single colour warp thread and weft threads of various colours, which instead of passing from selvage to selvage are carried back and forth, interweaving with only the part of the warp that is required for a particular area of the design. *Kesi* tapestries of the Ming dynasty usually include sparkling gold threads and peacock feathers. In the early Ming, *kesi* silk tapestry weaving was used only to make relatively small articles. Large articles began to be made during the reign of Emperor Xuande (1426–1435) after the establishment of an imperial silk tapestry workshop, which included decorative hangings copying paintings and calligraphic works as well as men's and women's clothing (robes, stockings) and household furnishings (bedding, screens, curtains, wall hangings, table skirts, and chair covers). Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks*, New Heaven and London, 2012, p. 236, pp. 404–405 and p. 524. For *kesi* examples dating to the Ming dynasty, see Ibid., p. 405, figs. 8.47 and 8.48, and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48, fig. 45.

22 A detail of this *kesi* tapestry is published in Kuhn, 2012, p. 405, fig. 8.47.

23 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, 'Inventário da guarda-ropa de D. Manuel', *Archivo histórico portuguez, vol. 2, London, 1904*, p. 388. Mentioned in Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

24 During the Ming dynasty there were mainly two types of gauze: *luo* and *sha*. Sumptuary laws published in

tin, porcelain, and silk and wrought stuffs of all kinds, such as damasks, satins, and brocades of extraordinary richness…'.[14] We learn from these accounts that besides white raw silk, a variety of woven silk cloths were available for sale in many different colours in Canton as well as in Malacca.

The giant Portuguese merchant ships of the *Carreira da Índia* transported large quantities of silk and other Asian luxury goods from India to Western Europe at the time. In 1518, for instance, over two and a half tons of silk and other Chinese cloths were shipped from Cochin to Lisbon.[15] The earliest textual evidence of woven silk and silk clothing items traded in quantities by Portuguese private individuals can be found in Pires's *Suma Oriental*. Pires states that when he and his companions were imprisoned in Canton in 1522, the goods confiscated from them included '…one thousand five hundred or six hundred rich pieces of silk, a matter of four thousand silk handkerchiefs which the Chinese call *sheu-pa* [*xopas*, or shoupai in pinyin] of Nanking'.[16] Silk handkerchiefs imported from Nanking (Nanjing), a city with a thriving commercial and handicraft industry in the late Ming,[17] would have been much appreciated at that time in Europe, where locally made embroidered or lace-trimmed handkerchiefs were regularly used at the courts in Spain, Italy, France and England.[18]

Portuguese textual references on the presence of silk in the royal court of Lisbon after direct trade with China was established in 1513, or the subsequent years of clandestine trade (1522–1544), are scarce. The earliest known reference appears in the 1566–1567 *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei Dom Emanuel* written by the Portuguese humanist and scholar Damião de Góis (1502–1574). In Chapter XXV of the fourth part of the chronicle, he describes the Chinese cloth Fernão Peres de Andrade handed to Manuel I at the royal palace in Évora in 1520 as being painted with landscapes, orchards, and figures of Chinese deities.[19] Pacheco Ferreira has suggested that De Góis may have been referring to an extremely fine type of silk tapestry weaving known as *kesi* (cut silk or carved silk),[20] which flourished during the Ming dynasty, especially in the imperial silk tapestry weaving workshops of Beijing and Nanjing and the private silk workshop of Suzhou (Fig. 2.1.1.1).[21] The Chinese cloth depicting deities handed to Manuel I may have been of a type similar to the *kesi* silk tapestry copying the scroll *Celebration at Jasper Lake* (*Yaochi jiqing*) in the Palace Museum, Beijing.[22] A brocade liturgical vestment is listed in the inventory of Manuel I's wardrobe, drawn up after his death in 1522, which according to Pacheco Ferreira may have been made entirely from or incorporated pieces of Chinese cloth.[23] Only two years earlier, in 1520, the royal monopoly over trade had been extended to silk, pepper, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, sealing wax, shellac, and borax, as well as gold, silver, copper and coral. Woven silk cloths are also mentioned among the possessions of his son and successor, King John III (hereafter John III). The inventory drawn up in 1534 lists more than 100 yards of gauze[24] and over 4 yards of satin[25] from China, as well as pieces made of silk cloth, including one set of three flags, one in damask[26] bearing the Portuguese coat of arms and two in white taffeta[27] bearing the cross of the Order of Christ.[28] It is not known whether these latter pieces and the liturgical vestment listed in Manuel I's inventory were made to order in China or were cut and sewn up in Portugal by tailors or embroiderers of the royal household, for use in court ritual occasions.[29] An inventory drawn up in 1528 of the possessions of King John's wife and maternal first cousin, Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), lists 53 *covads*[30] of white silk used for various clothing.[31] Catherine was the youngest daughter of Philip I of Castile (r. June–Sept. 1506), the first Habsburg ruler of Castile and Joanna of Castile (1479–1555),

Fig. 2.1.1.1 *Kesi* slit tapestry weaving
Silk and metallic thread
China, Ming dynasty
Dimensions: 224.2cm x 180.3cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Seymour Fund, 1960 (acc. no. 60.1)

the *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*) indicate that complex *luo* gauze, a type of mid-weight silk fabric woven with crossing ends, was used to make ceremonial costumes and ordinary clothing of the emperor and empresses, the court dress of the prince, and the audience uniforms of the bulwark-commandant of the state, the seventh highest of eight ranks of imperial nobility. *Sha* gauze, a type of thin silk woven fabric in which one set of crossing (doup) ends and one set of fixed ends are crossed the same way after each shuttle movement. The little holes of this type of gauze make it lightweight and breathable, thus appropriate for hot and humid weather. For a discussion on these gauzes and their various decorative techniques, as well as images of surviving Ming examples, see Kuhn, 2012, pp. 387–393, figs. 8.23–8.35, and pp. 526–527.

25 Silk satin (*duan*) is a fabric with a lustrous surface, a smooth appearance, and a soft feel. During the Ming dynasty there were four main varieties of satin: monochrome patterned satin damask (*anhua duan*), satin woven with gold (*zhijin duan*), plain satin (*suduan*), and brocaded satin (*zhuanghua duan*). From the fourteenth century onwards, the most common silk satin was a monochrome five-end damask weave (*wumei duan*) consisting of a five-end warp satin ground and a five-pick weft satin pattern. For a discussion on Ming satin weaves and surviving examples, see Kuhn, 2012, pp. 375–384, figs. 8.4–8.17.

26 Twill damask (*ling*) is a silk fabric formed by a warp-faced and a weft-faced binding. By the Ming dynasty, figured *ling* damask was produced as a fine, lustrous, sleek fabric with a twill pattern on a twill ground, which used untwisted raw silk for both warp and weft. After weaving, the damask fabric was processed and dyed. The finest types of figured *ling* damask were used for embroidery and for underwear. For a discussion on Ming twill damasks and a surviving example, see Kuhn, 2012, p. 402, fig. 8.43, and pp. 524–525.

27 A fine, plain silk fabric formed by interweaving a warp and a weft yarn in a simple way. Taffeta fabrics are usually shiny. Scott, 1993, p. 241,

28 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, 'Inventário da casa de D. João III em 1534', *Archivo histórico portuguez*, vol. 8, Lisbon, 1910, pp. 276–277. Mentioned in Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

29 According to Guimarães Sá any account book or inventory of members of the royal family dating to the fifteenth century documents that there were several tailors dedicated to make liturgical vestments, such as altar fronts, chasubles, dalmatics, altarpiece curtains, and coffin covers, as well as others that made clothes for profane use, including bed attire, canopies, hanging cloths, or horse and mule dressings. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, 'Dressed to impress; clothing, jewels and weapons in court rituals in Portugal (1450–1650)', paper presented at the Conference Clothing and the Culture of Appearances in Early Modern Europe. Research perspectives, Madrid, Fundación Carlos Amberes, Museo del Traje, 3–4 February 2012, p. 7.

30 *Covado* is a measure used in Portugal that was equivalent to ¾ of a yard, or a Flemish ell. Annemarie Jordan, *The Development of Catherine of Austria's collection in the Queen's household: its character and cost*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brown University, Providence, 1994, p. 435.

31 Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Hereafter cited as ANTT), Lisbon, Núcleo Antigo, no. 790, 'Catalina de Austria, Inventario de joyas y guardarropa, 15 de Mayo de 1528', fol. 93v. Mentioned in Jordan, 1994, p. 384; Annemarie Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria: A Portuguese Queen in the Shadow of the Habsburg Court?', *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2, Fall-Winter 2005 (Publ. 2007), p. 184; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48. A full transcription

who was also heiress to the Crown of Aragón. As both the Queen of Portugal and the youngest sister of Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556), Catherine led a privileged life. As will be shown in the following Chapters, Catherine acquired quantities of luxury goods from Asia for the decoration of the Lisbon royal palace as well as for her personal use, which served as emblems of her power.[32] Her collection became the first *kunstkammer* on the Iberian Peninsula.[33]

From the documents discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that relatively large quantities of raw silk and various woven silk cloths began to reach Lisbon in the early years of direct Portuguese trade relations with China, even when trade was prohibited from 1522 to 1554. These imported silks appear to have been much appreciated by the royal courts of Manuel I, and his successor, John III. One can also observe that despite the royal monopoly of trade in silk imposed in 1520, some Portuguese private individuals were trading not only woven silk cloths, but also finished silk products, such as silk stockings.

Evidence of silk in Portugal after the settlement of Macao in 1557

After settling in Macao in 1557, the Portuguese merchants gained regular access to the bi-annual fair of Canton. This enabled them to establish a direct triangular trade route of relatively short distances between Canton, Macao and Japan. Raw silk, together with Japanese and New World silver, became the main commodity traded by the Portuguese in Macao. At this point it is important to note that, as discussed in Chapter I, the vast majority of silk traded by the Portuguese was not destined to Europe. It was used for their inter-Asian trade, distributed mainly to India, Japan (by both Portuguese merchants and Jesuits until 1639) and Manila (after 1571) in exchange for silver and gold.[34]

The Portuguese used the Macao-Malacca/Goa-Lisbon trade route to supply silk and other Asian luxury goods to India, Portugal and the rest of Europe.[35] In the period 1581 to 1586, the years following the union of Spain and Portugal, the Crown allowed freedom of trade, but continued to reserve for itself the profitable trade in pepper, silk and cinnamon.[36] In late Ming China, meanwhile, silk production began to shift after 1581 from rural areas to suburban villages in the Lower Yangtze.[37] Taxes in kind were abolished that year, which meant that the state no longer provided any direct demand for silk tabbies even in traditional silk weaving regions.[38] A small amount of silk tabbies continued to be produced in Zhili and Jiangxi for sale in central markets, such as Hangzhou; as well as in Sichuan, Guangdong and Fujian, but these latter regions mostly exported raw silk to the Lower Yangzi.

Textual sources contain valuable data to identify the various types and prices of silks purchased at Canton, and estimate the volumes shipped to Goa. Among the earliest is the three-volume book *Itinerário* of 1596 written by the Dutch merchant and explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563–1611), who observes that 'only from the town of Canton there is yearly carried into India above three thousand quintals of silk, which are sold by weight, besides the silks that are yearly carried to the Islands of Japan, Luzon, of Philippines, and to the land of Sian…'.[39] The Florentine merchant and traveller Francesco Carletti (1573–1636) in the account of his travels around the world which began that same year, notes that the merchandise acquired twice a year at the Canton fair to be taken to India in the months of April and May was 'chiefly raw silk, of which they transport on each voyage 70,000 to 80,000 pounds of twenty ounces to the pound, which they call *catti*. They also carry quantities of diverse cloths…'.[40]

António Bocarro, writing in 1635, doubles the estimate of the volume given by van Linschoten in 1596. Because, according to him, the quantity of silk exported yearly from Macao to Goa was about 6,000 piculs.[41] Silk, however, represented only about 5–6 per cent of all the Asian textiles imported into Europe.[42]

As noted by Borschberg, the purchase price of silks in Canton varied at the time.[43] In his *Itinerário* Linschoten gives a detailed description of the types of silks available and their purchase prices, and states that 'it is to be understood that in China there are three sorts of Silks, that is, one sort called Lankijn which is esteemed for the best. The second called Fuscan, which is good also. The third and worst Silk is called Lankam, besides these there are other sorts of Silk, as Silk spun, called raw Silk, and Silk that is spun and made in threads, which the Portuguese call Retres. The white spun Silk of Lankijn is worth the Pico (which is a certain weight) which hereafter I will show you, about 145 or 150. Ryals of eight, or Bikes Dollors accounted after the rate of that money. The white spun Silk of Fuscan is worth the Pico, 140. or 145. Ryals of eight, the spun Silk of Lankam, is worth the Pico, 75. or 80. Ryals of eight, the Retres white Silk of Lankijn is worth the Pico 150. or 170. Ryals of eight, the Retres white, and other Silke of Fuscam and Susuam, is worth the Pico 130. or 135. Ryals of-eight, the Retres white of Canton is worth the Pico 50. or 55. Ryals of eight, the wrought Silk of all colours at the same price, the spun Canton Silk in colours is worth the Pico 50. or 60. Ryals of eight, white Lamparden Silk of 14. And the piece are commonly worth one year with the other, 50. or 55. Ryalls of eight. … for that with the [Silks] aforesaid is the Portuguese trade, and the principal riches, that are brought out of China to the countries bordering about it'.[44] Carletti noted that he bought raw silk for his 'own account at ninety *tael* the *picco*, which would be like saying at ninety golden scudos in money, and in silver weight one hundred pounds of twenty ounces to the pound. But it was dear, as it usually was valued at seventy *tael* the *picco*', and he also bought 'another kind of silk twisted into thread for sewing, and the other variety, soft and beaten, that serves for needlework, all white, at 150 *tael* the *picco*, likewise very much higher than usual'.[45]

English textual sources also give some indication of the types, quality and price of the silks traded by the Portuguese. In a letter written aboard the *Hector* in March 1614 by Edward Holmden to Sir Thomas Smythe, he advises the price that silk should be sold at. He says 'For your silk of China worth ru. 240 per maund at 16 pice the sere'.[46] In December 1615, Richard Cocks, the chief factor in Japan, writing from Firando (present-day Hirado) to John Gourney at Siam, gave a detailed account of the price and good quality of the silks sold that year. He says 'Since I wrote you my last the Portingales of the great ship of Amacan have sold all their Canton silk for 165 tais the picull, but Lankin silk is sold for 230 and 233 taies the picull, and both Portingales and Chinas have sold all their stuffs very well this year, as velvets, both wrought and plain, at 20, 21 [2] 2 and 2 [3] taies the piece, and tafettas that are good, both black and colors, at 29 mas 3 taies per piece; but such stuffs as are sold at this rate are exceedingly good and may in some sort be compared to them made in Naples and other parts of Christendom, and such I think as you have hardly seen in these parts of the world'.[47] The 'velvets' mentioned by Cocks may have been of one or more of the several different varieties produced during the Ming dynasty, such as *Zhang* velvet (*Zhangrong*) from Zhangzhou in Fujian province, swan's down velvet (*tian'e rong*), sculpted velvet (*jianrong*), one-sided swan's-down velvet (danmian tian'e rong), two-sided swan's-down velvet (*shuangmian tian'e rong*), plastered velvet (*morong*), and brocaded velvet (*zhuanghua rong*).[48] The earliest Portuguese textual reference to velvet appears in the chronicle *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos portugueses* written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d. 1559), who went to India in 1528. When describing China he notes that there was '… much silk and very fine from which it is made many 'damasks, satins, velvets, taffetas, brocades…'.[49]

It is well known that the majority of bills of lading, invoices and cargo manifests of Portuguese ships that made the inbound voyage from India to Lisbon have not survived.[50] Thus one must rely on fragmentary information provided by a small number of manifests that have been preserved, inventories, contemporary accounts of voyages and of shipwrecks, as well as on visual sources to identify fairly accurately the various types of silks and estimate the volumes imported into Lisbon. The large and diverse cargo loaded onto the ships was divided into four major categories for custom duties: *drogas*, *fazendas*, *miudezas*, and *pedraria*.[51] Bales of cotton cloth, silk and thread were all listed under the designation *fazendas*.[52] A number of these scattered sources will be discussed in the following pages to get an overall idea of the Portuguese trade in silk.

The Portuguese soldier and chronicler, Diogo do Couto (1542/43–1616) in his *Narrative of the Voyage and Vicissitudes which befell the Great Ships Aguia and Garça* of 1559, informs us that the galleon '*Aguia* (which was also called *Patifa*)' left Goa laden with a number of government officials and a cargo that included silk.[53] He states that the ship's commander, Francisco Barreto, who was returning to Portugal after serving as Governor of Portuguese India (1555–1558), 'ordered many of the merchants' goods to be thrown overboard', including 'some chests of silks, and many valuable and rare Chinese goods', after the ship was badly damaged during a storm near the Cape of Good Hope.[54] Silk was also among the cargo brought by private individuals in the 1000-ton *nau*, the *Garça*, which left Goa together with the *Aguia* and five other ships. We learn from an unknown author who made a list of his personal belongings as part of the cargo of the sinking *Garça* was being transhipped to the *Aguia*, that he was bringing to Lisbon 'one Chinese silk settee cushion', 'one pillow made of the same silk on one side', 'one antependium [altar frontal] of said fabric and of another silk from China for Our Lady of Hope', 'one small Chinese box with silk flowers for Francisco d Araujo's sisters', and 'one long bundle of matting .ss. two from Borneo and two from Melinde and one from Bengala and the two from China for windows embroidered with silk'.[55] This text clearly shows that a small quantity of finished silk products, including furnishings for both secular and religious use, were imported into Lisbon as private consignments or as gifts to relatives.

The official summary of the manifest of the *São Salvador*, one of four ships of the fleet that left India in 1587, states that among the cargo were 141 chests of Chinese silk and 188 bundles of various textiles.[56] The *São Salvador* was damaged off the East coast of Africa, but it safely reached Hormuz after part of its cargo had been thrown overboard.[57] An account published this same year by the Italian merchants Cesare Federici and Gasparo Balbi, who watched the unloading of the remaining cargo in Hormuz, mentions only 40 chests of silk and 80 small chests of textiles.[58] In all probability part of the silk and other textiles, most likely packed in privately owned chests, bales and packs stowed on the upper decks, were easily accessible and therefore thrown overboard.[59]

Richard Hakluyt (1522–1616) in his work *The Principal Navigations*, informs us that when the 1600-ton carrack *Madre de Dios* was captured on her inbound journey

of Catherine of Austria's 1528 inventory made by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend is published in Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, Madrid, 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 3091–3166. Jordan Gschwend discusses the silks listed in Catherine's inventory in an article in the same publication. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal', in Checa Cremades, 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 3015–3044.

32 Jordan, 2007, p. 185; and Jordan, 2010, p. 3018.

33 Jordan Gschwend, 1996, p. 85.

34 Flynn and Giraldez, 2005, p. 35. The Portuguese trade in silk to Manila will be discussed in section 2.1.2 of this Chapter.

35 D'Ávila Lourido, 2000, pp. 210–211.

36 Sanjay Subrahmanyan and Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'Evolution of Empire: The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean During the Sixteenth Century', in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires. State, Power and World Trade 1350–1750*, paperback edition, 1997, p. 311; and Patricia Seed, *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches*, Minneapolis, 2001, p. 261, note 5.

37 Silk was under competition from cotton, which was cultivated all over China and worn by everyone because it was much less expensive than silk. Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender. Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, 1997, pp. 226–236; and Gunn, 2011, p. 141.

38 Tabby is a thin silk of a simple plain weave. Francesca Bray, 'Towards a critical history of non-Western technology', in Timothy Brook and Gregory Blue (eds.), *China and Historical Capitalism: Genealogies of Sinological Knowledge (Studies in Modern Capitalism)*, New York, 1999, p. 186.

39 Jan van Linschoten lived between 1583 and 1588 in Goa, working as secretary to archbishop D. João Vicente da Fonseca. On his return to the Northern Netherlands, Van Linschoten sold his book to the Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claesz who published it in 1596 under the title *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien …1579–1592*. Editions were published in German and English in 1598, an edition in Latin in 1599, and several editions in French in 1610, 1619 and 1638. Citations throughout this doctoral dissertation are taken from the digitalized English edition of the Universidad Complutense Madrid. See, *Iohn Huigen van Lischoten, His discours of voyages into ye Easte West Indies: deuided into foure bookes*, London, 1598, Book I, Chapter 23, p. 38.

40 Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World. A 16th Century Florentine Merchant*, translated from the Italian by Herbert Weinstock, London, 1965, p. 139. According to a contemporary source, a *catti* or *cate* 'es libra de 20 honças', which is 20 ounces to the pound. Patronato 46, 31 f. 1r. Cited in Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila (Siglos XVI y XVII)*, Lisbon, 2011, p. 778. The author Kato indicates that 100 *catties* equal 1 *picul*. Eiichi Kato, 'Unification and Adaptation, The Early Shogunate and Dutch Trade Policies', in L. Blussé and F. Gaastra (eds), *Companies and Trade. Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, The Hague, 1981, p. 223, Table 1.

41 The estimate given by Bocarro, as convincingly argued by Boxer, was most probably exaggerated. Boxer, 1963, p. 6, note 13.

42 Loureiro, 2010, pp. 91–94.

43 Peter Borschberg, 'The seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: The Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch-Johor Alliance (1602–c.1616)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February 2002), p. 39.

44 Linschoten, 1598, Book I, Chapter 25, pp. 43–44.

45 Carletti, 1965, pp. 144–145.

46 Frederick Charles Danvers and William Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' series of the India Office records*, London, 1899, Vol. III, p. 41.

47 Cocks gives similar prices in another letter sent that month to President Jourdain at Bantam. Ibid., p. 247 and pp. 255–256, respectively.

48 Velvet (*rong*) is a warp-pile weave that uses a secondary warp to produce a pile, made of loops (*rongquan*) or cut loops (*lirong*) that can be high or low, on top of a foundation fabric. Chen Juanjuan and Huang Nengfu, 'Silk Fabrics of the Ming Dynasty', in Kuhn, 2012, pp. 399 and 401.

49 The original Portuguese text reads: 'criasse nela [China] muita seda & muy fina de que fazem muytos damascos, cetins, veludos, tafetás, borcados & borcadilhos'. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Os livros qvarto e qvinto da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses*, Lisbon, 1833, Book IV, chapter xxvii, p. 56. Cited in Harold B. Burnham, 'Chinese Velvets. A Technical Study', *Occasional Paper 2*, Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1959, p. 9.

50 Niels Steensgaard, 'The Return Cargoes of the Carreira in the 16th and Early 17th Century', in Teotónio R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 13.

51 Filipe Castro, Nuno Fonseca and Audrey Wells, 'Outfitting the Pepper Wreck', *Historical Archaeology*, 2010, 44 (2), p. 28.

52 *Fazendas* also included other items, such as slaves. Ibid., p. 28; and Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 16. The silks traded by the Portuguese were from China, India and Persia. The trade in Indian and Persian silk lie outside the scope of this study. For information on the Portuguese trade in Persian silk, see Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Os Portugueses e o negócio da seda persa: A participação lusitana no comércio da seda no início do século XVII', in Rui Manuel Loureiro and Vasco Resende (cord.), *Estudos sobre Don García de Silva y Figueroa e os seus "Cometarios" da embaixada à Pérsia (1614–1624)*, Vol. 4, Lisbon, 2011, pp. 451–484.

53 Citations are taken from the text translated from the version given in Diogo do Couto's *Década VII*, Lisbon, 1616, which is published in C. R. Boxer (ed.), *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea 1559–1565*, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 26–54.

54 Cited in Ibid., p. 31.

55 The original text in Portuguese reads: 'huma almofada de camilha de seda da China', 'hum treuiseyro da mesma seda de huma parte', 'huum frontal da dita catifa e doutra seda da China pera Nosa Senhora da Esperança', 'huma cayxinha da China com froles de seda pera as jrmãa de Francisco d Araujo', and 'huum lio comrido d esteyras .ss. duas de Borneo e duas de Melinde e huma de Bengala e as duas da China pera janellas bordadas de seda'. IANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, Maço 80, Doc. 42. This text and all other Portuguese texts included in this section of Chapter II have been translated by Straker Translations. The cargo included many silk cloths, garments and furnishings, but their country of origin is not specified. Besides silks from China, there were also silks from Bengal and Cambay. For this document, see Pedro Pinto, 'Um olhar sobre a decoração e o efémero no Oriente: a relação dos bens embarcados em Goa em 1559 para o Reino, o inventário dos bens do Vice-rei D. Martim Afonso de Castro, falecido em Malaca, em 1607, e a relação da entrada do Vice-rei Jerónimo de Azevedo em Goa, em 1612', *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, No. 2, Oporto, 2008, pp. 237–254.

Fig. 2.1.1.2a *Namban* six-panel folding screen (one of a pair) attributed to Kanō Dōmi
Japan, Momoyama period, c.1593–1600
Dimensions: 172cm x 380.8cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(inv. no. 1638 Mov)

Figs. 2.1.1.2b and c Details of Fig. 2.1.1.2a

56 Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarias Provinciales, libro 1551, ff. 213–215. Published in Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago, 1974, p. 166.

57 Only two ships of the original fleet arrived to Lisbon. The *Relíquias* capsized after leaving Cochin. The *São Thomé* and the *Conceicão* reached Lisbon in August 1587. Steensgaard, 1985, pp. 16–17.

58 Olga Pinto (ed.), *Viaggio di C. Federici e G. Balbi alle Indie Orientali*, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Rome, 1962, p. 220. Mentioned in Steensgaard, 1985, p. 18.

59 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

60 The islands of the Archipelago of the Azores played an important role as ports of call on a new trans-Atlantic trade route established before the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century for Portuguese and Spanish ships returning to Europe from Asia. In this new route, the so-called *volta da Guiné ou da Mina* (the Guinea or Mina turn), the ships left the West African coast to circumvent the Northeast trade winds and thus passed by or called at the Azores. For more information, see José Bettencourt, Patrícia Carvalho and Cristóvão Fonseca, 'The PIAS Project (Terceira Island, Azores, Portugal). Preliminary results of a historical-archaeological study of a transatlantic port of call', *Skyllis*, 9. Jahrgang 2009, Heft 1, pp. 62–64.

61 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. 3, London, 1599, pp. 7–8. Quoted in Loureiro, 2010, p. 88.

62 Loureiro gives a slightly different translation of Linschoten's text, saying that it was 'woven and twisted silk which the Portuguese call *retrós*'. Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios, Mercadorias e Embalagens na Rota Macau-Nagasáqui', *Revista de Cultura/ Review of Culture*, Macao, No. 24, 2007, pp. 40–41; and Loureiro, 2011, p. 92.

63 Archivo de Indias, Sevilla 1.-2.-1/13.-R. 31. Published in Boxer, 1963, p. 179. In note 1, Boxer mentions that he tentatively ascribed this memorandum to Pedro de Baeza, c.1600.

64 This detail was first published in Loureiro, 2007, p. 41, fig. 6.

65 Ibid., p. 40; and Loureiro, 2010, p. 92.

66 First published in Loureiro, 2007, p. 40, fig. 5. Another screen in a private collection in New York illustrates three Japanese customers examining a roll of patterned cloth, while a member of the crew holds another in his hands. For an image of this latter six-panel folding screen, see Jackson, 2004, pp. 202–203, plate 16.1.

67 Alvaro Semedo travelled to Goa in 1608, where he completed his studies. He was then sent to Nanking in 1613. As a result of the Jesuit persecution that took place in 1616, Semedo was imprisoned and later exiled to Macao. He returned to China in 1620, where he stayed until he was sent back to Rome in 1636 as Procurator of the so-called vice-province of China. Semedo completed his account two years later, in 1638, while in Goa on his return trip. It was originally published in Portuguese. It was then translated into Spanish and rearranged by Manuel de Faria e Sousa before being published by Juan Sanchez in Madrid the following year, in 1642. The text was subsequently translated into Italian in 1643, into French in 1645, and finally into English in 1655 with the title *The History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China: Wherein All the Particular Provinces Are Accurately Described, as also the Dispositions, Manners, Learning, Lawes, Militia, Government, and Religion of the People, Together with the Traffick and Commodities of that Countrey*, which was published by John Crook in London. The latter text is used throughout this dissertation. For a discussion on Semedo's work, see Laura Hostetler, 'A Mirror for the Monarch: A Literary

near the Azores islands[60] by the Englishman Sir John Burgh (or Burrowes) in 1592, the cargo carried by the ship was as follows: 'The principal wares after the jewels … consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicos, qilts, carpets and colours, &c. … the silks, damasks, tafettas, sarcenets, *altobassos*, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought China silk, sleeved silk, white twisted silk, curled cypress'.[61] The 'white twisted silk' is probably the same as the white 'Silk that is spun and made in threads, which the Portuguese call Retres' cited earlier from Linschoten's *Itinerario*,[62] and the white 'silk twisted into thread' cited from Carletti's account. Textual and visual sources attest to the Portuguese trade in twisted silks. A 'Lading of *retros* of all colours totalling 400 or 500 piculs' is listed in a *Memorandum of the merchandise which the Great Ships of the Portuguese usually take from China to Japan* of *c.*1600.[63] Loureiro has noted that some of the bales depicted in extant *Namban* folding screens showing the arrival of the Black Ship in Japan can be identified as twisted silks. Such bales are clearly seen in the six-panel folding screen, one of a pair, housed in the Museu Nacional de Antiga (Figs. 2.1.1.2a and b).[64] He also argues convincingly that the rolls of patterned cloth depicted in some screens, whether on board the anchored ship or being unloaded by the crew, probably represent silks of the best quality.[65] These patterned silk cloths could have been woven, embroidered or painted. The aforementioned screen also serves to illustrate a pile of such rolls and two others carried onshore by a member of the crew (Figs. 2.1.1.2c and b).[66] These valuable silk goods, as Loureiro has remarked, would have been packed in chests, bales or boxes to protect them from both rain and sea water, like those seen in all shapes and sizes in the screens.

Textual evidence concerning the method of packing silk in chests for shipping in all sea trade routes is provided by the Portuguese Jesuit Alvaro Semedo (1585–1658) in his account *Imperio de la China*, which was published in 1641 under the title *Relaçao de pragaçao da fé no reyno da China e outros adjacentes*.[67] Semedo, while writing about the Portuguese trade from Macao, noted that '…all sorts of merchandise is brought thither, as well as by natives as strangers: only that which the Portuguese take in for India, Japan and Manila, cometh one year with another to five thousand three hundred chests of several silk stuffs; each chest including 100 pieces of the most substantial silks, as velvet damask and satin, of the lighter stuffs, as half-damasks, painted and fingle tafettas… besides small pearle, sugar, porcellane dishes, China wood …and many things of less importance'.[68] The 'velvet damask and satin' mentioned by Semedo may refer to a type of silk velvet with gold thread with an alternating diaper pattern formed by four pommel-scroll motifs similar to that that was cut and sewn in Portugal into a compass cloak, lined with red silk satin and trimmed with metallic bouclé, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 2.1.1.3). The pommel-scroll motif was frequently used on Chinese luxury goods that were presented as diplomatic gifts. Thus the silk velvet of this cloak, dating to the sixteenth century, may have been a diplomatic gift taken to Portugal where it was cut and sewn into this popular style of cape. [69]

Of particular interest to this study are the inventories drawn up by officers of the *Casa da Índia* between December 1615 and February 1616 of the goods salvaged from the wreck of the *nau Nossa Senhora da Luz*, which sank in 1615 at Faial Island (also known as Fayal), Azores.[70] We learn from these inventories that Portuguese traders, sailors and private individuals were returning to Lisbon with a small amount of Asian luxury goods that included various types of woven silk cloths. Some of these traders were New Christians (Christians with Jewish ancestors), who belonged to

Fig. 2.1.1.3 Compass Cloack
Velvet, cut and voided, silk, with silk satin lining and metallic trim
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century
Diameter: 81.3cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan
(acc. no. 1906 06.941)

the Portuguese mercantile elite in Lisbon. One of them was Manuel de Paz, who established a business with his half-brothers and uncles to trade in diamonds, pearls, silk, cotton, porcelain, and spices.[71] Manuel, who survived the wreck, was returning to Lisbon with a large shipment of valuable goods. As noted by Bettencourt, the large quantity of textiles identified in the ship's documentation included 923 items of silk, but these only represented 3,57 percent of the total of all the textile cargo. There were also 95 items of taffeta, 38 or more of damask, 19 of velvet and 9 of satin.[72] The list of the goods found on the nearby beaches or turned in by survivors informs us of the silks salvaged from the shipwreck as well of their packing: 'Jeronimo Camello delivered according to Manuel Nunez's inventory / six small rolls of white silk […] and thus another two small rolls of white silk'; 'Shoemaker Gaspar da Silva delivered according to Pero Fernadez Cohelo and Melchior da Fonseqa'a inventory / thirteen fathoms[73] of striped silk making one bolt […] And thus delivered eight raw white silk skeins that were not included in the inventory'; 'The same [Antonio Periz] further delivered to said inventory by Pero de Faria […] four barcazes of white silk'; 'Manuel Duarte delivered according to Estacio Machado's inventory […] thirty-two small rolls of white silk […] three small rolls of white twisted silk […] and another two of silk'; 'Antonio Gomez delivered according to Antonio Nunez's inventory […] and six cushions of purple damask like fabric […] and one bolt of white taffeta / and another of blue / and another of pink damask like fabric / and another of white red silk tafisira'.[74] It is not known whether these woven silk cloths originated solely from China, or if they were also from Persia or Turkey.[75] In this list, however, one finds some specific references to woven silk cloths and finished silk products from China. These include a 'silk bedspread from China', 'blue bedspread lined of yellow taffeta from China', 'blue taffeta from China', 'Coloured taffetas and calicoes from China', 'tabernacle curtains with their silk cocoons from China', 'taffeta from China', 'embroidered taffeta from China', and 'white twisted silk from China'.[76] The presence of 'white twisted silk' in the cargo demonstrates that such silks were imported into Portugal for over two decades, at least from 1592 (*Madre de Deus*) to 1615.

The limited quantities of woven silk cloths and silk finished products that arrived to Lisbon in the early sixteenth century appear to have been almost exclusively for the personal use of members of the royal court, clergy and high-ranking nobility. This was probably due to their high purchase price, and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed at the time, first by John III in Evora in 1535, and then by the young King Sebastian I (r. 1557–1578) (hereafter Sebastian I) in Lisbon in 1560.[77] The novelty and scarcity of the silks imported from China meant that they were held in high esteem, and thus eagerly sought after for use in both secular and religious contexts. Textual sources show that various types of woven silk cloths and finished silk products served political as well as social purposes. Finished silk products, for example, were used as gifts in diplomatic exchanges. After the defeat and death of Sebastian I during the battle of Alcácer Quibir in North Africa in 1578, Cardinal Henry (r. 1578–1580) after succeeding to the Portuguese throne sent a white taffeta canopy from China, embroidered in gold thread and multicoloured silk with birds, branches and flowers to Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik, the Saadi sultan of Morocco, as ransom for Portuguese noblemen imprisoned there.[78] As can be cautiously inferred from this luxurious gift, silks played a crucial role in Portugal's diplomatic relations and served as tangible images of the power of its seaborne empire at the time.[79]

Embroidered, painted or colourful woven silks were used as basic material to make Catholic liturgical vestments. The exotic and colourful Chinese motifs of such elaborately patterned silks must have been so desirable that they were adopted for use even though they did not conform to Christian iconography.[80] Silk cloths and finished silk products were also sawn into garments or used as furnishings to decorate ecclesiastic interior spaces. From the *Tratado em que se cõtam muito por esteso as cousas da China* written by the Dominican Friar Gaspar da Cruz (c.1520–1570) in 1569 we learn that many rank badges, the woven or embroidered insignia worn by Chinese civil and military officials on the front and back of their robes,[81] were imported into Portugal and subsequently used as liturgical ornaments for the churches.[82] A square badge for a sixth-rank civil official dating to the sixteenth century, probably made in southern China, that once formed part of a group of similarly embroidered rank badges sewn together into a hanging or curtain housed at the Palazzo Corsini in Florence serves to illustrate the type of rank badge that may have arrived to Portugal at the time, most likely through Macao (Fig. 2.1.1.4).[83]

Recent research by Ferreira has shown that by the end of the sixteenth century a variety of silk cloths were integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-

Portrait of China in Eighteenth-Century France', *Asia Major*, 3rd Series, 19, nos. 1–2 (2006), pp. 357–360.

68 Semedo, 1655, Chapter 2, pp. 8–9.

69 Published and discussed by Stewart in Peck, 2013, p. 180, cat. no. 32.

70 *Inventários de Manuel Pacheco de Lima e João Correia de Mesquita de pedraria e fazendas salvadas do naufrágio Nossa Senhora da Luz, 1616.* Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter cited as AHU), Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. For a list of the goods recovered from the *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, see José Antonio Bettencourt, *A Nau Nossa Senhora da Luz (1615) no Contexto da Carreira da Índia e da Escala dos Açores: Uma Abordagem Histórico – Arqueológica*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008, Appendix 1, pp. 177–195.

71 Manuel de Paz, the eldest son of Diogo Fernades, was born in Brazil around 1581. He grew up in Lisbon with his younger half-brother Fernando Tinoco. Manuel lived and traded in Goa during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Later in the 1630s and 1640s, Manuel and Fernando moved to Madrid and served as financiers to the Spanish monarchy, along with about a dozen of New Christians and Genovese merchants. They had a network of relatives living in Antwerp, Rouen, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice, as well as associates in Seville and Lisbon. For more information on his trading activities and investments in the *Carreira da India*, see Boyajian, 1993, pp. 119–120, 133–134, 163–164; Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (eds.), *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800, European Expansion & Global Interaction*, Vol. 2, New York and Oxford, 2001, pp. 478–479; and Silvia Carvalho Ricardo, *As Redes Marcantis no final do Século XVI e a figura do Mercador João Nunes Correia*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006, p. 81.

72 Bettencourt, 2008, pp. 177–195.

73 A fathom usually refers to the Portuguese *braça*, which is supposed to be equivalent to 2.22 meters. Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Historical Notes on the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca (1511–1641)', *Revista de Cultura*, No. 27, 2008, p. 95, note 11.

74 The original Portuguese text reads: 'Entregou Jeronimo Camello no inventario de Manuel Nunez / seis manojos de seda branqa […] e assi mais dous manoios de seda branqa'; 'Entregou Gaspar da Silva sapateiro no inventario de pero Fernandez Coelho e de Melchior da Fonseqa / treze brasas de seda listrada que era uma peça […] E assi entregou outo meadas de seda branqa em rama que não estavão no inventario'; 'Entrego mais of ditto [Antonio Periz] no mesmo inventario de Pero de Faria […] quarto barcazes de seda branqa'; 'Entregou Manuel Duarte no inventario de Estacio Machado […] trinta e dous manojos de seda branqa […] tres manojos de retros branco […] e dous mais de seda'; 'Entregou Antonio Gomez no inventario de Antonio Nunez […] e seis coxins de damasquilho rojo […] e huma peça de taffeta branco / e outra d azul / e oura de damasquilho rozado / e outra de tafisira de seda branca vermelho'. AHU, Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. Published in Arquivo dos Açores, 1999, pp. 45–152; and Paulo Monteiro, *O naufrágio da Nossa Senhora da Luz, 1615, Faial, Açores (IV)*, The nautical archaeology of the Azores, 2003. World Wide Web, URL, http://nautarch.tamu.edu/shiplab/, nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University. According to the documentation of the shipwreck, *taficira* refers to a type of calico made in China, Sinde or Persia. Mentioned in Bettencourt, 2008, p. 194.

75 Ibid., p. 100.

76 The original Portuguese texts read: 'cobertor de seda da China', 'cobertor da China de azul forrado de taffeta amarello', 'tafeta azul da China', 'tafetas e taficjras de cores da China', 'pauilhãres com seus capellos de seda da China', 'tafeta da China', 'tafeta laurado da China', and 'retros brancos da China'. AHU, Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. For a list of the recovered goods identified as originating from China, see Bettencourt, 2008, pp. 96, 182, 192 and 194.

77 For these sumptuary laws, *Ordenaçam da defesa dos veludos e sedas* (3–VI–1535) and *Ley sobre of vestidos de seda, & feitios delles, E das pessoas que os podem trazer* (25–VI–1560), see BNP, Secção de Reservados, Impressos, Reservados, RES. 83//2 A, and RES. 1539//1 V, respectively. Mentioned in Hugo Miguel Crespo, 'Trajar as aparências, vestir para ser: O Testemunho da Pragmática de 1609', in Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa (ed.), *O Luxo na região do Porto ao tempo de Filipe II de Portugal (1610)*, Oporto, 2012, p. 105, notes 69–70.

78 António Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, vol. 3, pt. I, Coimbra, 1948, p. 521. Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 54.

79 Ibid.

80 Regina Krahl, 'The Portuguese Presence in the Arts and Crafts of China', in Jay A. Levenson (ed.),

Fig. 2.1.1.4 Square rank badge for a six rank official
Embroidered in floss silks and gold thread
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century
Dimensions: 36.8cm x 38.1cm
Provenance: Palazzo Corsini, Florence
© Jacqueline Simcox Ltd.

Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th century. Essays, Lisbon, 2009, p. 315.

81 Rank badges were worn during most of the Ming dynasty. The iconography of the badges for all ranks became more complex in the late Ming, depicting miniature landscapes inhabited by animals or birds and an increase use of gold thread as the dominant background colour. For a discussion on Ming and Qing rank badges, see John E. Vollmer and Jacqueline Simcox, *Emblems of Empire. Selections from the Mactaggart Art Collection*, Edmonton, 2009, pp. 82–85; and Mary M. Dusenbury, *Flowers, Dragons, & Pine Trees. Asian Textiles in the Spencer Museum of Art*, New York and Manchester, 2004, pp. 127–128.

82 Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado em que se cõtam muito por esteso as cousas da China cõ suas particularidades, assi do reino d'Ormuz, cõposto por el. R. padre frei Gaspar da Cruz da ordẽ de sam Domingos* [Ms. 1569], in Raffaella D'Intino (ed.), *Programa nacional de edições comemorativas dos descobrimentos portugueses*, Lisbon, 1989, p. 210. For a citation of the original text in Portuguese, see Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, *Os Têxteis Chineses em Portugal nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (séculos XVI–XVIII)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade do Porto, 2011, Vol. I, p. 189.

83 The rank badges were sewn together at the corners and down the sides of a hanging or curtain. They were sold at auction and now found in private collections around the world. I am grateful to Jacqueline Simcox for providing me information and images of two examples of the rank badges from the Palazzo Corsini, dating to the sixteenth century. The egret rank badge illustrated here was first published in Jacqueline Simcox, 'Chinese Textiles', exhibition catalogue, London 2010, pp. 8–9, no. 5.

84 Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, pp. 348–351; and Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Political Intentions of Chinese Textiles in Portuguese Sacred, Solemn, Celebratory Events of the 16th-18th Centuries', in *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings*, Washington, D.C., 2012, pp. 2 and 5.

85 Ibid., p. 2.

86 The original Portuguese text reads: 'de seda da China laurada de passarinhos de cores varias, & tão vivos, como naqüellas partes of ha'. *RELAÇAM do Solenne recebimento das Santas Reliquias, que forão leuadas da See de Coeimbra ao Real Mosteyro de Santa Cruz*. Coimbra: casa de Antonio Mariz, 1596, fl. 48v. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, pp. 279–296. Pacheco Ferreira suggests that the terms 'laurada de passarinhos' indicate that the birds were embroidered.

87 The original Portuguese text reads: '… os balustrades, & pilaretes do Coro vestia seda branca da China tecida, & semeada de passarinhos varios nas cores & nas feições pedurados de ramos verdes'. Luís de Cacegas and Luís de Sousa, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolomev dos Martyres da Orde dos Pregadores Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga Primas das Espanhas repartida en seis liuros com a solenidade de sua tresladação*. Viana do Castelo: Niculao Carualho, 1619, fl. 256. Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, p. 279 and Vol. II, p. 178.

88 The original Portuguese text reads: 'Cobriao suas paredes, & vestiao seus pilares, & arcos'. Father Belchior de Santa Anna, *Chronica de Carmelitas Descalços, Particvlar do Reyno de Portugal e Provincia e Sam Felippe*, Lisboa: Off. De Henrique Valente de Oliueira, 1657, p. 601. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 283.

89 Pacheco Ferreira, 2012, p. 5.

90 This theatrical piece was written by Father António de Sousa and entitled *Royal Tragicomedy of King*

profane context throughout Portugal.[84] Embroidered or painted silks as well as variously coloured woven silk cloths were used to make garments worn by participants of the festivities (robes, skirts, shawls and tunics), as well as liturgical ornaments (altar frontals, wall hangings, curtains, valances, canopies, pavilions, etc.), which adorned the interior or exterior spaces where the ceremonies and processions took place, and the streets of the cities.[85] The earliest known reference dates to 1595, when some relics where transferred from the cathedral of Coimbra to the Augustinian monastery of the Holy Cross in the same city. A written account of the arrival of the relics mentions that the clothes worn in the procession organized for this event were made of 'silk from China embroidered with birds of various colours, & …'. [86] The next reference dates to fourteen years later, in 1609, when the body of Fray Batolomeu dos Mártires was transferred to the new Dominican convent of the Holy Cross in Viana do Castelo. During this sacred festivity, the balustrades and pillars of the church's choir were 'dressed in white silk from China'.[87] White silk continued to be used to adorn ecclesiastic spaces for several decades. Father Belchior de Santa Anna, writing in 1657, informs us that during the celebrations of the canonization of St. Teresa de Avila in the cloister of the Carmelite convent of Lisbon held in 1622, white silks from China 'covered its walls, & dressed its pillars, & arches'.[88]

The silk cloths used in Jesuit festivities, as Pacheco Ferreira has remarked, not only served as material testimonies of the Portuguese expansion to China and the Jesuit missionary activity there, but also had cultural, economic and political symbolic meanings.[89] The account of Father João Sardinha Mimoso describing a theatrical performance offered by the students of the Jesuit college of Saint Anthony for King Philip III of Spain/II of Portugal (r. 1598–1621) (hereafter Philip III) during his visit to Lisbon in 1619, informs us that the thirteen angels that appeared on the prologue of the performance were dressed in 'rich clothes [of] various colours of cloth, embroidered brocades from China'.[90] Mimoso also notes that a common space annexed to the stage where the King and members of the royal family attended the event was 'hung with silks of various colours from China fresh, and perfumed'.[91] Two accounts concerning the Jesuit festivities held in 1620 and 1622 respectively, the beatification and then the canonization of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier, refer to participants of the processions wearing contemporary clothing items made of various silk cloths. Father Diogo Marques Salgueiro, for instance, notes that the figure representing Faith wore a robe of white silk from China, and that of Ternate wore 'very long over sleeves of white silk from China, embroidered with many birds, & flowers of gold'.[92] The anonymous author of the other account notes that the windows of the streets of Lisbon were adorned with 'many rich embroideries from China, & with glossy silks', and that during the procession held in Oporto the figure parading as an allegory of China was 'dressed in several silks, & colours, all of which came from that Kingdom to Portugal'.[93] From the information provided by the textual sources discussed above it seems clear that the Jesuits and other religious orders possessed considerable quantities of various types of silk cloths, especially of colourfully embroidered silks, which they used for public displays. These were most probably given to them as royal gifts or were acquired through the Jesuits in Japan who participated actively in the silk trade from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639.

Documentary evidence shows that by the early seventeenth century woven silk cloths and finished silk products, imported from China and after about 1614 also from Persia, had become more widely available to people from different social groups.[94]

This was particularly true in Oporto, a port city in northern Portugal that saw a great commercial expansion during the previous century, which allowed a large number of its inhabitants to accumulate considerable wealth. In 1609, Philip III passed sumptuary laws in the city regulating the use of certain luxury goods. The following year, the sumptuary laws were enforced and all luxury goods had to be registered in the Book of Registers (*Livro dos Registros*) indicating the name, address and pieces possessed by each individual.[95] This document reveals sumptuous civilian male and female dress practices in relation to national fashions, and offers insights on the role of silk cloths and finished silk products in the daily life of this urban society. Fifteen references to Chinese textiles are found in this document, listing both clothing and furnishing items. Five of them list richly embroidered 'mantillas', including a 'mantilla from China embroidered with gold on white satin lined of blue taffeta' owned by the licensee Rodrigo da Câmara; a 'silk mantilla from China embroidered with gold and silk' declared by a Supreme Court judge named Manuel Mendes de Vasconcelos; and a baptism mantilla 'worked with gold and silk' owned by doctor Amador Ribeiro.[96] There is also listed a *saio* (long doublet) of white taffeta from China with cords of white silk of the wife of Domingos Ribeiro de Vila Nova de Gaia.[97] Among the furnishing items are listed 'one blue bedspread from China worked with gold and silk on white in the middle beads on embroidery and two cushions and four carpets of the same work from China' owned by Pantaleão de Seabra; 'twelve lengths of yellow and blue satin embroidered with gold and silver from China' that Governor Luís da Silva had left in the house in Lisbon; and 'one silk curtain from China manually crafted with coloured birds owned by Maria da Fonseca'.[98] It is clear that such silks were much appreciated by both men and women who incorporated them not only into clothing for daily use and religious festivities, but also into their households.

Silk continued to be shipped yearly to Lisbon in the 1650s, as suggested by the Jesuit Martinus Martini (1614–1661), who notes in his *Novus Atlas Sinensis* published in Amsterdam in 1655, that 'Each year, 1300 boxes of silk from China would be transported to Europe by the Portuguese'.[99]

From the information provided by the textual sources discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that soon after direct Portuguese trade relations with China began, the Crown recognized the unprecedented opportunity of economic profit in a large-scale trade of silk, and thus extended the royal monopoly over trade to silk. Profits must have been so high that Portuguese private individuals traded not only woven silk cloths but also finished silk products, in defiance of the royal monopoly. After settling in Macao and gaining regular access to the biannual fair of Canton, the main commodities traded by the Portuguese were raw silk, and Japanese and New World silver. Silks were sold by weight in Canton, and their purchase price varied not only according to the different qualities of each type but also according to their demand. The vast majority of the silks traded by the Portuguese were used for their inter-Asian trade.

Textual sources have shown that silk represented only about 5–6 percent of all the Asian textiles imported into Europe, via Goa. The types of silks shipped from Goa, listed under the designation *fazendas*, included raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products. These valuable silk goods were packed in chests, bales or boxes to protect them from both rain and sea water, which were stowed on the upper decks. Raw silk included white twisted silk, which was imported for over two decades, at least from 1592 to 1615. The most common woven silk cloths imported were taffetas,

Manuel: Conqueror of the East. The account discussed here is Father Juan Sardina Mimoso, *Relacion de la Real Tragicomedia con qve los padres de la Compania de Iesvs en su Colegio de S. Anton de Lisboa recibieron a la magestad Catolica de Felipe II.de Portugal, y de su entrada en este Reino, cõ lo que se hizo en las Villas, y Ciudades en que entrò*. Lisboa: Of. De Iorge Rodriguez, 1620, fls. 3, 5v and 14–14v. The original text reads as follows 'ricas ropas [de] varios colores de tela, brocado bordados de la China'. For this citation and further bibliographical references in relation to the King's visit to Portugal in 1616, see Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 279, note 7. It is interesting to note that before arriving to Lisbon, Philip III was welcomed solemnly in the city of Montemor-o-Novo, where he was received near the entrance of the shrine of Nossa Senhora da Luz adorned with a beautiful arch covered with fabrics and silks; and that the procession guided by the Chamber of Attorneys (*Procuradores da Câmara*) of Lisbon to celebrate the King's first solemn entrance into the capital, was followed by diverse groups of dancers of which stood out women dressed in silk and adorned with jewels and gold cords. It is not known, however, what was the country of origin of these silk clothing items. See, Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, 'A Viajem de Filipe III a Portugal: itinerários e problemática', in *Quinhentos/Oitocentos (Ensaios de História)*, Facultade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Oporto, 1987, pp. 285 and 290, respectively.

91 The original Portuguese text reads: 'colgado de sedas de varios colores de la China fresco, y oloroso'. Mimoso, 1620, fl. 4. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 280.

92 The original Portuguese text reads: 'sobremangas muito largas de seda branca da China, broslada con muitos passarinhos, & flores d'ouro'. Father Diogo Marques Salgueiro, *Relaçam das festas que a Religiam sa Companhia de IESV fez em a Cidade de Lisboa, na Beatificaçam do Beato P. Francisco Xauier, Segundo Padroeiro da mesma Companhia, & Primeiro Apostolo dos Reynos de iapãao, em Dezẽbro de 1620, Lisboa: Ioão Rodriguez, 1621*, fls. 33v and 16v, respectively. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 281.

93 The original Portuguese text reads: 'muitos ricos bordados da China, & com lustrosas sedas' and 'A China vestia varias sedas, & cores, todas das que daquelle Reyno vem a Portugal'. *Relações das Sumptuosas Festas com que a Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal Celebrou a Canonização de S. Ignacio de Loyola, e S. Francisco Xavier*, Lisbon: s.n., 1623, fls. 15 and 180, respectively. The citations are taken from Pacheco Ferreira, 2012, p. 8; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, p. 283 and Vol. II, p. 187.

94 For the Portuguese trade in silk from Persia, see Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, pp. 451–485.

95 The original document is published in José Justino de Andrade Silva, *Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portuguesa (compilada e anotada)*, Vol. I (1603–1612), Lisbon, 1854, pp. 275–278. For a discussion on the 1609 sumptuary laws, see Andreia Durães, 'Luxo e vida privada: o exemplo da Pragmática de 1609', *Boletim Informativo do Núcleo de Estudos de População e Sociedade*, No. 1, July 2007, pp. 19–40; and Crespo, 2012, pp. 104–145.

96 The original Portuguese texts read: 'mantilha da China borlada de ouro sobre cetim branquo forado de taffeta asur', 'mantilla de seda da China borlada d'ouro e seda', and 'llavrada d'ouro e seda'. *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 35v., 81 and 230v., respectively. Cited in Crespo, 2012, p. 126.

97 *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 138v–139. Mentioned in Crespo, 2012, p. 134.

damasks, velvets and satins. Although white silk is commonly mentioned in textual sources, there are also many references to coloured silks. Some of the silks were woven, embroidered in gold thread and colourful silk, or painted with traditional Chinese motifs of flowers, birds, animals and deities. Finished silk products included clothing items for personal use, as well as furnishing items for both secular and religious use.

The limited quantities of these woven silk cloths and finished silk products that began to reach Lisbon in the early sixteenth century appear to have been almost exclusively for the use of the royal court, clergy and high-ranking nobility, most probably due to their high purchase price and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed by successive kings. Only a small quantity of them was imported as private consignments or as gifts to relatives. The novelty of the decorative motifs and scarcity of these imported silks meant that they were held in high esteem, and thus eagerly sought after. They served as symbols of both political authority and social status. The court used finished silk products as diplomatic gifts and as tangible images of the power of its seaborne empire. Catholic ecclesiastic institutions, the Society of Jesus in particular, used colourful embroidered, painted and woven silks as basic material to make liturgical vestments or furnishings to decorate the churches. Even some finished silk products intended for the Chinese domestic market, such as rank badges, were imported and subsequently used as liturgical ornaments for the churches. By the end of the century such woven, embroidered, or painted silk cloths had been integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-profane context throughout Portugal. It appears that the Jesuits and other religious orders possessed considerable quantities of woven silk cloths, especially colourfully embroidered silks, which they used for public displays. They would most probably have acquired them as royal gifts or through the Jesuits in Japan who participated actively in the silk trade from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639.

It was not until the early seventeenth century that woven silk cloths and finished silk products were more widely available to people from different social groups in Lisbon and other cities where many inhabitants had accumulated considerable wealth through trade. In Oporto, as has been shown, silk clothing and furnishing items were much appreciated by both men and women who incorporated them into their daily life and religious festivities. Silk continued to the imported yearly into Lisbon, apparently in increasingly larger quantities, in the second half of the century.

Trade to Spain [2.1.2]

In 1573, only eight years after Legazpi conquered Cebú and established the first Spanish colony in the Philippines, and Urdañeta discovered a return route to Acapulco across the Pacific, Chinese silk began to be exported to the New World and a small quantity of it was subsequently re-exported via the port of Veracruz to the motherland, Spain.[100] The production and consumption of silk was not unknown to the Spaniards, as sericulture and silk weaving spread via the Arab conquest to Andalusia in southern Spain in the first half of the eighth century.[101] Textual sources indicate that silks from China were already being used in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century.[102] For instance,

98 The original Portuguese texts read: 'hũa colcha da China azul lavrada de ouro e seda sobre branco no mejo contas sobre bordaduras e dous traviceiros e qoatro alfombras da misma obra da China'; 'doze panos de setim amarello e asul bordados d'ouro e prata da China'; and 'hum encortinado de seda da China debuxado a lauor e pasaros de cores de Maria da Fonseca'. *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 23, 42v.–43, and 93, respectively. Cited in Crespo, 2012, p. 125–126, note 149.

99 Cited in Zhang Xiping, *Following the Steps of Matteo Ricci to China*, Beijing, 2006, p. 167.

100 The trans-Pacific silk trade to the New World will be discussed in section 2.1.4 of this Chapter.

101 Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (eds.), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, Woodbridge, 2014, pp. 70–71.

102 A silk and gold dalmatic from Central Asia brought back to Seville by the Galician nobleman Don Payo Gómez de Sotomayor, one of the first Spanish ambassadors sent to the Timurid court at Samarkand (1403-1406), is housed in the Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 20, fig. 2.

Iñigo López de Mendoza, I Marqués de Santillana (1398–1458), gave to the church of the hospital he built in his villa of Buitrago a 'chasuble …. of aseytuní [cloth of fine silk from China]…' that belonged to his wife, Catalina de Figueroa. By the sixteenth century, imported woven silk cloths were still considered a luxury and available only to the royalty, nobility and wealthy merchant classes.

According to an account written in 1570 by an unknown author, *Relation of the voyage to Luzon*, when the Spaniards captured two Chinese junks off Mindoro they found many valuable goods including 'silk, both woven and in skeins; gold thread, musk, … and other curious articles'.[103] A regular trade in silk between the Chinese and Spanish empires began the following year, when Legazpi moved the colonial capital northwards to Luzon, where Manila was founded. This trade, based on the exchange of Chinese silk for New World silver, is described in a brief narrative written by Legazpi's notary Hernando Riquel and others, of the events of the Philippines between 1570 and 1573. It states that in 1571 '…there came to the port of this city three ships from China, and to the neighboring islands five more. Those which came here brought merchandise such as is used among the Chinese, and such as they bring here ordinarily. The distance from this island is not great, the voyage lasting about eight days. … For the chiefs, they brought a few pieces of silk and fine porcelains; but these goods are not especially out of the common. For the Spaniards they brought some fine ware and other articles, which they readily sold, since we who are here have plenty of money, and the Chinese need it. They are so delighted that they will surely return in six or seven months, and will bring a great abundance of many rare articles. They brought specimens of many kinds peculiar to their country, in order to arrange the price at which they can be sold – such as quicksilver, powder, … silks in textiles of many kinds and in skeins'.[104] A text described as a 'Relation of what was brought by the two ships from the islands of the West' written at the end of this narrative, which appears to have been added by the officials in Mexico, lists '712 pieces of all kinds of silks' among a variety of goods brought by two ships that came from Manila in 1573. More importantly, it informs the King that 'For their Majesties individually, are sent from those provinces many jewels and crowns of gold, with silks, porcelains, rich and large earthen jars, and other very excellent things which are sent by the chiefs in token of their allegiance'.[105] This is the earliest textual reference of silks and porcelains being re-exported to Spain via the New World for members of the royal court in Madrid.

Spanish textual sources provide information on the varied decorative styles of the woven silk cloths brought to the Philippines for trade at this time. Captain Diego the Artieda in his *Relation of the Western Islands Called Filipinas* of 1573, when referring to the Chinese, writes 'They make gold into threads as is done in Milan, and weave raised designs of it on damasks and other silken fabrics'.[106] Silk decorated with gold is also mentioned in a letter written by the royal treasurer in the Philippines, Guido de Lavezaris and others, to the Augustinian Friar Martin de Rada the following year, in 1574. This letter states that the native inhabitants 'have a great deal of cloth with which to clothe themselves; many silken fabrics worked with gold, greatly esteemed and of high value; many porcelains and fine earthenware jars; … The Chinese bring them many silks, porcelains, and perfumes; with iron and other articles, from which they make great profits'.[107] In all probability, the aforementioned silks are the same types as those mentioned earlier in Portuguese textual sources as being 'embroidered with gold' or 'worked with gold'.

We learn from a letter from Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Philip II,

103 MSS in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, pp. 59–60.

104 Ibid., p. 219.

105 Ibid., p. 223.

106 MS. In the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid, collated with another copy at Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 183.

107 Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, pp. 243–244.

probably written in 1575, that patterned silks were also traded but at low prices. Maldonado notes that 'Twelve or fifteen ships from the mainland of China come each year to the city of Manila, laden with merchandise: figured silks of all sorts; … The prices of everything so moderate, that they are to be had almost for nothing'.[108] Remarks on the quality and low sell price of silks continued to appear in Spanish documents in the following decade. For instance, the Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza (1540–1617) in his two-volume work *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the situation thereof*, first published in Spanish in 1585, notes that 'They do make great store of silk, and excellent good, and give it very perfect colours, which does exceed very much the silk of Granada, and is one of the greatest trades that is in all that kingdom'. He also remarks on the price of silk cloths and the way in which they are sold, saying that 'The velvets, damask, satins, and other sorts of webs, which is there made, is of so small price, that it is a wonder to speak it, in special unto them that do know how their prices be in Spain and Italy. They do sell none of their silks there by the yard, neither any other kind of websterie, though it be linen; but by the weight, wherein there is least deceit'.[109] Mendoza, who had never visited China, based his observations on second-hand accounts compiled over many years.[110] A letter written by the Bishop of the Philippines, Fray Domingo de Salazar, to Fray Sánchez, dated June 2, 1588, mentions similar silk cloths that were regularly available in Manila. Salazar writes: 'They bring hither silks – figured satins, black and coloured damasks, brocades and other fabrics – which are now very commonly seen'.[111]

Textual sources show that the great demand for silks and other Chinese luxury goods, together with Spanish Crown mercantile policies on Chinese merchants, began to affect the selling prices of such goods only a decade after the Spaniards had established themselves in Manila, in 1571. From a letter written by Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Philip II, probably in 1575, we learn about the low prices of Chinese goods sold in Manila. He states that 'The prices of everything are so moderate, that they are to be had almost for nothing'.[112] These favorable trade conditions for the Spaniards, however, would not last for long. The Bishop Fray Domingo de Salazar, in a memorial regarding affairs in the islands written in Manila in 1583, informs the king and his royal Council of the Indias that as a consequence of the taxes levied upon the Chinese in Manila and the fact that they were compelled to sell their goods much below their value resulted in such goods almost disappearing from the market, and that the few available were sold at exorbitant prices.[113] Regarding the price increases, Salazar notes that 'Although twenty ships have come from China – and so many have never before been seen in this space of time – nothing of all that comes from China has been visible this year. On the contrary, Chinese goods have risen to such excessive prices that a piece of satin formerly worth ten or twelve tostóns[114] here, has been sold at forty or forty-five, and yet could not be found, even for the church, which is so needy that it has not been able to obtain silk to make a single ornament. The same is true of all other Chinese goods, which were formerly hawked in vain through the streets'.[115] This reference to the church is important as it attests to the use of silks to make liturgical ornaments for the churches in Manila.

The rise in prices in Manila does not appear to have affected the profitable trade of Chinese luxury goods shipped to the New World, where they continued to be considered much less expensive than those imported from Spain during the next decade or so. In 1594, the Viceroy of Peru informed the authorities in Madrid that 'Chinese merchandise is so cheap and Spanish goods so dear that I believe it impossible

108 MSS in the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 272.

109 In 1583, Pope Gregory XIII asked Mendoza to compose a 'history of the things that are known in China'. Two years later, Mendoza's book *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costubres del gran Reyno de la China* was published in Rome. A revised edition was published in Madrid in 1586. The latter was translated into English at the suggestion of Richard Hakluyt and published in London in 1588. The citations are from *History of the Great and mighty Kingdome of China and the Situation Thereof Compiled by the Padre Juan González de Mendoza and now reprinted from the early translation of R. Parke*, London, reprint 2010, Vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

110 Zhang, 2006, p. 157.

111 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. VII: 1588–1591, p. 29.

112 Letter from Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Felipe II [1575?], Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. An English translation by Arthur B. Myrick is published in Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 269–277.

113 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Volume V: 1582–1583, pp. 9–10.

114 The denomination 'tostón' was used in Spain and in the New World to refer to the four-real silver coin. In 1563, the council of the Audiencia of Mexico City informed Philip II that the mint had produced two million examples of this coin. Mentioned in Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, New York, 1992, p. 421.

115 Blair and Robertson, 1903, Volume V: 1582–1583, pp. 226–227.

to choke off trade to such extent that no Chinese wares will be consumed in this realm, since a man can clothe his wife in Chinese silks for 200 reales [25 pesos], whereas he could not provide her with clothing of Spanish silks with 200 pesos'.[116] This may have been an exaggeration of the Viceroy, but it serves to illustrate the high price differential between these imported silks. In a memorial written in *c.*1602 by Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola, Bishop of Rio de la Plata, he declares that 'The trading in, and consignment of silver to, the Filipinas by the inhabitants of Mexico causes great detriment to the inhabitants of the islands; for, because of the Mexicans sending so much silver, the price of Chinese silks and merchandise has risen, so that, while for twenty years, when only the inhabitants of the islands were permitted to trade, they were wont to gain one thousand percent, now they do not gain one hundred, whence results much resentment in the Filipinas'.[117]

The Spanish historian and politician António de Morga (1559–1636), first lieutenant-governor of the Philippines (1595–1598) and later senior judge of its *Audiencia* (1598–1603),[118] in his *Sucesos de las Filipinas* published in Mexico in 1609, gives a more detailed description of the types and quality of silks and other textiles brought to Manila in the following decade or shortly after. He observes that 'The goods which they usually bring, and sell to the Spaniards, are raw silk, in bundles, of the fineness of two strands, and other silk of inferior quality; fine untwisted silks, white and of all colors, in small skeins; quantities of smooth velvets, and velvet embroidered in all sorts of patterns, colours and fashions; and others, with the ground of gold and embroidered with the same; woven cloths and brocades of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns, quantities of gold and silver thread in skein, upon thread and upon silk, but all the spangles of gold and silver are false and upon paper; damasks, satins, taffetas, and gorvarans, picotes, and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others; quantity of linen made of grass, which they call *lençesuelo*, and white cotton tablecloths of different kinds and sorts, for all sort of uses'.[119] The raw silk, mostly from Zhejiang, as well as the various silk cloths mentioned by Morga, would most probably had been shipped by Chinese merchants from Canton or Zhangzhou.[120]

Relations written by Spanish Jesuits in the early seventeenth century for the promotion of the Jesuit missionary work in Asia provide evidence of the silk-for-silver trade in Manila. For instance, Pedro Chirino (1557–1635) in his book *Relación de las islas Filipinas* published in Rome in 1604, gives a detailed account of the Jesuit activities in the Philippines from 1581 until his departure in 1602[121] and reports that 'From China they not only began to ship their riches in silks and glazed earthenware, as soon as they learned of our wealth of four and eight real pieces'.[122] In 1603, only a year after his departure, the Chinese in Manila revolted and the authorities had to control and placate them. Another Jesuit, Adriano de las Cortes (1578–1629) in the account of his journey to China of 1626, where he spent eleven months in captivity after the galley that sailed from Manila wrecked on the coast of Guangdong while en route to Macao, describes the '*mercadurías*' (merchandising).[123] He mentions that 'Accounts made often and taken from the royal books … reach its revenue each year to one hundred fifty and even sixty millions in gold, silver, musk, rice, silks and several other things'.[124] From a pamphlet published in 1627 by Doctor Juan Oñes, who vigorously defended the participation of the clergy of Manila in the galleon trade, we learn that clerics participated directly in the silk trade but only on a small scale.[125] Oñes stated that the clerics purchased a small quantity of silk, usually eight cases of

116 Cited in Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954, p. 122.

117 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Volume XII: 1601–1604, p. 60.

118 Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 1492.

119 The citation is a translation from the original Spanish text published in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1997, p. 312. It is slightly different than the English translation published in Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the Sixteenth Century by Antonio de Morga*, printed for the Hakluyt Society, Bedford, Massachusetts, reprint 2009, pp. 337–338; and Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure. Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998, p. 205.

120 Lillian M. Li, *China's Silk Trade: Traditional Industry in the Modern World, 1842–1937*, Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1981, p. 64.

121 Chirino left the Philippines to return to Rome as procurator of the vice-province. Shortly after he returned to Spain and then went back to the Philippines to continue his work as a missionary, educator, and writer. Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 319.

122 Pedro Chirino, S. I., *Relación de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, Rome, 1604. Published in Blair and Roberston, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 191. Cited in Slack, 2010, p. 23.

123 Adriano de las Cortes, *Relación del viage, naufragio y captiverio que, con otras personas, padeció en Chaucao, reino de la gran China, con lo demás que vió en lo que della anduvó*, 1625. An incomplete copy of the original text is found in the British Library, Collection of Manuscripts in the Spanish Language, mss. Sloane 1005. Mentioned in Beatriz Moncó, 'The China of the Jesuits: Travels and Experiences of Diego de Pantoja and Adriano de las Cortes', *Culture & History Digital Journal*, 1(2), 2012. Accessed 3/7/2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.m.101.

124 Cited in Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, 'Un Aragones en China (1625)', *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, No. 7 (1), 1972, p. 213.

125 The Jesuits in Japan, as noted in Chapter I, were compelled to seek papal permission to participate in the trade in silk between Nagasaki and Macao out of necessity and this was granted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

cloth a time, from Chinese merchants who brought the silk to their homes and that it was subsequently packed by servants without the cleric's laying hands on it. He argued that because of the manner in which the purchases were done, without the clerics putting foot in the Chinese market (*Parián*), and because only a few cases were sent to New Spain, there was no corruption as some alleged on the ecclesiastical law forbidding trade to clerics, and that this trade was done out of necessity.[126]

As Gil has shown, the silk-for-silver trade in Manila was so important for the Chinese merchants that some of them smuggled part of the silk they brought for sale to avoid paying the custom taxes: the royal tax of 3 percent of the goods, the *almojarifazgo*, and the municipal taxes. Fines registered in the *penas de cámara* (camera section sentences) attest to smuggling activities over several decades. For example, on 13 May 1595, a merchant named Quingo was denounced by Francisco Guillén, and forced to pay the royal Caja the amount of 30 pesos for not having paid the rights for a *petaca* (chest)[127] of silk.[128] In 1608, a merchant that arrived from China in the ship *Chinto* failed to register 12 cates of twisted silk, at 20 reales each, and 26 pieces of coloured taffeta, at 12 reales a piece.[129] In October of 1612, the merchant Higuan from the ship of captain Liansan, condemned for not having registered a *petaca* of twisted white silk, a bedspread and two blankets, paid a fine of 6 pesos 7 tomín.[130] In 1649, when captain Sisia arrived in his ship *Pangasinán*, he tried to smuggle 1.463 pieces of blankets and one piece of raw silk. A total of 1.100 pesos were admitted in the royal Caja after these pieces were confiscated and sold at auction.[131]

The supply of silk to Manila also came by way of Portuguese merchants from Macao. Textual sources attest to the existence of a regular trade between Macao and Manila after Philip II's accession to the Portuguese throne in 1580. From that very year, the Portuguese country traders profiting from friendlier relations with Spain, went to Manila laden with silk and other Chinese goods to trade and obtain in exchange the much sought after New World silver.[132] For instance, an letter written in 1586 by Santiago de Vera, the sixth Spanish Governor of the Philippines (1584–1590), to Philip II, states that '…Two vessels have also come to this city from the Portuguese Macan, laden with curious merchandise, whence they have drawn great gain. The Chinese, on this account, have been very envious, and jealous, and fearful lest the Portuguese should work them an injury. …These with what they themselves bring, would render it quite unnecessary for the Portuguese to come here…. As above marked, two vessels came this year from the islands of Macan, whence the Portuguese brought provisions, a quantity of raw silk, taffetas, damasks and other merchandise. I showed them much hospitality and friendship, for which they were very grateful; and they desired to come here again, because they had derived much profit, and the voyage, in fair weather, can be accomplished in two weeks'.[133] From a memorial of the royal *Audiencia* of Manila, which was primarily a judicial tribunal, we learn that Spaniards sometimes went to acquire silk in Macao. The *oidores* (associate justices) at Manila informed the court that Pedro Unamanú, the successor to Captain Gali, diverted his voyage and went to China and Macao, supposedly to acquire a cargo of silk intended for private trade.[134]

After the Crown forbade the merchants from Manila to travel to Macao in 1593, the Portuguese took advantage of their middlemen position to extract higher prices from the Spanish than the Chinese junk traders had customarily charged.[135] A few Portuguese New Christian merchants residing in Manila, who invested in Asian country trading, even competed with the Spanish in the trans-Pacific silk trade to the New World. One of them was a merchant from Oporto, Diogo Fernandes Vitória

126 This pamphlet was summarized by the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla (1590–1648), a professor of moral theology at the College of St. Ignatius in Manila, in a public lecture in Manila. For a discussion on Bobadilla's lecture dealing with the moral aspects of the involvement in trading by clerics in Holy Orders, see Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Merchants and Missionaries: A Theologian's View of Clerical Involvement in the Galleon Trade', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Aug. 1967), pp. 363–369.

127 A large Spanish colonial chest covered in leather used for storage and transport of fragile clothing and cloth. Most were made after rectangular European models, but some were based on the Mexican *petaca*, which in turn copied the Aztec *petlacalli*, a chest made of woven cane. By the mid-sixteenth century the term *petaca* was used all over the New World for any leather chest used for general transport. An example, dating to the late seventeenth century, is published in Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruit (eds.), *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, New Haven, London and Philadelphia, 2006, p. 130, no. 1-21.

128 Contaduría 1202, f. 255v, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 71.

129 Contaduría 1207, f. 325r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 71.

130 Contaduría 1209, f. 660r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 72.

131 Contaduría 1229, f. 139r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 72.

132 Two ships registered from Macao arrived in 1580, two other ships in 1588, five ships in 1604, two ships in 1605 and another in 1606. The situation changed when Japan closed its borders and trade to foreigners in 1639, and when Portugal gained its independence from Spain in 1640.

133 Published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. VI: 1583–1588, p. 303. Also cited in Miyata Rodrigues, 2009, pp. 40 and 42.

134 A system for the administration of justice in the Philippines was already established before the *Audiencia* of Manila was inaugurated in 1584. Charles Henry Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies. As illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila (1583–1800)*, Berkeley, 1919, p. 62.

135 Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 35.

(*c.*1530–?), who after living in Brazil and New Spain established himself in Manila in 1580 to trade in silk, porcelain, musk oil, spices and some Indian cottons, diamonds and other gems for the markets in New Spain, Peru and the Caribbean. Diogo, who was council of the *Audiencia* in Manila, was linked to the network of family businesses of his relatives in Lisbon, Porto, Goa and Brazil.[136]

But beginning in 1608, the Crown granted the Manila government permission to send one vessel to Macao to purchase supplies. As the civil wars progressed in China after 1620, and Chinese junks began coming to Manila in fewer numbers, the Spanish became increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply the annual Manila Galleons with cargoes for the New World. For instance, a document regarding 'News from the Province of Filipinas', dated 1621, informs us that three galliots arrived from Macao in February 'laden with a rich cargo of silks and other merchandise' and that 'At this same time the king's ship arrived which had carried to Macan artillery for the defense of that city, and it brought back a cargo of silks'.[137]

In 1636, trade between Macao and Manila was officially severed by a royal decree. Portuguese ships, however, continued to make regular trips to Manila clandestinely until 1640, when Macao regained its independence from Spain and began a war with Manila.[138] This is confirmed by the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla, who in his *Relation of the Filipinas Islands*, written in 1640, reports 'We trade also with the Portuguese of Macao, who come to the Manilas every year with two or three ships, and bring here silks, musk, precious stones, …'. Bobadilla next gives a detailed description of the Chinese trade in silk and other valuable trade goods to Manila, stating that 'The inhabitants of the Manilas also go to Macao sometimes, to carry their merchandise there; but their chief trade is with the Chinese, who come annually, at the end of the month of December and the beginning of January, with twenty or thirty vessels, laden with products and valuable merchandise. They usually sail from Ocho and Chincheo, ports of Anay, a province of China that faces the Filipinas….They also bring all sorts of cloth stuffs, and some of these are as fine as those which come from France and the Low Countries; and many black stuffs of which the Indians make their clothes. They bring silk, plain and twisted, of all colours; damasks, velvets, tabbies, and double tafettas; cloths of gold and silver, galoons, and laces; coverlets, and cushions; and porcelain – although not the finest variety, as the trade in that is prohibited … Among all the silk stuffs brought by the Chinese, none is more esteemed than the white – the snow is not whiter; and there is no silk in Europe that can approach it'.[139] It is clear that Francisco de Sande (1540–1627), Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines from 1575–1580, was misinformed at the time he wrote his report *Relation of the Filipinas Islands* to Philip II in June 1576. He stated that when he asked the Chinese interlocutors 'what Castilian products were lacking in their country, they replied, "None whatever, unless it be velvet;" and they say that they do not have this, because they do not know how to make it, but if they could see the manufacture, they would learn it'.[140]

The sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by the kings of Spain/Portugal in relation to luxury and external appearance may have affected the importation of silks from China into Spain, first via Lisbon and after 1571 via New Spain. As Martínez Bermejo has noted, Philip II issued sumptuary laws eight times between 1563 and 1594. His son and successor, Philip III, not only passed four sumptuary laws during his reign but also set a royal example to his subjects in expressing sobriety on special occasions. For instance, when the King and his wife Margaret of Austria (1584–1611) attended festivities to celebrate the wedding of the marquises of La Bañeza in December 1601,

136 He was related to the wealthy and powerful merchants Francisco and Fernando Tinoco in Lisbon, António Dias in Porto and the Fernades d'Aires family in Goa. His relatives in Brazil included the brothers Diogo and Duarte Fernandes, and Simão Rodrigues. Boyajian, 1993, p. 76; and Carvalho Ricardo, 2006, p. 81.

137 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Volume XX: 1621–1624, p. 33.

138 Portuguese ships from Macao did not return to Manila again until 1670, or until after the civil wars had ended both in China and in the Iberian Peninsula.

139 Scholars believe that the author of this unsigned and undated relation was the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla, who wrote it in 1640 and was later translated by Melquisedec Thevenot. *Relation of the Filipinas Islands. By a religious who lived there for eighteen years*, translated from a Spanish manuscript in the library of Don Carlo del Pezzo and published Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Vol. XXIX: 1638–1640, p. 306, note 90.

140 *Relation of the Filipinas Islands*. Francisco de Sande; Manila, June 7, 1576. Mss. in the Archivo de Indias, Seville. A translation by Rachel King is published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. IV: 1576–1582, p. 52. Archaeological excavations at tomb 1 at Mawangdui in Hunan province demonstrate that loop pile polychrome *jin* fabric (*rongquan jin*) was produced in China as early as the 2nd century BC. A sculpted velvet hat dating to the Ming dynasty was found at the tomb of Wang Xijue (1543–1630) in Suzhou. Chen and Huang, 2012, pp. 399 and 401.

they 'dressed *a la pragmática* [in the fashion of the royal decrees], without brocades, ornaments, or any other piece of gold, although many of the ladies and gentlemen who attended the wedding wore many gold brocades and ornaments'.[141] A year earlier the King had passed a sumptuary law, which forced many plebeians to declare the silks and other luxury goods they owned before a notary. In Seville, for example, the artisan Hernando de Oviedo declared 'A male black satin doublet with small belt from China'; the doctor Alonso Núnez declared 'A small damask mantilla with a golden, blue and crimson braid, lined with pink taffeta, all from China'; and Baltazar de Valdés declared 'An iridescent green yellow taffeta cloth from China with golden braids'.[142]

In 1623, only two years after his accession to the throne, King Philip IV (r. 1621–1665) passed a series of sumptuary laws, which addressed issues of proper apparel, public offices, state administration, and the judiciary.[143] The regulation issued on 1st March, restricted ornamentation in clothing, and also prohibited the use of gold and silver in the decoration of a wide range of other items, including coaches, banners, and furniture. On 22nd March, however, a proclamation was issued suspending the implementation of the law in Madrid until the end of the period of the visit of Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales (1600–1649), the second son of King James I of England and Ireland, and VI of Scotland (r. 1567–1625). His lengthy visit, which lasted eight months, was an attempt to marry princess Maria Ana. Thus Philip IV aimed to show him 'the greatest demonstrations of solemnity and gratitude' by allowing the capital, Madrid, to display the great wealth and status of the Spanish monarchy.[144] As will become apparent in the following pages, the sumptuary laws issued in the Spanish colonies in the New World were not as strictly enforced as in Spain.

Spanish textual sources indicate that despite the aforementioned sumptuary laws a small quantity of silk, along with porcelain and other Asian goods, was re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[145] Documentation reveals that some silks were sent especially for Philip II and other members of the royal court in the early 1570s, and that woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. In 1591, for example, Don Juan de Zapata, *caballerizo* (groom) of Philip II, placed a personal order of Chinese goods that included some pieces of damask and satin to Don Antonio Maldonado, *oidor* (judge) in the *Chancillería* (Court of Justice) of Mexico City.[146]

The inventory of the cargo recovered from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora del Rosário*, which sank two years earlier, in 1589, while en route to Spain, included 'five pieces of little damask from china of different colours that have thirty-eight Varas'.[147] Six years later, in 1595, 'Two boxes with silk from China' were sent on another ship named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, whose master was Cristobal Coello.[148] That same year, the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza*, with Miguel Geronimo Navarro as master, carried among its cargo 'One hundred and twenty pounds of twisted white silk from China, one hundred and thirty pounds of twisted raw silk of *rapillero* from China, and one hundred and twenty pounds of raw silk from China'.[149] The following year, 'four hundred and twenty pounds of raw silk from China' were sent in the ship *Santa Buenaventura* (master: Juan de Morales); and 'Four pieces of damask from China of half an *arroba*', 'A piece of blue satin from China' and 'Three pieces of damask from China' were sent in the ship *San Francisco de Paula* (master: Isidro Hernandez).[150]

The inward registers of merchandise coming to Seville from New Spain for the years between 1600 to 1640 recently studied by Gasch-Tomás indicate that 96 percent

141 L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las Cosas Sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614*, Madrid, 1897, p. 129. Cited in Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 97.

142 AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 5437, p. 603; AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 5437, p. 605; and AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 5437, p. 619; respectively. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 309.

143 Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 94.

144 Letter from the King to the highest nobility of the kingdom, dated Madrid, 30th March 1623. Published in Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España*, Madrid, 1623, p. 198. Cited in Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 95.

145 The Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer re-exported at this time will be discussed in sections 3.1.2 of Chapter III and 4.1.1.3 of Chapter IV, respectively.

146 AGI, Contratación, 1795, pp. 319–322. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 57–58, note 149.

147 AGI, Contratación, 5109, Lisboa, 07/02/1590, Relação de Esteban de Ybarra dos papéis e documentos recuperados do naufrágio da Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 2 fólios. The Portuguese transcription of the text reads: 'yten otros cinco pedaços de damasquillo de la china de diferentes colores que tienen/ treynta e ocho Varas'. See, Paulo Alexandre Monteiro and Sérgio Pinhaiero, 'O naufrágio da nau da prata Nuestra Señora del Rosário (Tróia, 1589)', *Relatório de pesquisa apresentado à DANS*, Lisbon, January 2010, pp. 49–54. The silk from China is listed in p. 53.

148 AGI, Contratación, 1797. 1595. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 18, p. 265.

149 AGI, Contratación, 1798. 1595. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 19, pp. 265–266.

150 AGI, Contratación, 1798. 1596. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 20, pp. 266–267.

of all the Asian textiles imported into Seville was raw silk from China. Various types of raw silk were imported, including thrown silk, bundled silk, floss silk, and long-haired silk. Woven silk cloths only amounted 4 percent and finished silk clothing was completely absent.[151] The author notes that the fact that not even one of a number of probate inventories of Seville retailers of this period includes Chinese silks among their supplies, suggests that they were not being retailed in this city of Andalusia, which as mentioned earlier, was one of most important commercial ports of Iberia, along with Lisbon, and the only Spanish port that had a monopoly of trade with the Spanish colonies in the New World.[152] However, textual sources indicate that Chinese raw silk was imported from New Spain into Granada as early as the late 1580s. In 1589, for example, the merchant Mateo Santa Ana sent 190 *cates* of raw silk from China, to his sisters Francisca and María de Santa Ana living in Granada. Two years later, Mateo Santa Ana shipped 120 *cates* of raw silk from China to Francisco Núñez, from Granada. Raw silk was also imported from Manila, via Mexico City, as shown by the example of Pedro de Torrijos, who received 113 *cates* of raw silk through these cities, in 1607.[153] The Chinese raw silk imported from New Spain into Granada and other silk production centres, as argued by Gasch-Tomás, may have delayed the crisis of the silk industries that took place during the seventeenth century in Spain due to the introduction of European manufactured textiles and cloth.[154] Gasch-Tomás suggests that the reasons for the greater importation of raw silk than woven silk in Seville were that the elites in Spain were less willing to purchase woven silks from China because their strong colours and Asian motifs were not attuned to their tastes and fashions, and that raw silk was more easily acceptable because it had neither Asian motifs nor in some cases dye.[155]

Thus it is likely that the various silks registered as cargo on the late sixteenth century ships discussed above were sent as gifts or private consignments to members of the nobility, and/or to relatives and acquaintances of Europeans and Creoles living in New Spain. A few documented examples help to illustrate how silks were transferred from New Spain to Spain in the early seventeenth century, not only through the participation of the nobility but also of the new middle class elites.[156] For instance in 1603, a resident of Jalapa, named Lucio Gutiérrez, sent several pieces of silk, damask and silk circlets to his sisters in Spain.[157] The following year, Alonso Diaz de la Barrera, *correo mayor* (postman in chief) of New Spain, sent to Pedro Contreras, the secretary of the Royal Treasury in Madrid, a consignment that included 60 pounds of raw silk and 1 piece of white satin for him and a crimson velvet canopy with golden silk laces to be given to Juan Bravo de Acuña, president of the *Consejo de Hacienda* (Treasury Council).[158] In 1611, Alonso de Meneses, master of the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta*, registered '15 crates containing silk and pottery from China that belong to Gonzalo Sanchez de Herrera, resident of Mexico, to be delivered to Alonso de Herrera Torres in Seville'.[159] That same year, Alonso de Vado sent from Mexico City a personal order of the secretary Antonio Jiménez in Madrid that included 2 *cates* of blue-and-green silk, 1 *cate* of white silk from Chaguey, 2 *cates* of blue-and-green thrown silk, 4 fabrics from Macan, 6 pieces of varied colours satins from Canton, among many other Asian goods.[160] In 1618, Juan Chena, canon of the Cathedral of Seville received as gifts some pieces of satins, taffetas, and damasks from China.[161] Most gifts of silk sent from New Spain to ecclesiastical institutions such as churches and chapels in Spain, however, were in the form of alms.[162]

151 AGI, Contratación, 1793 to 1929B. See Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 221, figure 5.3.

152 The Gasch-Tomás studied a total of 131 probate inventories of Seville in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla* (AHPS). Some retailers listed imported textiles, such as Italian silks, among their supplies. This indicates that the elites of Seville would have had enough purchasing power to buy Asian textiles, even if they were scarce and expensive. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 75 and 221; and José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'Globalisation, Market Formation and Commoditisation in the Spanish Empire. Consumer Demand for Asian Goods in Mexico City and Seville, c. 1571–1630', *Revista de Historia Económica*, Vol. 32, Issue 2, September 2014, pp. 208–209.

153 AGI, Contratación, 1793, pp. 164–166; AGI, Contratación, 1795, pp. 7–8; and AGI, Contratación, 1806, pp. 285-286; respectively. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 225, note 536.

154 Ibid., p. 225.

155 Ibid., p. 226.

156 Silks were also sent from Manila, through New Spain, as private commissions to Spain. The example of the archbishop of Manila, who sent silk consignments in 1615 and 1616, will be discussed in section 2.4.1 of this Chapter.

157 AGI, Contratación, 1804, pp. 33–35. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 63; and Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 209.

158 AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 49–52. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 58, note 149.

159 AGI, Contratación, 1811, libro primero, Fols. 54–60. Veracruz. 1611. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 37, p. 276.

160 AGI, Contratación, 1809, pp. 313–317. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 59, note 149.

161 AGI, Contratación, 1851, pp. 257–261. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 67.

162 A few examples of silks received as alms to chapels and churches include an ornament of silk from China received by Our lady of Belén in Burgos in 1594; two silk ornaments received by the chapel Our Lady of Las Fuentes in Palencia in 1604; several pieces of satin received by Our lady of La Caridad in Toledo that same year; two pieces of satin and another two of taffeta received specifically for the Virgin's dress by Our lady of Los Remedios in Badajoz in 1611; 86 pounds of Chinese silk and several pieces of woven silk received by Our lady of La Pena in Burgos in 1615; and a piece of damask received by Our Lady of El Valle in Valladolid in 1621. AGI, Contratación, 1798, pp. 6–7; AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 52–53; AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 58–62; AGI, Contratación, 1808, pp. 77–79; AGI, Contratación, 1808, pp. 232–233; AGI, Contratación, 1831, pp. 196–199; and AGI, Contratación, 1871, pp. 567–573. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 67–68, note 190.

163 Tira 1, México 351, Translated by John de Bry. Cited in Michael C. Krivor, John de Bry, Nicholas J. Linville and Debra J. Wells, *Archival Investigations for Potential Colonial-Era Shipwrecks in Ultra-Deepwater within the Gulf of Mexico*, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, Regulation and Enforcement, Gulf of Mexico OCS Region, New Orleans, LA. OCS Study BOEMRE 2011–004, p. 271.

164 The Dutch West Indies Company (hereafter cited as WIC) was founded in 1621 as a joint-stock freebooting venture to compete with the Spanish trade. Its objectives were both commerce and privateering raids. Anne Pétorin-Dumon, 'The Pirate and the Emperor: Power and the Law on the Seas, 1450–1850', in Tracy, 1997, p. 209.

165 Kamen, 2002, p. 328.

166 For a few examples of private consignments and gifts of silk and other Asian goods sent in the 1620s, see AGI, Contratación, 1876, pp. 2396–2404; AGI, Contratación, 1882, pp. 660–663; AGI, Contratación, 1890, pp. 2051–2053. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 59, note 149, and p. 101.

167 AGI, Contratación, 4408 to 4477. See, Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 100, figure 3.2; and José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'Southeast Asia and New Spain in the Making of World History. The Manila Galleons and the Circulation of Asian Goods in the Hispanic Empire, c. 1565–1650', unpublished paper presented for *Encounters, Circulations and Conflicts*, Fourth European Congress on World and Global History, Paris, September 2014. I am grateful to Gasch-Tomás for providing me a copy of his paper for the congress.

168 AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 2519, pp. 653–715. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 65.

169 The original text in Spanish reads: 'Una sobremesa de china blanca bordadas de seda y oro forrada en carmesí en treinta ducados y otra sobremesa de china embutida de sedas de colores y oro en veinte ducados'. AHP, Leg. 10155, Fols. 624–984. 18 May 1637. Seville. Petición de los bienes de Fernando López Ramírez, vecino de la collación de San Bartolomé, marido de María de Arellano. 1625: *mercadurías reales y ducados, pesos, barras de oro y plata, perlas y qualesquier otras cosas que a mí me ayan benido y binieren en flota o galeones o otras naos de qualesquier partes y probinssias y puertos de las yndia*. Cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 142, and note 604.

170 AHPS, Sección Portocolos 3, vol. 2, Leg. 1811, fols. 1369–1601v. For an English translation of the original inventory listing the silk items, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 143, note 608.

171 AGI, Contratación, 1876, pp. 1616–1620. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

172 Hang-sheng Chuan, 'The Chinese Silk Trade with Spanish-America from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific. Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons, The Pacific World. Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900*, London, 2001, Vol. 4, p. 256.

173 AGI, Contratación, 1892, pp. 619–621. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

174 On the receipt of goods of the chapel (founded in 1567) given in 1646 by the sacristan Alonso García Muñoz de Vergara to Juan de Flores, new chaplain and predecessor in the sacristy, it was still preserved and he used this set of silks to give masses for the soul of the founder. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, leg. 11.767–P, fols. 274r–279v. Mentioned in Antonio J. Díaz Rodruiguez, 'Sotanas a la morisca y casullas a la chinesa: el gusto por lo exótico entre los eclesiásticos cordobeses (1556–1621)', *Investigaciones Históricas 30* (2010), p. 42, and note 45.

The re-exportation of silk from New Spain to Spain, however, was not always a private enterprise. For instance, in July 1628, when the flagship *Santiago* ran aground off Veracruz while en route to Spain, the treasurer Diego de Valle Alvarado and the official notary public were sent on board to take and save the silver and coins belonging to both the King and private individuals, and the cochineal, silk and indigo to be remitted to the *Royal Contaduría* (Crown Accounting Office).[163] Two months later, the privateer and captain Piet Heyn (1577–1629) of the Dutch West Indies Company (*West-Indische Compagnie* or WIC)[164] seized the entire Spanish Treasure fleet under the command of Admiral Juan de Benavides, which was anchored at Matanzas Bay, to the east of Havana. The fleet's booty, worth over 4.8 million silver pesos, included silver, gold, silk and other goods.[165]

Recent research by Gasch-Tomás has shown that although gifts and private consignments of silks continued to be sent to Spain in the 1620s and 1630s, there was a considerable fall in the re-exportation of silk from New Spain from the 1620s onwards, which coincided with an overall decline in the trans-Pacific trade.[166] This decline is clearly seen in an analysis of the data of the registers of a royal tax, the so-called *avería*, charged on exports from Veracruz to Seville from 1600 to 1640.[167] A bequest made by Tomás de Morales, judge of the *Audiencia* of Seville, to his brother consisting of 2 pieces of damask and other goods, when he died in 1623, attests to the scarcity of silks from China in Spain at the time.[168] This is also reflected in a recent study by Krahe of post-mortem inventories of important merchants of Seville taken in the early seventeenth century, which include very few pieces of silk (as well as other Asian goods, such as porcelain) compared to the rest of their household goods. For instance, an inventory taken in November 1625 of the possessions of Fernando López Ramírez, who traded in all types of merchandise from the Indies, lists only two silks from China, which are described as 'a white tablecloth embroidered with silk and gold and lined in crimson from China [appraised] at thirty *ducados* and another tablecloth from china inlaid with coloured silks and gold at twenty *ducados*'.[169] The merchant Pedro Morera, who traded primarily in cloth, appears to have been an exception among the merchants of Seville. He had several silks from China, which included various types of woven silk cloths and clothing items made of silks (perhaps in Seville), but apparently no porcelain.[170]

The limited quantities of silk that arrived in Spain at this time appear to have been eagerly sought for use in religious contexts. Textual sources indicate that members of the Church continued to receive silks as gifts sent from New Spain. For instance, the Inquisitor Don Juan Gutiérrez Flores sent to the prioress of the convent of La Candelaria in Cadiz, a silk ornament from China for an altar, in 1624.[171] Three years later, Doctor Gil de la Barrera sent from Mexico City a consignment of 3 damasks, 2 satins, and 5 *gorgoranes* (a kind of silk made from silk and wool)[172] from China, as gifts to Don Diego Guerra, *procurador general* (representative) of the Mexican Church, who lived in Madrid.[173] Silks also found their way to churches in the Andalusian city of Córdoba, where Canon Juan Sigler de Espinosa bequeathed to the chaplains of the Chapel of San Juan Bautista that he had founded in the Cathedral of Córdoba, his vestments, an altar frontal of white satin with fringes in gold and crimson silk and a valance also in gold and silk of the same colour, all matching and made in China.[174]

An excerpt from a document cited by Gasch-Tomás serves to illustrate the privileged role played by members of the viceroyalty's court in the transmission of silks and other Asian goods to Spain. It is a report of the belongings that the Marquis

of Cerralbo, the Viceroy of New Spain, brought back with him to Spain in 1636. It lists not only a number of woven silk cloths and finished silk products but also a few embroidered silks that were made to order, including 16 pieces of striped fabric stamped (probably painted) with blue from China for a livery, 7 pieces of blue embroidered satins, 8 *reposteros* (tapestries with the coat of arms)[175] embroidered with silk and satin from China, 44 curtains of an embroidered velvet canopy from China, 5 pieces of velvet from China stamped (probably painted) with gold, a white taffeta bedspread and pillows from China.[176]

It is clear from the textual sources discussed in this section of Chapter II that the silk-for-silver trade carried out by the Spanish immediately after their settlement in Manila was very profitable due to the cheap sale price of the silks brought by the Chinese junk merchants, but after a decade or so the great demand for silks and the *almojarifazgo* taxes levied upon the Chinese made silks more difficult to obtain even if the Spanish were welling to pay much higher prices for them. This trade was so important for the Chinese merchants that some smuggled part of the silk they brought for sale to avoid paying the custom taxes.

As has been shown, the types of silks brought by the Chinese junks to Manila were similar to those purchased directly by the Portuguese in Canton. These included raw silks (plain and twisted), woven silk cloths such as velvets (some embroidered in all sorts of patterns, colours and gold), damasks, satins, and taffetas of all colours, of various qualities. In addition the junks brought finished silk products, such as coverlets and cushions. This is not surprising, as the supply of silk also came through Portuguese country traders from Macao, who profiting from friendlier relations with Spain after the union of the Iberian crowns in 1580, went regularly to Manila to trade and obtain the much sought after New World silver. Silk also came by way of Spaniards who sometimes went to both China and Macao to acquire silk intended for private trade. After 1620, when the junks came to Manila in fewer numbers due to the civil wars in China, the Spanish became increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply silk and other Chinese goods for the annual Manila Galleons bound to the New World. Although a royal decree of 1636 prohibited trade between Macao and Manila, Portuguese ships made regular trips to Manila clandestinely bringing silks until 1640, when Macao regained its independence and began war with Manila.

Textual sources have also shown that despite the sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by Philip II, Philip II and Philip IV in relation to luxury and external appearance, a small quantity of silk was re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As we have seen, as early as the 1590s, woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by members of the Madrid royal court, and others together with raw silk, were registered as cargo on a number of different ships. Raw silk of various types accounted for 96 percent of all Asian textiles imported into Seville in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Although silks were not being retailed in this Andalusian city, raw silk was imported into Granada and other silk production centres as early as the late 1580s. This in turn may have delayed the crisis suffered by the silk industries as a result of the introduction of European manufactured textiles from northwestern Europe and Italy. The greater importation of raw silk than woven silk into Seville may have been due to the Spanish elites tastes. They were probably less welling to purchase woven silks because their bright colours, but accepted more easily raw silk as it had neither Asian motifs nor is some cases dye.

Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the woven silks and finished silk products registered as cargo on a number of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century ships were sent as gifts (sometimes in the form of alms) or private consignments to members of the nobility, ecclesiastical institutions and/or to relatives and acquaintances of Europeans and Creoles living in Spain. As has been shown, this re-exportation of silks to Spain was made possible through the participation of members of the viceroyalty's court, nobility as well as the new middle class elites of New Spain. But the re-exportation of silks was not always a private enterprise, as sometimes silks and other goods were to be remitted to the Crown Accounting Office. From the 1620s onwards, there was a considerable fall in the re-exportation of silk to Spain, which coincided with an overall decline in the trans-Pacific trade. The limited quantities of silk cloths and finished silk products that arrived in Spain during this period appear to have been eagerly sought after for use in religious contexts. Silks were sent as gifts to members of the church in Madrid and Cadiz, and others were bequeathed to a chapel in Cordoba.

175 Other shipments of *reposteros* will be discussed in section 2.3.1 of this Chapter.

176 'Memoria de ropa, plata labrada y joyas del Marqués de Cerralbo, virrey de Nueva España', AGI, Contratación, 1918, pp. 2196–2229. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 60, note 154.

Trade to the Southern Netherlands [2.1.3]

Documentary evidence of the presence of silk in the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands is scarce. As early as 1520–1521, the famous Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), while staying in Antwerp during his trip to the Southern Netherlands, acquired many foreign artifacts and natural objects that he had not encountered before, including fine silk textiles such as velvet, satin and damask.[177] This is not surprising, as Antwerp was described in 1577 by the Calvinist city fathers as 'not only the first and principal commercial city of all Europe, but also the source, origin, and storehouse of all goods, riches and merchandise, and a refuge and nurse of all arts, sciences, nations and virtues'.[178]

Visual sources suggest that the Archduke Albert VII of Austria (1559–1621) wore clothing items made of silk from China after his marriage to Isabella Clara (1566–1633), the eldest daughter of Philip II, in 1598. After governing Portugal as viceroy in the name of his uncle Philip II from 1583 to 1593, Albert VII and Isabella Clara ruled as independent, joint governors of the Southern Netherlands between 1598 and 1621. A portrait by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1553–1608), who became official portrait painter to the court of Philip II in 1588 and ten years later to that of Philip III, dated 1600, depicts Albert VII wearing a big ruff collar and an elegant costume consisting of a black *bohemio* (*cape*), probably of velvet, lined with a colourful woven, embroidered or painted silk with a stylized floral pattern in white, red, grey and yellow-brown, also used on the sleeves and the pleats of the upper hose, which may have been of Chinese origin (Fig. 2.1.3.1).[179] This is suggested by the small, stylized red flowers that appear scattered on some extant late Ming silk textiles, such as a polychrome *jin* fabric patterned with lotus scrolls housed at the Tsinghua University, Academy of Arts and Design in Beijing,[180] and a silk lampas with an octagonal geometric pattern (*badayun*) on a gold silk ground, dating to *c.*1575–1625, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 2.1.3.2).[181] Albert VII would most probably have acquired the silk, together with porcelain and other goods from China, through his familial relationship with the Spanish/Portuguese royal court.

177 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 182–187. Mentioned in Christine Göttler, 'The Place of the "Exotic" in Early-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp', in Stephanie Schrader (ed.), *Looking East. Ruben's Encounter with Asia*, Los Angeles, 2013, p. 97.

178 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577*, Antwerp and Amsterdam, 1996, p. 23. Cited in Göttler, 2013, p. 90.

179 The possible Chinese origin of the silk lining was first suggested by Jordan in a catalogue entry discussing the portraits of the Archduke and Isabella Clara by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz in 1999. See Alejandro Vergara (ed.), *El Arte en la Corte de los Archiduques Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia (1598–1633). Un Reino Imaginado*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 145–147.

180 Published in Kuhn, 2012, p. 425, fig. 8.73.

181 Published in Ibid., p. 427, fig. 8.75. The authors Chen and Huang have dated this textile fragment to the sixteenth century, while the Metropolitan Museum dates it to the seventeenth century or earlier.

Fig. 2.1.3.1 Portrait painting of Archduke Albert VII of Austria
Oil on canvas
Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, dated 1600
Dimensions: 125cm x 97cm
Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen
Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. no. 898)

Fig. 2.1.3.2 Length of silk lampas
Silk on a gold silk ground
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century, c.1575–1625
Dimensions: 133.5cm x 101.7cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (acc. no. 34.71)

Trade to the Spanish colonies in the New World (2.1.4)

Viceroyalty of New Spain [2.1.4.1]

The opening of the trans-Pacific trade route that connected Manila and Acapulco enabled the colonial merchants of New Spain to annually import large quantities of silks. The potential profits of trade of these highly valued imported silks, destined for both the local market within the viceroyalty and re-export to the viceroyalty of Peru and Spain, were enormous.[182] By this time the domestic silk textile industry in New Spain had begun to decline and there was an enormous demand for silver in China, where the price was higher than in Japan, Europe and the New World.[183] The acquisition of silks of various types and qualities at cheap prices in Manila with silver pesos from Peruvian and Mexican mines allowed the colonial merchants to sell them at prices several times higher in the New World. Thus there was great motivation to participate in this lucrative silk-for-silver trade.

Raw silk and woven silk cloths were the most important products imported into New Spain from Manila throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[184] As mentioned earlier, only a small quantity of silk was re-exported to Spain, via Havana. The earliest documentary reference of silk imports into New Spain dates to 1573, when two Manila Galleons left the Philippines with a cargo that included '712 bales of Chinese silk' among other goods.[185] A letter written that same year by the Viceroy of New Spain, Martin Enriquez, to Philip II, describes in more detail the woven silk cloths brought into Acapulco saying that '… And besides all this, the ships carry silks of different colours (both damasks and satins), cloth stuffs…'.[186] The following year Enriquez wrote again to the King, this time condemning the quality of the imported silks. He states 'I have seen some of the articles which have been received in barter from the Chinese; and I consider the whole thing as a waste of effort, and a losing rather than a profitable business. For all they bring are a few silks of very poor quality (most of which are coarsely woven), some imitation brocades, fans, porcelain, writing desks, and decorated boxes'. Enriquez goes on to describe the silk-for-silver trade as 'To pay for these they carry away gold and silver, and they are so keen that they will accept nothing else'.[187]

An unsigned memorial, dated 17 June 1586, informs the King that the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez had written a letter on March of the previous year saying that the merchants of New Spain were 'greatly disappointed that the trade with the Philipinas Islands should be taken away from them; for, although satins, damasks, and other silken goods, even the finest of them, contain very little silk, and others are woven with grass (all of which is quite worthless), the people mainly resort to this cheap market, and the prices of silks brought from Spain are lowered. Of these latter, taffetas had come to be worth no more than eight reals, while satins and damasks had become very cheap'. Moreover, Viceroy Enriquez feared that 'if this went further, it would not be needful to import silks from Spain'.[188] As shown earlier, the importation of cheap woven silks from China was to cause great damage to the existing trade monopoly in silks from Spain.

Considerable quantities of Chinese silk continued to be shipped from Manila to the New World in the late 1580s. For instance, when the English privateer Thomas Cavendish (1560–1592) captured the 600-ton *Santa Ana* off Cabo San Lucas, Baja

182 The re-export of silk from New Spain to Peru will be discussed in the following section of this Chapter.

183 Flynn, Giráldez and Sobredo, 2001, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

184 José Luis Gasch-Tomás, 'Asian Silk, Porcelain and Material Culture in the Definition of Mexican and Andalusian Elites, c. 1565–1630', in Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (eds.), *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824*, Basingstoke, 2014, p. 159.

185 Quoted in Schurz, 1959, p. 27; and Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 223.

186 *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877). Published in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 192.

187 Ibid., p. 204, note 3.

188 AGI, Filipinas, 18, AR 8, N 53, 1586. This memorial appears to have been written by a member of the royal Council of the Indias. Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. VI: 1583–1588, pp. 280–281. A slightly different English translation from the original document is published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 3, pp. 253–254.

189 Kris. E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire. Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750*, Armonk, New York, 1998, p. 55; Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific. With an Annotated List of the Transpacific Galleons 1565–1815*, Central Milton Keynes, 2011, p. 280.

California in November 1587, while she and another Manila Galleon were en route to Acapulco, the cargo included gold and a great many bundles of silks and other fine textiles.[189] According to Gasch-Tomás, during the period from 1600 to 1640, Chinese silks amounted to 99 percent of all the Asian textiles imported into New Spain. This included 39 percent of raw silk, 59 percent of woven silk cloths and 1 percent of finished clothing items.[190]

As noted by Machuca, small quantities of silk clothing items and other Chinese goods were among the personal belongings brought by sailors that crossed the Pacific from Manila to Acapulco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Contemporary documents show that this is the case of at least two sailors who died from unknown illnesses in Colima, a small Spanish coastal settlement located in the frontier of New Spain and New Galicia, where the galleons stopped before arriving to Acapulco to get food supplies and to send the viceroy an official report about the status of the merchandise.[191] The earliest document is that of Manuel Pérez, who died in 1580 without leaving a will. Pérez arrived to the port of Salagua (present-day Manzanillo) very ill and was taken to the rancho of Andrés Toscano, where he is said to have had '3 dresses of silk from that China, of colours, and of jubón,[192] and breeches and 50 blankets from China and 9 pesos in reales'.[193] Two days later Pérez died. His belongings were confiscated by constable Juan Muñoz from Toscano's house, and subsequently inventoried and sold at public auction. These included '2 large and 2 small porcelains from China; […] a taffeta tunic from China; […] 2 pairs of satin zaragüelles[194] from China, red. Iten 2 satin sayetes[195] from China. A chamarrilla[196] and an old satin jubón from China…'.[197] The latter were probably the 'satin jubón and jacket from China, old and ragged, auctioned for 2 pesos' by a mute man from Colima named Andrés Jácome in 1581.[198] From these documents, it is clear that imported silk clothing items reached through public auctions even the lower social classes, and that auctions were widely used for accessing both new and second-hand silk clothing items, the latter valued even if they had been worn for a long time and damaged.

In 1624, Gaspar Pagés de Moncada, who was the notary of the Almiranta *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* died whilst he was being transported from the port city of Navidad to Colima. In order to pay for his funeral and burial, the ordinary mayor Diego Mejía de la Torre sold his belongings at public auction the following year. The desire to own luxury and newly arrived Asian goods led several Colima inhabitants to purchase at least one item. The following people bought silk clothing items: Juan de Funes bought '6 satin and damask doublet from China' for '6 pesos 2 tomines c/u', Benito Rodríguez bought '1 yellow tafetta doublet from china' for '4 pesos 4 tomines', Diego Ruiz bought '1 black tafetta strip from china' for '1 peso', Clemente Hidalgo bought '1 pair of silk stockings from china, silvery, new' for '5 pesos', Jerónimo Ortiz bought '1 pair of white silk stockings from China' for '7 pesos', and Juan Cornejo bought '1 tafetta breeches and old clothes from china' for '4 pesos'.[199] The fact that Hidalgo paid 2 pesos less than Ortiz for a new pair of stockings, suggests that those of white colour were more popular and thus more expensive. What is interesting about this documentation is that it shows that Juan Cornejo, like Andrés Jácome had done forty-four years earlier, purchased old silk clothing items. It is likely that these two men could not afford to buy such items new, and therefore were willing to own one or a few of them even if old and damaged. Thus silk items must have played an important role in the personal appearance and social stance of an individual.

The documentary sources studied by Machuca, including wills, dowry letters

190 Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 218, fig. 5.2.

191 Paulina Machuca Chávez, 'Colima y Manila: dos ciudades hermanadas por la historia', *Portes. Revista Mexicana de studios sobre la Cuenca del Pacifico*, Vol. 4, No. 8, July/December, 2010, Colima, México, p. 8.

192 *Jubón* (doublet) was an item of clothing that could be worn by both men and women, depending on its shape and ornamentation. The costume for men typically consisted of a *jubón* or doublet that was tightly fitted and covered from the shoulders to the waist, and baggy pants or socks. Mentioned in Paulina Machuca, 'De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres. Cultura material de origen asiático en Colima, siglos XVI–XVII', *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad*, no. 131, 2012, p. 86.

193 The original text in Spanish reads: '…el dicho Manuel Pérez sacó 3 vestidos de seda de la dicha China, de colores, e de jubón, e calzones y 50 mantas de la China y 9 pesos en reales…'. *Información sobre Manuel Pérez, mariner de una nao que venía de las Islas del Poniente, fallecido en el Puerto de Salagua (25 de diciembre, 1580)*, Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Hereafter cited as AHMC) 386. Unless otherwise stated the translation of the Spanish texts discussed in this section of Chapter II into English have been made by the author. For more information on Pérez, see José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y Pobladores. Nueva España y Nueva Galicia (Siglo XVI)*, Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, Zamora, 2001.

194 *Zaragüelles* were another type of long and baggy pants worn by men. Mentioned in Machuca, 2012, p. 86.

195 *Sayetes* were a doublet or coat used for warfare. Everett W. Hesse and Harry F. Williams (eds.), *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, Wisconsin, 1961, p. 81.

196 *Chamarrilla* is a diminutive of *chamarra*, which was a leather or sheepskin jacket.

197 The original text in Spanish reads: '2 porcelanas grandes e 2 pequeñas de la China; […] una saya de tafetán de la China; […] 2 pares de zaragüelles de raso de la China, colorados. Iten 2 sayetes de raso de la China. Una chamarrilla e un jubón Viejo de raso de la China…' AHMC 386. Machuca Chávez, 2010, p. 20.

198 The original text in Spanish reads: 'un jubón y una jaqueta de raso de la China, viejo y roto, se remataron en 2 pesos'. AHMC 386, section A, box 10, exp. 20. Romero de Solís, 2001; and Machuca, 2012, p. 88.

199 The original texts in Spanish reads: '6 jubones de raso y damasco de china' por '6 pesos 2 tomines c/u', Benito Rodríguez '1 jubón de tafetán amarillo de china' por '4 pesos 4 tomines', Diego Ruiz '1 tira de tafetán negro de china' por '1 peso', Clemente Hidalgo '1 par de medias blancas de seda de china, plateadas, nuevas' por '5 pesos', Jerónimo Ortiz '1 par de medias blancas de seda de china' por '7 pesos', and Juan Cornejo '1 calzón y ropilla vieja de tafetán de china' por '4 pesos'. AHMC, section B, box 4, exp. 4. For the full list of Pagés de Moncada's goods sold on 8th February 1625, see Machuca Chávez, 2010, pp. 21–22; and Machuca, 2012, pp. 104–105, table 1 and pp. 125–127.

200 Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima (hereafter cited as AHEC), Fondo virreinal (hereafter cited as FV), box 11, carpeta, 5, exp. 1939, and AHEC, FV, box 11, carpeta 5, exp. 1939. See, Machuca, 2012, p. 105 and pp. 124–125.

of dowries, and inventories, have shown the great appreciation that both female and male inhabitants of Colima had for silk clothing items. For instance, the will dating to 1622 of Juana de Villalobos, who was the wife of a member of Colima's cabildo, lists '1 turca de tafetán de China' and '1 turca amarilla de tafetán de China'.[200] In 1640, an embroidered *jubón* and its *pollera* of blue satin from China were given by Jerónimo de Vitoria to his future son in law, Captain Juan del Hoyo y Velasco, in occasion of the marriage to doña Manuela de Vitoria, which were valued at 40 pesos.[201] The documentation from Colima discussed above serves as an example of wide spread local interest in silks from China; in other colonial cities it would not have been different.

Based on the information provided in contemporary documents, it is evident that by the end of the sixteenth century silks from China were common in the daily life of the colonial society of the viceroyalty's capital, Mexico City. Probate inventories and notarial records indicate that in Mexico City, in contrast with what we saw earlier in Seville, both woven silks and finished silk products were sold in retail shops.[202] For instance, when the shopkeeper Alexandre Mallón died in 1592, he had a shop that sold taffetas, *sinabafas* (finely woven fabric made of silk, linen or cotton), weak silk, *gorgoranes*, as well as tocas (wimples) and stockings, all from China.[203] Antonio de la Fuente, who died in 1602, owned a shop that sold expensive damasks, satins, velvets, and finished products from China, along with finished cloths from Spain.[204] The probate inventory of the shop of a craftsman named Alonso del Riego, who died in 1603, states that he purchased raw silk, satins and taffetas from China, through the peddler from Acapulco Juan de Escudero, to whom he owned 42 pesos.[205] In addition, probate inventories show that some textile craftsmen and craftswomen made specific requests of silks through merchants with commercial links to the Philippines. These included the tailors Manuel Tinoco and Bartolomé de Ocaña. Tinoco, who died in 1591, made an order of several pieces of taffeta worth 71 pesos, and several *cates* of thrown silk valued at 8.5 pesos; and Ocaña ordered taffetas, damasks and *sinabafas* worth 218 pesos, and thrown floss silk worth 28 pesos, which the merchant Lorenzo Murientes was to carry from the Philippines to Mexico City for them.[206] Isabel Villalobos, who died that same year, also ordered some silks from the Philippines.[207] From the examples discussed above it is possible to conclude that woven silks not only predominated the types of silks sold in the capital's shops, but also those imported as special orders for craftsmen/craftswomen.

Spanish-born Bernardo de Balbuena (1562–1627), who spent most of his life in New Spain, in his descriptive poem *Grandeza Mexicana* published in 1604, portrays the capital as a crossroads of global mercantile routes. De Balbuena notes the great variety of luxury goods imported from Europe, Africa and Asia, which include 'From the great China silks of colours'.[208] He also makes remarks on the lavish lifestyle of the colonial elite, saying that 'Their courteous composure, their nobility, their noble treatment in peaceful manner, with no smallness nor shadow of scarcity; their prodigal way of giving out all things, taking no heed of excessive expense; the pearls and gold, silver and silk in plenty'.[209] An example of the elites' consumption of silks and various other goods imported from around the world at about this time can be found in the probate inventory of Francisco Muñoz de Monforte, the *corregidor* (mayor) of Mexico City who died in 1607, which lists '8 curtains and a yellow and red taffeta curtain from China […]; 2 pairs of rich velvet hose from China, one of them with stockings […]; A yellow and red damask bedspread from China […]', among other imported goods from Portugal, Spain and Italy.[210]

201 AHEC, Fondo virreinal, box 13, carpeta, 8, f. 52.

202 Recent research on an account book of shops for the years 1583–1584, registering sales of many different products, do not mention silk or other manufactured goods from China. This is not surprising, as convincingly argued by Gash-Tomás, because direct trade between New Spain and the Philippines only began a few years earlier, in 1565. Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 79.

203 Archivo de las Notarías del DF (hereafter cited as AnotDF), Notario Juan Bautista Moreno (375), Reg. 2483, pp. 199–205. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

204 AnotDF, Notario Andrés Moreno (374), Reg. 2467, pp. 465–478. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

205 AGI, Contratación, 274A, N.1, R.11. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

206 AGI, Contratación, 242, N.1, R.5. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, pp. 219–220.

207 AGI, Contratación, 487, N.1, R.25. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 220.

208 Balbuena, 1604, Chapter 3, p. 77. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accessed May 2013.

209 The Spanish text reads: 'Su cortes compostura, su nobleza,/Su trato hidalgo, s apacible modo,/ Sin coriedad, ni sombra de escazesa./Aquel prodigamente darlo todo/Sin reparar en gastos excesivos/Las perlas, oro, plata, y seda à rodo'. Ibid., p. 76.

210 AGI, Contratación, 375, N4. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 255.

211 Thompson, 1958, p.68.

212 Ibid., p. 67.

In the book *Travels in the New World* written almost two decades later by the English Dominican Thomas Gage, who spent the years 1625–1637 in New Spain and Guatemala, we find a similar view of the elite's ostentatious display of wealth and status in public, particularly in their dress and carriages. He observes that 'Both men and women are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloth […] A hatband and rose made of diamonds in a gentleman's hat is common, and a hat-band of pearls is ordinary in a tradesman'.[211] He writes 'there were between thirty and forty thousand Spaniards, who are so proud and rich that half the city was judged to keep coaches […] the beauty of some of the coaches of the gentry, which do exceed in cost the best of the Court in Madrid and other parts of the Christendom, for they spare no silver, nor gold, nor precious stones, nor cloth of gold, nor the best silks from China to enrich them'.[212] Thus, the wealthy elite of the viceroyalty of New Spain took advantage of being at the crossroads of both trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, and acquired silks and other imported goods not only because of their practical and ornamental functions, but also because their served as social indicators in public.

We know that wealthy women were actively involved in the circulation of silks from Manila to New Spain. A clear example is that of Doña Teresa Setin, wife of one of the richest merchants of New Spain of the time, Santi Federighi,[213] who placed orders of Asian goods for herself via the exchange of letters with her husband's main commercial agent in Manila, Ascanio Guazzoni. Interestingly, it was Guazzoni's wife, Doña Ana María de Birués, who directly managed some orders of merchandise for Teresa in Manila. In a letter of July 1632, Guazzoni reports to Teresa that the 2,000 pesos she had sent to Ana María could not be employed in what she had ordered that year, and that Ana María had bought only 2 pieces of *espolines* (silk patterned with flowers).[214] It is unclear whether this silk was to satisfy a particular desire of Teresa, or if it was selected by Ana María according to the availability of woven silk cloths in Manila at the time.

The *Memorial Informatorio* (Informatory Memorial) of 1637 addressed to the King by Juan Grau y Malfalcon, the procurator-general of Manila and the Philippines at the court in Madrid, provides information on the types, quality and relative value of the silks imported into New Spain at the time. He mentions that of the 'six classes' of products exported from the Philippines, 'The first is of silk, in skeins, thread, and trama'[215] and 'The second, the silk textiles'.[216] Grau y Malfalcon goes on to state that by this year the trade in silk to New Spain had been disrupted '… on account of the danger from the piracies of the Dutch, few silks are shipped from China to Manila, and those cost so dear that it is not the product in which there is greatest profit; nor can so much be bought, since he who formerly bought two or three boxes with one thousand pesos, now buys one. Thus the merchants make the bulk [of their exportations] in cotton linens, and in the products of the islands […] Nueva España is now so full of Spaniards, and they have so little money, that one can understand of them in regard to the silks, what has been said of the Indians in regard to the cotton textiles – namely, that if they find those of China, they use them, and if not, they get along without them. Where this is most true, and where it ought to be considered, is in the mines – where the *aviadors*[217] do not and cannot use the cloth from Castilla because of its quality and value; but that of China, as it is cheaper and more durable and serviceable'.[218] Grau y Malfalcon's comments reflect the disruption of the regular supply of raw silks and woven silk cloths, and consequently their scarcity and increase of sale price in New Spain, caused by Dutch privateering.

213 Santi Federigi was a Sevillian of Italian origins. The Federighi-Fantoni was a powerful lineage with businesses that dealt between Florence, Seville, Cadiz and New Spain. Santi Federigi, prior of the merchant guild and knight of the Calatrava order, managed lucrative businesses in New Spain, including silver mining and cochineal dye, and Seville. He also made large investments in the Manila Galleons. For more information, see Gash-Tomás, 2012, pp. 107–109.

214 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 5078–011. Consulado, p. 8. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 71.

215 According to the authors Blair and Robertson, *trama* refers to a kind of silk for weaving. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898, Cleveland, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 198, note 60.

216 Ibid., p. 200.

217 According to Blair and Robertson the term *aviador* was used in New Spain to refer to a person who supplied others with articles to work in the silver mines. Ibid., p. 202, note 64.

218 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 202.

The colonial textile industry, as remarked by Grau y Malfancon, was heavily dependent on the trade of silk from Manila. He informs us that 'From the skeined silk, and the silk thread, and trama are manufactured in Nueva España velvets, veils, headdresses, passementaries, and many tafettas […] By this trade and manufacture, more than fourteen thousand persons support themselves in Mexico [Mexico City], La Puebla, and Antequera, by their looms, the whole thing being approved by royal decrees'.[219] In the same paragraph, he also makes a remark about the quality of the silk imported from China in comparison with that produced locally, saying that 'It is known that the skein silk of China is more even and elegant for delicate and smooth fabrics than is the Misteca [Oaxaca], which is produced in that kingdom; besides that, there is less of the latter kind than is necessary in the country'.[220] Chinese silks were also of better quality than those imported from Spain, which were too oily and thus needed more labor and expense to dye.[221] According to Grau y Malfalcon, the silk exports from Spain decreased so much from 1618 that 'the workmen of that trade, through lack of silk with which to work, have gone to Nueva España'.[222]

Recent studies on European and Asian immigrants that settled in New Spain have shown the diverse people of this colonial multi-ethnic society involved in the trade of Chinese silk and other textiles. In Mexico City, as discussed by Schell Hoberman, a small number of immigrants from Spain participated in the wholesale trade of silk and in the manufacture of silk clothing in the early seventeenth century.[223] Wholesale merchants, known as *mercaderes*, belonged to the colony's socio-economic elite. They enjoyed a privileged position with respect to retailers, and thus could own a warehouse and/or an *obraje* (shop) managed by another person, and also act as retailers by proxy.[224] One of them was a native from Toledo named Juan de Castellete (d. 1638), who formed a company with the master silk weaver Fernando de Padilla in 1607, so the latter could manage a store for him and supervise the production of silk clothing. In 1614, Castellete imported silk and subsequently sent 5,883 pesos of it to Seville. He also hired silk artisans to finish cloths with his own dyestuffs to be sold in New Spain and abroad.[225] Another merchant who re-exported silk to Spain was Francisco de Esquivel Castañeda, the son of a master silk weaver and trader from Granada.[226] Pedro de Brizuela was a merchant who imported silk thread, lent money to a dyer, and exported silk cloth to Spain. Their profitable business, and that of others like Francisco Sánchez Cuenca and Gabriel López Páramo in the 1630s, consisted in importing raw silk and thread from Manila, then supply the silk to the spinner, the spun yarn to the weaver, and/or the dye to the finisher all on credit, and subsequently sell the finished products throughout the viceroyalties or export them to Spain.[227] Such manufacturing practices, as recently noted by Gasch-Tomás, facilitated the integration of silk into the dress fashions of the elites in various cities of New Spain earlier than in Seville and other Andalusian cities.[228]

As Slack has pointed out, some *chino*[229] immigrants who arrived from Manila aboard the Manila Galleons as merchants, sailors, slaves and servants are documented as having participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and silk cloths as early as the late sixteenth century. The majority of *chinos* settled in Mexico City, Puebla de Los Angeles, and Veracruz, where they earned a living working in diverse occupations.[230] In Mexico City, most *chinos* worked as barbers or owned small shops and open-air stalls that sold silk and cotton cloths from Asia, Mexico, and Spain, together with comestibles or second-hand items.[231] Some *chinos* of young age made service agreements for temporary employment with a Spaniard in exchange for

219 Ibid., p. 199. Mentioned in Borah, 1954, p. 90.

220 Ibid. The cultivation of raw silk had declined in the 1590's.

221 Edward R. Slack, 'Orientalizing New Spain: Perspectives on Asian Influence in Colonial *Mexico', México y la Cuenca del Pacífico*, Año 15, núm. 43, enero–abril 2012, p. 117.

222 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 203.

223 Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590–1660: Silver, State and Society*, Durham, 1991, pp. 129–131.

224 There were 252 persons who called themselves wholesalers in 1598. By 1689, the number had declined to 177. Ibid., pp. 19–20 and 223.

225 Ibid., pp. 129–130.

226 Hoberman, 1991, p. 130.

227 Ibid., pp. 130–131; and Slack, 2012, p. 118.

228 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 159.

229 Miguel López de Legazpi, in his letters to the King and to the Viceroy of New Spain, always referred to the Chinese merchants he encountered on various voyages from Cebú to Luzon as *indios chinos* (Chinese Indians). The Chinese who arrived and settled in the Philippines were called *chinos* (Chinese) or *sangleyes*. The term *indios chinos* is also found in administrative and private documents of New Spain, dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For this opinion, see Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Filipinos on the Mexican Pacific Coast during the Spanish Colonial Period (1570–1630)', in Marya Svetlana T. Camacho (ed.), *Into the Frontier: Studies on Spanish Colonial Philippines. In Memoriam Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo*, Pasig City, 2011, pp. 118–119. The term *chino* was equivalent to *Oriental*, and thus it came to be used to refer to all immigrants coming from China, Japan, the Philippines, various kingdoms in Southeast Asia, and India. Edward R. Slack Jr., 'The Chinos in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March 2009), p. 35; Slack, 2012, p. 98; and Edward R. Slack, 'Sinifying New Spain: Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the Nao de China', in Walton Look and Tan Chee-Beng (eds.), *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Leiden and Boston, 2010, p. 7.

230 *Chinos* also settled on the Pacific coast in the districts of Guerrero, Michoacán and Jalisco. They established themselves in the cities and pueblos of Acapulco, Coyuca, San Miguel, Zacatula, Texpan, Zihuatenejo, Atoya, Navidad, Guadalajara and Colima. Slack, 2012, p. 99.

231 AGN Grupo 69 vol. 93, ex. 111, f. 296–297 (1612); v. 113, ex. 135, f. 345–346 (1629); AGN Grupo 58 vol. 10, ex. 249, f. 142 (1630); Grupo 69, vol. 183, ex. 80, f. 2 (1637); and Grupo 100 vol. 35, ex. 254, f. 233 (1644). Slack, 2009, p. 42, note 25.

board, lodging, and wages. For instance, an agreement made in 1591 by a native of Pampanga, a province north of Manila, states that 'Francisco, Chinese Indian, native of the Philippine Islands, 18 years of age, in the presence of Lic. Vivero, corregidor of México, said that he wished to enter the service of Simón Matoso, resident, for two years, and because he is a minor he asked for the designation of a guardian who could sign his contract. The Corregidor appointed as his guardian Cristóbal de Medina, who placed his ward at the service of Simón Matoso for two years effective today, so that he may serve him selling clothes from China in the plazas and *tianguis* [street markets] of this city…'.[232] One year later in 1592, Philip II announced a royal decree stating that the 'Indios Chinos' of New Spain who paid their royal tribute were exempt of the *alcabala* royal sales tax of 2 percent on goods sold in their shops, as long as they were not selling Chinese or Spanish silks in bulk quantities.[233] The tax farmers known as *alcabaleros*, however, continued to collect the royal sales tax from the *chino* merchants.[234]

Another Filipino immigrant from Pampanga of interest to this study is a muleteer named Domingo de Villalobos, who died in 1618 in Zapotlán (present-day San Cristóbal), about 60 kilometers southwest of Guadalajara.[235] From a court case pertaining his estate, we learn that Villalobos owned nine mules, which he used for transporting Asian and various other goods from Acapulco to Mexico City, Colima and Guadalajara.[236] The possessions listed in his will, which were stored in several cities along the coast, included 8 pieces of taffeta, one piece of Damask, 32 pairs of cotton *medias*, glossy silk trousers, 5 *sinavafas* (also spelled sinabafas), and 16 cotton girdles.[237] Although Villalobos traded only in small quantities, the information provided in his will and judicial procedures carried out by his best friend and executor, the *indio chino* Alonzo Gutiérrez, reflects the diversity of his clients and the widespread distribution of woven silk cloths and silk clothing items. Most of his clients were Indians in their pueblos (*pueblos de indios*), but he also traded with other Filipinos, Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes, and African slaves in Spanish pueblos and cities.[238] As early as 1651 government licenses were sold to *chinos* trading in the barrio of San Juan, a marketplace near the Calle of San Agustín.[239] From the documentation discussed above it is clear that immigrants from both Spain and Asia who settled in New Spain were actively involved in the trade of raw silks and woven silk cloths. In Mexico City, those from Spain participated in the wholesale trade of raw silk, manufacture of silk clothing, and finishing of woven cloths with dyestuffs, which were to be sold throughout the viceroyalties or re-exported (or exported in the case of those woven in New Spain) to Spain. On the other hand, the 'Indios Chinos' who came from Manila participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and woven silk cloths by having small shops and open-air stalls, not only in Mexico City, but also in Puebla de Los Angeles and Veracruz. Some were muleteers, who transported woven silk cloths and finished silk products from Acapulco to Mexico City, Colima and Guadalajara, as well as to Spanish and Indian pueblos, and thus facilitated their widespread distribution to a multi-ethnic clientele.

The probate inventories of Mexico City studied by Gash-Tomás, including that of Francisco Muñoz de Monforte mentioned earlier, indicate that silk finished products were prevalent in the households of the capital's elites. These included canopies, cushions, pillows, and sheets used on beds and in bedchambers, which were gaining importance as private domestic spaces, as well as curtains, wall-hangings and tablecloths used in common spaces of the households.[240] The religious elites of

232 Concierto de servicio y curaduría entre Francisco, indio chino, y Simón Matoso, México, 24 de enero de 1591. Ivonne Mijares (ccord.), *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México, Fondo Siglo XVI*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, 2005, Libro Protocolos 2. Cited in García-Abásolo, 2011, p. 122.

233 AGN Grupo 58, vol. 13, ex. 112, f. 92 (December 1640). Slack, 2009, p. 47; and Slack, 2010, p. 20. The *alcabala* was the result of new fiscal and regulatory measures adopted by the Spanish Crown, which affected the domestic economy of the New World. The *alcabala* was introduced to the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1575, and to the viceroyalty of Peru in 1591. In 1627, a sale of 2 percent called the *derecho de unión de armas* was imposed throughout the Spanish New World territories. From 1632 to 1638 the *alcabala* was doubled to 4 percent in New Spain, and from 1639 it was 6 percent. For more information on the alcabala, see Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700*, Vol. 3, Minneapolis, 1984, p. 363; and Hoberman, 1991, pp. 189–196.

234 Slack, 2009, p. 47.

235 García-Abásolo, 2011, p. 127.

236 Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Contratacion 520, N. 2, R. 14 (1621–1622). Mentioned in Slack, 2012, p. 103.

237 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 104.

238 García-Abásolo, 2011, pp. 131–133.

239 AGN Grupo 58, vol. 19, ex. 172, f. 90–91 (10 July 1651); and vol. 20, ex. 63, f. 38 (11 March 1656). Mentioned in Slack, 2011, p. 101.

240 Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 258.

241 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 160.

242 AnotDF, Mexico City, Notario: Andrés Moreno (374), vol. 2464, 105–6. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 171, note 27.

243 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 0535–014. Filipinas, pp. 32–39. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

244 Teresa Berenice Ballesteros Flores, *Entre el ser y el parecer. Los objectos suntuarios orientales en el ajuar domestico de mercaderes del Consulado de la Ciudad de México (1573–1700)*, unpublished Masters thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico, 2007. The author studied a total of 11 inventories, housed in the Archivo General de la Nación, but only 5 of them date to the late sixteenth and first four decades of the seventeenth century. Information regarding these inventories was more recently published in Berenice Ballesteros Flores, 'El menaje asiático de las casa de la élite comercial del virreinato novohispano en el siglo XVII', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Vol. 6, No. 20, April-June 2008, pp. 59–112.

245 The *Consulado* was established in 1592, when the emerging merchant elite accorded itself as a corporate identity separate from their Sevillian counterparts. The main roles of the *Consulado* were to serve as a commercial tribunal to enforce business practices and settle disputes, to provide institutionalized support in commerce to the merchants of Mexico City, and to organize coherent commercial policies and lobby colonial and metropolitan authorities. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, 'From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520–1590 and Beyond', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2000), p. 61.

246 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Real Fisco de la Inquisición, vol. 3, exp. 51, 1589. Inventario y secuestro de los bienes de Antonio Díaz Cáceres. The original Spanish transcriptions are: 'Una sayita de niña, de damasco azul de China, guarnecida de pasamanos de oro', 'Dos cotaneras [?] pequeñas para niña, de telilla de oro y seda de China, de almendrado, de blanco. 15 pesos. 30 pesos', and 'Una sobrerropa de damasco azul de China, guarnecida de pasamanos de oro'. The latter item is repeated twice in the inventory.

247 The meaning of the term 'leonado' is unclear, but it was also used in early seventeenth century inventories in Spain to describe the decoration of pottery. See, for example, an entry from the Testament of King Philip II, 1602, cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108, note 418.

248 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Vínculos y Mayorazgos, vol. 265, exp. 4, 1628. Inventario de bienes del mercader Antonio de la Mota y Portugal. The Spanish original transcription is: 'Una ropa de levanter de damasco negro y leonado, de China, nueva'.

249 This piece of clothing for men is called a doublet or jerkin.

250 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Real Fisco de la Inquisición, vol. 13, exp. 1, 1644. Inventario de bienes del mercader Francisco Nieto. The Spanish original transcriptions are: 'Un jubón de damsco negro de Cina, de mujer, con su pasamanillo viejo' and 'Dos pares de medias de China de seda blanca. 8 pesos'.

251 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Tierras, vol. 3371, exp. 1, 1645. Inventario de bienes del mercader Lope de Osorio. The Spanish original transcription is: 'Quince pares de medias de seda de China de hombre, de las finas, y después de vueltas a contar fueron 14 nuevas'.

252 For the Spanish original transcriptions of these inventories listing raw and woven silks, see

New Spain were another particularly important social group that used finished silk garments, and woven silks for clothing and furnishings, as early as the late sixteenth century. Some tunics, chasubles and other ceremonial vestments used by the priests in the churches were embroidered and finished in China, but others appear to have been finished in workshops in New Spain.[241] For instance, when a priest of Mexico City named Pedro Martínez Buytrón died in 1596, his belongings included a blue and yellow damask cloak, a chasuble and robe of birds from China lined with colored linen; a white chasuble with blue taffeta stole and *manípulo* (shorter stole) from China; a blue taffeta hanging from China; two blue and white taffeta hangings from China lined with blue linen and green and red fringes; a black damask chasuble and stole and *manípulo* with yellow damask border and lined with blue linen from China; and a purple taffeta chasuble and stole and *manípulo* from China with a tawny damask border.[242] An order for silk placed in 1601 with the Philippine merchant Alonso Rodríguez de León by the Hospital of Our Lady of Los Remedios in Mexico City serves to illustrate the types of silks that were brought finished from China, via Manila. This order, worth 346 pesos, consisted of silk canopies, tablecloths, curtains, woven cloths for the Virgin Mary's veils, chasubles, bedspreads, ornaments for altars and others.[243]

The inventories of the belongings of five members of the *Consulado* (Consulate) of Mexico City, taken between 1589 and 1645, studied by Ballesteros Flores, list a considerable quantity of Asian and other imported goods, which include silks and porcelains from China.[244] The *Consulado* was reserved exclusively for *vecinos* of New Spain, a status that required a minimum of ten year's residence in the colony, and was restricted to wholesale traders (the upper levels of the viceroyalty's commercial world), who sometimes also ran retail operations.[245] Four of these inventories included at least one piece of silk clothing. For instance, the inventory of Antonio Díaz Cáceres, taken in 1589, lists items of girl's clothing made of 'blue damask, from China', and of 'gold and silk from China', as well as two 'sobrerropa' (a long robe worn over other clothes) made of 'blue damask from China'.[246] The inventory of Antonio de la Mota y Portugal, taken in 1628, lists 'a morning clothing of damask black and leonado [?],[247] from China, new'.[248] The inventory of Francisco Nieto, taken in 1644, lists 'A bodice[249] of black damask from China, of women', and 'Two pairs of white silk stockings from China', valued in '8 pesos'.[250] That of Lope de Osorio, taken the following year, lists 'Fifteen pairs of men silk stockings from China, of the fine ones, and after counting again were 14 new'.[251] The four aforementioned inventories also list a wide variety and quantity of raw silks and woven silk cloths, and finished silk products for the household, including bed furnishings, cushions and napkins from China as well as from Spain (Castile).[252]

Franciscan friars who served in the *conventos*, usually referred to as missions in historical literature,[253] of the Spanish northern frontier province of New Mexico (present-day southwestern United States) regularly acquired textiles imported from around the world, including China.[254] In 1610, permanent *conventos* (hereafter missions) began to be built by the friars in Pueblo villages to aid in the conversion to Christianity of Pueblo peoples.[255] A contract written in 1631 by Fray Antonio Vazquez, Secretary of the Convent of San Francisco in Mexico City, stipulated that the 'ornaments and other things for Divine Workship to be given each Friar-Priest the first time that he goes to those Conversions' were to include 'One ornament of Chinese damask. Chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal and frontal trimming, and bundle of corporal cloths', 'One pair of cassocks [made] of Chinese stuff', 'For every five [friars], two

choir robes of Chinese damask', 'For every five [friars], two sets of *dalmaticas* [made] of the same stuff'.[256] These would have been transported to the missions in New Mexico through the overland mission supply caravans provided by the Spanish Crown.[257] It is clear that finished silk products were highly appreciated by both the secular and religious colonial elites of Mexico City. While silk furnishings were prevalent in private and common spaces of the households, silk ceremonial vestments and woven silks for clothing and furnishings, both imported from China or finished in workshops in New Spain, were used by Catholic priests in the churches. We have seen that appreciation of silks of the Franciscan friars who served in New Mexico was so high that they regularly acquired ornaments and ceremonial vestments of various woven silks, through the supply caravans.

Viceroyalty of Peru (2.1.4.2)

Silk, together with other Asian luxury goods, began arriving into the viceroyalty of Peru in the early 1580s. Direct trade between the Philippines and Peru first occurred when the governor of the Philippines, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, sent two ships from Manila to El Callao, the port near the viceroyalty's capital, Lima. The first ship was sent in 1581, but was lost at sea. The second ship, sent the following year, arrived safely carrying a cargo that included 'silk, porcelains, spices (mainly cinnamon), iron, wax and other wares'.[258] The abundance of silver in Potosí and other mines in the viceroyalty facilitated the acquisition of silk and other imported luxury goods. That same year, however, a royal order imposed by Philip II forbade the direct trade between Lima and Manila.[259] Then in 1591, a law was passed forbidding trading between Peru, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, 'or any other part of the Spanish West Indies, and China or the Philippines'.[260] This law was re-issued in 1592, 1593, 1595 and 1604.[260] It seems clear that the main motives behind the reiteration of these prohibitory laws and the severe penalties instated for their violation were both the deep concern that the Spanish Crown had for maintaining a monopoly on trade in that region as a way of protecting its domestic silk industry, and for keeping its New World precious metals within the Spanish empire.[262]

Peruvian merchants, commonly known during the colonial period as *peruleros*, were thus forced to acquire silks by way of Acapulco, where they organized a profitable trade with the Manila representatives.[263] Their ample supply of silver contributed to increasing the sale prices of the imported goods brought by the Manila Galleons.[264] Despite the export duties on shipments levied by the Viceroy Villamanrique in 1585, and the ban on trade of foreign goods between the two viceroyalties issued by Philip II two years later, in 1587, considerable quantities of silk were transshipped from Acapulco to Peru.[265] Peruvian merchants constituted a cohesive group and were able to avoid the colonial trade restrictions with New Spain and the Philippines. In 1590, the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Cañete, sent a letter in defense of his proposal to restore the trade between Peru, New Spain and Asia and to create taxes that would yield the Crown substantial revenue for these transactions.

Although again in 1595, Peru was banned from trading with Acapulco and purchasing the merchandise from the Manila Galleons, a flourishing illicit trade prospered.[266] Direct trade within the colonial viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru violated the mercantilist policies of the Spanish Crown, as this was seen as a threat to imperial control. The seemingly inexhaustible resources of the Potosí mine stimulated

Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 2,a; Appendix 3,a and Appendix 4,a.

253 Heather B. Trigg, *From Household to Empire. Society and Economy in Early Colonial New Mexico*, Tucson, 2005, p. 68.

254 The colony of New Mexico, founded by Juan de Oñate (1550–1626) at San Juan Pueblo in 1598, was the most northern region of the Spanish frontier until Alta California was occupied. The church in New Mexico was supplied, though irregularly, by a caravan system. Each caravan carrying more than 80-tons of goods, which included utilitarian tools, equipment, household items and a range of luxury goods, primarily clothing and textiles made in New Spain and imported from Europe and China. James L. Moore, 'Archaeological Testing Report and data Recovery Plan for Two Historic Spanish Sites Along U.S. 84/285 Between Santa Fe and Pojoaque, Santa Fe County, New Mexico', *Archaeology Notes* 268, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2000, pp. 4–5.

255 For more information on the Franciscan missions, see Elinore M. Barrett, *The Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes of New Mexico, 1598–1680*, Albuquerque, 2012, pp. 36–41.

256 France V. Scholes, 'The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century', in Francis Lansing B. Bloom (ed.), *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 1 (January 1930), pp. 102–103.

257 The supply caravans, usually comprising thirty-two wagons, more than five hundred mules, herds of livestock and military escort were supposed to be sent from Mexico City every three years. Sometimes there were longer intervals between the caravan's arrivals to New Mexico. For instance, one caravan arrived in the autumn of 1621 and returned the following year; but the next caravan appears to have arrived in December 1625 or early January 1626. Fray Alonso de Benavides, the newly-appointed Custodio of missions and the first Commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico, who arrived in the latter caravan observed that '…five or six year pass without our knowing in New Mexico [anything] of the Spanish nation until the dispatches go which are assigned for the succor of the Religious and churches which Your Majesty supports with so Catholic zeal. For though it is true that this dispatch is assigned and determined to be made punctually every three years, five and six (years), are wont to pass without the Royal officials bethinking themselves about us and God knows what it costs to remind them'. The original text by Benavides was translated in Mrs. Edward E. Ayer (ed.), *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, Chicago, 1916, pp. 14–15. Cited in Scholes, 1930, pp. 94–95.

258 O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake, The Pacific since Magellan*, Vol. I, Canberra, 2004, p. 218.

259 Schurz, 1959, p. 366.

260 Cited in William Lytle Schurz, 'Mexico, Peru and the Manila Galleon', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Nov., 1918), p. 396.

261 Libro IX, Titulo XXXXV, Ley Lxxj. *Que no puedan ir Vajeles à la China, ni à Filipinas, sino los permitidos, so la pena de esta ley*. Mentioned in Schurz, 1959, p. 366; and Benito Legarda, Jr., 'Two and a Half Centuries of the Galleon Trade', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 3, no. 4 (1955), p. 353.

262 Schurz, 1918, p. 396; Legarda, 1955, p. 353; and L. A. Clayton, 'Trade and Navigation in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 1, May 1975, p. 5.

263 The term 'peruleros' already appears in a letter written by Francis Suarez in 1596. See Hakluyt, Vol. 3, 1599, p. 41.

the illicit trade so vigorously that in 1634, Philip IV finally forbade trade between the colonies.[267]

It is no surprise that silk found consumers at the highest levels of society in Lima. In May of 1602, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, who was then the Viceroy of New Spain (1595–1603), in a letter written to Philip III describes the luxurious dress of the inhabitants of Lima. He notes that 'All these people live very luxuriously. All wear silk, and of the most fine and costly quality. The gala dresses and clothes of the women are so many and so excessive that in no other kingdom of the world are found such'.[268] Thus, the elites of the viceregal capital wore silk not only to make a luxurious display of their social stance but also of their enormous wealth.[269] Zúñiga y Acevedo continues to say that 'The silks of China are much used also in the churches of the Indians, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of the inability to buy the silks of Spain, the churches were very bare. As long as goods come in greater abundance, the kingdom will fear less anxiety, and the cheaper will be the goods'.[270] It is clear from Zúñiga y Acevedo's latter observation that silks, most likely woven silks, were used to decorate the interior of the churches of the indigenous inhabitants of Peru as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The increase in the supply of Chinese silks and their low sell price in comparison with those imported from Spain, gradually allowed the Indians, African slaves and other poor men and women of Lima to purchase woven silk cloths to make clothing items, mostly adopting the everyday dress styles of the Spanish elites.[271] For example, Lucia Cusi, a wealthy Indian woman, owned a 'blue Chinese velvet' *lliclla* (a traditional shawl or mantle that Andean noblewomen wrapped around their shoulders)[272] with a gold thread edging, and a silk embroidered headscarf.[273]

By this time, raw silk imported from China was already being used alongside that from New Spain in the textile industry operating in Lima. This is clearly seen in an ordinance of the year 1608 of the Gremios of Lima governing the hatmakers and silkworkers, which ordered and mandated that 'the silk sellers do not mix silk from the misteca with the silk from China in fringes and other things'.[274] In 1612, for instance, Lima residents employed 323 Indian tailors, 129 cobblers and 80 silk weavers.[275] The Spanish Carmelite friar Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa (*c.*1570–1630) in his *Compendium and Description of the West Indies* of 1628, when describing the city of Callao, informs us that 'This port contains many shops and stores with their *encomenderos* [commercial agents];[276] here are stored all the commodities which the ships bring down from the valleys for the provisioning of the city of Lima … ; silk comes from China, and many other goods, which are both retailed in Lima and distributed all over the kingdom'.[277] The large amounts of Peruvian silver available must have made the trade in silks very profitable, even though the sale prices of raw silk and woven silk cloths at arrival in Lima were approximately ten times higher than in Manila in 1620 and 1621.[278]

Woven silks were not limited to the inhabitants of Lima. They also made their way to other urban cities in the northern extremity of the viceroyalty. In Trujillo, for example, María Magdalena de Urraco, an indigenous woman who immigrated from Chiclayo and was the owner of a *solar*,[279] owned a black Chinese satin *lliclla*, as well as one made of green taffeta.[280] Already by 1596, silk was available for sale in the city of Quito (present-day Ecuador), a center of trade and colonial administration, following Lima and Potosí, then with a population of about ten thousand people

264 Schurz, 1959, p. 367.

265 John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs, Spain and America*, 1598–1700, Oxford, 1969, p. 225.

266 Ibid., pp. 225–226; Borah, 1954, pp. 124–127.

267 In 1604, trade between New Spain and Peru was restricted by decree to three ships a year, each of 200-tons. These ships were to carry only regional products for exchange. Five years later, in 1609, navigation between the colonies was reduced to two ships; the following year to one ship, which could carry about 300,000 pesos worth of specie. In 1631, navigation was prohibited for five years. This prohibition, repeated in 1634, remained in place for the rest of the century. Lynch, 1969, pp. 225–226.

268 Extracts from two letters from the Conde of Monterey to his Majesty are published in Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 57. Cited in Schurz, 1959, pp. 365–366; and Chuan, 2001, p. 254.

269 Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, New York, 2008, p. 78.

270 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 57.

271 Chuan, 2001, pp. 254–255; and Osorio, 2008, p. 77.

272 Elena Phipps, 'The Iberian Globe. Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America', in Peck, 2013, pp. 44–45.

273 Mentioned in Karen B. Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550–1700*, Stanford, 2007, p. 150.

274 Francisco Quiroz Checa and Gerardo Quiroz Checa (eds.), *Las ordenanzas de gremios de Lima (s. XVI–XVIII)*, Lima, 1986, pp. 19–20. Cited in Elena Phipps, '*Tornesol*': a Colonial synthesis of European and Andean textile traditions', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2000. Accessed December 2014. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/834.

275 Mentioned in Emilio Romero, *Historia económica del Perú*, Buenos Aires, 1949, Vol. I, p. 218; and Clayton, 1975, p. 10.

276 According to Hoberman, *encomenderos* were merchants who worked as agents on commission, buying and selling goods at the owner's risk. Hoberman, 1991, pp. 44–45. The term *encomenderos* was also used to refer to land owners who had been granted land and native workers.

277 For the original document *Compendio y Descripción de las Islas Occidentales* written in Spanish, see Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Textos y documentos de la América hispánica (1492–1898)*, Barcelona, 1986, p. 148. The English text is taken from *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 102, translated by Charles Upson Clark, Smithsonian Institution, City of Washington, 1942.

278 Ma, 2005, p. 61; and Osorio, 2008, p. 189, note 123.

279 *Solares* were plots of land located in the centre of the new city meant to establish Spanish residences. The word *solar* could be used to refer to any terrain (*suelo*) upon which a house would be built, but it also was symbolic of wealth and social expectations of the elites of the New World. For this opinion, see Karen B. Graubart, 'The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560–1640', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, 2009, p. 478.

280 Mentioned in Graubart, 2007, p. 151.

(half or more were probably indigenous, and one quarter were Europeans, mostly Spaniards, but also included a few Portuguese, French, Italian, Greek, Flemish and German individuals).[281] Most merchants participated in the trade of locally mined gold for European clothing, Chinese woven silk cloths and porcelain, olives, wine, and spices.[282] A will made that year listing the bequests of María de Amores, an Indian woman who had twice married a Spaniard husband, includes a 'Chinese lijilla [lliclla]'.[283] In June of 1598, the storekeeper Miguel de Aldaz provided 'seventy-eight-and-a-half yards of colored damasks, eight-and-a-half yards of simple taffeta, and five-and-three quarters ounces of silk, all from China' to be given as gifts for visiting indigenous Cayapas (or Chachi) and Yumbo ambassadors. As noted by Lane, all these silks were purchased directly by the royal treasury for some four hundred pesos, despite the fact that they had been illegally imported from Acapulco.[284] In September, Aldaz provided 'twenty-six-and-a-quarter yards of colored damasks, three hats, three yards colored taffeta, three embroidered shirts with three [matching] blankets, six knives, thirty-nine strings of beads, ninety needles, and eighteenth trumpets [*sic*], all from Castile and China' that served 'to clothe the six Indians of the Province of Barbacoas who came to this court in peace'.[285] That September, an *encomendero* and his wife purchased a suit of clothes for their young son Martin from the shop of the merchant Diego Rodríguez de León. This purchase, registered just a few days after Philip II's death, consisted of various garments made with Chinese satin, silk, and taffeta, the finest Segovian broadcloth, a measure of Mexican grogram, all black and trimmed with the best Italian and Portuguese embroidering threads. The *encomendero* must have been wealthy for he paid 230 pesos, which was more than twenty times the value of an average indigenous man's outfit.[286]

Written sources indicate that silks circulated as far south as present-day Argentina by the early seventeenth century. A few references to silk are found in wills of residents of Santa Fe La Vieja, which was occupied by the Spaniards from 1573 to 1660.[287] The will of Feliciano Rodríguez, one of the first residents of the city where he served as *regidor* (governor) in 1582 and then mayor in 1585 and 1594, taken in April 1606, lists 'fourteen *baras* [yards] of taffeta, twelve of them blue, and the other two green from China';[288] and the will of Pedro Martín, taken in January 1641, lists 'three yards of taffeta from China'.[289]

The import of Chinese silk from Acapulco into the viceroyalty of Peru was once again prohibited in 1641, just three years before the fall of the Ming dynasty. Philip IV ordered that 'Whenever any ships sail from the port of Acapulco and other ports of New Spain to make the voyage to Peru on the opportunities permitted, it is our will and we order our officials of those ports to visit and inspect those ships with complete faithfulness and the advisable rigor. They shall endeavor to ascertain whether such ships are carrying any silks, or merchandise from China, or the Philippine Islands. They shall seize such, and declare those found as smuggled goods. They shall divide them, and apply them as is contained in the laws of this title'.[290] From the documentation discussed above it is possible to conclude that large quantities of raw silk and woven silk cloths arrived to the viceroyalty of Peru, either through official or clandestine trade, during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the raw silk was used alongside that from New Spain in Lima's textile industry, woven silk cloths circulated widely not only to other cities of the viceroyalty, but also among a multi-ethnic clientele from all the colonial social classes, who could afford them and used them in both secular and religious contexts.

281 The Spaniards occupied the Inca city of Quito in 1534, and renamed it San Francisco de Quito. In 1563, it was established as one of the royal *Audiencias* of the viceroyalty of Peru. Kris Lane, *Quito 1599. City and Colony in Transition*, Albuquerque, 2002, pp. 1, 3, 19, and 157.

282 Ibid., p. 56.

283 Frank Salomon, 'Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as Seen Through Their Testaments', *The Americas* 44, no. 3 (January 1988) pp. 334–335. Cited in Phipps, 2013, p. 44.

284 Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito (hereafter cited as ANHQ) Real Hacienda, box 36, bound libramientos, fol. 21. Cited in Lane, 2002, p. 46.

285 ANHQ Real Hacienda, box 36, bound libramientos, fol. 28v. Cited in Lane, 2002, p. 46.

286 ANHQ NP, 1:6 DLM, ff. 618–19. Mentioned in Lane, 2002, p. 159.

287 Santa Fe was founded by Juan de Garay along with nine other Spaniards and more that seventy *mestizos* from Paraguay. It was a necessary stopping point on the river route to the Río de la Plata and on the overland route that connected the inland territories with Tucumán, Chile and Peru. Santa Fe gave the necessary support for the foundation of Buenos Aires in 1580, which gave Spain the control of the coastal territories that were constantly threatened on the west by the Portuguese settlers in Brazil. For historical information of the archaeological site, see the digital catalogue, Carlos Raúl Falcó (coord.), *Santa Fe La Vieja (1573–1660): Testimonio Arqueológico-Urbano de una Ciudad Americana Meridional en el Período Colonial Temprano*, Santa Fe, no date. I am greatly indebted to the archaeologist Luis María Calvo, Director Department Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales, Santa Fe, Argentina, for bringing to my attention these archival references and for providing me with information on the site.

288 The original text in Spanish reads: 'Ytem catorze baras de tafetan, las doze de ellas de azul, y las dos verde de la China'. Archivo del Departamento de Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales (hereafter cited as ADEEC), Expedientes Civiles (hereafter cited as EC), vol. 52, fols. 116–130. The term *bara* or *vara* was a measurement that equaled approximately one yard or 83 cms. Krahe, 2014, Glossary, p. 275.

289 The original text in Spanish reads: 'tres varas de tafetán de la China'. ADEEC, Escrituras Publicas, vol. 1, fols. 12v/13v.

290 Felipe IV in Madrid, 9 of April of 1641, in *Recopilación de leyes*, Book VIII, Title XVII, law XV. For a more accurate transcription of the original text in Spanish, the present author made a slight change to the English translation published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1904, Vol. XVII: 1609–1616, p. 45, note 9.

Silk Trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England [2.2]

Trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic [2.2.1]

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the principal sources of silk in the Northern Netherlands were Italy and the Levant. Initially the silk, both raw and thrown, that came from Italy was acquired via Antwerp, but after 1550 the silk trade moved to Amsterdam. By the time the Spanish troops of Philip II seized control of Antwerp in 1585, a total of 22 types of raw, prepared and dyed Italian and Levantine silk were being traded in Amsterdam.[291]

Very little information concerning the importation of Chinese silk into the Northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century can be found in textual sources written in English. Dutch textual sources indicate that 'silk' and 'silk cloths' were among the treasures brought back to Amsterdam by Jacob van Neck on his return from Bantam in July 1599.[292] In all probability he would have acquired these silks in Bantam. According to a journal written in 1613 by the Englishman, John Saris, three or four Chinese junks came there each year, with an abundance of raw and woven silk, silk thread, fine and coarse porcelain, and vast quantities of Chinese cash.[293]

The next known reference of the presence of silk in the Northern Netherlands from Dutch textual sources dates to 1604. In August of that year, a great quantity of silk from the cargo of the richly laden Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina*, captured by Admiral Jakob van Heemskerck off Patane on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula while en route from Macao to Goa, was sold by the newly established VOC at a public auction held in Amsterdam. Silk merchants came to the city from all over Europe.[294] The following year, the cargo was described by Levinus Hulsius in his *Achte*

291 Sjoukje Colenbrander, *When Weaving Fluorished. The Silk Industry in Amsterdam and Haarlem, 1585–1750*, Amsterdam, 2013, p. 15.

292 Vol. VI, book 36, fol. 38. Keuning, 1940, p. lxxx: V. *Resultaten en gevolgen van de reis van Van Neck*. Cited in Canepa, 2014, p. 35.

293 Ernest M. Satow (ed.), *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, London, 1697, p. 216.

294 David W. Davies, *The World of the Elseviers, 1580–1712*, The Hague, 1954, no page no.

Fig. 2.2.1.1 Length of silk satin damask
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 64.1cm x 58.4cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1909 (acc. no. 09.50.960)

Schiffart as having consisted of 1,200 bales of raw Chinese silk; chests filled with coloured damask, atlas (a type of polished silk), taffetas and silk; large amounts of gold thread or spun gold; cloth woven with gold thread; robes and bed canopies spun with gold; silk bedcovers and bedspreads; and a 'thousand other things, that are produced in China'.[295] From the total revenue generated at the auction of approximately 3.5 million guilders,[296] the silk alone yielded in excess of 2 million guilders.[297] The 'coloured damask' may have been of a type similar to an extant length of silk satin damask with a stylized lotus pattern typical of the late Ming, dating to the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 2.2.1.1).

The successful auction of the raw silk, woven silk cloths and silk finished products of the *Santa Catarina*, as Colenbrander has recently remarked, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk.[280] In the council meeting of 26 November of that same year, it was heard that there were 'a number of persons engaged in the silk trade here'

295 Levinus Hulsius, *Achte Schiffart. Kurze Beschreibung / was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern / in den Ost Indien / die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre / als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602 und 1603 zugetragen / wie sie sich etlich mal mit den Portugesern und Hispaniern geschlagen / davon etliche Schiff An. 1604. In Holland ancommen / und was daerauff erfolght*, Frankfurt, 1605. Mentioned in Borschberg, 2002, p. 38.

296 According to Boxer, the sum was roughly equivalent to half of the VOC's capital base and was more than double than that of the EIC. Charles Ralph Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, London, 1986, pp. 14–15. Also mentioned in Borschberg, 2002, p. 35.

297 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 39.

298 Colenbrander, 2013, p. 15.

299 J. G. van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam 1512–1672*, The Hague, 1929, Vol. 1, nos. 1054 and 1055. Cited in Colenbrander, 2013, p. 27.

requesting the help of the burgomaster and city council to establish a store of raw East Indian silk.[299] They intended to set up mills for the throwing of the silk, but wanted to be sure that there was to be a supply of silk to last two years. In the council meeting of 19 December, the large sum of 120,000 gilders was allocated for the purchase of silk, enabling a great many poor people to earn their living thereby.[300] That same month the burgomasters of Amsterdam gave a Portuguese-Jewish merchant named Manoel Rodrigues Vega the lease of a house, free of charge, to install a silk factory, in exchange of teaching this trade to the Dutch.[301] Rodrigues Vega looked for innovative opportunities to invest, not only by owning shares in individual voyages as well as stock in new companies such as the *Vereningde Amsterdamse Compagnie* or United Amsterdam Company and the VOC, but also by venturing into the silk industry.[302] An inventory taken in 1612 following the death of Matthiew de Praet demonstrates that silk from China was used along other imported silks in the local silk industry. His silk weaver's workshop included 10 looms, a warpig mill and gumming frame, and that he worked with Naples, Chinese and Vincenza silk, 'orsoij' silk, organsin silk, and tram or weft silk.[303]

English textual sources indicate that the Dutch were acquiring considerable quantities of raw silk at Bantam as early as 1608. In December of that year, the Englishman Gabriel Towerson, chief factor in Bantam, wrote a letter to the EIC informing that the Dutch ship 'called the Black Lion laden at Ternata with cloves and mace, and a few nutmegs, besides 400 bales of raw silk she took in here at Bantam'.[304]

In 1614, as mentioned in Chapter I, the States General issued a general commission to the VOC for privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships in Asia. In a letter written by the English Captain Ralph Coppindall to Adam Denton at Patani in December 1615, he states that 'the little Jackatra[305] took a Portugall junk laden with ebony, and I think some Chinaman betwixt her and the great ship, for they have sold great store of raw silks which came in this ship and have such store of made silks that they sell very good damasks (twice as good as the Orancaya's) for 2 and 2 ½ tayes per piece'.[306] From a letter written in October 1615 by another Englishman, Richard Wickham to Sir Tho. Smythe, we learn that the Dutch were also acquiring a variety of silks by plundering Chinese junks. Wickham states that 'The Hollanders go beyond all, not only us but all strangers here of late, by reason of the great quantities of raw silk, tafities, satins, velvets and China wares which they steal from the Chinese, having of late robbed many junks, whereby they sell at such rates that none that cometh truly by their goods can make profit here; besides their great employment which they have by reason of their Molluccos for all kind of provisions that they sell and turn all into ready money for the same purpose, their stealing trade supplying them yearly when other fails'.[307] Dutch plundering of Chinese junks that brought trade goods and provisions to Manila continued in the following years. Four Chinese junks were captured during the period Manila Bay was blockaded by the newly joined fleet of admiral Jan Dirksz Lam, between the winter of 1616 and the spring of 1617.[308] In May of 1618, the VOC ship *Oude Son* captured one large and six small Chinese junks; and in May of the following year, the Dutch captured three further large junks near Manila Bay.[309]

The annual blockades of Manila and the privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, and Chinese junks, used by the VOC in an attempt to gain access to the trade in Chinese silk by force, all failed. In 1620, the Gentlemen Seventeen advised Batavia to send two ships to Chincheo, to warn the Chinese of the Dutch blockade

300 Ibid., p. 199, note 1.

301 Richard Ayoun and Haím Vidal Séphila, *Los sefardíes de ayer y de hoy. 71 retratos*, Madrid, 2002 (first published 1992), p. 175.

302 Herbert Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Williamsport, 1937, pp. 33–35. Mentioned in Jessica Vance Roitman, *The Same but Different? : Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595–1640*, Leiden and Boston, 2011, pp. 129–130, and 135–136.

303 Colenbrander, 2013, pp. 28–29.

304 Frederick Charles Danvers and William Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' series of the India Office records*, London, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 4–5.

305 According to Richard Cocks the *Jacatra* was 'a small barque' from Holland that arrived at Hirado in 1615, which captured the Portuguese ship on the coast of Japan and brought it to Hirado. Danvers and Foster, 1899, Vol. III, p. 254.

306 Ibid., p. 245.

307 Ibid., p. 291.

308 Dirk Abraham Sloos, *De Nederlanders in de Philippijnsche wateren voor 1626* [The Dutch in Philippine Waters before 1626], Amsterdam, 1898, pp. 39–40. Mentioned in Cheng Wei-chung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas 1622–1683*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, p. 28.

309 For more information on the Dutch plundering activities, see Ibid., p. 29.

that awaited them off Manila and to offer to buy silk from them directly.[310] The acts of piracy against junks, however, continued in the following years. Until 1633, trade contacts with Chinese pirate merchants that frequented Formosa, provided only a small quantity of silk. After the Chinese merchant-pirate 'Nicholas Iquan' (Zheng Zhilong) defeated the Dutch fleet that year, the VOC came to an agreement with the pirate for the purchase of silk in large quantities and thus he became the sole supplier of silk and other Chinese goods to the Dutch trading post in Formosa.[311]

The Dutch privateering against Spanish ships carrying silks and other Chinese goods to New Spain continued in the 1630s. In the 1637 memorial addressed to the King discussed earlier, Grau y Malfalcon makes a remark about this situation. He says that 'in the navigation from China to Manila, in which passage the silk is plundered by the Dutch; they carry it to their country, and send it to Castilla by the hands of third persons, and sell it at a great profit'.[312] It seems clear that this would have been a very profitable trading activity for the Dutch, who would have taken the captured silk to the Dutch Republic (after 1609) without having to pay for it and then re-exported it to Spain to be sold at a high price.

In a report written by Specx' successor, Leonard Camps, to the Gentlemen Seventeen on the potential of the Hirado factory for the VOC trade, he argued that two thirds of the Chinese goods in demand in Japan consisted of all kinds of raw silks, and that the remainder was made up of silk cloths. He calculated that if they could eliminate their Portuguese rivals and monopolize the imports of silk into Japan, a profit of 854,375 *rials* could be made.[313] An analysis of the amounts of raw silk imported into Japan by Dutch ships between 1621 and 1640 made by Kato clearly shows that the participation of the Dutch in the silk trade to Japan increased considerably after 1635. That year, the imports surpassed for the first time 100,000 *catties* (100 *catties* equal 1 *picul*), a quantity that was maintained through 1640.[314]

The presence of Chinese woven silk cloths in the Dutch Republic in the early 1640s is attested by the silks from Canton presented as gifts by the Gentlemen Seventeen to Henrietta Maria of France (1609–1669), Queen consort of King Charles I of England (r. 1625–1649), and her eldest daughter Princess Maria Henrietta Stuart (1631–1660), who came to visit the Dutch Republic in March 1642. Ten months earlier, the wedding of the young Maria Henrietta and William II (1626–1650), the eldest son of the third Stadholder of the States General, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau (1584–1647), had been celebrated in London. In November of that year, in 1642, the VOC sent deputies to The Hague with several gifts of Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer,[315] for the Queen and Princess Royal, as well as for the third Stadholder's wife, Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, Princess of Orange (1602–1675).[316] A number of woven silk cloths and silk furnishings are listed as gifts for the three ladies in the Resolutions of the Gentlemen Seventeen dated November 25, 1642, but only a few are described as being from China.[317] The Queen was to receive 'five ditto [pieces of] double red Cantonese damask', and the Princess Royal was to receive four pieces of the same 'double red Cantonese damask'.[318] The gift for the Princess of Orange was much larger, for she was to receive 'twenty-four pieces of double red Cantonese damask'.[319] It seems clear that the VOC had imported a considerably large quantity of double red damask from Canton at the time, which had been most probably acquired at Formosa.

From the documentation discussed above, it seems that the Dutch were only importing a small quantity of silks into the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic

310 H. T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, Vol. IV, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1922, pp. 590–591. Mentioned in Ernst van Veen, 'VOC Strategies in the Far East (1605–1640)', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 3, December 2001, p. 97.

311 Ibid., pp. 97–98, and 103.

312 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 203; and Slack, 2012, p. 118.

313 Cort verhael van 't profijt, dienst ende nutticheijt van Japan soo den Chinesen handel bequamen, overgelevert bij Lenardt Camps ende Jacques Specx 15 september 1622 end 29 januarij 1623, Ms ARA, VOC 1077, ff. 115–119. Mentioned in Kato, 1981, p. 222.

314 Ibid., pp. 222–223, Table 1.

315 The Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer presented as gifts will be discussed in Chapters III and IV, respectively.

316 Cynthia Viallé, '"Fit for Kings and Princes": A Gift of Japanese Lacquer', in Nagazumi Yôko (ed.), *Large and Broad. The Dutch Impact on Early Modern Asia. Essays in Honor of Leonard Blussé*, Toyo Bunko Research Library 13, Tokyo, 2010, p. 190.

317 VOC 148. Resoluties van de Heren Zevetien, November 25, 1642. Published in Ibid., Appendix, pp. 204–209.

318 The original text in Dutch reads: '5 d° dubbelde roode Cantonse damasten' and '4 d° dubbele rode Cantonse damasten'. Ibid., Appendix, pp. 205 and 206; respectively.

319 The original text in Dutch reads: '24 stucx dobbele roode Cantonse damasten'. Ibid., p. 208.

during the period of this study. A considerably quantity of the silk imported appears to have been captured from their rivals in Asia, both the Portuguese and Spanish, as well as from Chinese junks, rather than being acquired through trade. As we have seen, the raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products of the captured *Santa Catarina* sold at auction with great profits in 1604, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk. Following this sale, raw silks from China began to be used along other imported silks in the local silk industry. After the burgomaster and city council of Amsterdam allocated a large sum of money for the purchase of silk, several mills for the throwing of silk were set up, thus enabling many poor people to earn their living. The several attempts by the Dutch to gain access to the trade in Chinese silk by force in first two decades of the seventeenth century all failed. Even after 1624, when they established themselves in Formosa, trade contacts with Chinese private merchants provided only a small quantity of silk. It was only in 1633, that the VOC made an agreement with the Chinese merchant-pirate Zheng Zhilong to become the sole supplier of large quantities of silk and other Chinese goods to its trading post in Formosa. Undoubtedly, this agreement was what enabled the Dutch to increase considerably their participation in the silk trade to Japan from 1635 onwards.

Trade to England [2.2.2]

English textual sources indicate that Chinese trade junks brought a wide variety of silks to Bantam on the Island of Java, where the EIC had established their first Asian trading post in 1603. English merchants coveted silks, especially raw silk, for both their inter-Asian trade and home markets.[320]

In 1607, three years after the last English sumptuary law was repelled, King James I (r. 1603–1625), endorsed a domestic silk industry, which was to compete with imported silk.[321] The imports of raw silks into England, however, appear to have continued in the following years. In a letter written by the EIC to Gabriel Towerson, chief factor in Bantam (1605–1608) in March of that year, a request for specific types of silks is made. It reads 'And further if the China silk are not there presently to be had, that then you advise the Chinese to bring thereof both white soweing silk, twisted silk of all sorts and sizes as also raw and sleave silk'.[322] John Saris, writing in December 1608 in Bantam, informs the EIC that they decided to keep some of the cargo of the *Dragon* that came from Priaman, which included '0004 Bales Lankin Silk' and '0004 Bales Canton Silk'.[323]

In January 1613, Williams Adams wrote from Japan to his friend Augustin Spalding informing him that 'The ship that comes from Patan brings raw silk […] of all prices, damask, taffetas, velvet, satin with all other China commodities with brazil to die with, the which […] is not certain because some years good cheap, and sometime dear. Now I […] of Chinese goods they make great profit first'. Adams goes on to stress the possibility of great profits if trading directly with the Chinese, saying that '…can our English merchants get the handling of trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit here, and your worshipful Indian Company of London shall not have need to send money out of England, for in Japan is gold and

320 The inventory of Kenilworth Castle, drawn up in 1588 after the death of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, listing a large quantity of silk furnishings made of various silk cloths, such as satin, damask, taffeta and velvet, probably of European origin, demonstrates that there was a ready market in England for silks imported from the Far East in the late sixteenth century. Published in George Adlard, *Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester; …And a History of Kenilworth Castle ….*, London, 1870, pp. 241–273.

321 Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, New York, 2005, p. 1.

322 Sir George Birdwood and William Foster (eds.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600–1619*, London, 1893, p. 150. Cited in K. N. Chaudhiri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Join-stock Company, 1600–1640*, The Emergence of International Business 1200–1800, Vol. IV, London, reprint 1999, p. 203, note 7.

323 'Lankin Silk' refers to silk from Nanking. Danvers and Foster, Vol. I, 1896, p. 21.

silver in abundance'.[324] From the court minutes of the EIC of July 1614, we learn that silk was bought as special commissions for private individuals in England, as it states: 'China taffetas of all colours to be sent to Countess of Suffolk according to her request'.[325] As noted by Lux, after Thomas Aidworth informed his superiors in London from Masulipatam in August of that year that English broadcloth would not sell in East Asia, the EIC servants began to buy silk in increasingly larger quantities and made profit on taking raw silk from Patani to Japan.[326] It was reported that John Jourdain (1572–1619) bought raw silk from Chinese junks at Bantam that same year, but there was no mention of the purchase price.[327]

In February 1615, John Jourdain writes from Bantam informing the EIC that 'Five China junks arrived with store of silks, but dares not disburse any money until other ships come with a fresh supply; the Hollanders in a similar situation'. Richard Westby informed the EIC this same month of the 'Arrival of the Globe from the Coromandel coast, and her lading for England, which includes pepper, China silks, and a large parcel of diamonds from Succadana'.[328]

A letter sent from Macassar this same year by George Cokayne to Sir Thomas Smythe states that 'On the 13th December here arrived a small junk sent from Bantam to visit both this factory and Sacadania,[329] which brought in her 678 1/5 catties China of raw Lankine[330] silk; which had come to a very good market, but within three days after arrived here a China junk (it being the first that ever came to this place) bringing great store of raw silks, woven silks, porcelain and all other China commodities, selling it here cheaper than Bantam. Now considering the long time this vessel was to stay here before the monsoon would serve for to go for Sacadania, it was thought good to employ her for Banda, I having sold little of the clothing left here with me (it being sorts not fitting for this country)'.[331] In August, George Cockayne wrote from Sambarrppa[332] to John Jourdain at Bantam informing him that 'The cloth that fits for this place being Dragons and Pettas Vermillia at 40 mas the corge; ordinary Baftas, 8 corge sold at 35 per corge; Biraamyes, 6 corge at 35 per corge; all the raw silk at 6 ½ mas per cattie; 8 picules of gumlac 16 mas per picull'.[333] From a letter written in October of that same year, we learn that the English were competing with the Dutch to buy silk in Patani. He states that 'considering the doubtfulness of employments which is expected in Patania, by reason that the Hollander layeith wait for all the silk that comes hiter, they having, partly by their own means and partly by the ill-usage of the Chinese in Patania, drawn all the junks to Sangora, where they have a factory settled and no man without their licence may buy any there, so that a very small quantity is to be hoped for'.[334] In a letter written in December, Captain Ralph Coppindall informs the merchants Robert Larkin and Adam Denton at Patani that in September he left Hirado in Japan 'towards the Emperor's court with a present (which every ship or junk that cometh hither must of force perform), which with changes much surmounteth an indifferent custom, especially when a ship cometh with a small capital, and sales so base and slack that nothing is here to be expected but loss, except a trade procured into China, the raw silks of which country are always here ready money and reasonable profit'.[335] That same month, John Jourdain sent a letter from Bantam to the East India Company informing that 'There is laden in this ship in pepper 12,529 sacks, 48 chests of China silk, wrought and raw'.[336] The following year, in 1616, John Jourdain wrote a letter from Jakarta to Richard Wickmann at Hirado informing him that 'the Gift departed into England the 22nd December laden with pepper, some cloves, mace, nuts and some 50 chests of silks of all sorts'.[337]

324 Ibid., p. 210.

325 CPS, Colonial. 'East Indies: July 1614'. Sainsbury, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 301. Accessed September 2014. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/east-indies-china-japan/vol2/pp301–313.

326 'East Indies: July 1614', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 312 and 325. Mentioned in Lux, 2014, p. 152.

327 'East Indies: July 1614', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 325. Mentioned in Lux, 2014, p. 152.

328 'East Indies: February 1615', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, p. 376-389.

329 Sacadania is mentioned in many EIC documents. It may have referred to Republic of Sacadania, which declared independence from Somalia.

330 Danvers and Foster, Vol. III, 1899, p. 320, note 3 from page 137.

331 Ibid., p. 137.

332 The author was not able to find the geographical location of this place.

333 Danvers and Foster, 1899, Vol. III, p. 151.

334 Ibid., p. 179.

335 Ibid., p. 241.

336 Ibid., pp. 276–277.

337 Ibid., p. 112.

Documentary evidence of the presence of Chinese silk in England in the early seventeenth century is scarce. Thus a few surviving inventories listing silk cloths and/or furnishings from China are of particular importance to this study. They give us an idea of the various types of silk imported and their uses. The earliest reference dates to 1601, just a year after the establishment of the EIC. It is an inventory of the contents of Hardwick Hall, an Elizabethan house built by Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1520–1608) in Derbyshire, taken immediately after its completion and furnishing, which lists a large quantity of silk cloths and furnishings, but only one specified as from China.[338] A silk cloth is listed as 'a Counterpoynt of China cloth of golde with a pane of white imbrodered with yellowe and grene silk lace and fringe, and lined with blewe taffaty' among the contents of the wardrobe of the 'olde building at Hardwick'.[339]

It appears that larger quantities of silk were available in England by the next decade. This is suggested by an inventory taken upon the death of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in June 1614, which lists a variety of costly silk cloth and furnishings, as well as carpets, porcelain and furniture from China.[340] The furnishings listed among the 'Household-stuffe at London' include 'a field bedstead of *China* worke blacke and silver branched with silver with the Armes of the Earle of Northampton upon the head peece, the toppe and valance of purple velvet striped downe with silver laces and knottes of silver, the frindge blewe silke and silver with 8 cuppes and plumes spangled suteable…';[341] 'Item one China cushen imbrodered with birds, beasts, and flowers, the ground of white Grogeron lined with yelowe taffeta';[342] 'Imprimis one Tester with head and double balance fringed, and 7 curtens, whereof fowre are made upp, and 3 unmade, the stuffe of China taffeta white embroidered with birdes and flowers. A counterpoint suteable lined with watchett Taffeta';[343] 'another China quilte stiched in chequer worke with yealowe silke the grownde white'.[344] Only one type of silk cloth is listed as '13 yeardes and a quarter of purple golde velvet *China* with flower de luces and diamond worke'.[345]

An inventory taken in February 1638 after the death of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester, lists silk cloth as '5 peeces of white Cheney damaske [sic]', valued at £16 among the contents of 'the great barrd trunck [sic]'.[346] There are also '2 yards ¼ of cheney damaske' listed among the contents of 'the Greene Velvet Cabinet'.[347] The large quantities of jewelry, plate, tapestries, soft furnishings, beds, tables and cabinets, many of them imported, listed in the inventory testify to the wealth of the Viscountess Dorchester's household.[348]

Although limited, the textual sources discussed above suggest that the English were requesting specific types of silks, including sowering silk (most likely sawing silk, as will be shown in the following pages), twisted silk and raw silk, to be imported into England as early as 1607. Seven years later, silk was being bought as special commissions for private individuals, who belonged to the English nobility. At about this time, the EIC servants realized, as the VOC would do some years later, that great profits could be obtained if they participated in the trade of silk from Patani to Japan, and thus began to buy silk in increasingly larger quantities from Chinese junks. The English, however, had to compete with the Dutch to buy silk in Patani. Chests of silks of all sorts, including raw and woven silks, were shipped to England. Surviving inventories of the early years of the seventeenth century have shown that although woven silk cloths and silk furnishings are commonly listed among the contents of the households of the wealthy nobility, only a few of them are described as being of Chinese origin.

338 Lindsay Boynton (ed.), 'The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601', *The Furniture History Society*, London, 1971, p. 1.

339 Ibid., p. 40.

340 This manuscript, possibly the original inventory, was discovered among the collection of writings belonging to the Baroness North at Wroxton, Oxfordshire. Published as 'An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G., Earl of Northampton, taken on his death in 1614, together with a transcript of his Will; prefaced by a Letter to Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq., LL.D., Director, from EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Warwickshire', in Royal Society of Antiquaries, *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. XLII, London, 1869, pp. 347–374.

341 Ibid., p. 355.

342 Ibid., p. 360.

343 Ibid., p. 361.

344 Ibid., p. 364.

345 Ibid., p. 363.

346 Francis W. Steer (ed.), 'The Inventory of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester, 1638/1639', *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 198, London, 1953, p. 155.

347 Ibid., p. 470.

348 Ibid., pp. 94–95.

Chinese woven silk cloths and finished silk products, furnishing items in particular, begin to appear in larger quantities in inventories taken from 1614 onwards. These silks include taffetas, velvets, damasks in various colours, and cushions and other items embroidered with birds, beasts and flowers.

The English continued with their indirect trade with China for years. Later in the eighteenth century trade was to be confined to the port cities of London and Canton. The silk trade was devised as a re-export enterprise in order to protect British manufacturers. According to British navigation laws and prohibition acts, all silk piece goods imported into London from Asia were to be re-exported to continental Europe, the West Indies, and the English colonies in the New World.[349]

349 Leanna Lee-Whitman, 'The Silk Trade. Chinese Silks and the British East India Company', *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 21.

European influence on Chinese Silk [2.3]

The trade in silk to Europe and the New World was not limited to raw silk, silk woven cloths and silk finished products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets. By the mid-sixteenth century, it also included a variety of silks made to order in China for use in both religious and secular contexts in Europe, and the colonies in the New World and Asia. Material evidence is provided by a small number of extant woven silk cloths and finished silk products housed in public and private collections, which combine traditional Chinese weaving, embroidery or painting techniques and motifs, with European motifs. These silks, made specially for both the Portuguese and Spanish markets in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, give testimony of the ability of the Chinese silk producers to adapt to the specific requirements of their new European clientele. No silks from this period showing any signs of having been made to order in China for the Dutch or English markets were found during the present research.

Silk made to order for the Iberian market (2.3.1)

Portuguese textual sources suggest that woven silk cloths began to be made in China as special orders for the Portuguese shortly after the establishment of Macao in 1557. The earliest orders may have been intended for use in Catholic religious contexts in Asia. The Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532–1597) in a letter to his brothers in Lisbon referring to the Jesuit festivities held from 1559 to 1560 at the Colégio de São Paulo Velho in Goa, writes 'Something I will tell you very humorous about the Chinese [after] they were informed of the Portuguese processions in Goa and the way we worship God using images, as they are skilled men decided, not to loose the opportunity to profit, which is their main interest'.[350] The Colégio de São Paulo was the first Jesuit establishment in Asia (built between 1541 and 1578), and thus it required a supply

350 The originat text in Portuguese reads: 'Huma cousa lhe direy dos chinas muito gracyosa contrarão-lhe la od portugueses as proçissões que qua fazião em Goa e a maneyra de nosso culto divino e ymagens ells como são homens abilissymos determinarão, de não perder a ocasião de ganharem que he quasi seu ultimo fin pretenderão em tudo seu enteresse'. Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49–IV–50, doc. 133, fl. 400. Cited in Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Entre a vivência religiosa cultural e académica. A presence de têxteis chineses nas festas do colégio de São Paulo de Goa em meados do século XVI', *Revista de Facultade de Letras – Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, Porto, Vol. VII–VIII, 2008–2009, p. 200; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 49.

Fig. 2.3.1.1 Length of silk lampas
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 50.8cm x 57.2cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1912 (acc. no. 12.55.4)

Opposite page
Fig. 2.3.1.2 Length of woven silk
Spain, fifteenth century
Dimensions: 16.5cm x 24.1cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1907 (acc. no. 07.62.72)

of ecclesiastical vestments for use in the liturgy and sacred festivities to support the missionary work of spreading Christianity in India.

A small number of the extant lengths of woven silk cloths and finished silk products mentioned above have been selected to illustrate the various types of silks that were made as special orders for the Iberian market. It appears that the earliest silk cloths made to order for the Iberians combined Chinese traditional weaving or embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs, as often occurred with the porcelain made to order that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Woven silks dating to the second half of the sixteenth century include a fragment of a silk lampas in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which is finely woven with a repeated design of a crowned, double-headed eagle grasping an arrow in each claw that pierce a heart-shaped vase amid interlocking floral scrolls in green, blue and yellow on a red ground (Fig. 2.3.1.1).[351] The symmetrical arrangement of the design, as noted by Digby, appears to derive from contemporary European textiles.[352] Closely related arrangements appear on silks woven in both Spain and Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as seen in a fragment of a Spanish woven silk, housed in the same museum collection (Fig. 2.3.1.2).[353] It has been suggested that the colour scheme of the silk lampas discussed here has a notable European character.[354] The Spanish woven silk shows a somewhat similar colour scheme, with yellow and green on a red ground, but omitting the blue. It can be argued, however, that the colour scheme of yellow, green, and blue or black, on a red ground appear on Chinese silk of the early sixteenth century.[355] The crowned double-headed eagle, a symbol of the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Portugal commonly used in printed maps and texts related to the Spanish Empire from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, indicates that this silk lampas was made to order for the Iberian market (Fig. 2.3.1.3). The pierced heart-shaped vase beneath the eagle suggests an association with the Mendicant Order of St. Augustine in the Philippines, which was granted the right to use the double-headed eagle as an emblem after 1565.[356] The Chinese silk weavers incorporated this distinct European motif into the design, but rendered the body and wing feathers of the eagles in a manner that recalls the depictions of phoenixes on rank badges of the late Ming, particularly the scale-like pattern of the body and the contrasting colours of the wings.[357] Moreover, the interlocking floral scrolls with peonies and other blossoming flowers, and cusp-shaped leaves, are rendered in a manner that resembles those depicted in blue-and-white porcelain made at Jingdezhen for the imperial court during the reigns of Zhengde (1506–1521) and Jiajing (1522–1566).[358] The design of this silk lampas relates closely to that seen on other extant lengths of finely woven silk in blue, yellow and white on a red satin ground, which incorporate flat threads of gold leaf on paper, also dating to the second half of the sixteenth century.[359] A cope in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and two fragments that appear to have formed part of one or more priest's chasubles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, demonstrate that such silks were cut and sawn into ecclesiastical vestments for the Catholic Church.[360] The stylistic characteristics of the silks discussed above indicate that although the Chinese weavers were most likely provided with a European textile or printed source to be woven in silk, they took the liberty to create a hybrid design that incorporates a single European motif with many motifs that are undoubtedly Chinese. The exact place of manufacture of all these silks is still unknown. It seems possible, as suggested by some scholars, that they were made to order in Macao.[361]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art also houses a length of silk damask finely

351 Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 156–157, no. 15.

352 G. F. Wingfield Digby, 'Some Silks Woven Under Portuguese Influence in the Far East', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 77, No. 449 (Aug., 1940), p. 52.

353 Compare, for example, the arrangement of a silk velvet fabric made in Italy – possibly in Genoa, Florence or Venice – dating to c.1570–1600, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Museum no. 147–1880.

354 Peck, 2013, p. 156.

355 For a counted stitch embroidery dating to the early sixteenth century with this particular colour scheme, see Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Heaven's Embroidered Cloths. One Thousand Years of Chinese Textiles*, exhibition catalogue, Urban Council of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1995, pp. 200–201.

356 The 1565 Spanish expedition that conquered Cebú in the Philippine Islands included six Spanish Augustinian friars under the supervision of Father Andres de Urdaneta, who established several missions in the Archipelago. According to Augustinian sources, after the discovery of the Holy Child of Cebú (an image thought to be miraculous), Philip II granted the privilege to the Augustinians of the Philippine Islands to make use of his ensign, the double-headed eagle of the Hapsburg, in their emblem. In 1586, thirty years after the Jesuits first settled in Macao, three Spanish Augustinians founded the convent of St. Augustine near the city centre. Three years later, on the orders of Philip II, Portuguese Augustinians settled in the Nossa Senhora da Graça monastery. Antonio Diez de Rivera, 'The Spanish Market', *Oriental Art*, vol. XLV, No. 1 (1999), p. 39.

357 Compare, for instance, a badge made in *kesi* slit tapestry weaving, dating to c.1600–1644, published in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 290–291.

358 For a bell-shaped bowl dating to the Zhengde reign and a vase dating to the Jiajing reign, see Lai Suk Yee (ed.), *Enlightening Elegance: Imperial Porcelain*

Fig. 2.3.1.3 Brevis exactaque totius Novi Orbis eiusque insularum descriptio recens a Joan. Bellero edita, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, *Chronica del Peru* ..., Antwerp, 1554
© John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence

Opposite page left
Fig. 2.3.1.4 Length of silk damask
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 189.2cm x 73.7cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1940 (acc. no. 40.27.2)

Opposite page right
Fig. 2.3.1.5 Length of furnishing silk satin
China, Ming dynasty, *c.*1500–1600
Dimensions: 226.5cm x 79cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Miss Lucy T. Aldrich (Acc. no. 35.687)

woven with a repeated design of a double-headed crowned eagle grasping an arrow in each claw that pierce a heart-shaped vase amid scrolling leaves supported by two confronted Asian elephants with multiple tusks, alternating with large-scale lotus flowers growing from globular containers on stands, all in yellow-brown on a blue ground (Fig. 2.3.1.4).[362] Although the symmetrical arrangement of this design most probably derives from contemporary European textiles, the colour scheme appears to be Chinese. Compare, for example, the colour scheme of a length of furnishing cloth made in silk satin weave, dating to *c.*1500–1600, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 2.3.1.5). In this design made to order, the Chinese weavers again combined the single European motif of the double-headed eagle with Chinese floral and animal motifs. The rendering of the petals of the lotus flowers and the scrolling leaves that surround the double-headed eagle are particularly close to those seen in the aforementioned silk satin weave. Of particular interest is the inclusion of the Asian elephant with multiple tusks, which probably represents the Buddhist six-tusked elephant described in a Chinese translation of a sutra of the fifth century as being resplendent and white and having lotuses, jade maidens, and other symbolic figures at the end of each tusk.[363] It is well known that elephants were given as tribute to the emperor by rulers from South East Asia, and were also presented as diplomatic gifts to important foreign kings. Research by Jordan Gschwend has shown that elephants and other exotic animals were shipped from India and Ceylon to Lisbon. The first elephants were sent in 1510. Some were later offered as gifts by the Portuguese kings to the courts of Spain, Austria, France and England.[364] However, it seems unlikely that the inclusion of the elephant motif was a specific request of the European customer who ordered the silk damask, who most probably did not understand its Buddhist connotation. The place of manufacture of this silk damask, like the silks discussed above, is still unknown.

One of the earliest extant embroidered silks made to order is an altar frontal, now housed in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (Fig. 2.3.1.6).[365] This altar

of the Mid to Late Ming, The Huaihaitang Collection, Hong Kong, 2012, pp. 122–123, no. 12 and pp. 172–173, no. 36, respectively.

359 Two such fragments can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. nos. 34.41.9 (red, blue and yellow) and 34.41.1 (blue and yellow). Mentioned in Peck, 2013, p. 157, note 1. For a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. T.169–1929; and one other in the Museum Für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, see Digby, 1940, pl. I, E and F, respectively.

360 The cope, inv. no. 973.422, is published in John E. Vollmer, E. J. Keall and E. Nagai-Berthrong, *Silk Roads, China Ships*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1983, p. 19. For the fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see the online museum's catalogue, each illustrated separately as museum no. T.217–1910.

361 Digby, 1940, p. 60; and Peck, 2013, p. 157.

362 The length of cloth comprises two widths of cloth seamed together, each with identical patters that are somewhat mismatched at the join. Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 157–158, no. 16.

363 *Guan Puxian pu sa xing fa jing* (Sutra on the Practice of Visualizing the Bodhisattva Samantbhadra), in Alexander Coburn Soper, 'Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China', *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 19 (1959), p. 223. Mentioned in Peck, 2013, pp. 157–158, note 2.

364 For a discussion on this subject, see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Johannes Beltz, *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon. Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507–1578)*, exhibition catalogue, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 2010, pp. 127–147.

365 Discussed and published by Pacheco Ferreira in Levenson, 2009, pp. 324–324, no. 144.

Fig. 2.3.1.6 Altar frontal
Blue silk satin embroidered with silk thread without noticeable torsion, golden laminated paper thread and fillet, metallic thread, organic filament rolled in silk, paper roll filling; no lining
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 84cm x 138cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(Inv. 612 Tec)

Fig. 2.3.1.7 Hanging
Kesi slit tapestry weaving
China, possibly Beijing
Ming dynasty, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 138cm x 44.8cm
Provincial Museum of Liaoning, Shenyang

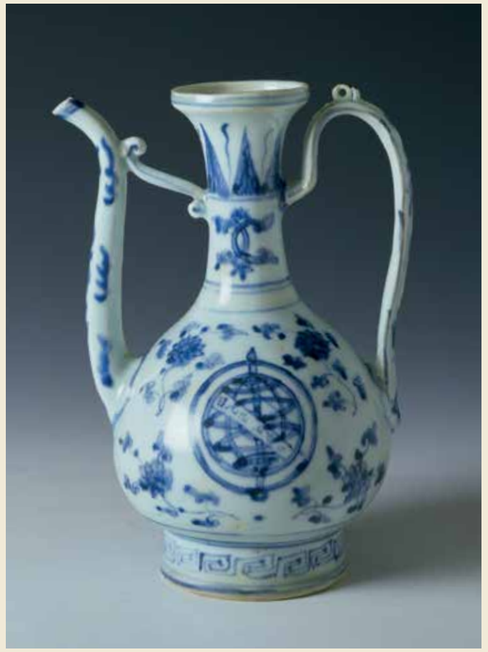


Fig. 2.3.1.8 Ewer
Porcelain decorated in underglaze cobalt blue
China, Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Zhengde mark and of the period (1506–1521)
Height: 18.7cm
Photo courtesy of Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas - Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon (inv. 1430)

Fig. 2.3.1.9 Title page of Leitura Nova, Livro 2 de Místicos, book 31
Published in 1511
© ANTT / José António Silva

frontal, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, is formed by three cloths of silk satin, each embroidered with silk thread, golden laminated paper thread and fillet, and metallic thread, which are joined together without showing any continuity of the design, most probably due to a reduction of the overall width. Here the Chinese embroiderers combined a representation of the Virgin with the Infant Christ in her arms standing on a crescent moon circumscribed by a rosary supported on each side by four angels, which is most probably Our Lady of the Rosary, with a dense composition of Chinese floral and animal motifs, some of which are rendered in very large-scale. Although the folds of the Virgin's tunic are embroidered realistically according to contemporary images of the Virgin made throughout Portuguese India, including Sinhalese territories (present-day Sri Lanka), the facial features of the Virgin and angels are distinctively Asian.[366] The place of manufacture of this altar frontal is unknown, as is the identity of the person who ordered it. It is unclear how it came to be part of the collection of the ancient convent of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Beja. Its presence was first recorded in 1843 at a reception offered to Queen Mary II (r. 1826–1853) and her son Dom Pedro (future King Pedro V) during their visit to Beja in November of that year.[367]

Of particular interest to this study is a hanging made in *kesi* slit tapestry weaving in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the Provincial Museum of Liaoning, Shenyang (Fig. 2.3.1.7).[368] This *kesi* hanging is woven in gold and polychrome wefts depicting clouds and bats grasping an armillary sphere resting on a stand and a variety of antiquarian objects, all on a yellow ground. It has been suggested that the yellow ground may indicate that it was used at court. If so, it would most probably have been made at the imperial silk workshops of Beijing. The dense composition and decorative motifs of the hanging are wholly Chinese with the exception of the armillary sphere, which could be after a Chinese or European astronomical instrument. The armillary sphere – from the Latin *armilla*, meaning 'bracelet' – was a device used since ancient times both in China and Europe as an aid to understand the movement of the stars around the earth.[369] Armillary spheres, as will be shown in Chapter III, appeared depicted on porcelain made to order at private kilns in Jingdezhen for the Portuguese market during the reigns of Zhengde and early Jiajing (Fig. 2.3.1.8).[370] This motif, the personal device of King Manuel I, was widely depicted together with the Portuguese royal coat of arms on maps and title pages, and they continued to be used formally after the King's death in 1521 (Fig. 2.3.1.9).[371] But it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the Italian Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), one of the earliest Jesuits allowed to enter China and the first to gain access to the imperial court in Beijing, began making astronomical instruments such as the armillary sphere at the court.[372] The *Assembly of Major Events of Ming* written by Long Wenbin, Volume 28 Calendar, states that 'In Wanli years, the Westerner Matteo Ricci made an armillary sphere, a celestial sphere, and earth globe, and other instruments'.[373] When Matteo Ricci visited the observatory of the officials of the Nanjing board of mathematicians in 1600, he saw a massive armillary sphere supported by columns with a relief decoration of dragons amongst clouds constructed by the mathematician and astronomer Kuo Shou-ching (1231–1316) in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368).[374] Thus is not possible to ascertain if the armillary sphere depicted in the hanging intended to represent a Chinese or European astronomical instrument. Further research may provide concrete evidence of a European influence in this hanging.

Textual sources indicate that by the end of the sixteenth century, silk furnishings

366 For a brief discussion on an ivory figure representing the Virgin and Child standing on a crescent moon, see Levenson, 2009, p. 283, no. 138.

367 For more information, see Ibid., p. 324.

368 Published in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 332–333. For a hanging of smaller size with the same decorative pattern but omitting the armillary sphere presented at the exhibition, see pp. 76–77. The hanging discussed here was also published in Krahl, 2009, p. 319, fig. 9, where the author suggested Beijing as place of manufacture.

369 Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci. A Jesuit in the Ming Court*, Maryland, 2011, p. 165; and Teresa Canepa, 'Saucer Dish with the Armillary Sphere of King Manuel I and the Royal Coat-of-Arms of Portugal', in Vinhais and Welsh, 2009, p. 82, note 3. For information on the armillary spheres invented and used by astronomers in China for the determination of celestial positions, see Joseph Needham, *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and Earth*, vol. 3 in the series *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 339–359.

370 Published in Levenson , 2009, p. 329, no. 151. For a brief discussion on this group of porcelains, see section 3.1.1 of Chapter III.

371 Also see the title page of the *Leitura Nova, Libro 1 de Místicos*, book 30, published in 1504, which is illustrated in Canepa, 2009, p. 82, ill. 5b. Evidence of the use of the armillary sphere after the King's death is provided by the 1528 inventory of Catherine of Austria, which is bound in tooled leather embossed and painted with both the coat of arms of Portugal and the armillary sphere. For an image, see Jordan Gschwend, 1996, p. 103, fig. 14.

372 Matteo Ricci arrived to Macao in 1582. In 1600, after publishing an improved version of his Chinese world map, Matteo Ricci was allowed to submit his credentials to representatives of Emperor Wanli. Although Ricci never met the Emperor in person, he was elevated to the rank of an imperial mandarin and remained in a house on the palace grounds that the Emperor made available for him and his companions. Gerhard F. Strasser, 'The Impact on the European Humanities of Early Reports from Catholic Missionaries from China, Tibet and Japan between 1600 and 1700', in Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Making of the Humanities, Vol II: From Early Modern to Modern Disciplines*, Amsterdam, 2012, pp. 187–188.

373 Cited in Qianjin Wang, 'Lecture 2: History of Ancient maps and Concepts of Military Geography', in Lu Yongxiang (ed.), *A History of Chinese Science and Technology*, Shanghai, 2015, Vol. 1, p. 200.

374 Mentioned in Fontana, 2011, pp. 165–166.

Fig. 2.3.1.10 Liturgical vestment
Brocaded silk, China, with linen and cotton, possibly Spain
Seventeenth century
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem
(museum no. AE85947)

were being made as special orders for private individuals combining Chinese traditional weaving and embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs and forms. Carletti, in the account of his travels around the world that began in 1596, notes that 'And of the abovementioned silk – that is, of those twists, good for sewing and in all the colors that can be imagined, light as well as dark – I had them make a bed – the curtains, that is, with also all the accessories and furnishing for a room. This was made in the manner in which they work tapestry fabrics, showing the pattern from both the front and the back. An that design was of various fantastic animals, birds, and flowers, in which last those regions abound and which are esteemed more for the sight of them than for their odor, just as in Europe today they are appreciated for their beauty. And they have a similar decoration of foliage, but all very natural. And because Your Highness's arms were embroidered on the canopy of those curtains, the Zeelanders who stole them from me along with all the other goods did not dare to sell them, but sent them as gift to the Most Serene Queen of France, Maria de' Medici, together with the porcelain and various other curious things that I was bringing to present to Your Highness'.[375] This is the earliest textual reference of an order of silk bearing a European coat of arms, which was that of Fernando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Both documentary and material evidence demonstrate that special orders of velvet and finished silk products for religious use were made for both the Spanish

375 Carletti, 1965, pp. 148–149. The porcelain bought by Carletti that was loaded aboard the *São Tiago* in Goa, subsequently captured by the Dutch off St. Helena, will be discussed in Chapter III.

Figs. 2.3.1.11a, b and c Chasuble and stole from a set of liturgical vestments and furnishings
Satin and velvet, floss silk, gold-wrapped thread, silk cord, cotton, paper (padding)
China, Macao
Ming dynasty, *c.*1634
Dimensions chasuble: 108cm x 66cm
Irmandade de Santa Cruz, Braga

and Portuguese markets in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In 1615, for instance, Captain Francisco de Medina sent from Manila to Alonso Maldonado de Torres, priest of Philip III in Madrid, a consignment that included 12 velvet *reposteros* (decorative cloths patterned with a coat of arms) from China and 24 velvet cushions from China.[376] A few more velvet *reposteros* were sent that year to Spain by the archbishop of Manila, Don Diego Vázquez de Mercado. On this occasion he sent to Don Pedro de Mercado Vázquez, his nephew and *regidor* (alderman) of Madrid, a consignment that included 2 pieces of raw silk and 16 velvet reposteros from China. The following year he sent him of all the cloths that a priest needed to conduct a mass, all of silk. According to the documentation, these were specific orders of finished silk products made by his nephew.[377]

There is an interesting set of ecclesiastical vestments made of silk brocade, dating to about 1600, which reflects European influence in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. A priest's robe from this set serves to illustrate a striking combination of Chinese weaving techniques with both Chinese and European motifs (Fig. 2.3.1.10).[378] The silk weavers created a bright purple silk brocade with a large-scale design of repeated pairs of standing Buddhist Lions confronting each other in front of a brocaded ball, framed above and below by a crown, and among scrolls of flowering chrysanthemum and other flowers, all in gold thread. Although the Buddhist Lions and crown resemble European-style heraldry, the background is purely Chinese. While the crown motif is undoubtedly European, the pairs of standing Buddhist Lions are most probably the Chinese weaver's interpretation of a pair of lions in the rampant position (standing on their hind legs), a symbol commonly used in European heraldry. It is not known who ordered the silk brocade used to make this set of ecclesiastical vestments, but it seems likely that the silk weavers were provided with a drawing or print for such a heraldic-

376 AGI, Contratación, 1830, pp. 277–279. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 56, note 142.

377 AGI, Contratación, 1830, pp. 850–852 and AGI, Contratación, 1834, pp. 1052–1055. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 56.

378 This set of ecclesiastical vestments was previously dated to *c.*1660–1665, but it is now believed that the set was made in about 1600. I am grateful to Karina Corrigan, H. A. Crosby Forbes Curator of Asian Export Art, Peabody Essex Museum, for providing me with information and images of this set of vestments. For an image of various pieces of the set and the former dating, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'Religious Encounters: Christianity in Asia', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, pp. 120–121, pl. 8.22.

Left
Fig. 2.3.1.12 Coverlet
Silk satin, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread
China, seventeenth century
Dimensions: 213.4cm x 200.7cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1975 (acc. no. 1975.208d)

Right
Fig. 2.3.1.13 Silk and metallic-thread *kesi* slit tapestry weaving
China, Ming dynasty, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 200.7cm x 162.6cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Gift of Amy Greene, 1969 (Acc. no. 69.246)

style design. It is believed that each piece of the set was assembled in Europe, possibly in Spain, where they were lined in linen and cotton, and a cotton fringe was added. Although the set is said to have had a history of ownership in a small church in Spain, no documentary evidence has yet been found that supports this attribution.

From six letters written by Francisco Carvalho Aranha, a wealthy man from the outskirts of Braga who resided in Macao, which were kept at the archives of the brotherhood of Bom Jesus de São Marcos of the church of Santa Cruz in Braga, we learn that the brotherhood wrote to him requesting some ornaments for their church. It didn't take long for Carvalho Aranha to satisfy this request with a set of liturgical vestments and furnishings. The set, documented as having arrived in Lisbon at the beginning of 1635, included three altar frontals, a cross cover, a canopy, a pulpit fall, two chasubles, two dalmatics, a cope, and other smaller items, all made in white silk satin and crimson velvet, finely embroidered.[379] It seems clear that the monogram of the brotherhood, most probably in printed form, was given to the Chinese embroiderers at the time the order was placed as it appears embroidered on two of the few pieces of the set that still survive intact: a cope and a humeral veil.[380] A chasuble of Roman type and a stole serve to illustrate how the embroiderers incorporated both Chinese and European influences in the creation of this set of vestments (Figs. 2.3.1.11a, b, and c).[381] The chasuble has a crimson velvet orphrey on the front and back embroidered with an ascending design of stylized flowers organized in the way of *candelabra* which resembles contemporary models used in Europe in about 1600–1620; and the lateral panels of white satin are embroidered with scrolling tendrils terminating in various small flowers in blue, red and green.[382] While the design of the lateral panels is most probably based on contemporary European textiles, the rendering of the flowers with shaded areas in contrasting colours appears to be Chinese in style.[383] The stole is similarly

379 Discussed and published in Mafalda Soares da Cunha (ed.), *Os Construtores do Oriente Português: Ciclo de exposições Memórias do Oriente*, exhibition catalogue, Oporto, 1998, p. 317–319; and José Ferreira da Costa Ortiga, *5 Séculos de Evangelização e Encontro de Culturas*, exhibition catalogue, Commissariado-Geral. Diocese de Braga, Braga, 2000, p. 131–133. The chasuble was recently discussed by Levenson, 2009, p. 326, no. 146.

380 Most of the pieces that formed this set have disappeared, were converted into other pieces, or were dismantled. Mentioned in Levenson, 2009, p. 326. The emblem of the brotherhood, a Calvary and Latin cross, is embroidered within an oval on the back of the cope. For a discussion and images of the cope, see Costa Ortiga, 2000, p. 133.

381 I am grateful to Luís Rufo, President of the Brotherhood of Santa Cruz, for providing me with information and images of the chasuble and stole for research purposes.

382 This chasuble, together with another chasuble embroidered in China in the mid-seventeenth century, is discussed by Pacheco Ferreira in Levenson, 2009, pp. 326–327, nos. 146 and 147, respectively.

383 Compare, for example, the flowers embroidered in a canopy dating to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368)

decorated with scrolling tendrils, with the central area of red velvet embroidered with a Latin cross, and the semi-circular terminals of red velvet embroidered with stylized leaf motifs.

Embroidered silks were also made to order for secular use in the seventeenth century. Such an example is a silk satin coverlet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is finely embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread with a dense design that consists of a central roundel with two dragons chasing a flaming pearl amid cloud scrolls within a square with a male figure on each corner dressed in contemporary European doublets and breeches, all amongst a profusion of floral, bird and mythical animal motifs in various bright colours (Fig. 2.3.1.12).[384] The design of this coverlet, dominated by a central roundel, is distinctly Chinese. Central roundels are frequently seen in silks made for both the domestic and export markets, such as a silk and metallic-tread *kesi* tapestry dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the same museum collection (Fig. 2.3.1.13).[385] It appears that the Chinese embroiderer intended to represent Portuguese men, but rendered them with Asian facial features and wearing clothes of patterned textiles that include Chinese traditional motifs, such as the dragon and the auspicious emblem. A few details of the embroidery, as convincingly argued by Phipps and Denney, are unusual and may reflect the influence or specific request of the Iberian customer. Most noticeable are the flaming pearl that is fully surrounded by flames and thus resembles more a European sun than the flaming pearl that appears commonly in Chinese art; and the lotus pond at one edge of the border that features large pheasants instead of the typical pair of ducks or egrets.

It would not be possible to conclude the discussion of the European influence on Chinese silk without including a set of armorial hangings of very large size made to order in China, most probably in the first half of the seventeenth century, depicting scenes from the story of the Trojan War. Although cotton was used as a foundation cloth for the seven known hangings from this set, each measuring approximately 3.6 x 4.8 metres, they were all embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread in China and thus deserve particular attention. The hanging illustrated here, depicting *The Abduction of Helen*, is one of three from this set housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 2.3.1.14a).[386] Undoubtedly the overall composition was based on a European printed source, but no exact print has yet been found.[387] The silk embroiderers, however, depicted various motifs that are immediately recognized as Chinese in style, such as the waves in the background, the lychee fruits against the striped side of the boat in the foreground, and details of the armour. In addition, the wide embroidered border that is repeated in all seven hangings, shows further motifs depicted in Chinese style, including the pair of phoenixes in the the top centre, and the scales of the serpents and tritons on each side. Recent research has shown that the faces, arms and legs of the figures of the central compositions were painted directly on the cotton foundation cloth, probably also in China by artists who had been trained by the Jesuits, possibly at the academy of painting established by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Niccolo (1563–1626) in Japan, which produced religious art.[388] Two other hangings from this set are housed in the Museé des Beaux-Arts in Lyon,[389] one is at Steinitz in Paris,[390] and one other was sold at auction in Florence in 1934.[391] The coat of arms depicted at the corner of the border of each of these hangings does not correspond exactly with any known European arms (Fig. 2.3.1.14b). It has been suggested that it may be an erroneous rendering of the coat of arms of the Portuguese family of Mascarenhas, whose members participated actively in Portugal's overseas expansion.[392] It seems likely that the set of hangings would have been ordered by or for Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, a *fidalgo* of the King's household, who was appointed in 1623 as Captain-General and 1st Governor of Macao, a post he held until 1626 (Fig. 2.3.1.15).[393] Errors in the execution of European coat of arms, as will be shown in the following chapter were common in porcelain made to order for the Portuguese market in Jingdezhen from as early as the Zhengde and Jiajing reigns. Three pieces of porcelain dating to the Tianqi reign (1621–1627) bear a coat of arms that appears to be another erroneous rendering of the Mascarenhas family arms, which has been attributed to Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas (Figs.3.4.1.1.15a and b). Thus it is possible that Dom Francisco de Mascahernas not only ordered this set of silk hangings, but also porcelains with his coat of arms, during the time he was serving as Captain-General and Governor of Macao. This set of hangings, combining Chinese materials and embroidering techniques, painting techniques and pigments[394] introduced by the Jesuits into both Japan and China, with European iconography, serves to further illustrate the complex and fascinating cultural and material exchanges that occurred between the Iberians and Chinese in the early seventeenth century.

illustrated in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 156–157.

384 Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 171–172, no. 26.

385 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 171, note 3. Related designs with a central roundel surrounded by a field of colourful flowers were already being made in embroidered silk in the Yuan dynasty. See, for example, a canopy embroidered with phoenixes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 1988.82), published in Watt and Wardwell, 1997, pp. 196–199, no. 60.

386 Published in Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 796–802; and Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 154–155, no. 14. The hanging is also discussed in Joyce Denney, 'The Abduction of Helen: A Western Theme in a Chinese Embroidery of the First Half of the Sevententh Century', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, September 2012, Paper 673. The other two hangings, depicting *The Prophecy of Calchas* and The Sacrifice of Polyxena, in the Museum are acc. nos. 50.97.2 and 51.152.

387 Stylistic similarities with the work of the Rennaisance Italian master of engraving Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480–1534) have been suggested in Standen, 1985, vol. 2, p. 799; and Jean Mailey, 'European Sculpture and Decorative Arts; The Abduction of Helen: From a Set of Hangings on the Trojan War', *Notable Acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979–1980*, New York, 1980, pp. 34–35. Mentioned by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, p. 156, note 4.

388 Ibid., p. 156.

389 The hangings depict *The Death of Polydoros* and *The Revenge of Hecuba*. See Museé des Beaux-Arts, *Les Objets d'art: guide des collections*, Lyon and Paris, 1993, pp. 76–77; and Krahl, 2009, pp. 315–316, fig. 6.

390 See Nicolas Courtin and David Langeois, *Steinitz*, Paris, 2002, pp. 34–36.

391 Mentioned in Krahl, 2009, p. 315, note 36; and Denney, 2012.

392 According to White, the Mascarenhas were one of five noble families that between 1550 and 1671 accounted for about half of the governos or viceroys of the *Estado da Índia*. Mentioned in Lorraine White, 'Dom Jorge Mascarenhas, Marquês de Montalvão (1579?/–1652) and Changing Traditions of Service in Portugal and the Portuguese Empire', *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2004–2005, p. 63.

393 Mentioned in Nuno de Castro, *A Porcelana Chinesa ao Tempo do Império – Chinese Porcelain at the Time of the Empire - Portugal/Brasil*, Ramada, 2007, p. 96.

394 Scientific research of the pigments of the hanging illustrated here has shown that a blue-green pigment was used in Europe but not in Asia, and that a white pigment was used in Asia but not in Europe. For more information on this subject, see Report by Marco Leona, David H. Koch Scientist in Charge of the Department of Scientific Research at the Metropolitan Museum, August 23, 2012. Mentioned by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, p. 156.

Fig. 2.3.1.14a The Rape of Helen from a set of armorial hangings of The Story of Troy
Cotton embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread, pigment
China, probably first half of the seventeenth century
Dimensions: 362.6cm x 480.1cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 1979.282)

Fig. 2.3.1.14b Detail of Fig. 2.3.1.14a

Fig. 2.3.1.15 Portrait of D. Francisco de Mascarenhas (13th Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*)
Anonymous, Goa, sixteenth century?
Oil on wood
Dimensions: 188cm x 98cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (inv. no. 2146 Pint)

Discussion [2.4]

It has been shown in this study that sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century Chinese silk lampas finely woven with a repeated design of a crowned, double-headed eagle, a symbol of the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Portugal, in combination with interlocking floral scrolls that are undoubtedly Chinese in style, were cut and sawn into ecclesiastical vestments for the Catholic Church. The use of Chinese silks made to order with a mix of cultural references at the time is attested by a cope in the Royal Ontario Museum and two finely woven silk fragments that appear to have formed part of one or more priest's chasubles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which relate closely to the woven silk lampas fragment in the Metropolitan Museum illustrated in Fig. 2.3.1.1. By the turn of the century, the motifs of woven silks made to order for the Iberian market and sawn up as ecclesiastical vestments, acquired an even more distinctive Chinese character. Such a mixture of two very different and distant cultures, one Asian and the other European, is evident in the Chinese woven silk brocade of a priest's robe from the set of ecclesiastical vestments in the Peabody Essex Museum, dating to about 1600 (Fig. 2.3.1.10). This silk brocade was made to order with a repeated large-scale heraldic-style design, but instead of depicting a pair of lions in the rampant position, a symbol commonly used in European heraldry, the silk weavers produced a strange-looking pair of standing Buddhist Lions confronting each other in front of a brocaded ball among floral scrolls that are purely Chinese in style. Thus, priests from the Catholic Church wore ecclesiastical vestments during the celebration of the liturgy that had been cut and sawn from silks made to order even though they had Buddhist motifs, and therefore did not conform at all to Christian iconography. We still don't know for whom the set of vestments was made. If the set was intended for use by the clergy in the Iberian Peninsula, the Catholic people attending church services or festivities probably would have considered it as an exotic material testimony of the missionary work in Asia. On the other hand, if it was intended for use in one of the multi-cultural and multi-religious settlements of the Portuguese or Spanish in Asia, such as Macao, Goa or Manila, it may have been seen by the Christian converts and/or worshippers as an expression of the Asian and European cultural and religious elements that coexisted in their daily lives.

The rich, exuberant and colourful Chinese silk textiles used to make ecclesiastical vestments discussed above seem to be in sharp contrast to the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed in the Iberian Peninsula at the time. In Portugal, sumptuary laws were first passed by King John III in 1535, and then again by King Sebastian I in 1560, both of the royal House of Avis-Beja. In Spain, the sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by the Habsburg kings appear to have strongly influenced the consumer reception and use of Chinese silks. King Philip II passed sumptuary laws eight times between 1563 and 1594. From 1580, when King Philip II also became King Philip I of Portugal, the sumptuary laws he passed also applied to the inhabitants of Portugal. Textual sources have revealed, however, that in Spain, like in Portugal, the royalty, high-ranking nobility and clergy were exempted from sumptuary laws. Chinese silks were shipped from New Spain to Spain especially for the King and other members of the royal Habsburg court in the early 1570s, and woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. King Philip III not only passed four sumptuary laws during his reign but also set a royal example to his subjects in expressing sobriety on special occasions. In 1600, the King even forced many plebeians to declare the silks and other luxury goods they owned before a notary. King Philip IV passed a series of sumptuary laws in the first months of 1623 but interestingly, a proclamation was issued on 22nd March of that year which suspended the implementation of the law. This was only due to political and dynastical interests of the King, who in an attempt to marry Princess Maria Ana with Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, the second son of King James I of England, allowed the capital city of Madrid to display the great wealth and status of the Spanish monarchy during his lengthy visit, which lasted eight months.

The popularity of the Chinese silks imported from Manila via the trans-Pacific trade route to the Spanish colonies in the New World, located across the Atlantic Ocean from Spain, does not seem at all in accordance with the Habsburg sumptuary laws, too. Textual sources have shown that they could not be as strictly enforced as in Spain or Portugal. Thus, the wide availability, regular supply and low sale price of Chinese woven silk cloths in comparison with those imported from Spain changed the consumer habits of the Spanish colonial elites, clergy and new middle class of the viceroyalties capitals, Mexico City and Lima. The colonial elite's conspicuous consumption of Chinese silks and the ostentatious display of wealth and social status in public in Mexico City and Lima, as well as the use of silks by a multi-ethnic clientele of lower social stance, something completely unimaginable in the Iberian Peninsula, is an example of how the laws and rules of the governing Habsburg kings had their limitations.

Unfortunately, as mentioned in the previous pages, the few extant ecclesiastical vestments dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that are preserved in public collections around the world all have lost information on their provenance. Apart from the few pieces of a set of vestments in Braga, Portugal, that still survive intact in the church for which they were destined (two are illustrated in Fig. 2.3.1.11a, b and c), we do not know who ordered them and for which religious order or ecclesiastical community they were intended. Therefore at this point it can not be stated with certainty if they were used in Spain, Portugal, in Asia or in the New World, nor how they fitted-in with the restrictions and regulations of the sumptuary laws in those areas. Hopefully future research will clarify this.

Conclusions [2.5]

From the information provided by the various primary and secondary sources discussed in this Chapter, although limited in the case of the Dutch and English, it is possible to elaborate some general conclusions in regards to the trade of Chinese silk to Western Europe and the New World in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As has been shown, the Iberians, as well as the Dutch and English, were trading similar types of raw silks, woven silk cloths and finished silk products. This is actually not surprising since all these silks were purchased by the Portuguese directly at Canton or from Chinese junk traders who brought them to Macao, and by the Spanish from Chinese junk traders or Portuguese merchants that brought them to Manila, and in the case of the Dutch and English they were either acquired through privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, as well as Chinese junks, or were purchased from Chinese junk traders who brought them to Bantam, Patani or Batavia, where they had established trading posts. It has become clear, however, that the distribution, consumer reception and use of the various types of silks imported into their respective home countries in Western Europe and the Spanish colonies in the New World were in some ways similar, but in others quite different. These similarities and differences, closely related to their individual political, mercantile, religious and social policies, will be summarized in the following pages.

Soon the Portuguese, the first Europeans to arrive in Asia and to establish direct trade relations with China, recognized the unprecedented opportunity of economic profit if they participated in a large-scale trade of silk via Canton and Malacca. The profits of the trade in silk must have been so high, that private individuals traded not only woven silk cloths but also finished silk products in defiance of the royal monopoly over trade extended to silk in 1520. A relatively small quantity of raw silk and woven silk cloths began to reach Lisbon via Goa, and continued to do so even when commercial relations with China were prohibited from 1522 to 1544. Once the Portuguese settled in Macao in 1557, and thus gained regular access to the biannual fair of Canton, raw silk together with Japanese and New World silver, became the main commodities traded by them. At the Canton fair, the Chinese merchants sold the various silks by weight, with their sell price varying not only according to the type and quality but also to the demand at the time of purchase. The raw silks purchased by the Portuguese were mostly spun silk in white and colours, and white twisted silk (*retros* or *retres*). They purchased a variety of fine woven silks, including damasks, satins, velvets (both wrought and plain), taffetas (both black and colours), and brocades, some of which were embroidered or painted in bright colours with flowers, animals, mythical animals and deities. Other woven silk cloths were also embroidered with gold thread. In addition, the Portuguese purchased some finished silk products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets.

The Portuguese used most of these silks for their inter-Asian trade, mainly distributing them to India, Japan (by both Portuguese merchants and Jesuits until 1639) and Manila (after 1571) in exchange for silver and gold. The giant Portuguese merchant ships used in the Macao-Malacca/Goa-Lisbon trade route served to supply silk and other Asian goods to Portugal and the rest of Europe. Chinese silks, however, represented only about 5–6 percent of all the Asian textiles imported by the Portuguese into Lisbon in the early sixteenth century. The limited quantities of woven silk cloths and finished silk products imported appear to have been intended almost exclusively royal court, high-ranking nobility and clergy. The main reasons for this were most probably the high purchase price of the silks, and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation first passed by successive kings of the royal House of Avis-Beja and then of the royal House of Austria (Habsburg). Chinese silks were held in high esteem and thus eagerly sought after by the royalty, high-ranking nobility and clergy, who were all exempted from sumptuary laws, for use in both secular and religious contexts not only because of the novelty of their exotic Chinese decorative motifs and bright colours, but also for their associations with the Portuguese expansion to Asia, still unknown to most Europeans. For the Lisbon court silks served as symbols of both political authority and social status, and thus were given as diplomatic gifts to represent the power of Portugal's seaborne empire at the time. The ecclesiastical institutions, especially the Society of Jesus, used embroidered, painted and woven silk cloths withexotic and colourful motifs to make Catholic liturgical vestments or as furnishings to decorate the churches, even though they did not conform at all to Christian iconography. The trade in silk must have brought considerable revenues for the Portuguese Crown in the first seventy or so years of trade in Asia. This is suggested by the fact that following the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580, the Crown allowed freedom of trade, but continued to reserve for itself the trade in silk, pepper and cinnamon. By this time, considerable quantities of a variety of silk cloths (especially white woven silk) and finished silk products were integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-profane context organized by the Jesuits and some of the Mendicant Orders throughout Portugal. These silks were used to make garments worn by the participants, such as robes, shirts, shawls and tunics, as well as liturgical ornaments, including altar frontals, wall hangings, curtains, valances, canopiesand pavilions, to adorn the interior and exterior ecclesiastical spaces, and the streets of the cities. Even rank badges, the woven or embroidered insignia worn by Chinese civil and military officials on their robes, were imported and used as liturgical ornaments

for the churches. The silks used for these public displays, most probably given to the Church as royal gifts or acquired through the Jesuits in Japan (from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639), served not only as material testimonies of the Portuguese expansion to China and the missionary activity there, but also had cultural, economic and political symbolic meanings. At about this time, there was a small quantity of finished silk products, including furnishings for both secular and religious use, imported into Lisbon as private consignments or as gifts to relatives by many different individuals. But it was not until the early seventeenth century, with the influx of larger quantities of silks imported from China and after about 1614 also from Persia, that woven silk cloths and finished silk products became more widely available to people from different social groups in the capital Lisbon, Oporto and other cities involved in commerce. Chinese silks were much sought after by both men and women of the middle classes of these urban societies, who were now able to incorporate them into clothing for daily use and religious festivities, as well as into their households.

The Portuguese monopoly on the trade in silk to Europe lasted until 1571. That year, the Spanish founded Manila as a colony in the Philippines following the discovery of a return route to Acapulco across the Pacific, and began to trade regularly in silk. Chinese junks from ports all over south China, extending from Ningbo to Canton, came to Manila every year to exchange the New World silver for silk and a variety of other Chinese goods (including porcelain). Beginning in 1573, large quantities of various types of silks and other Asian goods were exported from Manila to the New World, but only a small amount of them were subsequently re-exported via Veracruz to Seville, in Spain.

Chinese junks, most probably from Canton and Zhangzhou, brought to Manila a variety of raw silks of various qualities (white and coloured untwisted silks), and woven silk cloths, including plain and embroidered velvets in various colours and some with gold, patterned satins, brocades, black and coloured damasks and other silks embroidered with gold or silver, like those traded by the Portuguese, which were highly esteemed and of high value. Patterned silks, either woven or painted, were also brought but sold at low prices. The Chinese merchants in Manila, as those in Canton, sold all the silks by weight. As has been shown, the great demand of silks and other Chinese goods by the Spanish, together with the taxes (*almojarifazgo* and municipal taxes) levied upon the Chinese, began to affect the sell price of silks only a decade after the Spanish founded Manila. This resulted in that silks and other Chinese goods almost disappeared from the market, and that the few available were sold at very high prices. In 1583, for example, the price of satin increased from 12 *tostóns* (12 four-real silver coins) to about 40 or 45, and still could not be found. The silk-for-silver trade was very important for the Chinese merchants, as some of them smuggled part of the silk they brought to Manila for sale in order to avoid paying the taxes.

The supply of silk to Manila was not solely in the hands of the Chinese junk traders. After King Philip II's accession to the Portuguese throne in 1580, a regular supply of silk came by way of Portuguese merchants from Macao, in exchange of the much sought after New World silver, and Spanish merchants went occasionally to Macao to acquire cargoes of silk intended for private trade. In 1593, the year the Crown forbade the Manila merchants to travel to Macao, the Portuguese began to extract higher prices for silks from the Spanish than those customarily charged by the Chinese junk traders. At about this time, some of the Portuguese New Christian merchants residing in Manila began to compete with the Spanish in the trade of silk

to the New World. After the 1620s, when fewer junks came to Manila due to the civil wars in China, the Spanish came to be increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply silk and other Chinese goods for the Manila galleons bound to the New World. Undoubtedly, this trade with Manila was very profitable for the Portuguese, who despite the royal decree of 1636 prohibiting trade between Macao and Manila, continued to make regular trips clandestinely until 1640, when Macao regained its independence from Spain.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish were familiar with the production and consumption of silk, as sericulture and silk weaving had spread via the Arab conquest to Andalusia in southern Spain in the first half of the eighth century. Although a few Chinese and other Asian silks had reached Spain in the mid-fifteenth century, imported silks were still considered a luxury available only to the royal court, nobility, clergy and wealthy merchant class in the following century. Despite the sumptuary laws in relation to luxury and external appearance passed repeatedly by the kings of Spain, and after 1580 also of Portugal, a small quantity of Chinese silks were re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the motherland Spain, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These included silks sent especially for King Philip II and other members of the royal court in the early 1570s, probably including Archduke Albert of Austria who jointly governed the Southern Netherlands with his wife Isabella Clara, as well as woven silk cloths ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. For the years between 1600 and 1640, various types of Chinese raw silk, including thrown silk, floss silk, and longhaired silk, amounted 96 percent of all the Asian textiles re-exported from New Spain to Seville. Chinese woven silk cloths amounted only to 4 percent, and finished silk clothing to 0 percent. Although these silks were not being retailed in Seville, raw silk was imported into Granada and other silk production centres as early as the 1580s. It is possible that the greater importation of raw silk than woven silk into Seville was due to the fact that the Spanish elites were less willing to purchase Chinese woven silks with bright colours and exotic motifs because of the strict enforcement of the sumptuary laws in relation to luxury and external appearance passed repeatedly by the Habsburg kings.

Consumer demand for silks appears to have increased among the elites of Spain in the 1610s, when New Spain's merchants looked for new markets in Europe, but most retail shops were still not offering such Asian imported goods for sale. It was precisely at this time that Toledo became one of the main cities where silks, mostly raw silk, were imported from New Spain. It has become clear that the growing demand by both secular and religious elites for woven silk cloths and finished silk products was in part satisfied through gifts, inheritances or alms sent by relatives or acquaintances, as well as by private consignments ordered by the court, clergy, nobility or wealthy merchant class, which were sent from the Philippines, via New Spain, or from New Spain directly, via the Atlantic to Spain. We saw that a certain amount of silk, however, was also re-exported for the *Royal Contaduría* (Royal Accounting Office) in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The re-exportation of silks to Spain dropped significantly during the next two decades, especially the 1630s, which coincided with an overall decline of the trans-Pacific trade of the Manila galleons between Manila and Acapulco.

A small quantity of Chinese silks also reached the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands in the early 1520s. Textual sources attest to the presence of woven silk cloths, such as velvet, satin and damask, in Antwerp as early as 1520–1521.

Visual sources, on the other hand, attest to the use of clothing items made of Chinese silk by Archduke Albert VII of Austria after his marriage to Isabella Clara Eugenia, the eldest daughter of King Philip II, in 1598. Such woven silks would most probably have arrived to the archducal court in Brussels through the Habsburg familial relationship.

The distribution, appreciation and use of silks in the Spanish colonies in the New World were all quite different than in Spain. There are a few reasons for these differences. Firstly, that the sumptuary laws issued in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru were not as strictly enforced as in Spain. Secondly, that the large quantities of silks imported via the Pacific trade route into the viceroyalties, and their low sell price in comparison with those imported from Spain, prompted that silk changed much earlier from being a luxury good into a common good accessible to people of almost all social classes, than in Spain. Thirdly, that the raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products were all offered for sale in the street markets and shops, second-hand markets, and by peddlers, and distributed through both wholesale merchant and family networks as early as the late sixteenth century. It is clear that woven silk cloths and finished silk products were highly appreciated by both the secular and religious elites of both viceregal capitals. The secular elites used them for ostentatious public displays of their wealth and social stance, incorporating them in their everyday clothing and carriages, and in the private and common spaces of their households. The ecclesiastical institutions of New Spain, including the Franciscans who served in the missions of New Mexico, used silk ceremonial vestments as well as woven silk cloths for clothing and church ornaments, which were both imported from China or finished in the viceroyalty's workshops. In the viceroyalty of Peru, even though the sell prices of raw silk and woven silk cloths were ten times higher than in Manila (in the years 1620 and 1621), the large quantities of silks that arrived through official or clandestine trade were purchased by a multi-ethnic clientele from almost all the colonial social classes who could afford them to be used in both secular and religious contexts. Woven silk cloths were used to decorate the interior of the churches of the indigenous inhabitants, and were purchased by Indians, African slaves, their descendants and other poor inhabitants of Lima and other cities of northern Peru to make clothing items, mostly adopting the everyday dress styles of the Spanish elites. Fourth, but not least, the colonial textile industries of both viceroyalties came to be heavily dependent on the trade of raw silks imported from Manila. This was mainly due to their better quality and as mentioned above, their low sell prices in comparison with those imported from Spain. In New Spain, for example, Grau y Monfalcón declared in 1637 that more that 14,000 people in Mexico City, Puebla and Antequera supported themselves by this trade.[395] In addition, immigrants from Spain participated in the wholesale of silk and in the manufacture of silk clothing in the early seventeenth century, while *chino* immigrants who came from Manila participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and woven silk cloths as early as the sixteenth century.

The Dutch began to import Chinese silks into the Northern Netherlands at the turn of the sixteenth century. Jacob van Neck on his return to Amsterdam in 1599, brought raw silk and woven silk cloths, which he most probably purchased from Chinese junk traders that came to Bantam. The successful auction of the raw silk, woven silk cloths and silk finished products of the richly laden Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina* captured off Patani which took place five years later, in 1604, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk. The auction of these silks came to influence the development of the Dutch silk industry, as it gave an incentive to a number of individuals, including Portuguese-Jewish merchants, engaged in the silk trade in Amsterdam to set up mills for the throwing of Chinese and other imported silks. This industry in turn was to enable many people to earn a living. By 1608, the Dutch were acquiring considerable quantities of raw silk at Bantam. Some of the raw silk and woven silk cloths imported into the Northern Netherlands that after 1609 became the Dutch Republic, however, were acquired through privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, as well as Chinese junks in Asia, rather than being acquired through trade. Clearly this was a very profitable trading activity for the Dutch, who would subsequently re-exported some of the captured raw silk to Spain to be sold at a high price. After 1624, the Dutch were able to acquire silks from the Chinese merchants that frequented their trading post at Formosa, but only in small quantities. It was not until 1633, however, that the VOC began to purchase large quantities of silk after coming to a trade agreement with the Chinese merchant-pirate Zheng Zhilong, who became the sole supplier of silk and other Chinese goods (including porcelain) to the Dutch in Formosa. This agreement enabled the VOC to increase considerably its participation in the silk trade to Japan after 1635, and once the Portuguese and the Jesuits were expelled from Japan in 1639, their competitors were reduced only to the Chinese junk merchants. From 1636 onwards, the trade in silk to the Dutch Republic included not only silk from China but also from Bengal. By the early 1640s, the VOC was presenting woven silk cloths from Canton as diplomatic gifts. Although the past and current literature published in English consulted for this study does not discuss the use of woven silk cloths or silk finished products among the urban societies of the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the documented importation of silks indicates that there was already an interest for silks at the time. Future research in Dutch textual sources may shed new information into this aspect of the tastes and fashions of the Dutch society.

The English began to trade in Chinese silks in the early years of the seventeenth century. They purchased a wide variety of silks brought by Chinese junks to Bantam, where the EIC established its first Asian trading post in 1603. Silks, especially raw silk, were coveted for both the EIC's inter-Asian trade and home markets. Although, King James I endorsed a domestic silk industry to compete with imported silk in 1607, the import of Chinese raw silks appear to have continued in the following years. That same year, the EIC began to make requests for specific types of silks, including raw silk, twisted silk and sawing silk, to be imported into England. By the following decade, the EIC was even acquiring some woven silk cloths as special commissions for private individuals who belonged to the nobility. The English also purchased silk brought by Chinese junks to Patani, where they were competing to do so with the Dutch.

Only a small quantity of silk appears to have been imported into England during the first years after the establishment of the EIC. Woven silk cloths and finished silk products, including taffetas, velvets, damasks in various colours, and cushions and other items embroidered with birds, beasts and flowers, begin to appear listed in larger quantities in inventories of the belongings of the wealthy nobility drawn up from 1614 onwards. The English continued to conduct indirect trade with China until the eighteenth century, when trade was confined to London and Canton. To protect British manufactures, the British navigation laws and prohibition acts, stated that all silk piece goods imported into London from Asia were to be re-exported to continental Europe, the West Indies, and the English colonies in the New World.

395 Mentioned in Schurz, 1918, p. 394.

The most important material evidence of the trade in silk to Western Europe and the New World is provided by a small number of extant woven silk cloths and finished silk products of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries housed in public and private collections in China and the rest of the world, which combine traditional Chinese weaving, embroidery or painting techniques and motifs, with European motifs. This group of silks, not only fascinating for their rarity but also for the role they played in the intercultural exchange between the East and West that occurred in the early modern period, demonstrate that the trade in silk to Western Europe and the New World was not limited to raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets. These silks were made as special orders for the Portuguese and Spanish markets for use in both religious and secular contexts in their respective Iberian countries in Western Europe, the Spanish colonies in the New World, as well as the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in Asia. They give tangible testimony of the ability of the Chinese silk producers to adapt to specific requirements of their new European clientele.

From the analysis of the stylistic characteristics of a selection of these silks it can be concluded that the European influence on them was quite limited. Although the Chinese silk producers were most likely provided with a European textile or printed source as model for the woven or embroidered silk ordered, they always took the liberty to create a hybrid design, incorporating European motifs with motifs that are undoubtedly Chinese in style. They even rendered some of the European decorative elements in a manner that recalls the depictions of certain floral or animal motifs seen on embroidered or woven silks made for the domestic market. Although the symmetrical arrangement of the design of some of these silks appears to derive from European textiles, the design of others like those dominated by a central roundel, is distinctly Chinese. Even the colour schemes used by the silk producers seem to have been taken from silks made earlier for the domestic market. Although the exact place of manufacture of these silks is still unknown, the fact that scholars have suggested Beijing and Macao as possible places of origin for some of them, would indicate that European influence not only affected the silk producers that could have worked closely with Iberian customers, but also those that were in mainland China and thus were less likely to have contact with any Europeans.

As shown the use of silks made to order for the Iberian market with a mix of cultural references, both Asian and European, is attested by a few extant ecclesiastical vestments and woven silks that appear to have formed part of other such vestments. Although many questions still remain unanswered, one can confidently say that priests of the Catholic Church living in the Iberian Peninsula, and/or in the Portuguese and Spanish settlements in Asia, wore ecclesiastical vestments sawn up from Chinese silks with exotic and colourful motifs, such as Buddhist lions, which did not conform at all to Christian iconography. Such ecclesiastical vestments seem to be in sharp contrast to the sumptuary laws passed in the Iberian Peninsula at the time.

Textual sources have shown, however, that special orders were also made for private individuals from other European countries present in Asia as early as the late sixteenth century. Perhaps the most important order we know of is that placed by the Italian Francesco Carletti for the curtains and all the accessories and furnishings for a room, which combined Chinese traditional weaving and embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs and forms. These pieces of silk were most probably woven in *kesi* tapestry with a design of various fantastic animals, birds and flowers. According to Carletti, the canopy of the curtains was embroidered with the coat of arms of Fernando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. This is the earliest textual reference of silk made to order bearing a European coat of arms. Silks bearing European coat of arms continued to be made to order in the early seventeenth century. These include the velvet *reposteros* (decorative cloths patterned with a coat of arms) sent from Manila to the priest of King Philip III in Madrid, Alonso Maldonado de Torres, in 1615; and the magnificent set of seven known hangings embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread, and with details painted with pigments, bearing a coat of arms that may be an erroneous rendering of the arms of the Portuguese family Mascharenas. Future research may provide further material and textual evidence of orders of silks made specifically for European customers at the time.

[Chapter III]

Trade in Chinese Porcelain to Western Europe and the New World

1500–1644

This Chapter relies on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, which contain information relating to the porcelain trade as well as to the varied types and quantities of Chinese porcelain[1] imported into Western Europe and the New World via the Atlantic and Pacific sea trade routes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It also relies on a vast quantity of material evidence provided by both marine and terrestial archaeological finds from Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English shipwrecks, survival campsites, colonial settlements in Asia, the New World and the Caribbean, as well as the respective mother countries in Western Europe. Whenever possible this material is complemented by porcelain finds made at kiln sites in China, which serve to identify the origin of the different types of porcelain imported, dating from the reigns of Zhengde (1506–1521) to Chongzhen (1628–1644). Archaeological finds from Chinese junks that sank during this period are also discussed as they provide further material evidence for the classification and dating of the porcelain traded by the Europeans.

China was not only renowned for its high quality silks as we saw in the previous Chapter, but also for its fine porcelain. First manufactured in the sixth century, porcelain was exported from the ninth century onwards to Japan, Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East and Africa.[2] Unlike silk, the highly vitrified porcelain was heavy enough to be stored deep in the hold of a ship, serving as ballast. It was predictable that a wooden ship sailing upon rough seas would leak and items stored in the hold would get wet. Thus the impermeability of the vitrified porcelain body, which prevented it from being damaged by sea water, made it a popular ballast trade good.[3] Information about both the uniqueness and beauty of porcelain from China, which held the monopoly on the technique of its production until the early seventeenth century, began to arrive in Europe at the end of the thirteenth century after the Italian merchant Marco Polo and other European travellers reached China during the time of the Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty.[4] Only a few pieces of porcelain are known to have reached Europe before 1500, either as gifts sent from the rulers of Egypt to the doges of Venice and the Medici in Florence, or brought back from Asia by travellers.[5] Thus when porcelain made of this unknown light, smooth and translucent material began to arrive more regularly and in larger quantities in Renaissance Europe, it was greatly valued.

As in the previous Chapter concerning the trade in Chinese silk, excerpts from teatrises, accounts and letters written by Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, English, French and German merchants and explorers, and clerics, as well as English and Spanish literary works, provide descriptions and personal comments concerning the material qualities and decorative schemes, and sometimes the purchase or sale price of the various types of porcelains imported into Western Europe and the New World as merchandise, private consignments or sent as gifts. Surviving bills of lading, ship registers, cargo manifests, shipment receipts, memorandums, probate inventories, wills, judicial and notarized documents, appraisals and auctions provide valuable information relating to the commercial networks through which the imported porcelains circulated, and the way in which they were acquired, used and appreciated in the societies in Western Europe as well as in the multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies, and of the Dutch and English colonies in the New World. More importantly, they show that by the early decades of the seventeenth century in most countries of Western Europe as well as in the Spanish colonies in the New World, porcelain was highly valued and incorporated into the daily life not only of the nobility, clergy and rich merchant class but also of individuals that belonged to lower levels of society, if only in small quantities. Visual sources, including still-life and portrait paintings, drawings and prints serve to illustrate fairly accurately not only the various types of porcelains imported, but also their practical and ornamental uses within these societies at a given time. Extant porcelain pieces in public and private collections around the world, some of them with datable metal mounts, provide tangible evidence of the porcelains traded by the Europeans. Moreover, they help us visualize the differences between the porcelains made to order for the Iberian market for both secular and religious use during the early period of European trade with China, with those made for the Dutch market for secular use during the last decades of trade, before the Ming dynasty collapsed in 1644.

1 Unless otherwise specified, Chinese porcelain will the referred to as porcelain throughout this doctoral dissertation.
2 Rose Kerr, 'Chinese Porcelain in Early European Collections', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 46.
3 Brigadier, 2002, p. 54.
4 The travel account written by Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, is the most comprehensive account of China written by a European before the sixteenth century. Marco Polo described porcelain as 'And again I tell you that the most beautiful vessels and plates of porcelain, large and small, that one could describe are made in great quantity in this aforesaid province in a city which is called Tingui [Tongan, near Quanzhou] more beautiful that can be found in any other city. And on all sides they are much valued, for none of them are made in another place but in this city, and from there they are carried to many places throughout the world. And there is plenty there and a great sale, so great that for one Venetian groat you would actually have three bowls so beautiful that none would know how to devise them better'. Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, translated and annotated by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, London, 1938, Vol. 1, p. 352. Cited in Jean Michel Massing, 'From Marco Polo to Manuel I. The European Fascination with Chinese Porcelain', in Levenson, 2009, p. 302.
5 Kerr, 2004, p. 47; and Massing, 2009, p. 303.

Porcelain trade to the Iberian Peninsula and the Southern Netherlands [3.1]

Trade to Portugal [3.1.1]

Evidence of porcelain in Portugal before the settlement of Macao in 1557

Portuguese textual references attest to the presence of porcelain in the royal court of Lisbon as early as the end of the fifteenth century. The inventories and payment receipts of Manuel I document porcelain given to the King as gifts or purchased for him following Vasco da Gama's return from India in 1499. That year, Vasco da Gama himself presented porcelain and other exotic goods to the King and Queen, which he had purchased in Calicut.[6] Three years later, Manuel I received several pieces of porcelain from Pedro Álvares Cabral, who acquired them from a ship sailing from Cambay to Mecca.[7] The earliest reference to a royal order for porcelain dates to 1507, when the King asked Francisco de Almeida (*c.*1450–1510), the first Viceroy of Portuguese India, to send him '… the fine and good porcelains and in good quantity and the best that can be found'.[8] Considerably large quantities of porcelain were imported into Lisbon in the following years. For instance, João de Sá, 'Treasurer of the Spices' at the *Casa da Índia*,[9] registered a total of 692 pieces of porcelain and other exotic goods between February 1511 and April 1514.[10]

Manuel I enjoyed an excellent financial situation and thus supplied himself, his relatives, the clergy and many others with porcelain and other Asian luxury goods imported into Lisbon. Porcelain gifts made by the King between 1499 and 1517, were received by his mother Infanta Beatriz (1430–1506); his older sister (1458–1525); his second wife, Maria of Castile (1482–1517), Queen consort of Portugal, third daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile; the convents Madre de Deus, Santa Maria da Pena and Nossa Senhora de Belém; and also by António Salvago.[11] This gift-giving

6 Correia, 1858, vol. I, p. 141. Mentioned in Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, 'Porcelana Chinesa. De presente region a produto commercial – Chinese Porcelain. From royal gifts to commercial products', in Rodrigues Calvão, 1999, p. 109; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 124.

7 Pinto de Matos, 1999, p. 109.

8 IANTT, Cartas dos Vice-Reis da Índia, doc. 168. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 124.

9 The *Casa da Índia* was a royal trading firm entrusted with managing overseas trade with Asia. It received, appraised and stored all merchandise, which was sold under the control of public workers. In an attempt to prevent contraband, the *Casa da Índia* also supervised the loading and unloading of the ships, paid the crews and inspected all vessels. Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 13.

10 A. Braamcamp Freire, 'Cartas de Quitação del Rei D. Manuel I', *Archivo histórico portugues*, vol. 1, Lisbon, 1903, p. 75. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2002–2003, p. 37.

11 For a discussion on these gifts and bibliographical references, see Ibid., pp. 37–38; Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 128–129; and Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 17–18, and p. 250, notes 6–13. As recently noted by Krahe, no porcelain is mentioned among the Asian pieces listed in the inventory of Queen Maria in the article by M. J. Redondo Cantera, 'The inventories of Empress Isabella of Portugal', in Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, Madrid, 2010, Vol. 2, p. 1246. The inventory is published in Giuseppe Bertini and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *Il guardaroba di una principesa del Rinascimento. L'inventario di Maria di Portogallo sposa di Alessandro Farnese*, Parma, 1999. Manuel I's gifts to the clergy not only emphasised his generosity and devotion to the Christian faith, but were also intended to give the Crown greater control over the hierarchy and clergy of the church, and to finance church buildings and appointed bishops. For more information, see Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, 'The uses of luxury: some examples from the Portuguese courts from 1480 to 1580', *Análise Social*, vol. XLIV, 192, 2009, pp. 597–598.

12 Braamcamp Freire, 1904, p. 392. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2002–2003, p. 38; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 18.

13 Chinese textual sources indicate that porcelain utensils with a white monochrome glaze were ordered in 1426 to honour both the Hongxi and Yongle emperors. For a few examples of white-glazed bowls (some with Xuande mark and period), see Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ming Ceramics in The British Museum*, London, 2001, pp. 122–124, nos. 4:1–4:5.

14 The porcelain was found during the construction of *24 de Agosto Station* (Line A of Metro do Porto). The archaeological record of the deposit has the year 1548 as *terminus as quem*, when it was sealed under a granite floor. Personal communication with Iva Botelho, GASQ – Metro do Porto, S.A., March 2013. I am grateful to Iva Botelho for prodiving me with images of the porcelain shards excavated at the site.

15 IANTT, *Corpo Chronológico*, part 3, bundle 8, doc. 1. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2002–2003, p. 38.

16 IANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, part. 1, bundle 22, doc. 80. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 126.

17 IANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, part. 1, bundle 41, doc. 29. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 126.

18 Culio or Culljo has not yet been identified. Cited in C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century. Being the narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martin De Rada, O.E.S.A., (1550–1575)*, Bangkok, reprint 2004, p. 5, note 2.

Fig. 3.1.1.1 Shards of a white-glazed bowl excavated from a context dated prior to 1548 at Arca de Mijavelhas, Oporto
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Iva Bothelo, GASQ – Metro do Porto, S.A.

practice is perhaps the reason why the inventory of Manuel I's wardrobe, taken after his death in 1522, lists only 'four Chinese porcelains of white silver and coated with woven cane'.[12] These 'porcelains of white silver' may refer to fine porcelain with a monochrome white glaze made at the Jingdezhen kilns as early as the Xuande reign (1426–1435) (Appendix 2).[13] A finely potted white-glazed bowl (now partially reconstructed) excavated from a context dated prior to 1548 at Arca de Mijavelhas in Oporto, serves to illustrate the type of monochrome white porcelain imported into Portugal at around this time (Fig. 3.1.1.1).[14] A small quantity of white-glazed porcelain, as will be shown in the following pages, continued to be shipped to Portugal in the 1550s.

As mentioned in Chapter I, a letter written in India in 1522, a year after John III had ascended to the Portuguese throne, states that one-third of the cargoes of the giant Portuguese merchant ships returning from India contained 'porcelains and damasks, and iron nails and leather shields and necessary things for stock'.[15] A letter sent to John III in 1527 by the Captain of Malacca, Jorge Cabral, documents another royal order of porcelain. Cabral mentions that he '…also ordered some pieces of ware for your H[ighness]. If they arrive I will bring them'.[16] In another letter sent the following year, in 1528, Cabral refers to the porcelain he had ordered for the King as '…last year I asked a captain of the chins that came here to have some pieces made there for Y.H[ighness]). He brought them but they are not as I had wished / which Y.H[ighness]. Will have. When I go from here it will be known that the chins in Malacca are reliable for they can be trusted to make and come back with them'.[17] These documents show that the Portuguese continued trading and ordering porcelain, despite commercial relations with China being prohibited from 1522 to 1554. Galeote Pereira, in the account of his trading voyages along the China coast between 1539 and 1547, and his capture and imprisonment in 1549, informs us that 'The sixth shire beareth name Quianssi [Jiangxi], as also the principal city thereof, and it is that in which all the fine porcelain is made from Culio upwards, without any being made elsewhere and from Culljo downwards in all the cities of China; and this city of Quiansi lieth nearer to Liampo [Ningbo], the Portugals being ignorant of this country, and finding great abundance of that fine porcelain to be sold at Liampo, and that very good cheap, thought at the first it had been made there, howbeit in fine, they perceived that the standing of Quiansi more near unto Liampo than to Chincheo or Cantão [Canton], was the cause of so much fine porcelain at Liampo'.[18] Material evidence of special orders still being fulfilled during this period of clandestine trade, or soon after Macao was established as a Portuguese enclave in 1557, is provided by a group of about 50 porcelain ewers, bottles, dishes and bowls decorated in underglaze cobalt blue

(hereafter blue-and-white) with a combination of Chinese and European motifs made at private kilns in Jingdezhen (Appendix 2), which will be discussed in section 3.4.1 of this Chapter.[19]

Porcelain is not mentioned in the inventory of John III, who did not enjoy an affluent financial situation as did his father, Manuel I.[20] Many references, however, can be found in the inventories of his wife, Catherine of Austria. The earliest is a document in the form of an illuminated parchment, drawn up in 1548 by Catherine's *camareiro-mor* (Chief Chamberlain) Francisco Velásquez, which lists 11 '*porcelanas*' of various materials (porcelain and semi-precious stones).[21] In 1555, Catherine bought 320 porcelains for her table for the large amount of 22,420 *réis*, thus paying 1,400 *réis* for each *corja* (batches of 20 pieces).[22] Two years later, in 1557, she displayed four porcelain bowls (one yellow, another black and two others non-specified) and three small dishes (two yellow and one black) in her wardrobe.[23] The yellow bowls and dishes may have been like those with monochrome yellow glaze made at the Ming imperial kilns in Jingdezhen during the reign of Emperor Jiajing (Appendix 2).[24] According to the Dominican friar, Gaspar da Cruz, who went to China in about 1556, a small amount was secretly sold at a profit. In his *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por esteco as cousas da China, com suas particularidades e assi do reino de Ormuz* [Treaty in which the things of China are extensively recounted, with their special features and also those of the kingdom of Hormuz] printed in Évora by André de Burgos in 1569–1570, Gaspar da Cruz stated 'And howsoever the porcelain which is used in all the country of China, and in all India, is of common clay, notwithstanding, there is some that is not lawful to be sold commonly, for the magistrates only use it, because it is red and green, and gilt and yellow. Some of this is sold, but very little, and that very secretly'.[25] Considering Gaspar da Cruz's comment and the archaeological find of a yellow-glazed bowl bearing a Jiajing reign mark in Portugal discussed in the following pages, one cannot rule out the possibility that Portuguese merchants could have received pieces of yellow-glazed porcelain as gifts for the Queen or purchased them especially for her. The black-glazed bowl and dish listed in Catherine's wardrobe may refer to porcelain with a monochrome black glaze made at private kilns of Zhangzhou in Fujian (Appendix 2).[26] That same year of 1557, following the death of John III, Catherine became regent, as her grandson Sebastian (1554–1578) was still a minor. During her reign, which lasted until 1562, Catherine was active in seeking out luxury goods and exotica.[27] That same year, a number of porcelain containers arrived in Lisbon for Catherine, which were subsequently sent by the Queen to her apothecary Joana Gonçalvez on 29 March 1563. Alfonso de Cuniga, the Queen's treasurer, described the porcelains as 'Two ewers full of tamarinds / Two cases of octagonal porcelains with lids / A porcelain chamber pot with its lid / Four porcelain jars / two larger jars / Sixty rose porcelains / Forty serpent porcelains / Six pieces of porcelain / Forty coral porcelains / Ten more porcelain pieces'.[28]

Catherine continued Manuel I's practice of giving porcelain as royal gifts, perhaps as a way of honouring the Avis dynasty she married into. She often gave porcelains to her Habsburg relatives in Spain and Austria and sent many more as diplomatic gifts. In *c.*1566, for instance, Catherine sent amber, benzoin,[29] porcelain and other products to her niece Joanna of Austria (1535–1573), the youngest daughter of Emperor Charles V (hereafter Charles V) and Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539).[30] It is likely that the Jiajing blue-and-white bowl housed today in the Museo Civico in Bologna came from the collection of either John III or Catherine (Fig. 3.1.1.2).[31] This bowl, with a silver-

19 Porcelain decorated with underglaze cobalt blue had been made in vast quantities at Jingdezhen since the late 1320s, during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), under the patronage of the imperial court. Harrison-Hall, 1997, p. 194; and Nigel Wood and Mike Tite, 'Blue and White – The Early Years Tang China and Abbasid Iraq Compared', in Stacey Pierson (ed.), Transfer: the influence of China on World Ceramics, *Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 24*, London, 2007, p. 21.

20 For this opinion, see Guimarães Sá, 2009, p. 599.

21 This document, *Quitação que a Rainha D. Catarina mandou passar a Francisco Velásquez (…) ano de 1548*, is an official receipt that registered all objects (precious gems, jewels and exotica) in Catherine's collection until that date. It is housed today in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. Discussed and illustrated in Jordan Gschwend, 1996, pp. 100–101, fig. 13.

22 IANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part 1, Bundle 96, Document 147. The original text in Portuguese reads: 'vinte e dous mil e coatrozentos e vi ters. Em cõmpra de dezasseis corjas de porzelanas de mil e coatroze tos rs corja que somão vi te e dous mil e coatroze tos e os vi te rs forão de as leuar Ao paço. Xxij iiij' xx rs'. Cited in Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'O Fascínio de Cipango. Artes Decorativas e lacas da Ásia Oriental em Portugal, Espanha e Áustria (1511–1598)', in Soares da Cunha, 1998, p. 206; Pinto de Matos, 2002–2003, p. 39; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 98.

23 IANTT, *Casa Forte, Livro da Cartuxa d'Evora 8*, Prateleira VI, 69v. Mentioned in Jordan, 1994, p. 194; Jordan Gschwend, 1998, p. 205; and Pinto de Matos, 2002-2003, p. 39. The Portuguese royal palaces had rooms designated for one or more wardrobes (*guardaroba* or *guarda reposte*), personal libraries, treasuries and collections of the female royals (queens and princesses). The King also had one or more royal wardrobe(s). Catherine of Austria had a wardrobe, probably composed of a series of rooms of various sizes, where she must have partially displayed her *Kunstkammer* collection (set out on shelves and tables, or stored in chests and caskets). Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Catherine and Juana of Austria: Defining feminine royal spaces and contexts of display in Portugal and Spain', paper presented at the Palatium Workshop: Inventories and Courtly Spaces, Sintra, 2012. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 250, note 29.

24 Yellow-glazed bowls, dishes, jars and other large pieces were made at the Ming official kilns located at Zhushan in the Old City Zone of Jingdezhen as early as the Hongwu reign (1368–1398). Porcelain with monochrome yellow-glaze continued to be made during the subsequent reigns, until the Wanli reign. They were not only reserved for use by the Ming imperial court but were also given as diplomatic gifts, as evidenced by the 16 pieces assembled by Shah Abbas (1587–1629), who donated his collection in 1611 to the Shrine of his Safavid ancestors in Ardebil, Iran (now in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran). See Geng Baochang, *Ming Qing ciqi jiangding (Connoisseurship of Ming and Qing Ceramics)*, Hong Kong and Beijing, 1993, p. 413, table V, p. 10. For examples dating to the Hongzhi, Zhengde and Jiajing reigns, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 185–186, nos. 7:18–7:20; pp. 204–205, nos. 8:25–8:28; and p. 249, nos. 9:74 and 9:75–9:76; respectively. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 250, note 30.

25 The English translation of Gaspar da Cruz's text is taken from Boxer, 2004, pp. 126–127.

26 A small quantity of black-glazed porcelain wares was excavated from the Dongkou kiln site in Pinghe county. I am grateful to Professor Li Jian'an for bringing this porcelain to my attention. Li Jian'an, 'A Study of Zhangzhou Ware', *Studies in memory of Chen Chang-wei*, 4th Issue, Taipei, 2009, p. 30. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 250–251, note 31.

Fig. 3.1.1.2 Blue-and-white bowl with silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Height: 6cm; diameter: 13.1cm
© Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, Italy

gilt mount bearing a Latin inscription dated 1554, was given to Pompeo Zambeccari, papal nuncio to Portugal from 1550 to 1553, shortly before (or after) he returned to Italy.[32] From the documentation discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that a relatively large quantity of porcelain was imported into Portugal during the first decades of direct trade with China, which was mainly for the personal use of the King and members of the royal court of Lisbon, or sent as gifts to their relatives residing at other European courts, as well as to the clergy.

The significant increase in porcelain production at Jingdezhen during the forty-four year reign of the Jiajing emperor, not only for the imperial court and domestic market but also for the export market, led to a far greater variety of new shapes, decorative motifs and techniques, which reflected in a greater use of coloured enamels.[33] The majority of the porcelain imported into Portugal in the last decades of the Jiajing reign, as will be shown in the following pages, continued to be blue-and-white. Material evidence of the variety and quality of the porcelain shipped to Lisbon in the early 1550s is provided by maritime archaeological finds from two Portuguese shipwrecks that sank on their homeward journeys: the *São João* and *São Bento*. The *São João* wrecked in 1552 and her sister ship, the *São Bento*, wrecked two years later, in 1554, both off the east coast of South Africa (Appendix 3).

Although their actual wreck sites have not yet been found, the finds from the *São João* and *São Bento* provide the earliest archaeological evidence of the Portuguese trade in porcelain recorded so far. The porcelain of the *São João* was undoubtedly acquired through clandestine trade, but that of the *São Bento* may have been acquired immediately after commercial relations with China were re-established that year, in 1554. A study of nearly 30,000 shards that have washed up onto beaches near Port Edward, as well as onto beaches at Msikaba, where the *São João* and *São Bento,* respectively are believed to have wrecked, has shown that their ceramic cargoes consisted predominantly of blue-and-white porcelain made for export at private kilns in Jingdezhen during the Jiajing reign (Appendix 2).[34] The porcelain ranged from high to medium quality, all with purely Chinese forms and decorative motifs derived from nature with Daoist associations, such as mythical animals (dragons, *qilins*, Buddhist Lions and phoenixes), birds and fish, as well as a variety of flowers, fruits and scroll

27 Guimarães Sá, 2009, p. 600.

28 Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Bundle 106, Document no. 66, no. 14101. For a transciption of the original text of this document, discovered by Jordan Gschwend in the archive of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 99.

29 A fragrant gum resin obtained from the bark of several species of a tropical East Asian tree, in particular Styrax benzoin, used for incense-making and perfumery.

30 Pinto de Matos, 2002–2003, p. 39. Seven years later, in 1573, Joanna of Austria sent 'three porcelains' among other exotic goods to her sister, Maria. Madrid Archivo de los Dukes de Alba, Caja 9, 101, Madrid 29 January 1573. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 36.

31 Sir H. Home, 'A Ming Bowl at Bologna', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 13, 1935–1936, pp. 30–31, pl. 5.

32 C. M. de Witte, *La correspondence des premiers Nonces Permanents au Portugal (1532–1553)*, Lisbon, 1986, vol. I, p. 343; S. Deswarte-Rosa, 'Le Cardinal Giovanni Ricci de Montepulciano', La Villa Médicis, *Études, 2*, Rome, 1991, pp. 124–126; and Jordan Gschwend, 1996, pp. 112–113. Porcelain was also highly valued by other papal representatives from Rome. For instance, an inventory drawn up in 1561 of the belongings of Cardinal Giovanni Ricci de Montepulciano (1495–1574), nuncio to Portugal from 1545 to 1550, lists 138 porcelains among a large collection of exotica purchased in Lisbon, which he housed in his palace in Rome situated in Via Giulia. Mentioned in Ibid., p. 116; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 20.

33 Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 211 and 213–214.

34 The dating is confirmed by the finds of a shard bearing a Jiajing reign mark during excavations at the Port Edward wreck site in 2002, and a fragment of a bowl bearing a four-character Jiajing reign mark found off Msikaba in 2008. Published in Tim Maggs, 'The Great Galleon São João: remains from a mid-sixteenth century wreck on the Natal South Coast', *Annals of the Natal Museum*, vol. 26 (1), 1984, p. 178; and Valerie Esterhuizen, 'Sao Bento – Jiajing (1522–66)', in Roxanna M. Brown (ed.), *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, vol. V, no. 3, May-June 2008, p. 2, respectively.

Above
Figs. 3.1.1.3a and b Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl from the wreck site of the *São Bento* (1554)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign mark and of the period (1522–1566)
© Valerie Esterhuizen, South Africa

Fig. 3.1.1.4 Shards of blue-and-white dishes excavated at Shangchuan Island
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Zhengde (1506–1521) and Jiajing (1522–1566) reigns
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

Fig. 3.1.1.5 Shards of blue-and-white porcelain excavated at Shangchuan Island
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

borders (Figs. 3 .1.1.3a and b).[35] The *São João* cargo also included porcelain decorated with Chinese landscape scenes or Arabic inscriptions.[36] The survivors of the wreck inform us that '…the merchandise in the ship, belonging to the king and others, was worth a million in gold, for a vessel so richly laden had not left India since it was discovered'.[37] Both cargoes included some coarser blue-and-white porcelain of varying quality, which was produced at private kilns in Jingdezhen or southern China. Stylistic similarities with shards found during archaeological excavations at the Huawanping site on Shangchuan Island in Guangdong province, show that the Portuguese probably acquired some of these high and coarser quality blue-and-white porcelains as well as a small quantity of porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels, via the Chinese junk traders that frequented this clandestine trading post in Shangchuan before 1557 (Figs. 3.1.1.4 and 3.1.1.5).[38] Although it is impossible to acertain the exact quantity of porcelain carried by each of the aforementioned shipwrecks, the 320 pieces of porcelain purchased by Catherine of Austria in 1555 mentioned earlier, suggest that porcelain shipments to Lisbon were regular by then, and that probably they were considerably large.

Evidence of porcelain trade to Portugal after the settlement of Macao in 1557 up to 1644

In 1558, the ship *Espadarte* wrecked directly in front of Fort San Sebastian on the Island of Mozambique in the east coast of Africa (Appendix 3). Although the *Espadarte* was plundered by treasure-hunters and sports divers at least twice in the 1990s,[39] the over (intact or semi-intact) 1,000 porcelains and large quantity of shards dating to the Jiajing reign[40] recovered from the shipwreck provide material evidence of large-scale porcelain shipments destined to Lisbon about one year after the Portuguese had established themselves in Macao. The finds, now mostly housed at the Marine Museum of the Island of Mozambique, consist mainly of blue-and-white porcelain of open Chinese forms[41] decorated with mythological animals (mostly *qilins*, but also dragons, Buddhist Lions and flying horses) (Fig. 3.1.1.6), animals (tigers, elephants and buffaloes) birds (mostly cranes), flowers and human scenes (Fig. 3.1.1.7),[42] but there are also a small number of white-glazed bowls and cups (some with *anhua* decoration) or with traces of red and green enamel decoration (Fig. 3.1.1.8).[43] The majority of the pieces, ranging from high quality to rather low, bear commendation marks and only a few bear Jiajing reign marks.[44] The repetition of Chinese forms associated with the household and decorative motifs of the porcelain, suggests that Portuguese merchants acquired what was readily available for trade at the time. To their customers back in Portugal and the Portuguese settlements in Asia,[45] the Chinese motifs depicted on the porcelain would have been both exotic and aesthetically pleasing. Although unable to understand their symbolic meanings and Buddhist, Daoist or Confucian connotations, they would have been certainly captivated by them.

Archaeological finds attest to both the presence and distribution of similar porcelains throughout Portugal, particularly to the southern region of the Algarve. For instance, a rim fragment of a Jiajing blue-and-white petal-moulded saucer dish decorated with a border of alternating florettes and insects within petal panels identical to a few examples from the *Espadarte* (Fig. 3.1.1.9) was recently excavated in the historic centre of Lagos, an important port city where ships loaded with spices, goods and slaves began to arrive during the time of Infante Henry, better known as Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), the third son of King John I (r. 1385–1433) (Fig. 3.1.1.10).[46]

35 Most shards formed part of open forms: bowls of small and medium size, saucer dishes and shallow dishes with plain white, incised cavettos and flat rims with foliated edges. Closed forms include ewers decorated with floral panels around the body and square boxes decorated with floral scrolls on the sides and dragons on the lids. For further information, see Chris Auret and Tim Maggs, 'The Great Ship São Bento: remains of a mid-sixteenth century Portuguese wreck on the Pondoland coast', *Annals of the Natal Museum*, vol. 25 (1), October 1982, pp. 12–34; Maggs, 1984, pp. 175–180; L. Valerie Esterhuizen, 'Chinese Ming Blue and White Porcelain Recovered from 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Shipwrecks on the South African Coast', *Taoci*, 1, October 2000, pp. 93–99; L. Valerie Esterhuizen, 'History written in porcelain sherds. The *São João* and the *São Bento* two 16th century Portuguese shipwrecks', *Taoci*, 2 December 2001, pp. 111–116; L. Valerie Esterhuizen, *Dekoratiewe Motiewe op Chinese Porseleinskerwe uit Portuguese Skeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Kus, 1552–1647: 'n Kultuurhistoriese Studie*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, Appendix B, 2001, pp. 273–276; and Elizabeth Burger, *Reinvestigating the Wreck of the Sixteenth Century Portuguese Galleon São João: A Historical Archaeological Perspective*, unpublished MA dissertation, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, 2003, pp. 62–6.

36 Valerie Esterhuizen, 'Figures in a landscape 1552', in Roxanna M. Brown (ed.), *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, vol. IV, no. 6, November-December 2007, p. 2; and Valerie Esterhuizen, 'Bounty on the beach after storm', in Roxanna M. Brown (ed.), *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, vol. IV, no. 5, September-October 2007, p. 3, respectively. A dish with a related Arabic inscription is found in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul. See, Regina Krahl and John Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul*, London, 1986, Vol. II, p. 579, no. 777.

37 George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. VIII, Cape Town, 1898–1903, p. 134. Cited in Burger, 2003, p. 34.

38 Comparable shards recovered from *São João* and *São Bento* are discussed and illustrated in Esterhuizen, 2001, Appendix B (ii), p. 274, fig. a and p. 275, fig. a; and those excavated from Shangchuan in Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua, 'High Fired Wares Excavated at the Decorated Bowl Layers Site on Shangchuan Island, in Taishan District, Guangdong province, and Questions Concerning them', *Wenwu*, 5, 2007, p. 84; and Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua, 'Shangchuan Island and Early Sino-Portuguese Trade in the Sixteenth Century', in Pei-kai Cheng (ed.), *China Westward: Early Sino-Portuguese Trade of Chinese Ceramics*, exhibition catalogue, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2009, p. 68, fig. 7-8 and p. 70, fig. 11. The enamelled porcelain from Huawanping site includes bowls and dishes decorated with red and green enamels (few of them with red, green and yellow), and bowls decorated in underglaze cobalt blue, and red and green enamels.

39 The archaeologists postulate that due to the proximity of the wreck site to the San Sebastian Fortress, it is possible that the ship was rescued at the time of the accident. Also the fact that part of the shipwreck is in very shallow waters has made it easily accessible to sport divers and fishermen. It is believed that an uncertain amount of the looted porcelain was sold in the South African market. The shipwreck was jointly excavated by Arqueonautas S.A, an archaeological company based in Lisbon, and Patrimonio International S.A.R.L., a non-profit company under the authority of the Mozambique Ministry of Culture. Some of the gold and 120 duplicate porcelain pieces from the shipwreck were sold at auction in 2004. Mensun Bound, 'Exploring the Fort San Sebastian Wreck off Mozambique', *The Explorers Journal*, Summer 2004, pp. 34–41; and auction sale catalogue *The Fort San Sebastian*

Left
Fig. 3.1.1.6 Blue-and-white dish from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Diameter: 21.3cm
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam (IDM-002-02-1535)

Fig. 3.1.1.7 Blue-and-white porcelain from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam

Fig. 3.1.1.8 Blue-and white bowls with traces of overglaze enamels on the exterior and white-glazed bowls from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Diameter: 21.2cm and 18.1cm (blue-and-white bowls); 7.3cm to 8.1cm (white-glazed bowls)
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam

Right
Fig. 3.1.1.9 Blue-and-white saucer dish from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Diameter: 14.7cm
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam (inv. no. IDM-002-01-38)

Fig. 3.1.1.10 Shard of a blue-and-white saucer dish excavated at Lagos, Algarve
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Miguel Serra, Palimpsesto

Wreck. A 16th Century Portuguese Porcelain Wreck off the Island of Mozambique, Christie's Amsterdam, 19 May 2004.

40 Almost seven years after the finding of the shipwreck, archival research brought to light important information that identified the shipwreck as the *Espadarte*, which sank in May 1558.

41 Most pieces are of open forms: dishes, saucer dishes, plates, bowls of medium and small size, and cups.

42 Unlike the *São João* and *São Bento*, the *Espadarte* did not yield any blue-and-white pieces depicting phoenixes.

43 The author had the opportunity to study the porcelain recovered from the shipwreck during a research trip to Mozambique Island in August 2013. A publication on the archaeological excavation and porcelain of the *Espadarte* is forthcoming.

44 The find of a dish bearing a cyclical mark on the reverse which reads 'made in the *gui chou* year', corresponding to 1553, shows that some porcelain could have been made 5 years prior to having been acquired by the Portuguese. This is not surprising, considering the transportation from Jingdezhen to Macao and the storage of the porcelain before the ship could begin its return voyage. For more information and images of the marks, see Bound, 2004, pp. 11 and 22.

45 Jiajing porcelain has been also found at Portuguese fortresses situated along the cost of Africa. For instance, their fortress in Alcácer Ceguer, located on the Morrocan coast of the Straight of Gibraltar (between present-day Tangier and Ceuta), occupied from 1458 to 1550, yielded shards of about 18 blue-and-white porcelains and one shard with red enamel. They were excavated from archaeological deposits corresponding to the final period of occupation, which saw an increase in the Portuguese community and in their domestic social life. This porcelain, that must have been expensive and difficult to obtain at the time, attests to the wealth and high social position of some inhabitants of the colony, their close trade contacts with Asia and their social activities, which included gathering and entertainment involving the use or display of imported wares, resembling the city life of their mother country. The settlement was abandoned by royal order and never again reoccupied. Two shards, from a total of 20, are published in Charles L. Redman and James L. Boone, 'Qsar es-Seghir (Alcácer Ceguer): a 15th and 16th century Portuguese colony in North Africa', *STVDIA*, no. 41–42, January/December 1979, Lisbon, pp. 32–33 and 41, fig. 21, F and G.

46 The material recovered from more than two hundred archaeological structures, the vast majority cesspits containing materials dating from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, includes a large number of blue-and-white bowls and plates dating to the Jiajing and Wanli periods. The Wanli reign finds will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter. I am grateful to Miguel Serra, Palimpsesto, for providing me with images of the porcelain recovered from this site. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 251, note 34.

47 *Kraak* porcelain will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter.

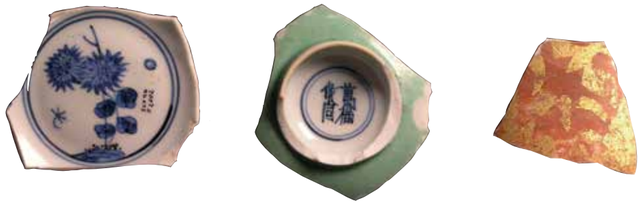
48 The female monastery began construction in 1509 by order of Manuel I. In 1530, the building was transferred to D. Fernando Coutinho, who completed the works and gave it to the nuns of the Order of Cister. It remained the only convent of that Order in the region, with nuns and converts not only coming from families from Tavira but also from the rest of the Algarve. Information from Patrimonio Cultural. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural. www.patrimoniocultural.pt. Accessed August 2014. The shard is published in Jorge Queiroz and Rita Manteigas (eds.), *Tavira, Patrimónios do Mar*, exhibition catalogue, Museu Municipal de Tavira, 2008, p. 225, no. 38. There is also a rim shard that may have formed part of the same dish, published in p. 227, no. 40 (top right) of

The aforementioned finds demonstrate that the Portuguese were importing porcelain with panelled rim borders much earlier than *Kraak* porcelain was first manufactured.[47] There is also a fragment of a blue-and-white dish with shallow rounded sides decorated with a border of pending foliate scrolls and a medallion enclosing a flying horse on the reverse, excavated at the female Convent of das Bernardas in Tavira, which relates closely to some of the *Espadarte* dishes.[48]

The sudden influx of porcelain to Lisbon brought about important changes in the tastes and customs of the royal court, first that of Manuel I, and then of John III and Catherine of Austria. By the mid-sixteenth century porcelain was an integral part of the royalty's courtly life and it had become customary to use it as tableware. In 1565, for instance, Catherine showed her ceremonial splendour using porcelain when she entertained guests at her quarters. An account by the Bolognese captain Francesco de Marchi (1504–1576), mentions that countless pieces of porcelain were used for serving food and were displayed on buffets and two credenzas in the palace halls during a banquet to celebrate the marriage, by proxy, of the grandson of Charles V, Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) and Maria of Portugal (1536–1577), daughter of Infante Duarte (1515–1540) and Isabel of Braganza (1514–1576).[49]

Porcelain, however, did not remain soley a royal privilege for long. Portuguese textual sources reveal that the high-ranking nobility also enjoyed the novelty of owning and eating from porcelain on formal occasions. For instance, at the ducal palace of the House of Braganza, Vila Viçosa in central Portugal, a considerably large quantity of porcelain was initially displayed, alongside glass items, in an interior space that may have been specially designed for this purpose, and then later used as tableware.[50] A 1563 inventory drawn up after the death of Teodósio I, 5th Duke of Braganza (1507?–1563), the most important nobleman after the King, lists more than 100 pieces of porcelain among the contents of the dowager Duchess's 'House of glass and porcelain'.[51] That same year, while dining with Pope Pius IV (1559–1565) during a session of the Council of Trent, the Dominican friar Bartolomeu dos Mártires stated that in Portugal porcelain tableware was replacing silver. He observed: 'We have … in Portugal a type of tableware, which, being clay, has such an advantage over silver both in refinement and cleanliness, that I would counsel all princes … not to use another service and to banish silver from their tables. We call them porcelains in Portugal; they come from India and are made in China. The clay is so fine and transparent that the white ones surpass crystal and alabaster, and those of the blue variety delight the eyes, representing a composition of alabaster and sapphires. Its fragility is compensated by its cheapness. They can be appreciated by the greatest princes for delight and curiosity, and are considered as such in Portugal'.[52] Two years later, in 1565, porcelain was used at a banquet hosted in Lisbon by Constantino of Braganza (1528–1575), Viceroy of India 1558–1561, in honour of his newlywed niece Maria of Portugal. The porcelain, displayed on one of two credenzas, was described as: '…very precious porcelain vessels, more highly esteemed than silver and gold themselves and certainly some of those vessels were much admired for their size and beauty'.[53] In 1603, a set of porcelain tableware (one of a total of three) was used at Vila Viçosa during the feast to celebrate the marriage of Manuel I's great-grandson, Teodósio II, 7th Duke of Braganza and 2nd Duke of Barcelos (1568–1630) and Ana of Velasco (1585–1607), daughter of the 5th Duke of Frias and 7th Constable of Castile.[54]

Catherine of Austria's brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry continued the Lisbon royal court tradition of giving porcelain as a diplomatic gift.[55] When his nephew, the young



Figs. 3.1.1.11a and b Shard of a *Kinrande* bowl excavated at the former convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha, Coimbra
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign mark and of the period (1522–1566)
© Santa Clara-a-Velha Convent, Coimbra

Fig. 3.1.1.12 Shard of *Kinrande* porcelain excavated at the former convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha, Coimbra
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Santa Clara-a-Velha Convent, Coimbra

Sebastian I disappeared during the Alcácer Quibir battle in 1578, he sent two boxes containing 270 pieces of porcelains of various types and many other exotic objects to the Sheriff of Morocco as a ransom for the King. It seems that most of the porcelain was decorated in polychrome enamels and gold, perhaps of the style known by the Japanese name, *Kinrande* (gold brocade), which was first made in Jingdezhen during the Jiajing reign.[56] The *Kinrande* porcelain excavated from the main foundations (submerged for several centuries) of the former convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra, situated 195km north of Lisbon in central Portugal, may have come from the collection of either Catherine or Cardinal Henry.[57] Two *Kinrande* bowls, one bearing a Jiajing reign mark, and a tiny *Kinrande* shard that may have formed part of an ewer decorated in iron-red and gold (Figs. 3.1.1.11a and b, and 3.1.1.12),[58] are among more than 360 porcelains partially reconstructed from approximately 7,000 shards dating from the Zhengde to Wanli reigns excavated from the site of this female convent of the Mendicant Order of Poor Clares, whose first vow was of poverty. The find of a yellow-glazed bowl bearing the imperial Jiajing reign mark, perhaps of the same type as that listed in Catherine's inventory in 1557, supports the theory of a royal donation.[59] After the unification of Spain and Portugal in 1580, Philip II moved to Lisbon for two years, and then returned to Madrid. An account describing the visit of the Venetian ambassadors Tron and Lippomani to Lisbon in 1582 to congratulate Philip II on his ascension to the Portuguese throne, recorded that there were, on the Rua Nova dos Mercadores, four or six shops that sold 'very fine porcelains of various shapes'.[60] The number of Lisbon shops selling porcelain seems low if one considers the over 1,000 pieces of porcelain recovered from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558) and the significant quantities of porcelain that were both displayed and used as tableware by the royalty and high-ranking nobility as early as the 1560s, discussed above.[61] Recent research, however, has shown that the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores* was the principal commercial street in Renaissance Lisbon, where shops selling not only porcelain, but also Asian textiles and clothes, and many other imported rarities were competing for space and store fronts. It also has suggested the possibility that the merchants, captains and sailors who arrived from Asia immediately sold their *miudezas*, including porcelain and lacquer, at the Lisbon's docks.[62] By this time the trade in a new style of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain, known as *Kraak*, was already substantial.[63] This porcelain, probably first made at the end of the Longqing reign (1567–1572),[64] was produced in large quantities at several private kilns in Jingdezhen[65] almost exclusively for export not only to Europe and the New World, but also to Japan, Turkey, Persia and Southeast Asia (Appendix 2).[66] It seems likely that the development of this new style of export porcelain was prompted by the lift of the Ming martime trade by Emperor Longqing, when he ascended to the throne in 1567. Thinly-potted and densely decorated in a free and spontaneous style with traditional Chinese auspicious animals and Daoist, Buddhist and Confucian motifs, or narrative scenes taken from novels or other literary works, *Kraak* porcelain was much sought after by the Portuguese for at least 50 years, from the early 1590s until the mid-1640s, when important political changes had occurred in both Portugal and China.[67]

At this point it is important to remember that porcelain, unlike silk, was not subject to the royal monopoly. Although merchants and private individuals could import porcelain, furniture, cloth and other products into Lisbon without registering them, they required royal permission to trade them overseas. The *livro de rezão* (merchant account book) of a Portuguese ship-owner, merchant and agent named Francisco da Gama, who traded actively between India and Malacca, covering his activities from 1619 to 1621, provides important information regarding the trade activities carried out by private merchants in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Francisco da Gama, who is known to have purchased porcelain at Malacca, was captured by a servant of the VOC at the end of 1621 or shortly after, who sent da Gamma's account book to his brother in the Dutch Republic in 1626. We learn from this account book, now housed in the library of Leiden University, that several private merchants participated in the trade by sending a wide variety of exotic goods on the cargo of various ships.[68] These individual shipments were most of the time of very small quantities, consisting of one or a few boxes. In November 1626, for instance, several silks were brought on account of Antonio Dias do Amaral, 'one loza fina' on account of Fernao do Cron, and there were loaded also '9 large boxes of *louza* (probably porcelain) and 'a barsinha de loza that was of Memdes'. There were also 'a tiger skin for Don Felipe de Sousa and a porcelain boiao [pot]', and 'another green boiao for Antonio Laragarto', which may also have been porcelain. Perhaps the latter could have been Longquan porcelain.[69]

As mentioned earlier, the Portuguese merchants from Macao, Bantam, Malacca and various other ports in the Indian Ocean were involved in the trade of considerable quantities of porcelain and zinc, using them as ballast cargoes, to supply the demand in both India and Portugal.[70] In the small number of surviving bills of lading and cargo manifests of the Portuguese ships that made the inbound voyage from India, porcelain together with other small items such as furniture, boxes, fans and jewellery, were listed under the designation *miudezas*.[71] According to Boyajian, the heterogenous category of *miudezas* rarely accounted to more than 100 or 200 quintals per *carrack*.[72] Boyajian notes that porcelain was perhaps sold for 500 cruzados the quintal in Lisbon, and that the annual shipments were worth less than 10,000 cruzados.[73] It is important to note that a preparatory committee was created in 1624, during the reign of Philip IV, for the formation of a trading company for India, the *Junta Preparatória da Comphania de Comércio*. The *fidalgo* Dom Jorge Mascarenhas, Marquis of Montalvão (1579?–1652), who had been president of the Senate of Lisbon and president of the preparatory committee, was appointed President of the newly formed *Comphania de Comércio da Índia* (hereafter India Company), which received its charter on 17 August 1628. The Crown was the major shareholder of the India Company, which was to take over responsibility for organizing and dispatching to India on behalf of the Crown the merchant ships of the *Carreira da Índia* and the aid and arms being sent to the *Estado da Índia*.[74] The India Company, however, collapsed in 1633.

the same catalogue. Jiajing reign porcelain at this site also includes a shard decorated with boys playing, derived from paintings of 'One Hundred Children', an auspicious motif encouraging the birth of many healthy children. Ibid., p. 231, no. 46.

49 *Narratione particolare del Capitan Francesco de' Marchi da Bologna, delle gran feste, e trionfi fatti in Portogallo, et in Fiandra nello sposalitio dell'illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Signore, il Sig. Alessandro Farnese, Prencipe di Parma, e Piacenza, e la Serenissima Donna Maria di Portogallo*, Bologna, 1566. Cited in Jordan Gschwend, 1996, p. 114; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 21.

50 This 'House of glass and porcelain' may have been a forerunner of the porcelain rooms that appeared in the early decades of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic, which will be discussed in section 3.2.1 of this Chapter.

51 This unpublished inventory is part of a research project 'All his worldly possessions. The estate of the 5th Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio I (PTDC/EAT-HAT/098461/2008)'. I am grateful to Dr. Nuno Senos, Centro de História de Além-Mar (CHAM), for this information. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 21.

52 F. Luís de Sousa, *A vida de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*, Lisbon, 1984, pp. 256–257. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 23.

53 G. Bertini, *Le Nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisbonna e Bruxelles*, Milan, 1997, p. 86. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 23.

54 Mentioned in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 23.

55 As mentioned in Chapter II, Cardinal Henry also gave silk as diplomatic gifts.

56 A. Caetano de Sousa, *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1948, vol. III, pp. 525–526; Jordan Gschwend, 1998, p. 214; Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 129; and Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 20–21.

57 Published in Paulo César Santos, 'As porcelanas da China no velho mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha de Coimbra', *Oriente*, no. 3, August 2002, pp. 56–57; and Paulo César Santos, 'The Chinese Porcelain of Santa Clara-a-Velha, Coimbra: Fragments of a Collection', *Oriental Art*, vol. XLIX, no. 3 (2003/2004), pp. 24–31, fig. 15. The convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha was built with the patronage of Queen Isabella of Aragon (1271–1336), wife of King Dinis (r. 1279–1325). The convent, situated on the left bank of the Mondego River, was repeatedly flooded. Manuel I gained papal permission to relocate the convent in 1505, but the community of the Poor Clares only moved to the new convent of Santa Clara-a-Nova in 1677.

58 One of the partially reconstructed *Kinrande* bowls, decorated with underglaze cobalt blue on the interior and red enamel and gold on the exterior, is published in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves (ed.), *Macau – O Primeiro Século de um Porto Internacional. The First Century of An International Port*, exhibition catalogue, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P., 2007, p. 24, cat. no. 7. The yellow shard is published and discussed in Mathilda Amélia Gonçalves Larsson, *Estudo e caracterização do Porcelana Orientais*, unpublished MA dissertation, Facultade de Ciências e Tecnologia, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008, p. 35, fig. SCVP8 and p. 36; and Mathilda Larsson and João Pedro Veiga, 'Ming Porcelain from the Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery in Coimbra, Portugal. First Results Using Portable μ-EDXRF Spectrometer', *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomeneralogy. Proceedings of the International Conference*, 29–30 October 2008, p. 134. I am grateful to Mathilda Larsson and Lígia Inês Gambini, coordinator Santa Clara-a-Velha convent, for providing me with information and images of the porcelain shards excavated at the convent.

59 The partially reconstructed bowl is published in Santos, 2002, p. 58; and Santos Alves, 2007, p. 24, cat. no. 6.

60 Alexandre Herculano, 'Viagem a Edifício Portugal dos Cavaleiros Tron e Lipomani', *Opúsculos*, vol. VI, Lisbon, 1886, p. 120. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128.

61 The next known textual reference to porcelain being sold in Lisbon dating to almost 40 years later, in 1620, will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 23.

62 I am greatly indebted to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend for this information, which will be published in the forthcoming book Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and K.J.P. Lowe (eds.), *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*, London, November 2015.

63 Only a few *Kraak* pieces with overglaze enamel decoration have been recorded so far. These include a large dish decorated solely in overglaze enamels in the Princessehof Museum in Leeuwarden and another of slightly smaller size in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. There are also a blue-and-white dish and two bowls with additional decoration in overglaze enamels in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul. For further information, see Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989, pp. 192–194, pls. 254 and 555; Teresa Canepa, 'Kraak porcelain: The rise of global trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries', in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Kraak Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, London-Lisbon, 2008, pp. 42–43, fig. 22; and Eva Ströber, *Ming Porcelain for a Globalised Trade*, Stuttgart, 2013, pp. 206–207, no. 86.

64 A *Kraak* dish unearthed in China from a tomb dated to 1573, the earliest piece recorded to date, suggests such a date. The excavated dish is discussed, but not illustrated in Yao Chengqing and Yao Lianhong, 'New Discoveries of Porcelain Trays for Export Produced in Years of Wan Li of the Ming dynasty', *Science and Technology of Ancient Ceramics 3*, Proceedings of the International Symposium (ISAC), 1995, p. 411. Mentioned in Maura Rinaldi, 'Dating Kraak porcelain' in Kraak begeerlijk porselein uit China, *Vormen uit Vuur*, no. 180/181, 2003/1–2, p. 32; Canepa, 2008/2, p. 23; Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese and Spanish Trade in Kraak Porcelain in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 73, 2008–2009, p. 61; and Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese and Spanish Trade in Kraak Porcelain in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries', in Cheng, 2012, p. 259.

65 Ten private kilns where *Kraak* porcelain was fired have been discovered so far. These kilns, located in the Old City Zone of Jingdezhen, are: Guanyinge, Lianhualing, Dongfeng ci chang, Dian ci chang, Liujiaxianong, Shibaqiao, Renmin ci chang, Cidubaihuo, Guihuanong and Xinhua ci chang. Cao Jianwen and Luo Yifei, 'Kraak Porcelain Discovered at Some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years', *Oriental Art*, vol. L, no. 4, 2006, pp. 16–24.

66 According to Wu, no particular term was used in China to designate *Kraak* porcelain during the Ming dynasty. Ruoming Wu, *The Origins of Kraak Porcelain in the Late Ming Dynasty*, PhD Thesis, Institute of East Asian Art History, Ruprecht-Karls University,

Fig. 3.1.1.15 *Kraak* plate from the wreck site of the shipwreck *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Filipe Vieira de Castro, Texas A&M University

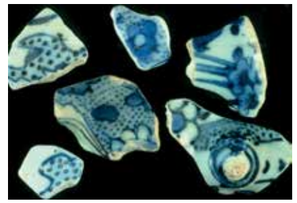


Fig. 3.1.1.13 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate from the wreck site of the shipwreck *Santo Alberto* (1593)

Fig. 3.1.1.14 Shards of a *Kraak* frog-shaped *kendi* from the wreck site of the shipwreck *Santo Alberto* (1593)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Valerie Esterhuizen, South Africa

Fig. 3.1.1.17 and Fig. 3.1.1.18 Fragments and sketch-drawings of two *Kraak* dishes from the wreck site of the shipwreck *Nossa Senhora da Luz* (1615)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Carla Fernandes and José António Bettencourt

Fig. 3.1.1.16 *Kraak* plate (reconstructed) from the wreck site of the shipwreck IDM-003, most probably the *Nossa Senhora da Consolação* (1608)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam

Archaeological evidence of porcelain from Portuguese shipwrecks, colonial settlements, Portuguese cities and extant pieces

No Portuguese shipwrecks have been found so far dating to the decades of the 1570s and 1580s, which are reported as having carried porcelain among their cargoes.[75] The earliest archaeological finds of *Kraak* and other blue-and-white trade porcelain from Portuguese shipwrecks date to 1593, the year the nau *Santo Alberto* sank off Sunrise-on-Sea in South Africa (Appendix 3).[76] The *Kraak* shards formed part of plates with a white cavetto and continuous naturalistic border, plates with borders divided by double lines (Fig. 3.1.1.13), saucer dishes with a star-shaped medallion or with lotus-petal borders outlined in blue and other shards that most probably formed part of frog-shaped *kendis*, which belong to a group of *Kraak* zoomorphic *kendis* first made at private kilns of Jingdezhen during the Wanli reign for both the Middle Eastern and European markets, also known in the shape of elephants, cows (or water buffaloes), squirrels and lobsters (Fig. 3.1.1.14) (Appendix 2).[77] Visual sources attest to the Portuguese trade in such zoomorphic *kendi* at the time, as two examples appear depicted on board the Black Ship anchored at Nagasaki in a *Namban* six-panel folding screen, one of a pair, dating to *c.*1600, in a private collection.[78] As discussed elsewhere, the Portuguese trade in various types of *Kraak* porcelain in the early seventeenth century is well documented by finds from five shipwrecks that sank on their homeward journeys: the *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* sank in 1606 near Lisbon at the fortress of São Julião da Barra in the mouth of the Tigus River (Fig. 3.1.1.15);[79] the small nau *São Gonçalo*, one of five ships offered by the Crown to the newly founded India Company, sank in 1630 near Port Elizabeth in Plettenburg Bay;[80] the naveta[81] *Santa Maria Madre de Deus* sank in 1643 in Eastern Cape;[82] the *Nossa Senhora de Atalaya do Pinheiro* sank in June 1647 near the Cefane river north-east of East London;[83] and the large ship *Santíssimo Sacramento* sank a month later in Sardinia Bay, near Port Elizabeth.[84] Recently, research has brought to light three further Portuguese shipwrecks that carried *Kraak* among their cargoes: IDM-003, most probably the *Nossa Senhora da Consolação* which sank in 1608 off the island of Mozambique (Fig. 3.1.1.16);[85] the large *Nossa Senhora da Luz* sank in 1615 on the southern coast of the island of Faial (also known as Fayal) in the archipelago of the Azores (Figs. 3.1.1.17 and 3.1.1.18);[86] and the *São João Baptista* sank in 1622 near the Great Fish River in Eastern Cape.[87] Further evidence is found in the *Wanli shipwreck*, a small vessel (about 80-tons) probably owned by Portuguese private merchants, believed to have sank on the east coast of Malaysia in *c.*1625 while sailing from Macao (Appendix 3).[88] The cargo of this shipwreck, containing the largest *Kraak* assemblage found to date (ranging from high to low quality), includes shards of two square-shaped bottles – modelled after European glass, stoneware or faience – bearing the arms attributed to the families Vilas Boas and Faria, or Vaz.[89] These bottles belong to a group of *Kraak* porcelain specially ordered with European designs during the reigns of Wanli, Tianqi and Chongzhen for the Portuguese, Spanish and German nobility, as well as the clergy, which will be discussed in section 3.4.1 of this Chapter. The cargo of the *Wanli shipwreck* also includes a number of blue-and-white bowls decorated with four medallions, each depicting one of the Eight Immortals, reserved on a ground of repeated *shou* (meaning longevity) characters below a border

Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 2014, p. 20. Since the 1960s, a considerable number of *Kraak* dishes and plates have been unearthed from late Ming tombs in southern Jiangxi province. These tombs, dating from 1573 to 1645, are all situated in Nancheng, Guangchang and nearby areas along the mayor waterway transportation routes between Jingdezhen and overseas trade ports in the neighbouring Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Nearly all *Kraak* finds have firing imperfections (badly cracked at the centre and/or warped). It is believed that such defective pieces would have been purchased at a very low price to be used in tombs as burial goods, and that this may reflect the long Jingdezhen tradition of finding a market for its large quantities of porcelain seconds. For a recent discussion on this subject, see Baoping Li, 'Discoveries and interpretation of Ming Dynasty export porcelain from tombs in China', in Cheng, 2012, pp. 203–215.

67 Although the raw materials (porcelain stone and kaolin) are similar to those of the Jiajing porcelain imported by the Portuguese into Europe about two decades earlier, in the 1550s, both the manufacturing technique and decoration differed significantly. The methods used by *Kraak* potters to economise materials and facilitate mass-production will be briefly discussed in section 3.4.1 of this Chapter.

68 Mentioned in George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea*, 1630–1754, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 35–36. The Leiden University library reference is BPL 876. I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, for providing me with a typed transcription of this document.

69 The term 'boião', of apparently unknown origin, refers to a pot, generally of clay or porcelain. According to Soares, the Portuguese introduced this term into India. Anthony Xavier Soares, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages From the Portuguese Original of M. S. R. Dalgado, Translated into English with Notes, Additions and Comments*, New Delhi and Madras, 1988, p. 53.

70 Souza, 1986, p. 122.

71 Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 16.

72 Boyajian, 1993, p. 48.

73 A quintal is about 130 pounds. Ibid., p. 49.

74 Mentioned in White, 2004–2005, p. 76.

75 No porcelain appears to have been aboard a Portuguese ship, believed the be the *Santo António*, which sank in Boudeuse Cay, Amiramnte Isles, Seychelles, in 1589. Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 28.

76 In Eastern Cape, the *Kraak* shards that have washed up on the beaches of Haga-Haga, Morgan's Bay and Black Rock are presumably part of the cargo of the *Santo Alberto*. For further information on the *Santo Alberto* porcelain, see Esterhuizen, 2001, Appendix B, pp. 277–278; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 62; Laura Valerie Esterhuizen, 'Chinese porseleinvondste aan die kus tussen Morganbaai en Haga-Haga', in Schalk W. Le Roux and Roger C. Fisher (eds.), *Festschrift in honour of ter ere van O.J.O. Ferreira*, Gordons Bay, South Africa, 2010, pp. 97–100; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 260–261, figs. 1 and 2.

77 For a discussion on frog-shaped *kendis*, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 180–183, no. 26 and pp. 184–187, no. 27.

78 Published in Weston, 2013, p. 93, fig. 1b and p. 38, fig. 1 (detail).

79 I am grateful to Filipe Vieira de Castro, Nautical Archaeology Program, Department of Anthropology, Texas A&M University, for providing me with images of *Kraak* porcelain recovered from the shipwreck.

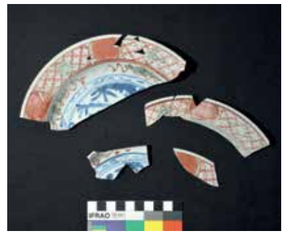


Fig. 3.1.1.19 Blue-and-white bowl from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
© Sten Sjostrand

Fig. 3.1.1.20 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white bowl from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
© Sten Sjostrand

Fig. 3.1.1.21 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
© Sten Sjostrand

Fig. 3.1.1.22 *Kraak* shards of a plate excavated at the church of Our Lady of Grace, Velha (Old) Goa
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
© Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Goa

Fig. 3.1.1.23 Fragment of a *Kraak kendi* excavated at the church of Our Lady of Grace, Velha (Old) Goa
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
© Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Goa

Fig. 3.1.1.24 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at the former convent of Santana, Lisbon
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Mário Varela Gomez and Rosa Varela Gomez

Fig. 3.1.1.25 Fragments of a *Kinrande* plate excavated at the former convent of Santana, Lisbon
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Mário Varela Gomez and Rosa Varela Gomez

of stylized flower-heads, made at private kilns of Jingdezhen for the Chinese domestic market (Fig. 3.1.1.19).[90] In addition, the shipwreck yielded a small bowl decorated with a *shou* character and a shard of a saucer dish with a diamond-shaped panel and trigram decoration, both made of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain (Figs. 3.1.1.20 and 3.1.1.21).[91] The latter blue-and-white and *Zhangzhou* pieces together with a small number of shards of similar porcelain pieces found on and near the archaeological remains of a survivor's campsite from the shipwreck *São Gonçalo* (1630), demonstrate that in the 1620s and into the 1630s the Portuguese merchants were shipping to Portugal some blue-and-white porcelain made for the domestic market as well as a small quantity of the thicker and more crudely finished porcelain made at private kilns in Zhangzhou prefecture (Appendix 2).[92]

Considering the *Kraak* and other porcelain finds from the shipwrecks discussed above it is likely that when Father Nicolau de Oliveira in his *Livro das Grandezas de Lisboa* of 1620, stated that 17 merchants were selling porcelain in Lisbon and also

A few intact dishes and plates along with shards of pear-shaped bottles, dishes and plates with continuous, panelled or pomegranate borders were recovered from the wreck site. For general information on the shipwreck and its cargo, see Simonetta L. Afonso (ed.), *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires: The Last Voyage*, exhibition catalogue, The Pavilion of Portugal, Expo '98, Lisbon, 1998; Luis Filipe Monteiro Vieira de Castro, *The Pepper Wreck: A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2001; Castro, Fonseca and Wells, 2010, pp. 14–34. For a discussion and images of the porcelain cargo, see Brigadier, 2002, pp. 69–80; and Inês Alexandra Duarte Pinto Coelho, *A Cerâmica Oriental da Carreira da Índia no contexto da Carga de uma Nau – A Presumível Nossa Senhora dos Mártires*, unpublished MA Thesis in Archaeology, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008, pp. 104–145. Pinto Coelho mistakenly catalogued a group of *Kraak* shards as *Zhangzhou* porcelain in pp. 146–158. Also see Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 62–63, fig. 1; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 263, figs. 12 and 13.

80 The remains of this shipwreck have never been excavated. In Western Cape, a large quantity of *Kraak* porcelain was found on and near the archaeological remains of a survivor's campsite from the *São Gonçalo* shipwreck, which had been moored to undergo repairs when it sank in a storm. The *São Gonçalo* was carrying *Kraak* porcelain of both fine and coarse quality. The finds include shards of dishes, bowls or *klapmutsen* (this term will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter) and covered boxes as well as shards that formed part of an elephant-shaped *kendi*. I am grateful to Jane Klose, Historical Archaeology Research Group, University of Cape Town, for providing me with an image of these latter shards. Published in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 261, fig. 4; and Antonia Malan and Jane Klose, 'Porcelain at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, p. 160, fig. 11. The elephant appears to have been the most common form of *Kraak* zoomorphic *kendi*, as a considerable number of extant examples are found in public and private collections. Visual sources also attest to their popularity. This may have been due to the fanciful way in which liquid was poured from the vessel. When used liquid spurts from the two tusks and crosses a few centimeters below. For a discussion on elephant-shaped *kendis*, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 188–193, no. 28 and pp. 194–195, no. 29. For general information on the shipwreck and porcelain, see Andrew B. Smith, 'Excavations at Plettenberg Bay, South Africa of the camp-site of the survivors of the wreck of the São Gonçalo, 1630', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 15.1 (1986), pp. 53–63; Esterhuizen, 2001, pp. 111–116; Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 29: Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 62; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 261–262, figs. 5 and 6.

81 A *naveta* was a swift ship of galliot type, of a size of around 300-tons. Souza, 1986, p. xii.

82 Shards of a large vase were recovered from a cave in Bonza Bay near East London, where survivors are thought to have sought refuge after the shipwreck. Mentioned in Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 62; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 261.

83 A few *Kraak* shards have been found at Cefane, where the *Nossa Senhora de Atalaya do Pinheiro* wrecked. Excavations at the site of the survivor's camp of this wreck in the nearby sand dune yielded eight shards of Ming blue-and-white porcelain. Images of these shards have not been published, thus it has not been possible to identify them. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 261.

84 Shards of *Kraak* jars, lids, plates and dishes all decorated with panelled borders were recovered from the *Santíssimo Sacramento*. This carrack, part of the same fleet as the *Santa Maria Madre de Deus* and the *Nossa Senhora de Atalaya do Pinheiro*, left Goa after being detained for four years due to a Dutch blockade. Canepa, 2012/1, p. 261.

85 The *Nossa Senhora da Consolação*, which sank in front of the San Sebastian Fortress during the Dutch siege to Mozambique Island. After repeated failed attempts by the Dutch to steal the carrack while on anchor at the bay laden with cargo from India and waiting to resume her trip to Lisbon, it was set on fire together with another ship to avoid capture by the Dutch. Written documents state that not everything was salvaged from the ship. So far, the wreck site has yielded only two *Kraak* pieces: a plate (now reconstructed) and a globular *kendi*, which bears a white hare mark on its base. I am grateful to Alejandro Mirabal for providing me with images of these porcelain pieces. For general information on the shipwreck and its cargo, see Alejandro Mirabal, *Intermediate Report on Underwater Archaeological Excavations off the Island of Mozambique and Mogincual*, Arqueonautas Worldwide S.A., January 2006; Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 261–262, figs. 7 and 8; and Alejandro Mirabal, *The Excavation of the Nossa*

that 'many sets of porcelain arrived, many of the ships carrying two or three thousand sets, with twenty pieces each', he was referring to sets of the mass-produced *Kraak* porcelain.[93] The number of Lisbon merchants selling porcelain at the time seems extremely low. As noted earlier, almost forty years earlier the Venetian ambassadors to Lisbon mentioned that there were four or six shops, and even then that seemed low. Undoubtedly, future research will bring to light other written sources that will prove that many more shops or merchants sold porcelain in Lisbon.

Material from archaeological excavations at various urban and religious sites in Macao, Goa and Mombasa provides further evidence of the variety of *Kraak* and *Zhangzhou* porcelain traded by the Portuguese, and most importantly of the predominance of *Kraak*.[94] In Macao, intact pieces and shards of large quantities of *Kraak* porcelain were excavated from the sites of the gardens of the Santo Agostino church and Rua da Judaria.[95] Shards that formed part of dishes, bowls, cups and *kendis* were also found at Rua Central and Rua Das Estalagens. Recently about 100 shards, most of them *Kraak*, were unearthed during renovations from the sites of Rua dos Mercadores (originally the area where the port of Pak Van was situated) and Rua dos Ervanários.[96] These shards provide ample evidence of the wide variety of shapes and decorations of the porcelain traded by the Portuguese. In addition, a shard that formed part of the centre of a dish decorated with deer in a landscape was found at Penny's Bay in Hong Kong, where the Portuguese traded clandestinely before 1557.[97] A number of *Kraak* shards that formed part of dishes and *kendi* have been excavated at the church of Our Lady of Grace, popularly known as St. Augustine, which was built on the Holy Hill at Velha (Old) Goa in 1602 (Figs. 3.1.1.22 and 3.1.1.23).[98] The French navigator François Pyrard de Laval (1578–1623) who stayed in Goa between June 1608 and February 1610, in his *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales* (1601–1611), describes the Royal Hospital where he was a patient as 'the finest in the world', and states that it is 'managed and governed by the Jesuits' and the food was served in porcelain.[99] Both *Kraak* and *Zhangzhou* porcelain were found during excavations at Fort Jesus, situated in the old port of Mombasa in Kenya, which was built by the Portuguese in 1593 and remained occupied by them until it fell to Omani Arabs in 1698.[100] These archaeological finds and documentary references serve as examples of the wide distribution of porcelain in Portuguese settlements in Asia.

In Portugal, archaeological finds at both secular and religious sites in Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra, Leiria, Silves, Tavira and Lagos not only demonstrate that considerable quantities of *Kraak* and other fine late Ming porcelain from Jingdezhen were imported into the motherland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but also that they were highly prized by the royalty, nobility and clergy. In Lisbon, shards of a number of *Kraak* plates dating to the Wanli reign with continuous or panelled rim borders (Fig. 3.1.1.24), blue-and-white bowls, as well as shards from a blue-and-white plate with *Kinrande* decoration (Fig. 3.1.1.25) were excavated from six cesspits at the former convent of Santana, the largest female convent in the capital under the patrimony of John III, and after his death that of Catherine of Austria.[101] Shards of 14 plates and 3 bowls, including some *Kraak* with continuous or panelled borders dating to the Wanli reign, and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white dating to the earlier Zhengde to Jiajing reigns, were also found among the ceramic material recovered from a water cistern at the former convent of São Francisco.[102]

In northern Portugal, a few small blue-and-white porcelain shards, including *Kraak*, were excavated from a seventeenth century context at the Arca de Mijavelhas site

Fig. 3.1.1.27 Pyramid-shaped ceiling of the drawing room at Santos Palace, Lisbon (French Embassy)
© Christopher Allerton, French Embassy, Lisbon

in Oporto.[103] The convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra also yielded a considerable number of shards of blue-and-white porcelain bowls and small to medium-sized plates, including many *Kraak* pieces, which are now partially reconstructed.[104] These porcelains, like the *Kinrande* and yellow-glazed pieces discussed earlier, were probably given to the convent, which was under Royal patronage, before it was abandoned in 1677. Shards of *Kraak* plates and bowls are also among the porcelain dating from the Zhengde to Chongzhen reigns excavated at the former Dominican convent of Santana (present-day Santana Market) in Leiria, about 70km south of Coimbra, which attest to the affluent daily life of the nuns (daughters of noble or merchant families) and secular women that resided there.[105] As noted by Varela Gomes and Varela Gomes, the fine quality and quantity of the porcelain found at the convents discussed above shows the high social and economic status of some of their residents (religious or secular) and of the religious orders themselves, and at the same time attest to a devotional daily life that was far from being austere.[106]

In southern Portugal, a number of shards of *Kraak* and other late Ming blue-and-white porcelain were excavated in the region of the Algarve. In Silves, about 252km south of Lisbon, some three dozens of shards mostly of bowls and plates dating to the Jiajing and Wanli reigns, together with a shard of a green *Kinrande* bowl and the base of a large box with a combination of overglaze polychrome enamels and underglaze blue details, thus the type called *Wucai* (five colours) in Chinese made in large quantities at Jingdezhen and other kilns in southern China during the Jiajing and Wanli reigns (Appendix 2),[107] were excavated from a cistern.[108] Blue-and-white shards of plates with white cavettos and flat rims, bowls, and jars dating from the Jiajing to Wanli reigns were excavated at the Bernardas convent in Tavira.[109] In Lagos, a shard of a *Kraak* dish with a bracket-lobed rim decorated with a white cavetto below a lotus and heron border, together with a few fragments of blue-and-white plates depicting a phoenix in profile within a white cavetto and a flat, up-turned rim border with alternating peach sprays and auspicious symbols tied with ribbons, a type of rather ordinary quality that began to be made at private Jingdezhen kilns from about 1565 or 1570 onwards (Fig.

Senhora da Consolação (1608), Arqueonautas Worldwide S.A., 2013, pp. 50–51, figs. 54–55.

86 The *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, on its homeward journey from Goa, stopped for provisions in the island of Faial. While at anchor at the entrance of the bay of Porto Pim, the carrack was hit by a storm and wrecked. 150 people, including members of the crew and passengers died and a large part of the cargo was lost when the carrack sank. The list of objects salvaged at the time of the wreck included textiles, spices, furniture, ivory objects, porcelains, glass beads and other objects. The porcelains appear variously listed as "*brincos de persolana, persolaninhas, perçolaninhas pequeninas and porçolana de carregasam*". AHU, Azores, cx. 1, no. 12 (Azores Archive, 1999, 45–152). Cited in José António Bettencourt, 'Os Vestígios da nau Nossa Senhora da Luz resultados dos trabalhos arqueológicos', *Arquipélago Historia*, 2a série, IX (2005), p. 237. The shipwreck yielded hundreds of blue-and-white porcelain shards, including a large number of *Kraak* shards, from which it was possible to identify 31 dishes, 7 bowls and 2 bottles. The shards of dishes show circular or star-shaped medallions within panelled borders, variously formed by wide and narrow panels, bracket-lobed panels or teardrop-shaped medallions. The central scenes include deer in a landscape, a bird perched on a rock beside large flowers, auspicious symbols and geometric patterns. The bowls and bottles are decorated with radiating panels enclosing floral motifs. I am grateful to José António Bettencourt for providing me with images and drawings of the porcelain from this shipwreck. For general information on the shipwreck and its porcelain cargo, see Alexandre Monteiro, *O naufrágio da nau da Carreira da Índia Nossa Senhora da Luz*, Horta, 1999, pp. 22–25 and 57–58; Bettencourt, 2005, pp. 246–258; Bettencourt, 2008; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 262–263, figs. 9–11.

87 After a battle with the Dutch, the ship ran aground on the coast after a storm. A small number of porcelain shards from the *São João Baptista* have washed up on Cannons Rocks beach on the Eastern Cape coast. These tiny shards formed part of saucer dishes with teardrop borders and *klapmutsen* with monster masks, similar to those recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). Personal communication with Valerie Esterhuizen, October 2012.

Fig. 3.1.1.26 Shards of a *Kraak* and a blue-and-white plates excavated at Lagos, Algarve
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Miguel Serra, Palimpsesto

88 The *Wanli shipwreck* was most likely a *shalupa*, a *naveta*, an urca or some similar sized vessel. I am grateful to Sten Sjostrand for pointing out this information and for providing me with images of porcelain recovered from the shipwreck. For a discussion on the remaining structures of the shipwreck, see Sten Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2007, pp. 23–31.

89 Ibid., pp. 98–99, serial no. 1156 and bottle shard 1. For a discussion on two intact examples, one of large size and the other smaller, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 160–167, nos. 21 and 22. The large example, together with a bottle of similar form bearing the arms of Philip II of Spain in Medici porcelain, is also discussed in Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 166–169, no. 66. *Namban* bottles (*tokkuri*) of this shape, made in Japan during the Momoyama period (1573–1615), will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of Chapter IV.

90 The use of the *shou* character in this repeated way creating a background pattern is known as *Bai Shou Tu*, which means the 'Picture of the Hundred *shou* characters'. These bowls would have provided wishes for a long life. The examples of such bowls recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck*, bear an apocryphal six-character Chenghua reign mark on the base. The cargo also included bowls of small size decorated only with repeated *shou* characters on the exterior and central interior medallion. See, Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, pp. 108–109, Serial No. 5287, and pp. 134–135, Serial No. 6343; respectively.

91 The bowl, decorated with a *shou* character, relates to a find made at the Xiuzuan kiln in Zhaoan county. Ibid., pp. 254–255, serial nos. 7398 and 2695; and Canepa, 2010, pp. 66–67, figs. 9–10.

92 The finds from the *São Gonçalo* shipwreck include shards of a saucer dish decorated with a *yuan* character surrounded by sketchily painted dragons, which relate to archaeological finds at the Dongkou kiln site in Pinghe county and Xiuzhuan kiln site in Zhaoan county, respectively. For a discussion on the Portuguese trade in *Zhangzhou* porcelain and these archaeological finds, see Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch Trade in Zhangzhou Porcelain (Part I)', *Fujian Wenbo*, No. 72, September 2010, pp. 63–69.

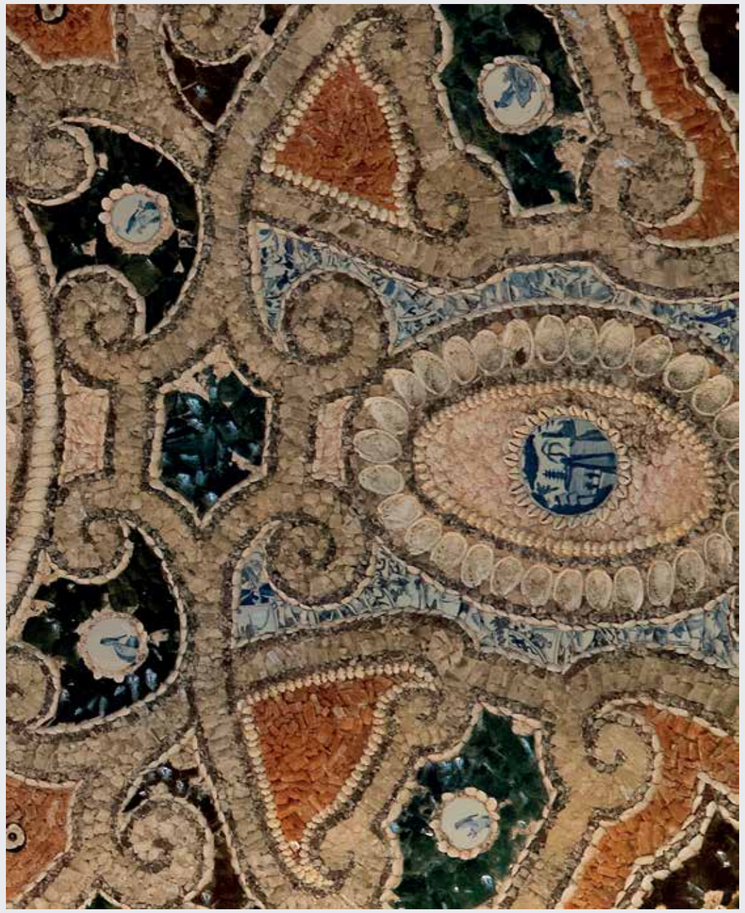
93 Padre Nicolau de Oliveira, *Livro das Grandezas de Lisboa*, Lisbon, reprint 1991, p. 462. Cited in Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos and Mary Salgado, *Porcelana Chinesa da Fundação Carmona e Costa-Chinese Porcelain in The Carmona e Costa Foundation*, Lisbon, 2002, p. 20; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128.

3.1.1.26) (Appendix 2).[110] Plates of this type were recovered from the Chinese *junk*, known as *Nan'ao No. 1*, which sank off Yun'ao Town, Nan'ao County, Shantou City, in Guangdong province, in *c.*1573–1620 (Appendix 3).[111]

The most tangible evidence of large imports of *Kraak* and other fine Jingdezhen porcelain into Portugal is provided by the extant pieces themselves. Numerous intact pieces and others cut in fragments were incorporated as architectural features in seventeenth century royal and aristocratic residences in Lisbon. The ceiling of a small drawing room in the Santos Palace, now the French Embassy, is covered with more than 260 Jingdezhen dishes and plates, mostly dating from the late Ming dynasty, including 96 *Kraak* pieces and a few dishes made at the Zhangzhou kilns (Fig. 3.1.1.27).[112] This porcelain was collected by Manuel I and his successors, as well as by members of the Lancastre family, who later owned the Palace. The quality and variety of the porcelain is astonishing with the earliest pieces dating back to the Zhengde reign.[113] Only two comparable collections from the same period still exist: the porcelain assembled principally in the Ardebil Shrine in Iran where the Safavid King Shah Abbas (1587–1629) placed his porcelain collection in 1611 and the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, which was the primary residence of the Ottoman sultans for nearly 400 years (1465–1856).[114] It appears that by the second quarter of the seventeenth century it became customary to use shells and stones in combination with small fragments of glass, Portuguese tin-glazed earthenware and late Ming blue-and-white porcelain (mostly *Kraak*) to create complex inlaid murals, known in Portuguese as *embrechados*, which covered many internal and external areas of garden buildings in royal and aristocratic residences.[115] The best-known *embrechados* are those in the former royal Palace of Alcáçovas (Palace of Henriques) in Lisbon, purchased by the University of Coimbra in 1597;[116] and the Palace of the Marquesses of Fronteira in the suburb of Santo Domingo of Benfica, which was built in 1640 as a hunting pavilion by Dom João de Mascarenhas, 2nd Count of Torre and 1st Marquis of Fronteira.[117] In both residences, the central medallions of dishes, plates or small bowls (typically of *Kraak* bowls commonly known as 'crow cups'), all perfectly cut in circles, were used as focal points in symmetrical compositions, configured by multiple geometric panels arranged as to create a strong visual rhythm, enhanced by the use of materials in contrasting colours (Fig. 3.1.1.28a and b).[118]

The long established gift-giving practice of the Houses of Avis-Beja and Habsburg continued under the succeeding House of Braganza. After his accession to the throne in 1640, John IV sent ambassadors to several European courts with diplomatic gifts. These included an impressive pair of blue-and-white covered jars densely decorated with the Hundred Deer motif, dating to the Wanli reign, given to Queen Christina of Sweden (r. 1632–1654), who became a distinguished art collector after the death of her father, Gustavus II Adolphus. These jars, measuring 72cm high, are housed in the Östasiatiska Museum in Stockholm (Fig. 3.1.1.29).[119]

From the information provided by the textual sources discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that porcelain began arriving regularly in Lisbon before direct Portuguese trade relations with China were established in 1513, during the reign of Emperor Zhengde. The first royal orders of porcelain date as early as 1507. By 1522, porcelains, together with silk damasks, iron nails, leather shields and other things made up one-third of the cargoes of the Portuguese giant merchant ships returning from India. Imported into Lisbon under the designation of *miudezas*, the annual shipments of porcelain were worth less than 10,000 cruzados. Porcelain appears to



Right
Fig. 3.1.1.28a Ceiling covered with *embrechados* of the House of Water at the Palace of the Marquesses of Fronteira, Santo Domingo of Benfica (detail)
© Jorge Welsh, London-Lisbon

Left
Fig. 3.1.1.28b Detail of Fig. 3.1.1.28a

Fig. 3.1.1.29 Blue-and-white jars given to Queen Christina of Sweden (r. 1632–1654)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 72cm
Östasiatiska Museet, Stockholm
(inv. nos. CXV–1586 and CXV–1587)

have been greatly appreciated not only by members of the royal House of Avis-Beja and its successor, the House of Austria (Habsburg), but also by the high-ranking nobility and clergy. Members of the royal court of Lisbon supplied their relatives residing at other European courts, as well as the clergy and courtiers, with porcelain, silk and other Asian exotic goods. They also gave porcelain as diplomatic gifts. By the mid-sixteenth century porcelain had become an integral part of the royalty's courtly life. Porcelain was not only displayed in their living quarters but it was customary to use it as tableware. The high-ranking nobility also enjoyed the novelty of displaying porcelain and eating from it in formal occasions, to the extent that by the early 1560s it is said to have been replacing silver tableware. Tangible evidence of the high appreciation of porcelain among the nobility in the seventeenth century is provided by the late Ming

porcelain used as an architectural feature in a number of aristocratic residences. These include the intact pieces displayed in the ceiling of a drawing room in the Santos Palace, and the fragments used in the complex inlaid murals or *embrechados* of the former royal Palace of Alcáçovas and the Palace of the Marquesses of Fronteira, and of other residences.

Porcelain finds from archaeological excavations at Portuguese clandestine trading posts in China, at secular and religious sites in settlements in Asia and Africa, and in Portugal, as well as from datable shipwrecks and survivor campsites, have shown that the majority of the porcelain imported into Portugal was blue-and-white porcelain from Jingdezhen. The porcelain imported also included a small quantity of Jingdezhen yellow-glazed, white-glazed, *Kinrande* and porcelain with overglaze enamel decoration. Some of these pieces, such as the yellow-glazed bowls excavated at the former convent Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra and the blue-and-white pieces recovered from the *São João* (1552), *São Bento* (1554) and *Espadarte* (1558), were originally intended for the Chinese imperial court as they bear Jiajing reign marks. Initially, most of the blue-and-white porcelain imported was of the ordinary trade type but marine archaeological finds indicate that by the early 1590s it was mainly of the *Kraak* type. Thicker and more crudely finished blue-and-white porcelain made at private kilns of Zhangzhou was also imported, but only in small quantities. The quality of the Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou porcelain imported in each shipment was quite varied, ranging from high to rather low. In the early years of Portuguese trade in Asia, some of the porcelain was acquired via the Chinese junk traders that frequented Malacca and their clandestine trading post in Shangchuan, but after they settled themselves in Macao in 1557 porcelain was mostly acquired there. Numerous finds at religious sites in Portuguese settlements in Asia and in Portugal have shown that the clergy was an important consumer of porcelain, as it was of Chinese silk, not only for use during religious services but also in their daily life as tableware. Furthermore, written sources indicate that the Jesuits participated in the trade of porcelain.

Trade to Spain [3.1.2]

Evidence of porcelain in Spain before the settlement of Manila in 1571

Porcelain began to be imported into Spain earlier than into Portugal, long before the Spanish settled themselves in Manila, in 1571. Spanish textual sources and shards excavated at different archaeological sites demonstrate that a few pieces of porcelain reached Spain in the late Middle Ages, most probably as diplomatic gifts, via Eastern Andalusia (Sharq Al-Andalus), the Valencian territory during the period of Muslim rule.[120] The earliest textual references to the presence of porcelain in Spain, however, date to the fourteenth century.[121]

The next known references to porcelain are found in royal inventories of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The following references, taken from the transcription of the original documents recently studied by Krahe, serve to illustrate the types of porcelain that reached Spain at the time, mostly via Lisbon.[122] In an inventory of the collection of artistic objects in the treasury of the Alcázar (fortress) of Segovia, taken in 1503 by order of Queen Isabella I of Castile (r. 1474–1504) (hereafter Isabella I), is listed 'A bowl of white porcelain with an open filigree foot of twenty-two carats that together with the gold weigh one mark, three ounces and four-eighths'.[123] This porcelain bowl, as noted by Krahe, would be the earliest documented piece of porcelain fitted with precious metal mounts (gold and silver) in Spain, a practice in Europe that not only highlighted the rarity and value of the imported object but also provided some protection to it. An inventory taken in 1503–1504 mentions a gift sent from Lisbon to Isabella I by her daughter María of Portugal, which consisted of 'a large blue-and-white Ottoman porcelain resembling a basin (*bacía*) that was given by the Queen of Portugal to our Queen in a white wooden box'. This was given to Violante de Albion, the Queen's lady-in-waiting, in Medina del Campo on April 28, 1504.[124] The fact that this piece is described as Ottoman, argues Krahe, may indicate that it was imported through Turkey or that it was an early example of Iznik blue-and-white pottery.[125] Although it is impossible to ascertain if this piece was made of porcelain or not, this is the first documented use of the term 'blue-and-white'. Several pieces described as 'porcelain' appear in inventories of the Queen's chamber taken after her death, but the use of the term is ambiguous. For instance, pieces such as 'a goblet made of a glass called porcelain, with black and blue leaves of the same [material], without a lid, …' may have been made of porcelain or glass, as white glass imitating porcelain was manufactured in Europe as early as the end of the fifteenth century.[126] The pieces described in an unpublished document of 1505 dealing with Isabel I's accounts, held in the archive of Simancas, as 'Three porcelains that are ewers of the four, [that they had] each with a spout, blue and gilded, with lids, worth one thousand, six hundred and eighty-seven and a half *maravedies*', may have referred to *Kinrande* porcelain ewers dating to the early sixteenth century, such as those in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul.[127] Porcelain appears to have been sought after by the high-ranking nobility at the time, as male and female nobles purchased some of the pieces of porcelain that belonged to the Queen sold to repay debts.[128]

A Jiajing blue-and-white bowl, known as the 'Trenchard Bowl', is said to have been a gift from Philip I of Castile (hereafter Philip I) and Joanna of Castile to Sir

94 It is important to note that a considerable quantity of *Kraak* and other blue-and-white shards dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been found in Mozambique Island, but not in archaeological contexts. Local residents have incorporated them into architectural displays of blue-and white porcelain at both private houses and restaurants. The author had the opportunity to study some of them during a research trip to the island in August 2013. Four blue-and-white shards dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century were excavated in the historic centre of Funchal in Madeira, from the cistern of the houses of João Esmeraldo, demolished in 1877. According to the archaeologists this well was abandoned in the mid-seventeenth century, when it was being used as a cesspit. Sketch drawings are published in Mario Varela Gomes and Rosa Varela Gomes, 'Cerâmicas, dos séculos XV a XVII da Traça Cristóvão Colombo no Funchal', *Actas das 2.as Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval*, 1995, p. 335, fig. 15, P1/C2–16 to P1/C2–19.

95 Many of the excavated pieces are exhibited at the Macao Museum. See, Armando J.G. Sabrosa, *De Macau a Lisboa – Na Rota das Porcelanas Ming*, research project, Instituto Cultural da Ream, Lisbon, 2003; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 62; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 263–264.

96 A large number of the *Kraak* shards from the collection of Mr Pan Guoxing were included in the exhibition *China Westward: Early Sino-Portuguese Trade of Chinese Ceramics* held at the City University of Hong Kong in 2009; and the *Exhibition of Pak Van Shards of Export Porcelain in Macao* held at the Macao Museum of Art in 2011. For a discussion on these finds, see Liu Zhaohiu, 'Kraak Porcelain Found in Macao', in Cheng, 2009, pp. 13–32; and Liu Zhaohiu, 'The Excavation of Kraak Porcelain in Macao and Related Issues', in Cheng, 2012, pp. 34–52. Also see Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 263–264.

97 These archaeological finds were discussed by Liu Zhaohui, Department of Museology & Cultural Relics, Fudan University, Shanghai, in a paper entitled 'Changes in Jingdezhen Export Porcelain from 15th to 17th Century: A Study on Archaeological discoveries in Hong Kong and Macau', presented at the conference *Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300 to 1800* held at Warwick University, 22–24 April, 2010.

98 I am indebted to Nizammudin Taher, Rohini Pande and Abhijit Ambekar, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Goa, for providing me with images of porcelain found at the St. Augustine complex for research purposes. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 24 and 251, note 50. It is interesting to note that a small quantity of blue-and-white porcelain was recovered from the *Sunchi* wreck, an unidentified Portuguese shipwreck that sank at the Sunchi Reef (between Mormugao harbour and the promontories of Cabo headland) in the shallow waters off Goa in the mid-seventeenth century. The wreck site yielded the bases of six medium sized jars, shards of saucer dishes and a circular lid, which were probably kept on board for the daily use. Published in Sila Tripati, A. S. Gaur and Sundaresh, 'Exploration of a portuguese shipwreck in Goa waters, western coast of India', *Bulletin of Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, 30 (2006), p. 131, figs. 8a, 8b and 9.

99 Pyrard de Laval, *Voyages de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601–1611)*, Paris, 1998, p. 532. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 128.

100 For sketch drawings of some of the *Kraak* shards, see Caroline Sassoon, *Chinese Porcelain in Fort Jesus*, Mombasa, 1975.

101 The convent, founded in 1562, was partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1755 (the remaining structures are now part of the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon University). Cesspits 6 and 7 also yielded a large quantity of Portuguese, Spanish and Italian tin-glazed earthenware, as well as German stoneware. Porcelain amounting only to about 24 percent of the total ceramic finds, including some pieces dating to the eighteenth century. For a discussion and images of the porcelain, excavated between 2002–2010, see Mário Varela Gomes and Rosa Varela Gomes, 'Escavações Arqueológicas no Convento de Santana, en Lisboa. Resultados Preliminares', *Olisipo. Boletim do Grupo "Amigos de Lisboa"*, II Série, No. 27, July/September 2007, pp. 76, 79, and 85–86, figs. 5–7; and Rosa Varela Gomes, Mário Varela Gomes, Mariana Almeida, Carlos Boavida, Dário Neves, Kierstin Hamilton and Carolina Santos, 'Convento de Santana (Lisboa). Estudo Preliminar do Espólio da Fossa 7', *Arqueologia em Portugal. 150 anos*, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, Lisbon, 2013, p. 1059 and 1064, Fig. 1 A. I am grateful to Mário Varela Gomes for granting me permission to include images of the excavated porcelain in this doctoral dissertation.

102 The Franciscan friars also used Portuguese tin-glazed earthenware. Only 17 of a total of 4.000 fragments recovered from the water cistern were identified as porcelain. For more information, see Joana Bento Torres, *Quotidianos no Convento de São Francisco de Lisboa: uma análise da ceramic vidrada, faiança portuguesa e porcelana chinesa*, unpublished MA dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, September 2011, pp. 78–83, 98 and Appendix E, pp. 417–421.

103 See note 14.

104 For a discussion on these finds and images, see Santos, 2002, p. 55; and Santos, 2003/2004, pp. 29–30, figs. 21–24a.

105 The convent was founded in 1471 by Catarina, Countess of Loulé, daughter of Fernando, 2nd duke of Braganza (1430–1483), in the area of Rossio by the river Lis. The nun community was extinguished in 1880, after the death of the last nun, Sor Joaquina do Rósario. The convent was demolished in 1916, and the Santana market was built on its site. From a total of 86 porcelain shards found at the site, there are 4 dating to the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns of the Qing dynasty. It is worth mentioning the site also yielded shards of Portuguese tin-glazed earthenware plates and bowls with designs imitating *Kraak* porcelain. Nuns from wealthy noble families, include the daughters of the D. Manuel de Meneses, 5th Marquis of Vila Real, 1st Duke of Vila Real, Governor of Ceuta (1537–1590).

Fig. 3.1.2.1 Blue-and-white 'Trenchard Bowl' with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Mounts: England (London), hallmarked 1599–1600
Height: 13.9cm; diameter: 23.6cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (museum no. M.945–1983)

Fig. 3.1.2.2 Celadon-glazed stoneware bowl with English gold mounts
Probably Longquan kilns
Ming dynasty, *c.*1500
Mounts: England, *c.*1500–1530
Height: 12.3cm; diam: 16.6cm
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (acc. no. LI1086.1)
Lent by New College, University of Oxford

Thomas Trenchard of Wolverton, Dorset, in gratitude for his hospitality after they were shipwrecked off Weymouth, England in 1506 (Fig. 3.1.2.1). However, the bowl's date of manufacture, and the silver-gilt mounts with a London hallmark for 1599–1600, suggest that the bowl reached England during the reign of Elizabeth I. There is also a celadon-glazed stoneware bowl (probably Longquan) with silver-gilt mounts, recorded in the inventory of New College Oxford of *c.*1532, which is said to have been given by Philip I to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury (*c.*1450–1532) (Fig. 3.1.2.2). The Archbishop, who crowned Henry VIII of England (r. 1509–1547) and married the King to his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragón (1485–1536) in 1509, would presumably have regarded this stoneware bowl as a rarity and thus added the mounts before presenting it to New College, where he was Warden.[129] At about this time, porcelain appears to have been also sought after by wealthy individuals residing in other cities of Spain, as sometimes porcelain was left as inheritance to relatives. This is suggested by a notarized document of 1537, which states that Beatriz de Espés, widow of Juan de Lanuza, resident of Zaragoza in northeast Spain, bequeathed 'four porcelains, two large and two small, mounted in silver' to her son Ferrer with the strict condition that they 'could only be left to his own legitimate children'.[130]

Although Charles V assembled a vast quantity of curiosities and exotic objects imported from overseas, especially from the New World, only a relatively small quantity of them were from Asia. Textual sources indicate that porcelain was used as tableware to serve food and wine, alongside gold cups, during a banquet hosted by Charles V to celebrate the birth of the fifth son of his sister, Catherine of Austria.[131] The possessions deposited by Charles V in the fortress of Simancas outside Valladolid were sold off between 1558 and 1560 to pay outstanding debts, when he abdicated in 1555 to enter a monastery.[132] The inventories of Charles V's palace in Brussels, drawn up in 1545 and 1556, include only two pieces of porcelain. The porcelain, listed at the end of the inventory, is described as 'Two clay pots called porcelains, greyish or glazed in blue colour with flowers embellished with silver, inside two velvet bags'.[133] This porcelain appears again listed at the end of an inventory of the same objects, drawn up at the fortress of Simancas on 22 February 1561.[134] Many references to porcelain, however, are found in the inventory of the household goods kept in the chamber (*recámara*) of Charles V's wife, Isabella of Portugal (hereafter Isabella), drawn up in 1539.[135] After Isabella, the daughter of Manuel I and his second wife María of Castile, married Charles V, she became Holy Roman Empress and Queen Consort of Aragon and Castile. Among the pieces of porcelain left in the possession of her lady-in-waiting, Mencía de Salcedo, were '… Another chest with its lock and key with five large porcelains and a porcelain jar and its lid / Another two porcelain jars with their lids / Thirty-one pieces of porcelain of all kinds, three of which are earthenware … A box with four porcelains / Another box with three porcelains / A white wooden box, round, with five porcelains … Three white wooden boxes that contain small porcelains from the Indies, spoons and brinquitos [trinkets],[136] the spoons with rubies and adorned with gold and silver'.[137] Thus is likely that the porcelain pieces that belonged to both Charles V and Isabella discussed above reached the Madrid imperial court via Lisbon. A few pieces of porcelain are also mentioned in an account drawn up by Isabella's treasurer, Francisco Pessoa, dated 1539–1548, listing what he received from the *almoneda* (auction of the personal property of a deceased individual)[138] of her goods. These included 'Six plates of porcelain that were sold to lady Stephanie for four

For more information and sketch drawings of the Ming porcelain finds, see Ana Rita Trinidade, *Convento de Santana de Leiria: História, Vivências e Cultura Material (Cerâmicas dos Séculos XVI a XVIII)*, unpublished MA dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012, pp. 62 and 111–117, and Appendix I, pp. 247–279.

106 Varela Gomes and Varela Gomes, 2007, pp. 79–80.

107 Although the Wucai style of decoration was developed for the Chinese domestic market, porcelain of this type was exported to Japan and Southeast Asia during the Wanli reign. Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 211, 213, 273 and 275; and Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Famille Verte. Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels*, Groningen, 2011, p. 10.

108 For a discussion and sketch drawings of the shards, see Mário Varela Gomes and Rosa Varela Gomes, 'Cerâmicas Vidriadas e Esmaltadas, dos Séculos XVI, do Poço-Cisterna de Silves', *Xelb*, vol. 3 (1996), pp. 194–200.

109 Published in Queiroz and Manteigas, 2008, pp. 226–230, nos. 39, 41–45.

110 See note 46. These dishes show a somewhat simpler design to that seen on Jingdezhen dishes produced earlier during the Jiajing reign; compare an example from the Casa Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves in Lisbon published in Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *A Casa das Porcelanas. Cerâmica Chinesa da Casa-Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 58–59, no. 10.

111 The shipwreck *Nan'ao No. 1* was discovered in December 2007. For more information and images of the porcelain finds from this shipwreck, see Guangdong Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, '2007 Survey and Excavation of the Ship Nan'ao No. 1 of the Ming Dynasty', *Wenwu*, 2011, No. 5, pp. 25–47. A comparable plate is illustrated in p. 37.

112 Santos Palace is situated on the Rua de Santos-o-Velho in Santos Hill, overlooking the Tigus River. In 1501, King Manuel I made Santos Palace one of his favourite residences. The building was originally a nobility ladies convent of the *Comendadeiras*. In this royal Lisbon residence, King Manuel assembled part of his porcelain collection, which had been brought to him earlier from India and Malacca. The acquisition of Chinese porcelain must have continued during the reign of Sebastian I, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his paternal grandfather, John III in 1557. After the ill-fated battle of Alcácer Quibir in 1578, when Sebastian I was killed leaving no descendants, Santos Palace was abandoned. In 1589, Santos Palace and all its furnishings were sold to Dom Luis de Lancastre (*c.*1505–1574), 1st Grand Commander of the Order of Aviz. This transaction was only regularized in 1629, when the *Comendadeira* Beatrice de Lancastre obtained from King Philip III (Philip IV of Spain), permission to sell the palace to her cousin Francisco Luis de Lancastre, 3rd Grand Commander of the Order of Aviz (*c.*1580–1667). The Lancastre family took up residence in the palace and brought their treasures with them. In 1909, after almost tree hundred years of being owned by the Lancastre family, the Palace was sold by one of their descendants to the French government with all its contents. In 1948, it became the French Embassy in Lisbon. A study of the porcelain was carried out in 1981, when the French Foreign Office provided Madame Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt with funds to make a descriptive inventory. The porcelains, untouched since the seventeenth century, were carefully dismounted, cleaned and several were restored. The porcelain dishes and plates had been simply held up by long iron nails turned into form hooks, which were attached to a wooden structure formed by four triangular panels with garlands of scrolling leaves carved in relief and gilded. These panels converged to a central pendent at the top, which was similarly carved and held a few dishes and a rare Jiajing blue-and-white ewer with biscuit

Fig. 3.1.2.3 Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl from the shipwreck *San Pedro* (1595)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
National Museum of Bermuda
(acc. no. 79:155.003)

Fig. 3.1.2.4 Fragment of a blue-and-white plate from the shipwreck *San Pedro* (1595)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
National Museum of Bermuda
(acc. no. 79:155.309)

Fig. 3.1.2.5 Shard of a *Kraak* plate from the shipwreck *San Pedro* (1595)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
National Museum of Bermuda
(acc. no. 79:155.006)

panel decoration, which was placed upside down. The different aesthetic characteristics of the more than 260 dishes and plates were used to create a monumental arrangement on the pyramidal ceiling, which is not only enhanced by the angled panels but also by the perspective of the viewer, who sees it from below. Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, 'Les Porcelaines Chinoises du Palais de Santos', *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 39, 1984, pp. 3–38; Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, 'Ming Porcelains in the Santos Palace Collection, Lisbon', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 49, 1984–1985, pp. 79–93; Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 136–137; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 264. For a brief discussion on the *Zhangzhou* pieces, see Canepa, 2010, p. 67.

113 These are four large and heavily potted dishes of outstanding quality and extreme rarity. These dishes, decorated with large flower scrolls and two of them, with a *qilin* or a winged dragon, occupy the central space on the row with three large dishes. Early Jiajing examples include a rare dish boldly decorated with a bunch of grapes reserved on scrolling tendrils, a white cavetto and a border of peaches and auspicious symbols. There appear to be only four other examples of this type recorded so far. Among the earliest *Kraak* pieces is a Wanli reign dish decorated with an unusual motif of a rectangular container, which is similar to that seen on a fragment of a dish recovered from the Spanish Manila galleon *San Felipe*, which sank in 1576. On its right is another dish with similar rim decoration but depicting a circular container. A saucer dish, dating to *c.*1595–1610, is finely decorated with deer in a landscape within a panelled rim border with naturalistic scenes. Another saucer dish, dating to *c.*1600, is decorated with a grasshopper on a rock beside large flowers, within a border of lobed panels enclosing flowering plants and bumblebees. This latter dish is of very fine quality and bears a heron mark on its base, which has been only recorded in about 50 other *Kraak* pieces. This dish, together with a fragment of another finely potted *Kraak* dish with a panelled rim border bearing a heron mark excavated at site CD-1 in front of the Pak Van Bay in Macao, indicates that the Portuguese acquired such dishes in Macao. Published in Cheng, 2009, p. 107, no. 69. The Zhengde period dishes, are flanked at either side by large and heavily potted *Kraak* dishes dating to the Wanli/Tianqi reigns, which are decorated with naturalistic scenes, flying phoenixes or bowls filled with flowers, within a panelled rim border.

ducados', 'A plate of porcelain sold to the same [person] for twelve *reales*', 'Six small, broken porcelains that were sold to Artiaga for twelve *reales*', 'To the Count of Nieba three porcelains of the red type that were sold to the Count of Nieba for … iUd (1500 *maravedies*)', and 'A plate of porcelain that was sold to Tello de Guzman for ten reales'. It is clear that porcelain was very scarce at the time in Spain, as the nobility and other individuals were willing to purchase porcelain at public auctions of the possessions of deceased members of the royal court, even if they were broken in pieces. This scarcity is further demonstrated by the inventory of the belongings of Don Juan Alonso de Guzmán, VI Duke of Medina Sidonia, taken in 1558, which lists only a few pieces of porcelain among numerous imported and costly goods.[139]

Evidence of porcelain in Spain from the settlement of Manila in 1571 up to 1644

As mentioned earlier, by the time Philip II succeeded his father in 1556, Spain's colonial empire in the New World encompassed the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.[140] Trade between New Spain and the Philippines began in 1565, after discovering an eastward route across the Pacific to Acapulco on the west coast of New Spain. The inventories of the ships that traversed the Pacific annually from Cebú, and after 1571 from the Spanish settlement in Manila, to Acapulco between 1565 and 1576, regularly list porcelain.[141] Large quantities of porcelain were shipped in the early 1570s, as indicated by two Spanish galleons that carried among other goods, 22,300 pieces of 'fine gilt china, and other porcelain ware' to Acapulco in 1573.[142] The cargo most probably included both fine and coarser porcelain. This is suggested by the discovery of more than 1,600 shards on the desert coast of Baja California in northwestern Mexico, where the Manila Galleon *San Felipe* was shipwrecked in 1576. The finds include *Kinrande*, *Kraak* and other blue-and-white Jingdezhen porcelain, as well as blue-and-white *Zhangzhou* porcelain and stoneware. Such porcelains were also part of the cargo of the *San Agustín*, which wrecked in Drakes Bay, California, in 1595 (Appendix 3). These shipwrecks and their respective porcelain finds will be discussed in section 3.3.1.1 of this Chapter.

Gasch-Tomás has recently demonstrated that only a small quantity of the porcelain that reached New Spain was subsequently loaded onto the Spanish Treasure Fleet at Veracruz and shipped via the Atlantic to Seville in Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Maritime and land archaeological finds in the Caribbean and Spain provide material evidence of the variety and quality of the porcelain shipped to Seville at this time. Recent research has brought to light important new evidence from the shipwreck *San Pedro*, which sank off the Island of Bermuda in 1595, while sailing from Cartagena (present-day Colombia) to Spain.[143] The porcelain recovered, all blue-and-white and broken in pieces, formed part of about 20 bowls with sketchily painted *chi*-dragons (Fig. 3.1.2.3) and of a plate decorated with a phoenix in profile within a border of alternating peach sprays and auspicious symbols, similar to those found in the shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576) and at Lagos in southern Portugal (Fig. 3.1.2.4), as well as of finely potted *Kraak* plates with white cavettos and continuous naturalistic borders (Fig. 3.1.2.5).[144] These finds demonstrate that by the end of the sixteenth century, when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, a small quantity of various types of fine and coarser blue-and-white porcelain would have reached Spain not only via Lisbon but also via Seville, where they were distributed to the court of Madrid and the rest of the country.

It seems clear that a considerable amount of the porcelain imported at the time was destined to the royal court. A posthumous inventory taken between 1598 and 1607 of Philip II's possessions prior to their dispersal lists over 3,000 pieces of porcelain, including many blue-and-white pieces, under the heading 'Porcelains, Glazed Pottery, *Búcaros*, Pottery and *Vidriados* (Glazes)'.[145] According to the inventory, 3,181 pieces of porcelain were deposited in a large square room, the so-called pieza de la torre (also called Tower Room II or New Tower), located in the south wing of the Alcázar. During the reign of Charles V the Alcázar was converted from a medieval residence into a royal palace, but it was during the subsequent reign of Philip II, after he moved his court to Madrid in 1561, that the Alcázar became the principal residence of the Spanish Habsburgs until its destruction in 1734.[146] An inventory taken in 1603 lists only eleven pieces of porcelain kept in the so-called *Casa del Tesoro* (Treasury House), which was located outside the main building of the Alcázar.[147] An addendum to the inventory, dated 1608, mentions that 34 pieces of porcelain were added to the collection, but the precise location of them is not specified. Two further pieces of porcelain are listed in this same addendum.[148]

Most of the porcelain in Philip II's posthumous inventory, which as noted above began to be taken in 1598, was tableware. The porcelain included plates (*platos*), bowls (*escudillas*), larger bowls (*albornias*), sauceboats (*salserillas*), ewers (*aguamaniles*), jars (*ollas*, *duernos*, *tinajas* or *calabazas*), bottles (*garrafas*), and salt cellars.[149] A single entry of an inventory of 1602 lists 912 plates 'some gilded and coloured, and the rest blue and white, the size of a plate, appraised at three *reales* each'.[150] Another lists 660 bowls 'the same size as the usual ones, some a little smaller, some gilded, some blue-and-white, others coloured, appraised at four *reales* each'.[151] A group of 264 *escudillas* 'some gilded and coloured, and some blue and white', is also appraised at four *reales* each.[152] Another entry lists 35 ewers 'some gilded and green, some gilded and blue, and others coloured and blue and white, all with handles, spouts and lids, some smaller than the rest, all of different shapes, some without the lids, appraised at nine reales each'.[153] It seems likely that the 'gilded and coloured' plates and bowls, as well as the 'gilded and and green' and 'gilded and blue' ewers referred to *Kinrande* porcelain. As

114 Published in John Alexander Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, second edition, London, 1981; and Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II; respectively.

115 The earliest documentary reference to the existence of *embrechados* in Portugal dates to the reign of Sebastian I. In about 1575, the Valencian traveller Bartholomé de Villalba y Estaña describes a fountain decorated with *embrechados* as '… From there went up the pilgrim to Our Lady of Pena, home of geronimos friars, very high house in which are a dozen of friars … They also have a fountain, which may well be among the curious things of the house, very orbate artificially with shells, scallop shells, snails, pebbles that shine and a hundred other things'. The orgininal text in Spanish, translated by the author, reads: '…De ahi se subio el Peregrino a Nuestra Señora de la Pena, casa de frailes geronimos, casa muy alta en que hay una dozena de religiosos……Tienen además una fuente, que puede muy bien entrar entre las cosas curiosas de la casa, muy adornada artificialmente con conchas, veneras, caracoles, piedrecillas que luzen y otras cien cosas'. This work *El peregrino curioso y grandezas de España, por Bartholomé de Villalba y Estaña, donzel vecino de Xérica* was published in two volumes by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles in Madrid, between 1886 and 1889. For the most recent and comprehensive study of Portuguese *embrechados*, see André Lourenço e Silva, *Conservação e Valorização do Património. Os Embrechados do Paço das Alcáçovas*, Lisbon, 2012. For the 1575 citation, see Ibid., p. 65.

116 The royal Palace of Alcáçova was inhabited by almost all of the Portuguese monarchs until the end of the 1500s. The University of Coimbra purchased this Lisbon royal palace for 30,000 *cruzados* (which included 15,000 *cruzados* lent to the Crown in 1584) during the time António de Mendoça was rector (1594–1597). For a discussion on the *embrechados* in the chapel, sacristy and garden walls of the Palace, see Ibid., pp. 103–194.

117 João de Mascarenhas was said to be one of the bravest generals of the Wars of Restoration (ended 1668), where Portugal regained its independence from Spanish rule, and was a member of the noblest families of Portugal. The Palace was opened in 1671 or 1672. It was only enlarged and transformed into a residence after the great earthquake of 1755. For more information, see José Cassiano Neves, *Jardins e Palácio dos Marqueses de Fronteira*, second edition, Lisbon, 1954. Although today the palace is a National Monument, it remains privately owned by the Fronteira family. Shallow blue-and-white bowls, dating to the early seventeenth century, with a similar spiral design to that seen on examples salvaged from a few shipwrecks, including the Dutch East Indiaman, the *Witte Leeuw* (1613), are inlaid on the archway and pediment of the frontal façade of the House of Water as well as on the Fountain of Carranquina. Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 53–55, figs. 35–36; Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 138, fig. 16; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 264–265.

118 I am grateful to Jorge Welsh and Luísa Vinhais, Jorge Welsh London-Lisbon, for providing me with images of the *embrechados* of the Palace of the Marquises of Fronteira for the paper 'Ming Porcelain in 17th Century Portuguese Architecture: Santos Palace and Palace of the Marquesses of Fronteira', presented at the conference *Ceramics on Show: Public and Private Displays* held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London on 24–25 September, 2010.

119 Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 129. A similar jar is in the collection of Augustus the Strong in Dresden. I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, for bringing this porcelain piece to my attention.

120 For a discussion and images of these archaeological finds, see David Waterhouse, 'Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe, *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 16, 1973, pp. 63–78; Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Documented Influence of China on Maiolica in Spain and New Finds of Chinese Ceramics with Dates to the Sixteenth Century', in Stacey Pierson (ed.), *Transfer: the Influence of China on World Ceramics*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia, No. 24, 2007, pp. 123–127; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 81 and 173.

121 From a letter dated 1314 we learn that the gifts given by James II, King of Aragón (r. 1291–1327), to his third wife Marie of Cyprus (1273–1319), and his children for Christmas, included 'two large bowls of true porcelain'. Another piece is listed in the will of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of Navarre, as being made of 'a stone called porcelain'. Cited in Coll Conesa, 2007, p. 124; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 81-2.

122 The Catholic monarchs also received some pieces of porcelain as diplomatic gifts from the Venetian Ambassador. For a brief discussion on the diplomatic and commercial relations between the Venetian Doges and the Crown of Aragon and some of these porcelain gifts, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 86–86.

123 Archivo General de Simancas (Hereafter cited as AGS), Patronato Real, Legajo 30–6, 68. 1503–11. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Un taçon de porcelana blanca con un pie abierto de lima e filigrana de ley de veynte e dos quilates peso con el oro un marco y tres onças y quarto ochavas'. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 84, note 304; and Vol. II, Document 5, p. 25. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 24.

Fig. 3.1.2.6 *Kinrande* wine ewer in the form of a dancing girl
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, probably Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 31.8cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. PDF.704, AN382424)

Krahe has noted, the 'coloured' bowls and ewers referred to polychrome porcelain, which could have been *wucai* (five colour) porcelain from the kilns of Jingdezhen or porcelain with overglaze enamels from the kilns of Zhangzhou (Appendix 2). Material evidence of the Spanish trade in both *wucai* and *Zhangzhou* porcelains at the turn of the sixteenth century is provided by finds from the *San Diego* shipwreck, which sank near the Phillipines in 1600 (Appendix 3). These finds will be discussed in section 3.3.1.1 of this Chapter.

The inventory also lists a few pieces of porcelain that appear to have had both practical and ornamental functions. A few of them, as shown by Shulsky, seem to match extant porcelain pieces from public and private collections as well as from shipwrecks.[154] These include 'Two figures of Chinese women, that are ewers, gilded and coloured', which most probably referred to *Kinrande* wine ewers in the form of dancing girls made during the Jiajing or Wanli reigns (Fig. 3.1.2.6).[155] Another entry lists 'A figure of a Chinese woman white and gilded', which as noted by Krahe, was appraised at 20 reales, which is double the price of the two figures gilded and coloured together.[156] Another item is 'a blue and white porcelain jug with a long neck and an elephant head as a spout, appraised at six reales'.[157] This certainly refers to an elephant-shaped *kendi* from the group of *Kraak* zoomorphic *kendi* first made at private kilns of Jingdezhen during the Wanli reign discussed earlier.[158] An extant example bearing

Fig. 3.1.2.7 *Kraak* elephant-shaped *kendi* from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Franck Goddio, Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine (IEASM)

Fig. 3.1.2.8 Blue-and-white vase with six hollow tubes
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, mid-sixteenth century
Height: 22.4cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (museum no. 553-1878)

a Portuguese coat-of-arms and one other recovered from the *San Diego* shipwreck (1600), as well as material from archaeological excavations, demonstrate that both the Portuguese and Spanish imported elephant-shaped *kendis* into Europe as early as the late sixteenth century (Fig. 3.1.2.7).[159] The fact that another entry lists 'five porcelain oil jugs, two gilded and coloured, the other three blue and white, the oil is poured from the mammiform spout protruding, appraised at twelve reales each',[160] which most likely referred to porcelain globular *kendis* like those made at both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou recovered from the *San Diego* (1600) (Fig. 3.1.3.2), suggest that the elephant-shaped *kendi* may also have been used as an oil bottle. The inventory lists a piece of porcelain of a very unusual shape, which is described as 'A blue and white porcelain jug with a spout and six handles to pour [liquids], appraised at twenty reales'.[161] It may have referred to a type of blue-and-white vase with a bulbous body on a high foot with a cup-shaped mouth that is perforated inside, which is connected to the base with six hollow curved tubes, dating to the mid-sixteenth century (Fig. 3.1.2.8). Although a few vases of this shape are known, it has not yet been possible to determine a specific function.[162] It has been suggested that the shape may have derived from Indian or Iranian metalwork, and that it may have served as a water sprinkler, a perfume vase or a wine cup warmer.[163]

Philip II's porcelain collection was the largest in Europe at the time. This is not surprising, as after Philip II was crowned King of Portugal in 1580, he was able to acquire porcelain not only from the Philippines via the viceroyalty of New Spain and Seville, but also directly from Lisbon. It is well known that Philip II specially sought after porcelain in Lisbon for himself, and as gifts for his children and his fourth wife Anna of Austria (1549–1580). In September of that same year, the secretary in the service of the Duke of Alba in Portugal, Jerónimo de Arceo, wrote to Gabriel de Zayas stating that he would send as much porcelain as possible, and that he had asked the Duke of Alba to look for trifles for the Queen, Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and Catalina Michaela (1567–1597), and Prince Diego (1575–1582).[164] Two years later, in 1582, the Count of Barajas purchased porcelain for the Infantas.[165]

124 AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (hereafter cited as CMC), 1st Época, Legajo 178. 1503–04. Chamber of Queen Isabel of Castile. Accounts of Sancho de Paredes and Isabel de Cuelo, his wife, and Violante de Albion, gentleman and ladies in waiting (*camareros*) of the Queen. Sections VII to CCCXXXV. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Una porcelana grande blanca e azul otumana como una baçía, la qual enbió la señora Reyna de Portugal a la Reyna nuestra Señora en servicio en una caxa de madera blanca'. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 85; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 1, pp. 21–22. The French translations of the text published by Baron M. Davillier; and by Dominique Carré, Jean-Paul Desroches and Franck Goddio, omit the word Ottoman. See, J. C. Davillier, *Les Origins de la Porcelaine en Europe*, Paris and London, 1882, p. 126; Dominique Carré, Jean-Paul Desroches and Franck Goddio, *Le San Diego – Un trésor sous la mer*, Paris, 1994, pp. 308–309; Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 128–129. Thus the citation given in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 24, was incomplete.

125 Krahe mentions that despite the confrontation between Spain and Turkey at the time, the Ottoman sultans occasionally sent gifts to the Catholic Kings. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 85–86.

126 AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 81, Fol. 5. 1505. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 88; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 3, p. 23. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Una copa de vidrio que se llama porcelana, con unas hojas negras e azules de ello mismo, que no tiene sobrecopa,…'. For further pieces that may have been made of glass, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 88–89.

127 AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Leg. 190. *Recamara* of Queen Isabella the Catholic. 1505. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 89 and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 4, p. 24. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Tres porcelanas que son jarras, cada una con su pico, azules e doradas, con sus tapadores. De quarto que habia'. For one of a total of three examples in the Topkapi Saray, see Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II, p. 819, no. 1646.

128 These included Don Hernando de VIlon, the Count of Syruela, Doña Catalina de Castilla, Alvaro de Lugo and Don Antonio Manrique. AGS, CMC, Leg. 189. 1505–16. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 88; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 6, p. 25.

129 John Ayers, 'The Early China Trade', in Oliver Impey and Malcolm MacGregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth-and Seventheenth-Century Europe*, Oxford, 1985, p. 262; Sir Francis Watson, *Chinese Porcelains in European Mounts*, New York, 1980, pp. 13 and 15, fig. 3; and Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 24–25, figs. 8 and 9.

130 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza (hereafter cited as AHPNZ), Jerónimo Sora, 1537, folio 635, cuadernillo, (Zaragoza, 14-XII-1537). Cited in María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, 'Una porcelana Ming con guarnición de plata sobredorada de taller alemán en la iglesia de Santa María de los Corporales de Daroca (Zaragoza)', *Artigrama*, no. 21, 2006, p. 741; and Coll Conesa, 2007, p. 128.

131 Jordan Gschwend, 2010, pp. 3015–3044. Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 94.

132 See section 1.2.1 of Chapter I, note 63.

133 A transcription of the inventory is published in Paz Cabello, 'Los Inventarios de Objetos Incas Pertenecientes a Carlos V: Estudio de la Colección, Traducción y Transcripción de los Documentos', *Anales del Museo de América* (Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid) 2, 1994, p. 60.

134 In this document the porcelain is listed as: 'Juanin and François are in charge of two jars (*barriles*) made of porcelain clay, adorned with silver with their chains and silver lids in blue velvet cases with tassels of the same silk, which were received in the fortress of Simancas by María Escolastre along with those goods that were in her possession in the fortress, in the presence of the scribe Juan Rodríguez on the 22 February 1561'. AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Leg. 1145, Fol. 278. 1561. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Hacese cargo a los dichos Juanin y François de dos barriles de barro de porcelana, guarnecidos de plata, con sus cadenas y cobertores de plata en sus fundas de terciopelo azul, y sus tejillos y borlas de la misma seda, que recibieron en la fortaleza de Simancas de la dicha Maria Escolastre con los demas bienes que estaban a su cargo en la dicha Fortaleza, como pareció por el entrego que de ello se les hizo el 22 de febrero de 1561 ante el dicho Juan Rodríguez, escribano'. Fernando Checa Cremades, *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, Madrid, 2010, Vol. 1, p. 323; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 94, note 351; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 13, p. 34. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 24 and p. 252, note 58.

135 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 95–96.

136 For the term *brinquitos*, a diminutive of the Portuguese term *brincos* or *brinquiños*, in English 'trinkets', see note 174 of this Chapter.

137 AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, Leg. 67–3, Fols. 198v–203v. 1539. The original text in Spanish reads: '… Otra arca con su cerradura e llave, que tiene cinco porcelanas grandes e una tinaja de porcelana con su tapador / Otras dos tinajas porcelanas con sus tapadores / Treinta y una piezas de porcelanas de todas suertes y last res son de barro … Una caja con cuatro porcelanas / Otra caja con tres porcelanas / Una caja de palo, redonda, con cinco porcelanas … tres cajas de palo blanco, que tienen porcelanitas chiquitas de la India, e cucharitas e *brinquitos* e las cucharitas con rubies e guarnecidas de plata y oro'. Checa Cremades, 2010, Vol. 2, p. 2208; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 96; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 8, p. 27.

138 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 66.

139 Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Leg. 942, unpaginated. (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 26 November 1558). The inventory is published in Antonio Unrquízar Herrera, *Colleccionismo y nobleza. Siglos de distinction social en la Andalucía de Renacimiento*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 175–207. For an English translation of the porcelain listed in the inventory and the transcription of the original text in Spanish, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 130, and note 525.

140 See section 1.1.2 of Chapter I, note 39.

141 AGI, Contaduría, Caja de Filipinas, 943–956. Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

142 Cited in Schurz, 1959, p. 27; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

An account dated 1596 by Hernando de Rojas, jewel-keeper to Isabella Clara Eugenia (hereafter Isabella Clara), the eldest daughter of Philip II, mentions the purchase of several pieces of porcelain for her, and their price as well as that of the packaging and costs to carry them.[166] In 1598, just four months before his death, '124 pieces of porcelain' were brought from Lisbon for Philip II and his children, among other exotic objects.[167] Philip II also received porcelain as gifts sent from New Spain. The 1602 inventory, for instance, lists 'A tray that is said to be made from clay from China, with a low foot worked and decorated inside with animals and other things from China in gold and colours, inside a herbal [?] box that was sent by accountant Iriguen from New Spain, appraised at 50 *reales*'.[168]

Philip II, however, began to acquire porcelain much earlier. Written sources show that he purchased some porcelain prior to 1569. A post-mortem inventory and valuation taken that year of the estate of Prince Carlos (1545–1568), the mentally unstable son Philip II had with his first wife and cousin Maria Manuela of Portugal (1527–1545), lists 'Sixty porcelains of different shapes and sizes, some of them very large, one with a golden rim around the foot weighing eight and a half *castellanos*, one is broken, and three are chipped', which had been purchased by the King.[169] The inventory of the goods belonging to Philip II's third wife, Isabel of Valois (1545–1568), the eldest daughter of King Henry II of France (r. 1547–1559) and Catherine of Medici (1519–1589), taken that same year of 1569, mentions several pieces of porcelain. The descriptions of some pieces are very similar to those found in Philip II's inventory, thus the King had probably inherited them when Isabel died.[170]

The porcelain in Philip II's royal household was not simply functional, but also served to exhibit the King's immense wealth and vast power. He was the first monarch to rule over a united Iberian Peninsula, the New World, and the Philippines as well as the Portuguese holdings in India, Indonesia, China and Japan. Philip II, continuing his mother's practice of gift giving, supplied his relatives at other courts in central Europe with porcelain and other desirable imported curiosities. The King sent porcelain as well as other Asian objects to his brother-in-law, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (r. 1564–1595). The inventory of Ferdinand II's possessions drawn up in 1596 at Ambras Castle near Innsbruck, lists 241 pieces of porcelain, including many bowls decorated with gold (probably *Kinrande*) and others in blue-and-white.[171] Porcelain occupied 'two-thirds of the contents of the fourteen cupboard [sic], filling 8 of its total 12 shelves' in Ferdinand II's *Kunstkammer*.[172] Philip II's sister, the Dowager Empress Maria of Austria (1528–1603), who was the widow of her first cousin Emperor Maximilian II, also sent porcelain gifts. In 1582, Maria appears to have acquired a number of curiosities in Lisbon for the *kunstkammer* of her son, Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), which was housed at Hradčany palace in Prague. Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* included 125 pieces of porcelain.[173] In 1590, while Maria was living in the Monastery of las Descalzas Reales in Madrid, she sent 'a box with... coloured silks, sixty porcelains… and porcelain *brincos*'[174] to her daughter Elisabeth, then the widow of King Charles IX of France (r. 1560–1574).[175] A year later, Maria sent a large gift with Hans Khevenhüller, which included 'porcelains some with silver mounts', to Elisabeth and her brother Maximilian III, Archduke of Austria (1558–1618).[176] Hans Khevenhüller, Count of Frankenburg, played an important role in the procurement of rarities to the Habsburg courts in central Europe, especially to those of both Emperor Rudolf II and Archduke Ferdinand II.[177] Maria sent a Bohemian gentleman named Juan Pexican to the imperial court in 1594 with another porcelain gift, listed as

'another box with porcelains, another with 12 porcelains with silver handles'.[178] Six years later, in 1600, Maria sent with Baron de Molar (a gentleman of Maximilian III's chamber) a gift that included '50 porcelains among which are three mounted in silver-gilt' to the Infanta Clara Eugenia.[179] That year she also sent 'some porcelains' to Emperor Rudolf II.[180]

It was during the last decade of Philip II's reign that the only known armorial porcelain specifically ordered for the Spanish market in the sixteenth century was made at the kilns of Jingdezhen (Appendix 2). This piece, a *Kraak* plate bearing the impaled arms of García Hurtado de Mendoza, 4th Marquis of Cañete (1535–1609), and his wife, Teresa de Castro y de la Cueva (1547–1596), dating to the Wanli reign, will be discussed in section 3.4.1.1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3.4.1.1.18).

Although King Philip III did not share the same interest for porcelain as his father Philip II, written sources indicate that porcelain was part of the tableware he used at mealtimes from early in his life.[181] In 1591, when Prince Philip was 13-years-old, he took porcelain with him to use as tableware on several different journeys. In a document of that year, the porcelain is listed as 'two boxes, each containing four porcelains from India for the service of His Highness the Prince'.[182] After succeeding his father to the throne of Spain and Portugal, Philip III continued the Habsburg gift-giving tradition in the last years of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. In 1599, the King sent many gifts to Archduchess Maria Anna of Bavaria (1551–1608) on the occasion of his marriage to her daughter Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1584–1611) (Archduke Ferdinand II's sister) in Barcelona. Among countless curiosities, the gifts sent by the King included '100 cups of porcelain'.[183] In subsequent years, Maria Anna, who belonged to the House of Wittelsbach (by birth) and Austria (by marriage), received porcelain from her daughter Margaret.[184] For instance in 1605, Margaret sent her 'six porcelains from the Indies with silver feet and handles on a box'.[185] Maria Anna appears to have shared the same passion for collecting as her brother, William V, Duke of Bavaria (r. 1579–1597). An inventory drawn up after his death in 1598 lists 170 pieces of porcelain, including many blue-and-white, among the contents of the *Kunstkammer* he established at the ducal court in Munich. Some may be those acquired in 1582 in Lisbon by Anton Meyting, who when leaving for Germany took '70 porcelain pieces, large, medium and small' for William V.[186] A small Wanli blue-and-white bowl with early seventeenth century metal mounts made in southern Germany (possibly by Augsburg goldsmiths) in the Munich palace, known as the Residenz, may be one of those pieces.[187] It is likely that William V's son and successor, Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (r. 1597–1651),[188] ordered the *Kraak* armorial dish bearing the quartered arms of Wittelsbach dating to the Tianqi reign, now in the Residenz, which will be discussed in section 3.4.1.1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3.4.1.1.19).[189] Some of the porcelain may have arrived at the Bavarian ducal court through dynastic relations with the Habsburgs.[190]

It is difficult to assess the quantity and types of porcelain owned by Philip III at the time of his death in 1621, as the post-mortem inventory of his possesions has not survived. Furthermore, the extant inventory of the jewellery and objects belonging to his wife Margaret of Austria, daughter of Archduke Charles II of Austria (r. 1564–1590) and Anna of Bavaria, does not mention any pieces of porcelain, except for those that were broken and mounted in silver listed in the silver section.[191] From a manuscript of 1612, we learn that some pieces of porcelain, both with silver mounts and unmounted, were used as everyday tableware at Philip III's dining table, especially

143 There appears to have been some Spanish activity on the uninhabited islands of Bermuda from the 1570s. Among the artifacts recovered from the wreck site were large quantities of silver coins, gold bars and ingots, miscellaneous gold jewelry, as well as a gold and emerald cross. The ceramic finds included Spanish or Portuguese majolica and Chinese porcelain. The porcelain was most likely the property of one of the passengers and not part of the ship's cargo. For a discussion on the *San Pedro* shipwreck, see Teddy Tucker, *Treasure! A Diver's Life*, Hamilton, 2011, pp. 63–96.

144 The author had the opportunity to identify and study the porcelain recovered from the *San Pedro, Galgo* and *Santa Margarita* during a research visit to Bermuda in March 2012. I am grateful to Charlotte Andrews and Elena Strong, National Museum of Bermuda, for providing me with images of the porcelain finds for research purposes. For a brief discussion on these archaeological finds, see Teresa Canepa, 'The Spanish Trade in Kraak Porcelain to the New World and Its Impact on the Local Ceramic Industry', in S.J. Allen, N. Moragas, and I. Briz Godino (eds.), *Revista de Arqueología Americana. Special issue "Comparative Studies in the Contact Archaeology"*, Mexico D.F, No. 32, 2014, pp. 115–116. For sketch drawings of the *San Felipe* bowls, both with everted and straight rims, see Edward Von der Porten, *The Early Wanli Ming Porcelains from the Baja California Shipwreck Identified as the 1576 Manila Galleon San Felipe*, San Francisco, 2011, p. 23, I–11–I–12 and I–21, and p. 30, II–6.

145 The original inventory in Spanish is published in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (hereafter cited as Jb.), XIX, 1898, Pt. 2, pp. CXXXV-CXL, nos. 1492–1690. Extracts from the inventory translated into French are published in Davillier, 1882, pp. 130–135. The total number of pieces listed in the inventory as porcelains is 3,146. There are other pieces that most probably describe porcelain but the cataloguer does not specify the material of which they are made. Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26 and p. 252, note 67.

146 With the exception of the years from 1601 to 1606, when Philip III moved the court to Valladolid. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 100–101 and p. 194.

147 At the beginning of Philip II's reign, this building served to lodge officials and workers involved in the renovation of the palace. In 1570, the building was temporarily used to keep 'antiquities' transferred from the treasury or *Kunstkammer*. Some of them were returned to the casa del Tesoro, when the court moved temporarily to Valladolid in 1601. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 103, note 387.

148 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 103.

149 Mentioned in Ibid., pp. 106–108.

150 Jb., 1898, p. CXXXVI, no. 1521; and Davillier, 1882, p. 131. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26. For a complete English translation and transcription of the original Spanish text of this inventory, see AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II. 1602, in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 41–53. The 912 plates are listed in Fol. 835 as 'Novecientos doce platos de porcelana, parte de ellos dorados y de colores, y los demas azules y blancos, de un tamaño de trincheos, tasados a tres reales cada uno'. Also see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 106.

151 Ibid.; and Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 44 and 51. The bowls are listed in Fol. 844 as 'Seiscientas y sesenta escudillas de porcelana, del tamaño de las ordinarias y algunas un poco menores, parte de ellas dorados y parte de ellas azules y blancas y otras de colores, tasadas a cuatro reales cada una'.

152 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 106, note 403; and Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 42 and 48. The bowls are listed in Fol. 834 as 'Doscientas y sesenta y cuarto escudillas de porcelana, para de ellas doradas y de colores y parte azules y blancas, del tamaño de las ordinarias, algo mayors unas que otras, tasadas a cuatro reales cada una'.

153 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108; and Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 44 and 50. The ewers are listed in Fol. 842 as 'Treinta y cinco aguamaniles de porcelana, parte de ellos dorados y verdes, y otros dorados y azules y otros de otros colores, azules y blancos, todos con sus asas, picos y tapadores, unos menores que otros, todos de differentes hechuras, a algunos les faltan los tapadores, tasados a nueve reales cada uno'.

154 Linda R. Shulsky, 'Philip II of Spain as Porcelain Collector', *Oriental Art*, vol. 44, no. 2, 1998, pp. 51–54. Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, p. 109.

155 Jb., 1898, p. CXXXVIII, no. 1606 and p. CXXXIX, no. 1629; Davillier, 1882, pp. 133–34. Cited and illustrated in Shulsky, 1998, pp. 51–52, fig. 1; Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26, fig. 10, and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 109–110, fig. 36. An example dating to the Jiajing reign was sold at auction at Sotheby's London, 6 November 2013, lot 405. *Kinrande* examples bearing a Wanli reign mark can be found in the Idemitsu Museum in Tokyo, the Tokyo National Museum, and the Jan Menze van Diepen Stitchting Collection in The Netherlands. Published in Idemitsu Museum of Arts, *The 15th Anniversary Catalogue, Idemitsu Museum of Arts*, Tokyo, 1981, cat. 831; Tokyo National Museum, *Chinese Ceramics*, Tokyo, 1965, p. 93, cats. 515 and 543; and Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *A Selection from the Collection of Oriental Ceramics. Jan Menze van Diepen Stichting*, Slochteren, 2002, p. 32; respectively. Ewers shaped like a Chinese woman were also made with underglaze cobalt blue decoration during the Wanli reign. For two examples in the form of He Xiangu, and one other in the form of a female musician, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 284–285, nos. 11:17, 11:18 and 11:19, respectively.

156 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, Document 20, pp. 109–110, note 423. The figures are described in Fol. 847 as 'Dos figuras de mujer de la china, que son aguamaniles, dorados y de colores, tasadas a veinte reales cada una'; and in Fol. 844v as 'Una figura de mujer de la China, de porcelana blanca y dorada tasada en veinte reales'. These pieces are also listed in a document dated 1617 related to the objects that belonged to Philip II and Queen Anna of Austria and had not been sold in the auction of 1608 and were still in the royal household. AGP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 903, Treasury. 1617. See, Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 115; and Vol. II, Document 25, p. 76.

157 Jb., 1898, p. CXL, no. 1687; and Davillier, 1882, p. 135. Cited in Shulsky, 1998, p. 53; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108; and Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 47 and 53. The *kendi* is described in Fol. 893v as 'Una garrafa con cuello alto y una cabeza de elefante por pico, de porcelanan azul y blanca tasada en seis reales'.

158 See section 3.1.1 of this Chapter, note 80.

159 A Wanli example bearing the arms of the Portuguese families Almeida or Melo, attributed to Dom João de Almeida, who was twice captain of the journey to Macao (once in 1571–1572 and again in 1581–1582), is in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul. Three elephant-shaped *kendi* of a slightly different shape were recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625), and as mentioned earlier, shards of one other that appears to have been similar to the Almeida or Melo example were found at the survivor's campsite from the *São Gonçalo* (1630). For the armorial example, see Krahl and Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 730, no. 1295 and colour plate p. 460. The *Wanli shipwreck* and *São Gonçalo* (1630) finds, are published in Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, pp. 90-91, serial no. 1127; Canepa, 2012/1, p. 261, fig. 4; and Malan and Klose, 2014, p. 160, fig. 11. The *San Diego* example was previously published in Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 65, fig. 2.

to serve a type of soup, called *consommé*.[192] These include 'Three porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve the *consommé* at the table of His majesty' and 'Two large porcelains to serve His Majesty's soup on the fish days. One larger than the other one, with a border around the spout'. Some pieces of porcelain must have been valued more than others as they were kept in wooden boxes, such as the 'Two porcelain bowls from the Indies for the service of His Majesty, inside a wooden box covered in black leather'.[193] Although in 1617 Philip III and his wife Margaret inherited a considerable number of pieces of porcelain that belonged to Philip II and Queen Anna of Austria and had not been sold in the auction of 1608, the royal collection of porcelain began to diminish during his reign.[194] The following year, in 1618, according to Simón Palmer, porcelain was offered as tableware to the Prince of Landgrave when he came to Madrid.[195]

From an account written by Gonzáles Dávila of his visit to the Alcázar in 1623 we learn that in the early years of the reign of Philip IV (who ruled Spain from 1621 to 1665, and Portugal until 1640) the exotic objects imported from China and India were still displayed together with precious jewellery in the Golden Tower I, where they had been kept in the time of his grandfather, Philip II. Philip IV, like his father and grandfather, sent porcelain as gifts to his relatives. In 1621, for instance, the King sent 'one hundred and twenty porcelains of different shapes and decorations' among other exotic Asian goods to his aunt Magdalena, Duchess of Tuscany and sister of Queen Margaret of Austria.[196] Some of the porcelain listed in an inventory taken in 1654 may have been acquired by the King a decade or so earlier, and thus is included in this study. The 'two white, blue and red porcelain dogs shaped as lions with open mouths and tails like snakes' may have referred to Buddhist Lion incense stick holders (called 'dog of Fo' by Westerners) made in *Blanc de chine* porcelain at the private kilns of Dehua in Fujian province (Appendix 2), such as the example recovered from the shipwreck of the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* that sank while en route from Veracruz to Seville in 1641, which will be discussed in the following pages (Fig. 3.1.2.22). If so, the *Blanc de chine* pieces would probably have come from China already with blue and red painted decoration.[197]

Inventories recently studied by both Gasch-Tomás and Krahe have demonstrated that there was not a great consumer demand for porcelain (as well as for other Asian goods) in Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thus pieces of porcelain appear only in a limited number of inventories of household goods of the high-ranking nobility, clergy and wealthy merchants of Madrid, Seville and other main cities of Spain. According to Gasch-Tomás, probate inventories of Seville show that only the wealthiest inhabitants of this Andalusian city possessed porcelain.[198] As noted by Krahe, merchants of different nationalities (Portuguese, Italian, French and Flemish), who had important commercial networks, traded Asian and other imported goods in Seville. Some of them even maintained a network of agents in the New World. The elites of Seville who desired porcelain were also able to acquire it, alongside silk as shown in Chapter II, through gifts and orders sent by relatives or personal contacts living in New Spain.[199] From Seville, merchants distributed the porcelain, which was carried in packs woven from esparto grass or canvas stretched over wooden frames, in wicker basquets, or in chests, via a road network that connected the main cities.[200]

The following are a few examples of inventories of the nobility, clergy and merchants that list porcelain among their belongings. An inventory taken between August 1573 and May 1574 of the belongings of Don Ruy Gómez de Silva, Prince of

Fig. 3.1.2.9 Blue-and-white jar with domed lid from the shipwreck *San Antonio* (1621)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign mark and of the period (1573–1620)
Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute (BUEI)

Éboli (1516–1573), a nobleman of Portuguese origin who was adviser to Prince Philip and later *Contador Mayor* supervising the Crown's finances, lists numerous pieces of porcelain of various types.[201] A inventory taken in 1585 of the belongings of Doña Francisca Luisa de Luna, Marchioness of Camarasa, also lists a considerable number of pieces of porcelain, some of them 'mounted in silver, with gold foot and handles', among an exceptional group of ceramics from diverse origins (both Europe and Asia).[202] From an inventory taken in 1619 of the belongings of the VI Duke of Béjar, Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor, we learn that he owned many pieces of porcelain and other ceramic items, which were displayed together in his home. These are described as 'Near the wall on the left of the architrave are forty-two porcelains from China, some larger than others. / On the same architrave are forty-eight large and small, scarlet and gilded, large and small. Above the red ones were eighteen white ones, and between them Forty-five white pots. / Above a hanging jug on the said architrave is a bowl from China with a silver foot and handles on a gilded papier-mâché tray. / In the said room on top of a larder is a deep fine porcelain from China; another large fine porcelain shaped as a dish; a jug of carved white ceramic; a carved bowl from China; twelve large and small red ceramics, some of them gilded and a tray of the same ceramic [material]'.[203]

Among the important members of the clergy who acquired porcelain, we can mention the nobleman Don Gaspar de Borja Velasco (1580–1645), who was Cardinal of Toledo, Archbishop of Seville and Toledo, and Viceroy of Naples. An inventory of 1646 of the belongings of the Archbishop, who was the son of Francisco Tomás de Borja Aragón Centelles, VI Duke of Gandía, and Juana Enríquez de Velasco Aragón, lists several pieces of porcelain. Six of these pieces are described as 'bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) from India, for chocolate'.[204] One wonders if these pieces would have been similar to those recovered from the 1641 shipwreck, the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, which will be discussed in the following pages. Wealthy merchants of Seville that had porcelain among their household goods, include Juan Vicentelo, who had business contacts in Peru and Panama.[205] The inventory of the dressing room of his palace-home, drawn up after his death in 1599, lists 'a large quantity of glass and porcelain' and on top of a walnut desk 'a porcelain of clay of India white and nuanced (*matizada*)'.[206]

160 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108; and Vol. II, Document 20, pp. 44 and 50. The *kendis* are described in Fol. 842 as 'Cinco garrafas aceiteras a manera de garrafas de porcelana, las dos doradas y de colores y las otras tres azules y blancas, con un pico que sale de la barriga, a manera de teta, por donde se hecha el aceite, tasadas a doce reales cada una'.

161 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 109, note 420. It is listed in Fol. 846 as 'Una ruciadera de porcelana, el cuerpo y el brocal de por sí con seis asas por donde sale agua a la boca, azul y blanca tasada en veinte reales'. It is also listed in the aforementioned document related to the possesions of Philip II and Queen Anne: AGP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 903, Treasury. 1617. See Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Doucment 25, p. 76.

162 The Victoria and Albert Museum vase illustrated here is discussed and published in Rose Kerr and Luisa E. Mengoni, with a contribution by Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, London, 2011, pp. 102 (detail) and 107, pl. 150. Other examples are found in the Topkapi Saray, the Teheran National Museum, and the Groninger Museum. See Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II, p. 658, nos. 1021 and 1022; Pope, 1981, pl. 86, no. 29.456; and Christiaan Jörg, *Oriental Porcelain in The Netherlands. Four Museum Collections*, Groningen, 2003, p. 49, pl. 16, respectively.

163 Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II, p. 658; Linda Shulsky, 'A Note on a Possible Spanish-Chinese Connection', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (2002), pp. 23–24; and Jörg, 2002/03, pp. 21–22.

164 AGS, E 420, fol. 79. Cited in Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Ana de Austria (1549–1580) y su colección artística. Una aproximación', *Portuguese Studies Review* Vol. 13, 1-2, Fall-Winter 2005 (Publ. 2007), p. 204, note 46; Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 115, note 447.

165 Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects: an Overview of Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabel's Personal Possesions (1566–1599)', in Cordula Van Wyhe (ed.), *Isabella Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignity at the Courts in Madrid and Brussels*, Madrid, 2011, p. 67. Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 113.

166 AGP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 902. Account of the expenses of Hernando de Rojas, keeper of the princess' wardrobe and jellwery, in 1596. Pérez de Tudela, 2011, p. 67 and p. 80, note 95; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 114; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 23, pp. 67 and 72.

Fig. 3.1.2.10a and b Fragments of a blue-and-white plate from the shipwreck *El Galgo* (1639)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
National Museum of Bermuda
(acc. no. 92:001.002)

Porcelain is also listed in inventories of the belongings of a small number of individuals that belonged to lower levels of society, as recently shown by Krahe, who had enough purchasing power to acquire porcelain for themselves or were well connected to important members of society who had the means of acquiring it. For instance, the monk Lorenzo de Monserrate, owned pieces of *Kinrande* porcelain, blue-and-white porcelain with silver mounts as well and other blue-and-white porcelain, when he died in his monastic cell at El Escorial, Philip II's palace-monastery located northwest of Madrid, in February 1577.[207] Juan de Herrera (1530–1597), the architect and principal designer of the Escorial, owned various pieces of blue-and-white and other porcelain.[208]

Archaeological evidence of porcelain from Spanish shipwrecks, colonial settlements, Spanish cities, and extant pieces

Maritime archaeological finds from four shipwrecks, three Spanish and one Portuguese, indicate that small quantities of porcelain continued to be shipped via the Atlantic to Spain during the first half of the seventeenth century, most probably as personal belongings of the passengers or as private trade. This evidence dates to the early years of Philip IV's reign and is provided by the shipwreck *San Antonio*, a 300-ton Portuguese caravel sailing with the Treasure Fleet, which sank in 1621 on the southwestern reefs of Bermuda Island while en route from Havana to Cadiz, under the command of its owner Captain Don Fernandino Da Vera.[209] The goods carried by the caravel, partially recovered at the time of the wreckage by her crew and shortly after by men under the orders of Governor Nathaniel Butler of Bermuda, included a blue-and-white jar with domed lid (now partially reconstructed) densely decorated with dragons, bearing a Wanli reign mark on its base (Fig. 3.1.2.9).[210] A year later, in 1622, the *Santa Margarita* along the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* and six other Spanish galleons of the Tierra Firme Fleet sank off the coast of Key West, while en route from Havana to Seville.[211] The shipwreck yielded a few blue-and-white porcelain shards, including five that formed part of two *Kraak* dishes with panelled rim borders and of three bowls, as well as silver from Peru and Mexico, emeralds from Colombia and pearls from Venezuela.[212] The wreck site of *El Galgo*, tender of the large store ship La Viga, both of which ran shore on the Island of Bermuda in 1639 while sailing with the Royal Fleet, has yielded two

167 AGS, Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 364, folio 126r. Madrid, 30 May 1598. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 87. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 26; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 103.

168 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 20, pp. 43 and 49. The tray is described in Fol. 839v as 'Una fuente que dicen es de barro de la China, con un pie bajo, labrada y pintada por dentro de oro y colores, de animals y otras cosasa de la China, metida en una caja de hierba que envoi el contador Iriguen de Nueva España, tasada en cincuenta reales'.

169 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 111; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 16, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Leg. 1092. 1569, p. 37. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Sesenta porçelanas de diferentes tamaños y hechuras y algunas dellas muy grandes y la vna con vn çerco de oro en el pie que peso ocho castellanos y medio y la vna hendida y otras tres desportilladas'.

170 For an English translation and transcription of the porcelain listed in the original document: AGS, Casa y Sitos Reales, Leg. 67–2. 1569, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 112; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 17, pp. 38 and 39.

171 Fritz Fichtner, *Ming-Porzellane in der Kunstkammer Ferdinand II. Von Tirol*, Keramische Zeitschrift, 10. Jahrgang Nr. 8, 1951, S. 432–440; and Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, Vienna, 2000, pp. 279–282, cat. nos. 208–214.

172 Helmut Trnek, 'Exotica in the Kunstkammers of the Habsburgs. Their Inventories and Collections', in Helmut Trnek and Nuno Vassallo e Silva (eds.), *Exotica. The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer*, Lisbon and Vienna, 2001, p. 48. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 28.

173 Trnek, 2001, p. 46. Four pieces from the Prague's *Kunstkammer* are illustrated in Eliška Fučiková, James M. Bradbunke, Beket Bukovinska, Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Lumomír Konečný, Ivan Muchka and Michal Šroněk (eds.), *Rudolf II and Prague. The Court and the City*, Prague and London, 1997, pp. 506–507, nos. II.169–72.

174 In the sixteenth century, the term *brincos* was used to refer to a small jewel worn by women in their headdress. *Brincos*, however, was also used to describe various pieces of different materials, including gold and porcelain, as indicated by this contemporary document and by the '*brincos de persolana*' listed among the objects salvaged from

Fig. 3.1.2.11 *Kraak klapmuts* from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
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Fig. 3.1.2.12 *Kraak* 'crow cup' from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

Figs. 3.1.2.14a and b *Kraak* plate with central ring cut into the porcelain body from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
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Fig. 3.1.2.13 Large *Kraak* dish from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
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Next pages 160–161
Fig. 3.1.2.17 *Still Life with Chocolate Service*
Oil on canvas, 40cm x 75cm
Juan de Zurbarán (1620–1649),
signed and dated 1640
Museum of Oriental and Western Art, Kiew

fragments of a blue-and-white plate decorated with three phoenixes in flight circling a flaming pearl within a white rim (Figs. 3.1.2.10a and b) (Appendix 3).[213]

The porcelain recovered from the 600-ton galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción,* which sank during a storm on the north coast of present-day Dominican Republic in 1641 while en route from Veracruz to Seville, provides new and exciting material evidence of the Spanish trade in porcelain because it includes a few types of Jingdezhen porcelain that have not been recorded in earlier Spanish shipwrecks of either the trans-Pacific or trans-Atlantic trade routes, and therefore deserves a more detailed discussion (Appendix 3).[214] When discussing the porcelain finds, it is important to bear in mind that the galleon was partially salvaged at the time of the wreckage, then again in 1687, and that its location thereafter remained unknown until 1978 when the wreck site was found again.[215] The site yielded many pieces of various types of *Kraak* porcelain, their quality ranging from good to rather poor. These include a considerable number of shallow bowls or *klapmutsen* decorated with monster masks, similar to those found at the survivor's campsite of the shipwreck

the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora da Luz* (1615), mentioned earlier and cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 263. It is interesting to note that in 1579, Queen Anna of Austria (Philip II's fourth wife) received some '*brincos*' sent as a present by the Marchioness of Villarreal from Portugal. The Marchioness sent more '*brincos*' to the Queen Anna the following year, after receiving a jewel given by the Queen to her daughter Beatriz. AGS, E 398, fol. 178. Cited in Pérez de Tudela, 2005, pp. 204–205, notes 47 and 51. This latter document does not specify the material of the '*brincos*'. Therefore, it is not possible to ascertain if they were made of porcelain. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 252, note 76.

175 AGS, Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 362, folio 345v. Madrid, 16 April 1590. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 70. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 27.

176 AGS Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 362, folio 471r, San Lorenzo, 18 Septiembre 1591. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 74.

177 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 116.

178 AGS Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de

Fig. 3.1.2.15 Transitional style blue-and-white tall, bell-shaped cup from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

Fig. 3.1.2.16 Transitional style blue-and-white two-handled tall, bell-shaped cup from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

Fig. 3.1.2.18 *Kraak* tall, bell-shaped cup from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
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Cédulas de Paso, no. 363, folio 149v., Madrid, 2 May 1594. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 81.

179 AGS Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 364, folio 262v., Aranjuez, 6 May 1600. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 81.

180 AGS Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 364, folio 296r. Madrid, 26 October 1600. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 81.

181 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 119–120.

182 Account of Jusepe de Vargas, treasurer of His Majesty, by order of Arnedo, AGP, Administración General, Cuentas Particulares, Leg. 5227, 14 May 1591. Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'La educación artística y la configuración de la imagen del príncipe Felipe', in José Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *La Monarquía de Felipe III: La Corte*, Vol. 3, Madrid, 2008, p. 126, note 236. Cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 120, note 472.

183 Presents given by Philip III to Archduchess Maria of Graz in Barcelona in June 1599. Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsaechiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Spanien, varia, konv. 9, folio 316r–316v. Published in Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix B, p. 116. The vases are listed in Fol. 316r as '100 vasos de porcelana'. Cited in Canepa, 2014, p. 28; and mentioned in Krahe, 2014/1, Vol. I, p. 120.

184 Maria Anna is believed to have expanded the *kunstkammer* at Graz Castle in Austria. Her correspondence indicates that she acquired curiosities via the imperial ambassadors in Madrid. Alphons Lhotsky, *Festschrift des KHM II: Die Geschichte der Sammlungen*, Vienna, 1941–1945, p. 330, note 155; and Trnek and Haag, 2001, p. 61. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 28 and p. 253, note 87.

185 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Consejos, Libro 2304, fols. 58v–59r. *Letter from Philip III to the Duke of Monteleón, Valladolid, 12 April 1605.* Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 99.

186 AGS, Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 361, folios 296v–297r. Lisbon, 23 July 1582. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend,

São Gonçalo (1630) (Fig. 3.1.2.11),[216] the so-called 'crow cups' (Fig. 3.1.2.12), small bowls and plates, as well as a few large dishes and a saucer dish, all with panelled borders (Fig. 3.1.2.13).[217] There are several examples (intact and semi-intact) of an unrecorded type of *Kraak* plate with a shallow central ring cut into the porcelain body and covered with a transparent glaze, most probably intended to hold a cup, within an unusual border of eight panels enclosing stylized auspicious symbols, and a wide, flat unglazed base (Figs. 3.1.2.14a and b).[218] Despite the fact that the cups and bowls recovered from the shipwreck do not fit perfectly into the shallow central ring of the aforementioned plates, one wonders if these pieces would have been used together as early models of *mancerinas*, which were used for the consumption of hot chocolate.[219] A number of blue-and-white tall, bell-shaped cups decorated with continuous river scenes were found in two variants, without or with handles (Figs. 3.1.2.15 and 3.1.2.16).[220] These cups are decorated in the new painting style, the so-called Transitional, which was first made at the kilns of Jingdezhen in the Tianqi reign and was well established in the Chongzhen reign (Appendix 2), at the time the Spanish galleon shipwrecked. The fact that 17 porcelain cups, together with plates, two candle holders, a number of forks, spoons and chalice bases, all made in silver, were found on the remains of a wooden chest with a hidden lower section containing 1.440 silver coins, suggests that this chest belonged to an affluent passenger who was bringing his wealth to Spain.[221] Visual sources attest to the presence of such tall bell-shaped cups without handles and continuous river scenes in Spain as early as 1640. A still life painting by the Spanish artist Juan de Zurbarán (1620–1649), signed and dated 1640 (Fig. 3.1.2.17), depicts one such a cup alongside another tall bell-shaped cup but with *Kraak* panelled decoration turned upside-down, similar to a few semi-intact examples recovered from the wreck site (Fig. 3.1.2.18). Bell-shaped cups without handles and river scenes appear to have continued to be imported into Spain in the following decade, as suggested by an example depicted in a still life by another Spanish artist, Antonio de Pereda (1611–1678), which is signed and dated 1652 (Fig. 3.1.2.19).[222] The fact that the compositions of both Zurbarán and Pereda include such tall bell-

Fig. 3.1.2.19 *Still Life with an Ebony and Marquetry Table Cabinet*
Oil on canvas, 80cm x 94cm
Antonio de Pereda (1611–1678),
signed and dated 1652
Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
(inv. no. GE 327)

Fig. 3.1.2.20 Transitional style blue-and-white bell-shaped cup from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

shaped cups alongside utensils and products associated with the preparation of hot chocolate, suggests that this particular type of cup was used for the consumption of hot chocolate, a dining habit the Spanish elites of both the New World and Spain acquired from the Mexicas, the indigenous people that ruled the Aztec Empire, in the early sixteenth century.[223] The use of porcelain cups for chocolate in Spain in the 1640s is further proved by an inventory taken in 1644 of the belongings of the Marquis of Caldereita, which mentions that 'five small porcelain cups (*pocitos*) for chocolate' alongside various other porcelains were kept in a pine sideboard.[224] The find of 70 tall bell-shaped cups with handles decorated with river scenes, some of them with inner rim borders of spiraling trendils interspersed by a flower, among the cargo of the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625),[225] similar to those recovered from the wreck site of the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, demonstrates that this type of blue-and-white tall bell-shaped cup decorated in the so-called Transitional style was purchased by both the Portuguese and Spanish.[226] The wreck site of the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* also yielded a few other bell-shaped cups without handles, but of slightly smaller size, each decorated with a continuous landscape scene with two figures (one standing, the other seated) beside a fence (Fig. 3.1.2.20), similar to 15 examples recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625).[227] Some bell-shaped cups recovered from both shipwrecks bear apochryphal Chenghua reign marks. These finds brought the problem of the *Wanli shipwreck's* dating to light. No precisely datable porcelains were recovered from this shipwreck, and no documentary records of the ship's sinking were found. Therefore the *c.*1625 was given by stylistic comparison to porcelain finds from datable shipwrecks.[228] The Zurbarán painting dated 1640, the tall bell-shaped cups from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*

2001, Appendix A, p. 56. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 253, note 89.

187 Published in Hermann Neumann, *The Munich Residence and Treasury*, Munich, 2001, p. 123; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 28, fig. 12.

188 Maximilian I, who belonged to the House of Austria by birth, was the eldest son of William V and Renata of Lorraine (1544–1602) to survive past infancy. His paternal grandmother was Archduchess Anna of Austria (1528–1590), the second daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I and Anna of Bohemia and Hungary (1503–1547). His maternal great-grandparents were King Christian II of Denmark and Norway (r. 1513–1523) and Isabella of Austria (1501–1526), the second daughter of Philip I of Castile and Joanna of Castile and the sister of Emperor Charles V. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 253, note 91.

189 The *Kraak* armorial dish is published in Friederike Ulrichs, *Die ostasiatische Porzellansammlung der Wittelsbacher in der Residenz München*, Munich, 2005, p. 10; and Renate Eikelmann (ed.), *Die Wittelsbacher und das Reich der Mitte. 4000 Jahre China und Bayern*, Munich, 2009, pp. 48–49, kat. no. 5.

190 On several occasions Habsburg rulers stayed at the Residenz, for instance while en route to their coronations as emperors in Frankfurt and while travelling to the imperial city of Augsburg. Charles V and Ferdinand II (r. 1619–1637) were among them. See Wolfram Koeppe, 'Pietre Dure North of the Alps', in Wolfman Koeppe and Annemaria Giusti (eds.), *Art at the Royal Court. Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe*, New York, 2008, p. 58 and note 21. By the end of the sixteenth century porcelain was already incorporated in German paintings, such as a banquet scene by Georg Flegel (1566–1638) and his Flemish master Lucas van Valkenborch. Lucas

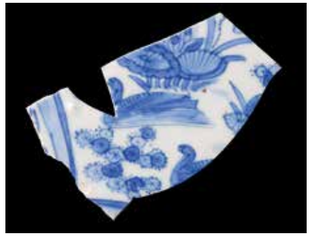

Fig. 3.2.2.21 Shard of a blue-and-white saucer dish from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

Fig. 3.2.2.22 *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion incense stick holder from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641)
Dehua kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

Fig. 3.1.2.23 Shard of a *Kraak* dish excavated at the Plaza de Oriente, Madrid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1600
Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares

of 1641, and the 1644 inventory of the Marquis of Caldereita, indicate that such cups were imported into Spain from at least the late 1630s. Based on these dates, as well as on a VOC letter dated 1634 discussed in section 3.4.1.2 of this Chapter, one can postulate that the *Wanli shipwreck* sank at a slightly later date, probably in *c.*1630–1635. The find from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* of a finely potted blue-and-white jar of slender, ovoid form made of high quality porcelain clay and decorated with a continuous narrative scene depicting a figure standing by a horse in a landscape, and a downward leaf border below the rim, demonstrates that the Spanish also imported porcelain decorated in a new painting style, the so-called High Transitional, which became well established at the private kilns of Jingdezhen during the Chongzhen reign (Appendix 2).[229] Another interesting find from the wreck site is a small number of blue-and-white shards of saucer dishes decorated with a central floral roundel encircled by radiating sprays of blossoming flowers, which resemble those made later in the early Kangxi reign (1662–1722) of the subsequent Qing dynasty (Fig. 3.1.2.21). Besides blue-and-white porcelain, the finds include a few wine cups with flared rims showing traces of floral overglaze enamel decoration on the outside,[230] as well as a *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion incense stick holder made at private kilns of Dehua (Fig. 3.1.2.22),[231] which relates to finds made at both Jiabeishan kiln and Lingdou kiln in Xunzhong town (Appendix 2).[232] This Buddhist Lion demonstrates that the Spanish began acquiring *Blanc de chine* porcelain about ten years earlier than previously thought.[233]

In Madrid, the seat of the royal court since the reign of Philip II, a considerable number of *Kraak* and other blue-and-white shards dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were recently found during archaeological excavations at

van Valkenborch and his brother, Martin, worked as court painters for the Archduke Ernest of Austria (1553–1595), Governor of the Southern Netherlands from 1594 to 1595, and later for Emperor Matthias (r. 1612–1619), successor and brother of Rudolf II. Mentioned and illustrated in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 29, fig. 13 and p. 253, note 93.

191 Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 120.

192 AGP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 902. Inventory of Queen Margaret of Austria's jewellery and objects, 1612. Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 23, pp. 64–74.

193 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 120–121; and Vol. II, Appendix 2, Document 23, pp. 68 and 73. The texts in Spanish read: 'Tres porcelanas con pies y guarniciones de plata para server el caldo en la mesa de su Magestad'; 'Dos porcelanas grandes para server sopa a la mesa de su majestad los dias de pescado. La una mayor que la otra con un borde en el vevedero'; and 'Dos escudillas de porcelana de la yndia para servicio de su majestad metidas en su caxa de madera cubierta de cuero negro'.

194 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 120.

195 Mentioned in María del Carmen Simón Palmer, *Alimentación y sus Circunstancias en el Real Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid, 1982, p. 24; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 153.

196 Travel License, 22 April 1621. Cited in Magdalena de Lapuerta Montoya, 'La corte y el arte', in Martínez Millán and Visceglia, 2008, Vol. 3, p. 586 citation 8; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 123.

197 Only a very small number of *Blanc de chine* pieces would have reached Europe at the time. The earliest archaeological evidence of *Blanc de chine* porcelain with painted decoration comes from the unexcavated Portuguese shipwreck, the *Nossa Senhora dos Milagros*, which sank off Cape Agulhas

various secular and religious sites.[234] These include a shard of a finely potted *Kraak* dish decorated with ducks in a pond within a star-shaped medallion dating to the Wanli reign, *c.*1600, found at the Plaza (Square) de Oriente, where the remains of the Alcázar of the Spanish Habsburgs were excavated (Fig. 3.1.2.23).[235] The site of the Plaza de Oriente and the Calle Bailén, which is the street that runs between the present Palacio Real (Royal Palace) and the Plaza, yielded a few shards that formed part of a high quality white-glazed bowl with a high footring, dating to the late sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.[236] Shards of both high quality blue-and-white and *Kraak* porcelain were also found at the Plaza de Armería, near the Alcázar and the buildings linked to the Palace, during renovation works at the Museum of the Spanish Royal Collections.[237] These include eight shards that most probably formed part of a large jar finely painted with a pair of dragons chasing a flaming pearl above a lotus pond, framed above and below by a wide border with a variation of lotus petals. A jar in a private collection in Brazil and one other in the Huaihaitang Collection decorated with a very similar border and band of classic scolls below the straight rim, the first with two five-clawed, scaly dragons among lotus and water plants and the latter with a pair of phoenixes flying amongst floral scrolls, each bearing a six-character Jiajing reign mark within a rectangular frame, suggest that the jar from the Plaza de Armería may have been inscribed with a Jiajing reign mark, and thus would had been made for the court of emperor Jiajing.[238] A shard of a bowl with a high foot was excavated at Plaza de los Carros and another of a *Kraak* cup decorated with a duck swimming among water plants at Calle Mayor c/v Cuesta de la Vega (Fig. 3.1.2.24).[239] A fragment of a plate of rather poor quality, decorated with a phoenix in profile like those discussed earlier from the shipwrecks *San Felipe* (1576) and *San Pedro* (1595), and from Lagos in southern Portugal, was excavated at a house located in the Plaza (Square) de la Marina Española, near the Palacio del Senado (Senate Palace), the former convent of Augustinians founded in 1590 by María de Aragón, lady of Anne of Austria (1549–1580), Philip II's fourth wife and daughter of his first cousin the Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564–1576) (Fig. 3.1.2.25).[240] The finds from religious sites include a shard that formed part of a finely potted bowl or stem cup decorated in 'pencil style' with fish among aquatic plants dating to the Wanli reign found during the excavation of a cesspit in the garden of the Convent of the Trinitarias, located between Huertas and Lope de Vega streets (Fig. 3.1.2.26).[241] The site of the Convent of the Trinitarias, founded by Philip III in 1612, also yielded two fragments of a *Kraak* plate decorated with deer in a landscape within a rim panelled border divided by single lines (Fig. 3.1.2.27).[242] One other *Kraak* fragment was excavated at the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople, located on Juan de Herrera Street.[243]

The importation of porcelain into Spain via Seville is attested by a number of porcelain shards excavated from both secular and religious sites at this trading port city. These include four shards dating to the Ming dynasty found at the site of the Almaza-Mañara palace-house. Several shards, including two *Kraak* shards that formed part of the neck of a pear-shaped bottle similar that seen on an example recovered from the *San Diego* shipwreck (1600), and of the centre of a plate, were found at the site of San Juan de Acre, Convent of the Order of Malta. Other *Kraak* shards were found at an old dump behind the old city wall during the construction of the underground railway at San Fernando Street, and at the Convent of San Agustín. Shards of at least one *Kraak* plate and others of a plate with blue-and-white and *Kinrande* decoration, similar to that excavated at the former convent of Santana in Lisbon discussed earlier

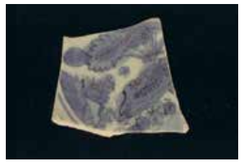

Fig. 3.1.2.24 Shard of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at Calle Mayor c/v Cuesta de la Vega, Madrid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
*c.*1600–1620
Museo de Los Orígenes, Madrid

Fig. 3.1.2.25 Fragment of a blue-and-white plate excavated at Plaza (Square) de la Marina Española, Madrid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/ Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares

Fig. 3.1.2.26 Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl or stem cup excavated at the Convent of the Trinitarias, Madrid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares

Fig. 3.1.2.27 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at the Convent of the Trinitarias, Madrid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/ Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares

in Western Cape, South Africa, in 1686. The fashion for decorating *Blanc de chine* porcelain did not spread across Europe until the early eighteenth century, when this type of Dehua white-glazed porcelain was decorated in various painting techniques in Dutch, German, French and English workshops. For a discussion on the trade of *Blanc de chine* porcelain to Europe, see Teresa Canepa, 'The Trade in *Blanc de Chine* Porcelain to Europe and the New World in the Late 17th and early 18th Centuries (Part I)', *Fujian Wenbo*, 4th issue, December 2012, pp. 2–14.

198 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 199.

199 Ibid., p. 208.

200 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 64–65.

201 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (hereafter cited as AHPM), Protocolo no. 742, Fol. 141. 1573–1574. Inventory of the goods of the late Prince of Éboli, Don Ruy Gómez de Silva (8 August – 9 Ocober 1573). Valuation (14 September 1573– 1 May 1574). For an English translation and a transcription of the inventory, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 136; and Vol. II, Appendix 3, Decument 2, pp. 131–147.

202 AHPNZ, Jerónimo Andrés, 1585, folios 410 r–433 r, (Zaragoza, 24–IV–1585). Cited in Álvaro Zamora, 2006, p. 742; and Coll Conesa, 2007, p. 128.

203 AHN, Sección Nobleza. Fondo Osuna, Caja 235. Documento 18–80. 1619. Inventory of goods of the [VI] Duke of Bejar, Don Alonso Diego Lopez de Zuñiga Sotomayor. Executed in Gibraleón (Huelva) on 17 December 1619. For a transcription of the document in Spanish, see Krahe, Vol. I, p. 157; and Krahe, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 37, pp. 184–187.

204 AHN, Sección Nobleza. Fondo Osuna, Caja 1040. 1646. Inventory of the goods of Cardinal Gaspar Borja Velasco, Cardinal of Toledo, Archbishop of Seville. Copy of the original inventory in the Gandia Archive, dated 1646. For a transcription of the document in Spanish, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 145; and Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 49, pp. 202–203.

205 For a discussion on the artistic objects owned by Juan Vicentelo and further bibliographical references, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 144.

206 Invetario del camarín y el oratorio de la casa de D. Juan Vicentelo en la collación de Santa María, Archivo de la Audiencia Provincial de Sevilla, Sección Histórica, leg. 142, fols. 855r–886v (7 de junio de 1599). I am grateful to Laura Pérez Vega, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, for providing me with a digital copy of the original document. For a brief discussion on Juan Antonio Corzo and the belongings of Juan Vicentelo, see Urquízar Herrera, 2007, pp. 168–169.

207 AGP, Patronatos, San Lorenzo, Caja 82, no. 5 (entrega tercera [third delivery]), Fols. 40–42. For an English translation and a transcription of the pieces of porcelain listed in the inventory, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 145–147, and note 618.

208 Luis Cervera, *Inventario de los bienes de Juan Herrera*, Valencia, 1977, p. 147. For an English translation and a transcription of the porcelain, see Krahe, Vol. I, pp. 147–148, and note 619.

209 According to Tucker, Fernandino Da Vera's family was well known as titled Portuguese landowners and merchants. A seal bearing his family crest recovered from the wreck site confirms his ownership of the caravel. For a discussion on the *San Antonio* shipwreck finds, see Tucker, 2011, pp. 147–164.

210 Published in William B. Gillies, *Reefs, Wrecks and Relics. Bermuda's Underwater Heritage*, Bermuda, 2007, p. 109 and colour images; and Tucker, 2011, p. 150. I am grateful to Wendy S. Tucker, Director Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute (BUEI), for granting me permision to include an image of the jar in this doctoral dissertation.

211 The *Santa Margarita* was part of a fleet of 28 ships that comprised the Tierra Firme Fleet that sailed towards the Florida Straits. The loss of 1.28 million pesos carried on the *Santa Margarita* and *Nuestra Señora*

(Fig. 3.1.1.18), were found at the Royal Monastery of San Clemente. Three blue-and-white shards dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century were found at the Convent of El Carmen, which was inhabited by the Order of the Carmelites, and one other shard at the Monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas on the Cartuja Island.[244]

A small number of pieces of *Kraak* and other blue-and-white porcelain dating to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as recently noted by Krahe, circulated to other cities of southern and northern Spain.[245] Archaeological finds have been made in the cities of Bayona and Vigo in the province of Galicia,[246] in Murcia,[247] in Malaga, and in Barcelona.[248] A fragment of a dish with an everted foliate rim, dating to the Jiajing reign, excavated at the Pedralbes Monastery in Barcelona is of particular interest. Its decoration, consisting of cranes flying amongst cloud scrolls within a medallion, encircled by pending foliate scrolls and a stylized *lingzhi* border below the rim, relates closely to that seen on a few examples recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558), which instead of cranes depicts two Buddhist Lions chasing a ribboned cash symbol (Fig. 3.1.1.6).[249]

Further material evidence of the importation of porcelain into Spain is provided by three extant pieces, all preserved at ecclesiastic institutions. These include a blue-and-white bowl of small size with overglaze gilded decoration and silver-gilt mounts made in Augsburg by Philipp Benner (*c.*1580–1634) between 1608 and 1610, in the Church of Santa María de los Corporales in Daroca, Zaragoza.[250] The decoration of this bowl, consisting on each side of a bird perched on a blossoming prunus branch pending from the rim, relates to that seen on a fragment of a blue-and-white bowl recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576), and on a few shards of another bowl excavated at the Spanish town of Santa Elena on Parris Island, present-day South Carolina, occupied from 1566 to 1576, which will be discussed in section 3.3.1.1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3.3.1.1.21).[251] Therefore the bowl in Daroca can be dated by stylistic comparison to the late Longqing or early Wanli reign. Although most of the gilded decoration of the bowl has been worn away, it is possible to see that it consisted of finely executed leafy branches of flowers. It is unclear whether this gilded decoration was applied before the bowl left China or by local craftsmen once it arrived to Manila (probably Chinese), New Spain or to Europe. A few other extant late Ming blue-and-white pieces with gilded decoration have been recorded thus far. These include a bowl from the *Kunstkammer* of Ferdinand II in Vienna, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum;[252] a *Kraak* cup in the Hallwyl Museum in Stockholm,[253] and a large blue-and-white saucer dish bearing a six-character Jiajing reign mark with gilded copper mounts dating to the seventeenth century in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.[254] Porcelain with gilded decoration, as recently demonstrated by Krahe, appears frequently listed in royal inventories of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. According to Álvaro Zamora the silver-gilt mounted bowl was given to the Church as a gift for use during liturgy by Martín Terrer de Valenzuela, who later came to be archbishop of Zaragoza (1630–1631), or by another member of his family.[255]

There is also a blue-and-white drum-shaped stool or garden seat decorated with Buddhist Lions playing with a brocade ball between trellis diaper and wave scroll borders and two moulded monster masks on the sides, dating to the Zhengde reign, in the Capuchinas Convent in Toledo.[256] Drum-shaped porcelain stools were a popular piece of furniture made for the domestic market during the Zhengde, Jiajing and Wanli reigns. An identical example is found in The Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong,[257] and another dating to the Jiajing reign is in the Huaihaitang

Collection.[258] The other extant piece is a small blue-and-white bowl decorated with flower roundels dating to the Wanli reign, which was found in the well of the Convent of Saint Clare of Astudillo, of the Order of San Francisco, in Palencia. The convent was founded in 1356, but was later occupied by nuns who belonged to the nobility of important Castilian families.[259]

From the textual sources discussed above it is possible to conclude that porcelain began to be imported into Spain earlier than into Portugal, long before the Spanish settled themselves in Manila in 1571, during the reign of emperor Longqing. Archaeological finds have shown that a few pieces of porcelain reached Spain in the Middle Ages, most probably as diplomatic gifts, via Eastern Andalusia. The earliest textual references to the presence of porcelain in Spain date to the fourteenth century. The next known references are found in royal inventories of the beginning of the sixteenth century, but these are scarce. Most of the porcelain listed in the latter inventories probably reached Spain via Lisbon. The porcelain listed in royal inventories dating from the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries, when the Crowns of Portugal and Spain were united, would have been imported into Spain not only via Lisbon but also via the viceroyalty of New Spain and Seville. The amount of the porcelain shipped to Spain, however, was very small in comparison with that imported into New Spain. No documentary or material evidence of royal orders of porcelain has been found thus far.

The appreciation of porcelain (as well as of Chinese silk) in Spain in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, unlike in their neighbouring Iberian country of Portugal, was quite limited. It seems clear that a considerable amount of the porcelain that was imported was destined for the Habsburg royal court. This is attested by the post-mortem inventory of Philip II, taken between 1598 and 1607, which lists over 3,000 pieces of porcelain. Although most pieces were tableware, a few appear to have had both practical and ornamental functions. As shown earlier, Philip II and his successors continued the long established gift-giving practice of the House of Habsburg and supplied their relatives residing at other European courts as well as their courtiers with porcelain. It is clear from the appraisals and *almonedas* (auctions) of the belongings of members of the Habsburg royal court, the high-ranking nobility, clergy and wealthy merchants of Madrid, Seville and other main cities of Spain discussed above that porcelain did not rank highest among the most valued objects, whether imported or local. Precious stones and metals, both gold and silver, fetched the highest prices and thus were considered of more importance than the fine and applied arts. Porcelain fetched higher prices only when it was mounted in gold or silver, and it was appraised very differently according to its shape and decoration. Although the royal inventories of some of the Habsburg kings, such as that of Philip III, show that porcelain was used as tableware (especially for eating fish or drinking *consommé*) not only at the court but also when travelling, it seems unlikely that the nobility, clergy or wealthy merchants who could afford a silver dinner set would have switched to porcelain as their main set.[260] Those who desired porcelain and could afford it would have been able to acquire it through a few foreign merchants with important commercial networks both in Europe and the New World who traded Asian and other imported goods in Seville, or through private consignments or gifts sent by relatives or personal contacts living in New Spain.

Material from archaeological excavations at secular and religious sites in Spanish settlements in the Caribbean and in Spain, as well as from datable shipwrecks of the Spanish Treasure Fleet that traversed the Atlantic from Veracruz to Seville during the

de Atocha devastated the merchant community in both Spain and the New World. For a discussion on these shipwrecks, see John Christopher Fine, *Treasures of the Spanish Main. Shipwrecked Galleons in the New World*, Guilford, 2006, pp. 9–43. It is interesting to note that the ceramic cargo of the *Tortugas Shipwreck, a navio* of the aforementioned 1622 fleet, included a few tin-glazed Blue-on-White Talavera-style dishes decorated in imitation of *Kraak* and other Wanli blue-and-white porcelain, when it sank off the Dry Tortugas islands in the Florida Keys. Published in Greg Stemm, Ellen Gerth, Jenette Flow, Claudio Lozano Guerra-Librero and Sean Kingsley, 'The Deep-Sea Tortugas Shipwreck, Florida: A Spanish-Operated Navio of the 1622 Tierra Firme Fleet. Part 2, the Artifacts', *Odyssey Papers 27*, Odyssey Marine Exploration, 2013, p. 9, fig. 14.

212 Canepa, 2014/2, pp. 108–109, figs. 5–6.

213 The plate bears the mark *jing zhi* on its base, which means 'exquisitely made'. The shipwrecks *La Viga and El Galgo* are discussed in Tucker, 2011, pp. 35–59.

214 The *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* was part of a fleet of 21 ships that comprised the New Spain Fleet. I am indebted to Juan López, Director Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, and Francis Soto, Underwater Archaeological Commission, for giving me the opportunity to study the porcelain, including bags of tiny shards, recovered from the wreck site during a research trip to the Dominican Republic in April 2014. Most pieces are now kept in the Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, and a small quantity is exhibited in the Museo de la Porcelana, both in the capital city, Santo Domingo. I am grateful to Borrell, Tracy Bowden and Federico Schad, who participated in the salvage expeditions, for discussing the archaeological finds with me. For a discussion on the shipwreck and images of some of the porcelain finds, see Pedro J. Borrel B., *Historia y Rescate del Galeón Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, Santo Domingo, 1983; and Tracy Bowden, *Quest for Adventure with Tracey Bowden*, Miami, 2004.

215 For more information on the attempts to salvage the cargo of the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, see Borrel, 1983, pp. 33–49.

216 *Kraak* bowls of this type, but with no moulded decoration on the cavetto were salvaged from the *Hatcher junk*, a Chinese junk en route to Batavia that sank in the South China Sea in c.1643. Compare, for instance, the examples illustrated in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 40, pl. 46.

217 For an image of a *klapmuts* recovered from the wreck site, see Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 67, fig. 4.

218 Cup stands modelled with a raised central ridge, intended to serve wine, were made in porcelain and lacquer after silver models for the Chinese domestic market from the early Ming dynasty onwards. Blue-and-white cup stands together with small, straight-sided cups with slightly recessed bases cut with a narrow foot ring, have been excavated in the Hongwu stratum at Dogmentou, Zhushan in Jingdezhen. Mentioned in Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 89, no. 2:8 and p. 486, no. 16:62.

219 A *mancerina* was a platter with two tiers, the upper part served to hold a coconut or a porcelain cup containing the hot chocolate, and the lower part to hold the pastries to be dunked into the hot chocolate. As noted by Gustavo Curiel, a document written in Mexico City in 1695 mentions that the Marchioness of San Jorge, Teresa Francisca María de Guadalupe Retes Paz y Vera, owned a chocolate service for use in the *salon de estrado* of her house, consisting of 12 salvers and 16 *mancerinas* made of silver. Gustavo Curiel, 'Customs, Conventions, and Daily Rituals among the Elites of New Spain: The Evidence from Material Culture', in Héctor Rivero Borrel M., Gustavo Curiel, Antonio Rubial García, Juana Gutiérrez Haces, and David B. Warren, *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer*, Milan, 2002, pp. 29–30 and p. 41, note 15.

220 Some of the bell-shaped cups bear an apochryphal six-character Chenghua reign mark on their base. This resulted in the incorrect dating of the porcelain recovered from the wreck site in a research paper published by the Universidad Nacional Pedro Henriquez Ureña, Santo Domingo, in 1992. V. Mazo-Gray and M. Alvarez, 'X-Ray Fluorescence Characterization of Ming-Dynasty Porcelain Rescued from a Spanish Shipwreck', *Archaeometry* 34, 1 (1992), pp. 37–42. I am grateful to Violeta Martínez, Museo de la Porcelana – Fundación Violeta Martínez, for providing me with a a copy of this research paper.

221 For a sketch drawing and a brief description of the chest and its contents, see Borrel, 1983, pp. 92–93. Borrel suggests that the silver coins, perfectly aligned on the hidden section of chest, were brought clandestinely to avoid paying the taxes owed to the King.

222 The function of the objects and products depicted in Pereda's painting is briefly discussed in Donna Pierce, '"At the Ends of the Earth". Asian Trade Goods in Colonial New Mexico, 1598–1821', in Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (eds.), *At the Crossroads. The Arts of Spanish America & Early Global Trade 1492–1850. Papers from the 2010 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, Denver, 2010, p. 155; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 239.

223 Chocolate was the first of the hot beverages (tea, coffee and chocolate) to be introduced to the West. Conquistador Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) brought cacao beans from the New World back to Spain in 1528 and gradually the custom of drinking chocolate spread across Europe. Dutch traders first brought tea to Europe in 1610; and Venetian traders brought coffee a few years later, in 1615. By the 1620s, the taste for hot chocolate appears to have been well established in New Spain. We learn from the English Dominican friar Thomas Gage (c.1597–1656) that upon his arrival in Veracruz in 1625 he visited the Prior of the cloister of St. Dominic, who entertained him and other friars 'very lovingly with sweetmeats, and everyone with a cup of the drink called chocolate' and that 'his chamber was richly dressed and hung with many pictures…; his cupboards adorned with several sorts of China cups and dishes, stored within with several dainties of sweetmeats and conserves'. The drinking of hot beverages, particularly tea and coffee, did not become popular among the English until the mid-seventeenth century. See, Teresa Canepa and Eladio Terreros Espinosa, 'The Trade of *Blanc de Chine* Porcelain to Europe and the New World in the Late 17th and early 18th Centuries (Part II)', *Fujian Wenbo*, September 2014, pp. 2–15; Thompson, 1958, pp. 33–34; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 154.

224 Protocolo no. 6219. 18 February 1644. Inventory of goods of the Marquis of Cadereita, Lope Diez aux de Armendáriz y Saavedra, 18 February 1644. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 154; and Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 9, pp. 151–152.

225 Published in Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, pp. 154–155, Serial. No. 3635.

226 Krahe was not aware of the existence of these bell-shaped cups at the time she submitted her PhD dissertation to Leiden University in 2014. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 239–240 and 246.

227 Published in Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, pp. 154–155, serial. No. 6028.

228 Ibid., p. 43. I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, for bringing this to my attention.

229 For an image of this jar, see Bowden, 2004, p. 8. According to the late Sir Michael Butler and Professor Wang Qingzheng this style of porcelain decoration was well established by 1638. For this

late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, have shown that the majority of the porcelain imported into Seville, from where it circulated to other cities, was blue-and-white from Jingdezhen. It seems that some of the Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain dating to the Jiajing reign bore imperial reign marks, and thus would have been originally intended for the Chinese imperial court. The Spanish, like the Portuguese, also imported some white-glazed porcelain and *Kinrande* porcelain. It appears that most of the blue-and-white porcelain imported was of the ordinary trade type, but from the turn of the sixteenth century *Kraak* porcelain became much more prominent. The blue-and-white porcelain imported ranged from high to low quality. It is not surprising that the porcelain imported into Spain is very similar to that imported into Portugal, as the Chinese junk traders would have brought similar porcelain cargoes to Macao and Manila, and the Spanish would also have been able to acquire porcelain from the Portuguese merchants that went to trade in Manila, especially to exchange silk for silver. By the early 1640s, a few new types of *Kraak* and other blue-and-white porcelain were being imported into Spain, as demonstrated by finds from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641). By this time, the porcelain imported also included a variety of blue-and-white pieces decorated in the so-called Transitional style. Some of them were most likely intended for the consumption of hot chocolate, a habit acquired from the Mexicas (the indigenous people that ruled the Aztec Empire) that was well established in Spain in the late 1630s. The cargo also included a small quantity of porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels and of *Blanc de chine* porcelain made at the Dehua kilns in Fujian, which demonstrates that the Spanish began acquiring *Blanc de chine* porcelain about ten years earlier than previously thought.

It is important to bear in mind that it is virtually impossible to calculate the amount of porcelain imported into both Portugal and Spain during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the royal Crowns were united under the rule of the House of Habsburg. Many records referring to the Portuguese maritime trade were destroyed during the Lisbon earthquaque of 1755. Because the trade in porcelain was not a Crown monopoly it was carried out by private individuals, who did not disclose the number of pieces contained in all the bundles, packets, boxes or chests imported in order to evade paying taxes for all of them.

Trade to the Southern Netherlands [3.1.3]

Beyond the Iberian Peninsula, the Habsburg governors, nobility and affluent merchants of the Southern Netherlands acquired porcelain and other Asian goods as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earliest documented porcelain is found among the possesions of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), the only daughter of Emperor Maximilian I of Austria (r. 1486–1519) and Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482), who was appointed the first female governor of the Southern Netherlands in 1507, and at the same time she was given guardianship of her nephew Charles (future Emperor Charles V) and three of his sisters.[261] Margaret, who ruled until 1515 and again from 1519 to 1530, established a princely court in Mechelen. An inventory

Fig. 3.1.3.1a *Sense of Sight*
Oil on canvas, 69cm x 109cm
Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) and
Peter Paul Rubens (1557–1640), 1617–1618
Museo Nacional de el Prado, Madrid
(inv. no. P1394)

Fig. 3.1.3.1b *Sense of Sight* (detail)

Fig. 3.1.3.2 *Kraak* pear-shaped bottle
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 18.5cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1988.0042)

Fig. 3.1.3.5 *Kraak* dish
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 27.5cm
Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden
(inv. no. OKS 1983/47)

Fig. 3.1.3.3 *Kraak* globular *kendi* from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 22cm
Museo Naval, Madrid (inv. no. 7309)

Fig. 3.1.3.4 *Kraak* wine or water pot from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 19cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1977-174-W)

opinion, see Sir Michael Butler and Professor Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain from the Shanghai Museum and the Butler Collections. Beauty's Enchantment*, exhibition catalogue, The Shanghai Museum, London, 2006, p. 28.

230 Like the tall cups discussed earlier, some of these wine cups bear a six-character Chenghua reign mark within a circle on the base. Eight tall bell-shaped cups showing traces of overglaze enamel decoration and bearing Chenghua reign marks were recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625). Published in Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, pp. 154–155, serial. No. 4643.

231 Published in Bowden, 2004, p. 14.

232 Published in Li Jian'an, 'Dehua Jiabeishan mingdai yaozhi de fajue yu shouhuo (Excavation & results of the Jiabeishan kiln site of the Ming dynasty at Dehua)', *Fujian Wenbo*, no. 49, 2004/4, p. 32; Fujian bowuyuan, Dehuaxian wenguanhui & Dehua taoci bowuguan, 'Dehua mingdai Jiabeishan taozhi fajue jianbao (Short report on the excavation to the Ming dynasty kiln site at Jiabeishan, Dehua)', *Fujian Wenbo*, no. 55, 2006/2, p. 14; and Rose Kerr and John Ayers, et. al., 2002, p. 39, fig. 3.

233 The earliest archaeological evidence of the Spanish trade in *Blanc de chine* porcelain was thought to date to *c.*1650–1670. This was based on fragments recovered from the wreck site of a large unidentified ship, known as the *Tankard Wreck*, which is believed to have been under the command of a Spanish crew at the time that it sank off Bermuda in *c.*1650–1670, while en route to Spain. The next evidence is provided by *Blanc de chine* finds from a Spanish shipwreck that sank in 1691 on Pedro Bank, southwest of Jamaica, while en route to Havana; and those recovered at Nehalem Bay on the northwest coast of present-day United States, from a wreck known as *Beeswax Wreck*, which is most likely the Manila Galleon, *Santo Cristo de Burgos* that sailed from Manila in 1693 and disappeared without a trace. The presence of *Blanc de chine* porcelain in Spain is demonstrated by a small number of figure and animal models in the Spanish royal collection, but it is not known exactly how or when these pieces entered the royal collection. See Canepa and Terreros Espinosa, 2014, pp. 2–15. A total of 23 *Blanc de chine* incense stick holders similarly moulded as Buddhist Lions were recovered from the cargo of the *Hatcher junk* (c.1643). A pair is published in

taken in 1524 of her Palace of Mechelen reveals that she had approximately 15 pieces of porcelain, some with silver or silver-gilt mounts, displayed throughout her personal living apartments.[262] Visual sources attest to the appreciation of porcelain in the Southern Netherlands at the time of Margaret's rule. For instance, a small porcelain ewer containing white lilies is depicted in painting of the Annunciation formerly attributed to the Brussels painter-designer Bernard van Orley (c.1487/91–1541), who was appointed as Margaret's official court painter in 1518.[263]

Like many other Habsburg rulers across Europe, the Archduke Albert of Austria and his wife Isabella Clara, who ruled as joint governors of the Southern Netherlands between 1598 and 1621, had an impressive collection of Asian objects in their *Kunstkammer* in Brussels. Archduke Albert, as mentioned in Chapter II, also appears to have appreciated and worn silks imported from China. The *Five Senses* cycle by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) and Peter Paul Rubens (1557–1640), painted for Albert and Isabella Clara in 1617–1618, show their curiosity cabinets and various places of the archducal court filled with diverse art objects reflecting their wealth and sophisticated taste.[264] Three of the five paintings, *Sense of Sight, Sense of Taste and Sense of Smell*, include porcelain. In a detail of the Sense of Sight, for example, one can clearly see the Archduke's curiosity cabinet decorated with paintings, tapestries, busts and a large number of pieces of porcelain displayed on a table, on a cabinet and on a sideboard (Figs. 3.1.3.1a and b).[265] All pieces appear to be *Kraak* porcelain dating to the Wanli reign, including a small bowl with silver-gilt mounts, two pear-shaped bottles (Fig. 3.1.3.2) and a globular *kendi* similar to those recovered from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600) (Fig. 3.1.3.3), a large vase, a wine or water pot (Fig. 3.1.3.4), a dish decorated with flaming wheels or *chakras* [266] forming a five-petalled motif within a panelled rim border (Fig. 3.1.3.5) which relates closely to a late Wanli shard excavated at Macao,[267] and many small bowls and saucer dishes. These may be some of the 'three hundred pieces of porcelains, two boxes of glass and …porcelains' sent in 1602 to Isabella Clara in Brussels, which were part of the inheritance bequeathed from her father's estate.[268] Philip II's inventory, as mentioned earlier, lists three blue-and-white *garrafas* with mammiform spouts protruding, which most probably referred

to globular-shaped *kendi*. They could also be some of the numerous pieces of porcelain sent by Philip III to Isabella Clara the following year, which included '912 porcelain plates some in gold and colours', 'two porcelain salts', 'twenty seven ewers', and 'six hundred and sixty small bowls'.[269]

It is likely that Archduke Albert sent Asian objects to Ambras Castle, including over 250 blue-and-white porcelain pieces and 30 *Kinrande* bowls.[270] The Archduke probably gave porcelain to Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, 2nd Count of Añover (*c.*1560–1620), who was his *gran privado*.[271] A post-mortem inventory of Rodrigo Niño y Lasso lists 76 pieces of porcelain along a substantial amount of jewellery, gold and silver ware, furniture, and paintings.[272] These included 31 'deep bowls', of three different sizes, 'two large bowls for soup' and 'six smaller', 'two jugs that are called deep with spouts' and 'other two jugs with spouts and handles like a pot'.[273] The Archduke began to give large porcelain gifts much earlier than this; during the time he was Viceroy of Portugal. In 1590, for instance, he sent 400 pieces of porcelain from Lisbon to his close friend Hans Khevenhüller, the Imperial ambassador in Spain.[274]

There were other members of the nobility, both male and female, living in the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands, who had an interest in acquiring porcelain. The earliest reference is found in the household inventories and shipment receipts of a member of the Mendoza family, the female collector Mencía de Mendoza, Marchioness of Zenete and Duchess of Calabria (1508–1554),[275] who at the age of 16 became the third wife of Henry III, Count of Nassau-Breda (1483–1538).[276] After Mencía, one of the richest and best-educated women in Spain, moved to the Southern Netherlands in 1524, she assembled an outstanding collection of art and curiosities, which included many pieces of porcelain.[277] An inventory taken in 1525 of the Mendoza family castle in Jadraque,[278] situated in the north-central province of Guadalajara, lists a large chest covered in leather containing 'several porcelains' among other items.[279] A shipment receipt made at Breda Castle in 1533 mentions a black square chest, no. 59, which contained porcelain among other objects.[280] This chest appears again in a shipment receipt made at Jadarque in 1535, which describes the porcelain as 'a large white porcelain in the form of a serving dish partly painted in blue, another white porcelain in the form of a barrel with cover, and four porcelain small bowls and one other broken'.[281] These receipts show that Mencía took her porcelain in this chest from Breda to Jadraque and then back to Breda.[282] After becoming a widow in 1538, Mencía resided permanently in Valencia, then one of the most important centres of the arts and scholarly activity in Spain. Three years later, in 1541, she married Fernando of Aragon, Duke of Calabria (1488–1550). An inventory taken in 1552–1553 of their Palace del Real in Valencia, lists a considerable number of pieces of porcelain, as well as porcelain of glass or clay (*barro*).[283] The pieces are described as being painted, engraved (*labrada*) or with gold decoration, and a few others as mounted in silver-gilt. The pieces listed as 'a porcelain of green glass with a gold border' and 'two blue and gold porcelain ewers with their lids which have the broken spout mounted in gold' may have referred to *Kinrande* porcelain.[284] Others described as 'white and engraved (*labrada*)' may have been porcelain with monochrome white glaze with moulded or incised decoration, such as those with *anhua* decoration recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558).

Porcelain is also mentioned in an inventory dated 1567, which was ordered by William I of Orange-Nassau (1533–1584),[285] when the contents of Breda Castle were moved to Dillenburg Castle, the ancestral seat of the Orange branch of the House of

Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 29, pl. 17. Also see Ibid., Appendix A, p. 168.

234 I am greatly indebted to Antonio F. Dávila Serrano, Research and Conservation Department, Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid in Alcalá de Henares, for providing me with images and information on the shards excavated from three archaeological sites in Madrid. I am also grateful to Alfonso Martín Flores, Museo de los Orígenes (former Museum of San Isidro) in Madrid, for information on archaeological finds of Chinese porcelain dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Madrid. For a brief discussion of some of these finds, see Coll Conesa, 2007, p. 129.

235 Published in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 267, fig. 18. Recently, Krahe suggested that this shard formed part of a *Kraak* plate with a rim border decoration type VI, according to Rinaldi's classification. Krahe, 2014, pp. 194–195, figs. 126 and 127, and p. 194, note 723. The fact that the duck scene is painted within a star-shaped medallion, however, suggests that it formed part of a dish or saucer dish, which could have had a rim border of pomegranate or teardrop-shaped medallions.

236 Discussed and illustrated in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 195, fig. 128. Comparable bowls, as noted by Krahe, are found in the Topkapi Saray. Published in Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. 2, nos. 1666–1668, 1671, 1672, 1674–1676.

237 Other finds from this site include a shard of a blue-and-white plate or dish, and of a *Kraak* piece. For images, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 198, figs. 137 and 138.

238 Krahe believes that the shards formed part of a fishbowl dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, by comparsion with a bowl in the Topkapi Saray, which has been dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. The jar bearing the Jiajing reign mark discussed here, however, suggest that the jar dates to the early to mid-sixteenth century, *c.*1522–1566. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 196–198, figs. 130, 132–136 for the shards and fig. 131 for the bowl in the Topkapi Saray. For a discussion and images of the jar in the private collection in Brazil, and one other decorated with four Buddhist lions, both described as fish bowls, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 82–85, nos. 32 and 33, respectively. For the jar in the Huaihaitang Collection, see Lai, 2012, pp. 134–135, no. 18.

239 These shards are now housed in the Museo de los Orígenes in Madrid. For an image and discussion of the bowl shard, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 200, fig. 141.

240 The plate shard bears a square mark *fu gui jia ji* (a fine vase for the rich and honourable). Published in Gregorio I. Yánez Santiago and Ignacio Saúl-Pérez Juana del Casal, 'Materiales cerámicos del siglo XVI al XIX en Madrid', in *Actas de las Segundas Jornadas de Patrimonio Arqueológico en la Comunidad de Madrid,* Comunidad Autónoma, Dirección General de Patrimonio Histórico, Madrid, 2007, pp. 91–101; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 200–201, fig. 142.

241 Published together with a stem cup with similar 'pencil style' decoration and fitted with silver mounts probably made in Europe in the British Museum, in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 201–202, figs. 144 and 445, respectively. For a discussion on the British Museum stem cup, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 279, no. 11:7.

242 These shards, now housed in the Museo Arqueológico Regional, are published in Juan Gómez Hernanz and Ignacio Saúl Pérez-Juana del Casal, *Ficción y realidad en el Siglo de Oro. El Quijote a través de la Arqueología*, Madrid, 2005, p. 176.

243 The building of the convent, founded in 1479, had some alterations made in 1616. Originally the building had six shops on the lower level, which opened to the Calle Mayor, the main trading centre of Madrid at the time. Illustrated and discussed in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 203, fig. 147.

244 For a discussion and images of these finds, see Ibid., pp. 160–172.

245 Krahe notes that until now, no porcelain has been found in the provinces of the Basque Country. Ibid., p. 159.

246 For a discussion on these finds, see Miyata Rodríguez, 2008/1, pp. 9–10, figs. 1–8; Miyata Rodríguez 2008/2 pp. 6–7, figs. 9–16; Canepa, 2012/1, p. 267; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 213–215.

247 Published in Jaume Coll Conesa, '7.- Cerámica moderna', in Pedro Jiménez Castillo, *Platería 14. Sobre cuatro casas andalusíes y su evolución (siglos X-XIII)*, Murcia, 1997, fig. 49. For a sketch drawing see, Ibid., catalogue no. 152.

248 For images and a discussion on these finds, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 176, 174 and 189–190.

249 For a discussion and images of the dish, see Ibid., pp. 189–190, figs. 114 and 115. As noted by Krahe, the decoration of the central medallion of the dish relates closely to that seen on a dish in the Amaral Cabral Collection in Portugal, which bears the mark *yong bao chang chun* (eternal protection and long lasting spring) within a double circle. The *Espadarte* (1558) examples bear the *mark wan fu you tong* (fortune abounds for everyone) within a double circle.

250 Research by Álvaro Zamora has demonstrated that the mounts have marks of Augsburg (1600-1610) and of Pillipp Benner (from 1608). For a discussion and images of the bowl, and the marks on the mounts, see Álvaro Zamora, 2006, pp. 719–746; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 229–231, fig. 209. The leather case in which the bowl is kept has been also preserved at the Church.

251 A sketch drawing of the *San Felipe* bowl is published in Von der Porten, 2011, p. 22, I–6. For images and a discussion on the Santa Elena shards, see Linda R. Pomper, James Legg and Chester B. DePratter, 'Chinese porcelain from the site of the Spanish settlement of Santa Elena, 1566–1587', *Vormer uit Vuur,* 212/213, 1, 2011, p. 36, fig. 7 (described as a plate in the caption by mistake).

252 Published in Trenk and Vasallo e Silva, 2001, p. 43, fig. 1; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 104, fig. 32.

253 The gilded decoration of this bowl, consisiting in fine scrolling leaves, somewhat resembles those seen on Chinese gold filigree jewellery, such as the examples found in the Spanish shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, which sank in 1638 (Appendix 3). The gilded decoration can also be stylistically related to the gilded scrolls and flowers seen on some carved ivory figures made in the Philippines. The bowl, which still preserves its original leather case, will be discussed and illustrated in a forthcoming publication by Rose Kerr.

254 Sargent, however, has suggested that the gilded decoration was applied in Europe, possibly in the early eighteenth century. For a discussion and images of the dish, see Sargent, 2012, pp. 51–52, no. 4.

255 For this opinion, see Álvaro Zamora, 2006, pp. 744–745.

256 Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 232, fig. 214.

257 Published in The Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Yuan and Ming Blue-and-White Ware from Jiangxi*, Hong Kong, 2002, ill. 73. Mentioned, together with a similar example in the Capital Museum in Beijing, in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 232.

258 See Lai, 2012, pp. 152–153, no. 27.

259 Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 233, fig. 215.

260 According to the study by Krahe, they would probably have used tin-glazed earthenware from Talavera bearing the noble owner's coat of arms for the second-best dinner set or sets for the use of their retainers. Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 151–153.

261 Margaret of Austria was by her two marriages Princess of Asturias and Duchess of Savoy. In 1496, when Margaret married John, Prince of Asturias, the only son and heir of the King of Spain, Ferdinand II of

Nassau in Germany. William I, the eldest son of William, Count of Nassau-Dillenburg (Henry III's younger brother) (1487–1559), was sent to the imperial court to receive education, first at the castle of the Nassau-Orange family in Breda and later at Brussels under the supervision of Mary of Austria, who succeeded her aunt Margaret of Austria as regent of the Netherlands, from 1531 to 1555.[286] In 1559, William I was appointed Governor of the provinces Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht.[287] The inventory, however, lists only two pieces of porcelain, which are described as 'a white porcelain bowl with gilded foot and cover, weighing 2 marques and 6 ounces' and 'another porcelain blue bowl with silver foot'.[288] The bowls, probably with metal mounts, may no longer exist as Dillenburg Castle was destroyed in 1760 during the Seven Years War.

A large quantity of porcelain appears in an inventory of Breda Castle taken in 1619, after the death of Eleanora of Bourbon-Condé (1587–1619),[289] wife of Prince Philip William of Orange (1554–1618), eldest son of William I of Orange and his first wife Anna van Egmond and Buren (1533–1558). The inventory lists 240 pieces of porcelain, which were distributed in various rooms.[290] Most of the porcelain, a total of 199 pieces, was kept in the 'Princess' Cabinet'.[291] Some entries describe a few pieces of unusual shapes, such as '2 porcelain salt cellars, one in the shape of a conch', '7 small porcelain cups with a porcelain mustard pot', 'a collection of glasses and a porcelain mustard pot', a total of 7 'porcelain bottles' (one of them with silver mounts) and '6 porcelains that one calls clapmutsen'.[292] The latter entry is of particular importance as it is the earliest known mention in an inventory of the term *clapmutsen* (*klapmutsen*), which was used to refer to bowls, usually made of *Kraak* porcelain,[293] which had rounded sides and up-turned rims. Such bowls were called *klapmutsen* because they resembled a type of brimmed hat that was widely worn in the Netherlands throughout the sixteenth century. As will be shown in section 3.2.1 of this Chapter, a *Kraak klapmuts*, together with a saucer-dish, a dish and a cup of the type known as 'crow cup',[294] were brought into the Northern Nethrlands by a Dutch ship in 1603, as these appear depicted in drawings from the logbook of the VOC ship *Gelderland* (Fig. 3.2.1.2a, b and c).[295]

In Antwerp, a city jointly governed by Archduke Albert and Isabella Clara between 1598 and 1621, a number of male and female Dutch or Flemish residents owned and/or were involved in the porcelain trade as early as the late sixteenth century. Recently examined probate inventories of ten Antwerp residents, taken between 1574 and 1593, list a small number of pieces of porcelain among their household items.[296] Eight residents, from four different social groups (middle to upper class), owned up to three pieces. The other two, Maria Muliers (1579) and Jacobyne Meeus (1593), who both belonged to the highest social group (households containing at least 16 rooms), owned over ten pieces each. The probate inventory of Cornelis I Grameye (Grammaye), drawn up in 1600, lists six pieces in the 'Large lower room': 'a small porcelain bowl with gilded handles and foot', probably mounted in silver-gilt; 'a decorated porcelain charger with an ewer' and 'three porcelain fruit dishes decorated on the white'. The 1606 inventory of Servaas Wouters mentions that he was a merchant of mirrors, glass, earthenware and porcelain.[297] The inventory of Jan Damant drawn up in 1610 lists among the contents of a 'Small room next to the glass cabinet': 'a beautiful large porcelain dish', and that of Catharina Court's drawn up in 1616 mentions that she '… leaves and bequeaths to Jan Nicolaï the Yonger her two pieces of porcelain with silver feet and also all her other porcelains'.[298]

It is not surprising that members of the Portuguese community in Antwerp owned

considerably larger quantities of porcelain. Portuguese merchants began to settle in Antwerp after Manuel I established an official royal factory in the city in 1501.[299] They became actively involved in the trade of commodities from the Portuguese overseas territories in Asia, Africa and the New World, and thus made Antwerp the principal market for selling the spices they imported into Europe.[300] The porcelain they imported, however, was still rarely available for sale in Antwerp in the early 1550s. It is recorded that only a single chest of porcelain was imported by sea from Portugal in 1552–1553.[301]

An extensive probate inventory of Isabel da Vega, the wife of the Portuguese merchant banker Emmanuel Ximenes (1564–1632), taken in Antwerp between June 13 and 28 of 1617, following her death on May 18, mentions a number of pieces of porcelain among her belongings.[302] Emmanuel Ximenes, a Knight of the Equestrian Order of Saint Stephen, belonged to a wealthy family who formed part of a powerful network of Portuguese New Christian[303] family businesses in Lisbon, Seville, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa, among others, which developed close ties to the Habsburg courts in Brussels and Madrid as well as the Medici in Florence.[304] He assembled a splendid collection of art and scientific objects in his second residence on the Antwerp Meir. In the 1617 inventory, the porcelain is listed in two of the rooms of the residence.[305] Among the contents of a room described as the 'small porcelain room' (*porceleynkamerken*) are listed 53 items of porcelain, including 'Eleven porcelain bowls, among them both large and small', 'Eighteen porcelain dishes, some broken'; 'Three large and three smaller porcelain dishes'; 'A broken porcelain bowl'; 'A small porcelain box'; and 'Five porcelain saucers,[306] three of which are broken'.[307] One wonders if the 'small porcelain room' would have been specially designed to display the porcelain.

Emmanuel Ximenes and his neighbour, Peter Paul Rubens, had an international network of acquaintances. The same can be said of Albrecht Dürer, who while in Antwerp from 1520 to 1521, became an acquaintance of the Portuguese factor, João Brandão (1509–1514 and again from 1520–1526) and his secretary and successor, Rodrigo Fernandez d'Almada. Dürer received 'three pieces of porcelain' as gifts from Brandão, and 'an ivory whistle and a very pretty piece of porcelain' from Lorenz Sterck, treasurer of the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp.[308]

The inventories of the belongings of another prominent Portuguese New Christian merchant banker, António da Fonseca (*c.*1515–1588), shows that porcelain circulated to other important cities of continental Europe that had an Iberian (Portuguese and Spanish) community as early as the 1580s. These documents, compiled a few months before his death in Februray of 1588, reveal that his stately house in Rome (where he lived from 1556 until he died) contained a large quantity of exotic objects in precious materials from Asia, including porcelain, mother-of-pearl, coconut and tortoise.[309] An inventory, drawn up in Italian, lists a total of 526 pieces of porcelain that are described as being of both fine and ordinary quality, which were displayed in wooden credenzas. One contained 'a porcelain bowl with *mirabolana* [?]'; and 'one basket with eight small dishes and one large all in porcelain as well as two porcelain bowls'. Another credenza, described as from albuccio, contained 'twenty-one large porcelain dishes, seven half-sized porcelain dishes, one-hundred-and-two low quality porcelain dishes, a large gourd-shaped vase in low quality porcelain, twenty-five porcelain vases of different kinds, seven large porcelain bowls, twenty four small bowls also in porcelain, one large eight-sided porcelain bowl with cover, two small gilded ivory boxes, seventeen small saucer dishes, two majolica cups, one porcelain covered bowl,

Aragón and Queen Isabella I of Castile, she left the Netherlands for Spain.

262 In the first room of Margaret's cabinets is listed 'A quite beautiful porcelain pot without lid and tending towards grey'. Margaret also kept porcelain in the so-called 'Garden' or 'Coral cabinet', which served to house and display part of her valuable collection. Three pieces kept in this cabinet were embellished with silver mounts: 'Another porcelain ewer with a well modelled silver-gilt lid, foot and handle' and 'Two other ewers of a type of blue porcelain with silver-gilt lids'. There is also 'A beautiful wide-mouthed cup in white porcelain with a lid, and painted figures of men and women all around'. Listed in the chapel is 'A beautiful large blue porcelain pot with two silver rings'. A transcription of the inventory is published in Eleanor E. Tremayne, *The First Governess of The Netherlands, Margaret of Austria*, New York, 1908, pp. 305–327; and Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 132 and 364. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 29 and 32. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Dagmar Eichberger, Institut für Europäische Kunstgeschichte, for providing me with information on Margaret of Austria's collection. For further bibliographical references for Margaret of Austria's inventory, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 92, note 339.

263 Van Orley is listed in the ordinance of 1525 as Bernard Dorleck. See, Emmanuel de Quinsonas, *Matériaux pour server à l'histoire de Margerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie, régente des Pays-Bas*, vol. 3, Paris 1860, p. 290. After Margaret's death in 1530, Van Orley was appointed court painter by her niece and successor as regent, Mary of Austria (*r.* 1531–1555). For the Annunciation painting and a comparable porcelain ewer, see A. I. Spriggs, 'Oriental Porcelain in Western Paintings 1450–1700', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 36, 1964–1966, p. 74, pl. 60 a-c. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32.

264 Barbara Welzel, 'Armory and Archducal Image: The Sense of Touch from the Five Senses of Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens', in Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella 1598–1621, Essays*, Turnhout, 1998, p. 99; and Barbara Welzel, 'Los cuadros de los cinco sentidos de Jan Brueghel como espejo de la cultura de la corte de Alberto e Isabel Clara Eugenia', in Vergara, 1999, p. 95. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32. I am indebted to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, independent scholar, for suggesting these bibliographical references.

265 The *Sense of Taste* depicts an open gallery with a table and a sideboard displaying precious glass and metal objects, while *Kraak* porcelain is portrayed filled with fruit and other foods. There is a small bowl with silver-gilt mounts, a large dish, two saucer dishes, a plate with panelled borders, and a dish with a pomegranate border, such as those known to have been on board the *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* when it wrecked en route to Lisbon in 1606. The *Sense of Smell*, showing the court gardens, depicts two pieces of *Kraak* porcelain in the foreground. They are the same bottle and large vase that appear in the *Sense of Sight*, but in this painting they are filled with flowers. Afonso, 1998; Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 62–63, fig. 1; Canepa, 2012/1, p. 263; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32.

266 The *chakra*, the Sanskrit word for wheel, is represented as a flaming disc or wheel and is one of the Eight Buddhist Emblems. It represents the teachings of the Buddha, thus is a symbol of enlightenment. It also symbolises sovereignty as it is one of the attributes of the Hindu God, Vishnu. Mentioned in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, p. 277.

267 The shard, excavated at site DP-1, is published in Cheng, 2009, p. 106, fig. 68.

268 AGS, Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 365, folio 43r. Valladolid, 1 April 1602. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 93. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32.

269 Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix B, pp. 122 and 124. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32. A year later, in 1604, Albert received some porcelain from Catarraxa. AGS, Valladolid, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 365, folio 146r. Catarraxa, 10 January 1602. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, Appendix A, p. 94. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32.

270 Jordan Gschwend, 1998, pp. 218-219; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 32.

271 Dries Raeymaekers, 'The "Gran Privado" of Archduke Albert. Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, Count of Añover (ca. 1560–1620)', in René Vermeir, Maurits Ebben and Raymond Fagel (eds.), *Agentes e Identidades en Movimiento. España y los Países Bajos, siglos* XVI-XVII, Madrid, 2011, p. 145. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014, p. 32.

272 Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, manuscrito 26–I–11, fols. 53–92. Inbentario de los bienes y hazienda que quedaron por fin y muerte del Sr. Conde de Añover en los Estados de Flandes. I am greatly indebted to Dries Raeymaekers, Radboud University, The Netherlands, for providing me with the pages of the inventory listing porcelain and white silver.

273 Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 32–33.

274 Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 2751, Kevenhüller, folio 674r. December 1590. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 8, note 51 and Appendix A, pp. 71–72. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

275 Mencía was the daughter of Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar y Mendoza, 1st Marquis of Zenete (d. 1523) and his second wife Maria de Fonseca and Toledo (d. 1521). Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

276 Henry III, a member of the Great Council at Margaret of Austria's court in Mechelen and later Chamberlain of Emperor Charles V, occupied an important position in the Burgundian-Netherlands. His principal residences were Breda Castle, which had been owned by the Nassau family since the first half of the fifteenth century, and a palace in Brussels where he housed a collection of paintings. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

277 The connection between Asian material, specifically porcelain, and the collection of Mencía de Mendoza was originally presented by Dr. Mari-Tere Alvarez to the Mendoza project team in 2006 (Oaxaca, Mexico). Based on the team's research, Mencía's collection of porcelain and its connection with Asia was presented in the talk 'The Significance of Chinese Art in Spanish Aristocracy' given at the Renaissance Society of America in 2009. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33. I am greatly indebted to Mari-Tere Alvarez, J. Paul Getty Museum, for providing me with extracts from Mencía de Mendoza's unpublished inventories.

278 Mencía de Mendoza and Henry III resided at Jadraque Castle for seven months after their wedding. In the succeeding years, Mencía returned numerous times to reside there. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

279 Cited in Juana Hidalgo Ogáyar, 'Doña Mencía de Mendoza y su residencia en el castillo de Jadraque', *Archivo Español de Arte* 310, 2005, p. 188. This unpublished inventory, dated 24 January 1525, is housed at the Archivo del Palau, Marquesado del Zenete (hereafter cited as APMZ), leg. 122–20. This inventory lists the objects belonging to Mencía that had been taken from Ayora (Mencía's residence in Valencia before her marriage) to Jadraque. The legajo also includes another inventory drawn up a few days earlier, on 6 January, which does not list any porcelain objects.

280 APMZ, leg. 122–5, *Inventarios de las alhajas y ropas entregadas a Vicente, conserje de la casa de Breda y a maestre Lorenzo por Agustín Cuellar para llevar por la mar. Año 1533*, folio 4r. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

fifty Portuguese earthenware vases'. Another walled credenza contained 'one ivory box as Doctor Costa's pledge, forty-eight Portuguese earthenware vases, one large porcelain vase with cover, five large porcelain dishes, three more [dishes] even larger also in porcelain, one porcelain washbasin, two small bowls and three dishes all of them in porcelain'.[310] As Novoa observes, António da Fonseca's exquisite tastes and interests reflect his vast wealth and social standing as *Mercatore Romanam Curiam Sequentes*, designation given to all merchant bankers who dealt with the Apostolic Chamber in Rome, and prove that he maintained close ties with his homeland and its commercial interests in Asia.[311] It is likely that Fonseca acquired this large number of pieces of porcelain through Antwerp or Lisbon.

Recent research into probate inventories of seventeenth century Antwerp residents has revealed that by 1630 a large proportion of households belonging to six different socio-economic groups owned at least 8 pieces of porcelain. The porcelain, as shown in Fonseca's inventory, was used for display in representative rooms of the house.[312] Visual sources attest to the presence of various pieces of porcelain in Antwerp at the time. For instance, a painting by the Antwerp artist Willem van Haecht (1593–1637), *Appelles Painting Campaspe* of *c.*1630, depicting the art gallery of Apelles with people admiring a large collection of paintings, sculptures and other works of art, including a lady holding a blue-and-white porcelain bowl in her hand and kneeling beside a wooden cabinet with an open door that reveals several pieces of porcelain kept on the interior shelves of the lower section (Figs. 3.1.3.6a and b). On the floor, beside her are displayed five pieces of blue-and-white porcelain. At least three of them appear to be *Kraak* porcelain: a large dish with a panelled border, a globular-shaped *kendi* with a panelled body mounted in gilt, and a *klapmuts* with monster-masks on the rim. A still life composition *Allegory of Fire* by Adriaen van Utrecht (1599–1652), signed and dated 1636, depicts on a table covered with a fine cloth six pieces of *Kraak* porcelain alongside goblets made of marine shells or rock crystal, as well as locally produced glass, gold and silver objects, all luxury goods linked to Antwerp's intercontinental trade (Fig. 3.1.3.7).[313] The porcelain depicted on this still life painting, probably dating to the Wanli/Tianqi reign, includes two large dishes of different sizes with panelled borders of a type similar to those on board the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* when it sank in 1638 off Saipan, which will be discussed in section 3.3.1.1 of this Chapter, a small saucer-dish with a star-shaped medallion, two bowls with a border of flying horses below the rim (for a *Kraak* bowl with a similar rim border, see Fig. 3.2.2.5) and an elephant-shaped *kendi* decorated with a saddle-cloth depicting a horse on a terrace, which is similarly modelled to that recovered from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600).[314] The paintings discussed above indicate that by the 1630s porcelain was still valued more as an imported curiosity than for its practical function, thus worth of being depicted in paintings alongside other luxury goods or being exhibited alongside paintings, sculptures and books in the art galleries of wealthy merchants of Antwerp to be both studied and admired by the owner himself as well as by visitors.

From the textual and visual sources discussed above one can conclude that porcelain was much more readily available and appreciated in the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands than in Spain. Porcelain began to be acquired by the Habsburg governors, high-ranking nobility and affluent merchants as early as the sixteenth century. Porcelain, with or without metal mounts, was displayed throughout the living apartments or in the cabinet of curiosities. Visual sources suggest that the porcelain imported was all blue-and-white from Jingdezhen, and that from the early

Fig. 3.1.3.6a *Appelles Painting Campaspe*
Oil on panel, 104.9cm x 148.7cm
Willem van Haecht (1593–1637), *c.*1630
Mauritshuis Museum, The Hague (inv. no. 266)

Fig. 3.1.3.6b *Appelles Painting Campaspe* (detail)

Fig. 3.1.3.7 *Allegory of Fire*
Oil on canvas, 117cm x 154cm
Adriaen van Utrecht (1599–1652), signed and dated 1636
Museés Royaux des Beaus-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (inv. no. 4731)

seventeenth century it was mostly of the *Kraak* type. Some pieces were similar to those recovered from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600). Besides being painted, the porcelain is described as having been engraved (*labrada*), perhaps porcelain with monochrome glaze with moulded or incised (*anhua*) decoration, or having had gold decoration, which may have referred to the *Kinrande* type. An inventory of Breda Castle, taken in 1619, provides the earliest known textual reference of the term *clapmutsen* (*klapmutsen*), used to refer to bowls usually made of *Kraak* porcelain, a type that was imported by both the Portuguese and Spanish.

Porcelain, however, was still rarely available for sale in Antwerp in the early 1550s. It is recorded that only a single chest of porcelain was imported from Portugal in 1552–1553. Probate inventories of ten male and female Antwerp residents of different socio-economic groups, taken between 1574 and 1593, have shown that eight of these residents of the upper to middle class owned up to three pieces of porcelain. The other two residents of the highest social group owned over ten pieces. Inventories of the early seventeenth century also list porcelain, and by 1630, a large proportion of households belonging to six different socio-economic groups owned at least 8 pieces. Visual sources attest to the presence of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain in Antwerp. Most of them appear to be *Kraak* porcelain of both open and closed forms, dating to the Wanli/Tianqi reign. This suggests that porcelain was still valued more as an imported curiosity than for its practical function, thus worth being depicted in paintings alongside luxury goods or being exhibited alongside, paintings, sculptures and books in the art galleries of wealthy merchants of Antwerp to be both studied and admired by visitors as well as by the owner himself. Not surprisingly, wealthy members of the Portuguese community owned considerably larger quantities of porcelain. This is particularly the case of those like the merchant-banker Emmanuel Ximenes who formed part of a powerful network of Portuguese New Christian family businesses with close ties to the Habsburg courts in Brussels and Madrid.

281 APMZ, leg. 122-15, *Relación de las cosas que por mandato de la Sra. marquesa entrega Agustín Cuellar, sastre y guardarropa de dicha marquesa, a Antonio de Oriola para mandarlo a Flandes. Jadraque, 10 de junio de 1535*, folio 4v. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

282 Mencía stayed at Jadraque from August 1533 until July 1535, when she returned again to Breda. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

283 APMZ, leg. 122–8, *Minutas y apuntes para formar los asientos e inventarios de las alhajas, ropas, muebles, etc., de la Exma. Sra. Duquesa de Calabria, Marquesa de Zenete. 1552–1553*, folio 1–123. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

284 See, for example, a Jiajing bowl with monochrome green overglaze enamel and *Kinrande* decoration with silver-gilt mounts in the British Museum, published in Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 245–246, no. 9:66. Ewers with monochrome iron-red or blue overglaze enamel and *Kinrande* decoration were also made during the Jiajing reign.

285 William I of Orange inherited the estates of his cousin René of Chalon-Orange (b. 1519–1544), the son of Henry III of Nassau-Breda and his second wife Claudia of Chalon, Princess of Orange (1498–1521), after René died in the battle of St. Dizier. René of Chalon-Orange was the first Nassau to be Prince of Orange. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33 and p. 253, note 112.

286 William inherited vast estates in what is today The Netherlands and Belgium when he was 11-years-old. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

287 The relations of the Habsburgs and the Nassaus, who had collaborated during the reign of Emperor Charles V, became hostile when William I of Orange became the leader of the Dutch revolts, ultimately transforming part of the Southern Netherlands into The Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands, referred throughout this doctoral thesis as the Dutch Republic. Mentioned in Ibid., p. 33 and p. 254, note 113.

288 S.W.A. Drossaers and Th. H. Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567–1795*, vol. I, The Hague, 1974, p. 17. I am greatly indebted to

Porcelain trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England [3.2]

Trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic [3.2.1]

Information regarding porcelain and its production was first published in the Northern Netherlands in 1596. That year, Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* was published in Amsterdam with a section explaining 'How they make porcelain more exquisite than crystal' in China. Linschoten, giving a remarkably accurate description of the material qualities and manufacturing process of porcelain, writes 'To tell of the porcelains made there, is not to be believed, and those that are exported yearly to India, Portugal and Nova Hispania and elsewhere! But the finest are not allowed outside the country on penalty of corporal punishment, but serve solely for the Lords and Governors of the country and are so exquisite that no crystalline glass is to be compared with them. These porcelains are made inland of a certain earth which is very hard which is pounded to pieces or ground, and they leave it to soak in troughs cut out of stone, and when it is well soaked and frequently stirred as milk is churned to make butter they make of that which floats on top the finest work, and after that somewhat lower the coarser, and so on, and they paint them and make on them those figures and likenesses they want, and then they are dried and baked in the kiln'.[315]

Evidence of porcelain in the Northern Netherlands before the establishment of the VOC in 1602

Recently examined probate inventories housed in the Rotterdam Weeskamer archive indicate that only a few well-to-do residents of the Northern Netherlands owned a small quantity of porcelain prior to the foundation of the VOC, in 1602.[316] For instance, an inventory of the estate of Joris Joosten de Vlaming drawn up in 1597, only a year after Linschoten's *Itinerario* was published, lists '2 small porcelain plates' and '3 Eastern jars'. The latter, however, may not refer to porcelain as an Eastern glass bottle is listed in another inventory. The 1601 inventory of the estate of Aeltje Cornelis, a woman who owned a grocer's shop, lists 'two porcelain plates', and another inventory of 1602, lists 'a porcelain dish' and 'a porcelain bowl' among the belongings of the silversmith Jan Jansz.[317]

Further evidence is provided by a few archaeological finds of porcelain made at private kilns in Jingdezhen from the reigns of Jiajing to early Wanli in Enkhuizen, Arnemuiden, Amsterdam and Alkmaar. Jiajing finds include two shards of the base of a blue-and-white dish excavated in Enkhuizen, decorated with an Arabic inscription within a *ruyi* border, which relate to that seen on two shards recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *São João* (1552).[318] This plate, similar to an example in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul, could thus have circulated to the Northern Netherlands via private trade contacts in the Middle East or Portugal, or even as booty taken from the Portuguese or Spanish, or by the Early Companies that preceded the VOC.[319] A shard that formed part of the rim of a Jiajing blue-and-white fluted dish with foliate rim excavated from the remains of a house in Arnemuiden, near Middelburg in the province of Zeeland, probably arrived there prior to or in 1572 because the town was destroyed that year by Spanish troops of the Duke of Alba.[320] Shards of identical dishes were recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *São Bento* (1554) and others were excavated at Shangchuan Island, where the Portuguese traded clandestinely before they settled in Macao.[321] One other shard that formed part of a Jiajing blue-and-white dish decorated with a Buddhist Lion playing with a brocaded ball excavated in Amsterdam, relates to finds from the aforementioned *São Bento* and also from the Portuguese shipwreck *Espadarte*, which sank four years later, in 1558.[322]

Finds dating to the early Wanli reign include shards of two blue-and-white bowls with *Kinrande* decoration found in the cesspit of a building on the Oude Gracht in Alkmaar, in the province of Noord Holland, which belonged to urban middle class residents (Fig. 3.2.1.1).[323] Although forty-four shards of bowls with similar *Kinrande* decoration were recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576),[324] there are finds in the cesspit that suggest that the remains were deposited much later, between 1650 and 1690.[325] There are also two fragments of a *Kraak* plate decorated with deer in landscape within a white cavetto and a continuous egret rim border, and one other of the base of a cup showing a bird on the interior, known as 'crow cup', which were excavated from a landfill layer with a context dating to 1595–1597 in what is now the Waterlooplein in Amsterdam.[326] The archaeological finds discussed thus far confirm

Fig. 3.2.1.1 Fragments of two *Kinrande* bowls excavated at the Oude Gracht, Alkmaar
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Sebastiaan Ostkamp

Jan van Campen, Rijksmuseum, for providing me with the 1567 and 1619 inventories and an English translation of the text listing porcelain.

289 Eleanora was the daughter of Henri I of Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1552–1588) and his second wife Charlotte Catherine de la Tremoille (1568–1629).

290 In the 'Cabinet of the Prince' are listed: 'four large porcelain dishes with ewers', '25 porcelain butter dishes, two of which broken', '5 porcelain half grape must dishes (*mostschaelen*)', '2 porcelain saucer-dishes, one of which broken', 'a porcelain ewer with silver gilt lid and foot', '23 watered (*gewaterde*, possibly refers to an undulating or waved rim) porcelain saucers' and '3 porcelain saucers'. Drossaers and Scheurleer, 1974, p. 146. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 33–34.

291 The porcelain included 'A large porcelain flowerpot and four large saucers', 'a gilt porcelain saucer with its pot', 'another 12 large porcelain saucer dishes', '8 white porcelain saucers' and '41 small porcelain saucers'. Nine pieces are described as 'watered' (*gewaterde*): '5 large watered porcelain basins' and '4 small watered porcelain cups'. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 34.

292 Drossaers and Scheurleer, 1974, pp. 161–162. Cited in Canepa, 2014, p. 34.

293 This form of bowl was also made at the Zhangzhou kilns. *Zhangzhou* examples have only been recovered from the *Binh Thuan* wreck, a Chinese junk that sank east of Phan Thiet in southern Vietnam in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 120.

294 The term 'crow cup' is often used in modern literature to refer to a type of cup with a bird, mistakenly believed to represent a crow or magpie, depicted on the central medallion. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 121. For a discussion on this term, based on recent research in VOC records and on Volker's translations of those records, see Cynthia Viallé, '*Camel cups, parrot cups* and other Chinese Kraak porcelain items in Dutch trade records, 1598–1623', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, pp. 37–51.

295 The earliest documentary reference of the use of this term is found in a VOC document dated Patani, June 28th 1608, where '...1000 large fine bowls or clapmutsen and some small ones' are listed. Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 23.

296 For more information, see Carolien de Staelen, *Spulletjes en hun betekenis in een commerciële metropool. Antwerpenaren en hun materiële cultuur in de zestiende eeuw*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Antwerp, Antwerp, 2007, Table 5.11. I am grateful to Bruno Blondé, University of Antwerp, Centre for Urban History, for providing me with a chapter on majolica and porcelain from Carolien de Staelen's PhD Thesis. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 123.

297 E. Duvenger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 1, Brussels, 1984, pp. 11 and 144, respectively. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 34. With thanks to Prof. Dr. Christine Göttler, University of Bern, for bringing these inventories to my attention.

298 Duvenger, 1984, pp. 224 and 353, respectively. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 34. I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, for translating texts from these inventories into English.

299 The Portuguese royal factory at Antwerp sold Asian spices and was responsible for acquiring south German silver and copper in exchange for spices until it closed down in 1549. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 126.

300 The city fell into a period of decline after the damage caused by pillaging Spanish troops in 1576 and the conquest by the Duke of Parma in 1585. At the end of the 1620s, during the reign of Philip IV, many members of the Portuguese community left the city. A few wealthy merchant-banker families, committed to the financial services of the court in Brussels and the Spanish army, stayed and were protected by the Archdukes and the Spanish government from further attacks. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 127.

301 J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, Louvain, 1925, p. 267. Mentioned in Jörg, 1982, p. 15, note 7; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 34.

302 I am greatly indebted to Christine Göttler for providing me with information on Emmanuel Ximenes and this unpublished inventory, which was translated and annotated by Sarah Joan Moran. The original document is preserved at the Stadsarchief of Antwerp, *Notaris P. Fabri* 1489 (1615–1617). Recently Göttler conceived and edited a website, in collaboration with Sven Dupré (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science/Freie Universität Berlin), which provides a complete transcription and translation of the 1617 probate inventory of the movable goods belonging to Emmanuel Ximenez

that already in the second half of the sixteenth century porcelain was incidentally found in Dutch households.

Evidence of porcelain in the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic from the establishment of the VOC in 1602 up to 1644

Porcelain was first brought in a more structured way into the Northern Netherlands as part of private consignments in 1599. That year, as mentioned earlier, Admiral Jacob Cornelisz van Neck brought back to Amsterdam four ships with rich cargoes that included porcelain. In December of the following year, Cornelis van Heemskerck, Vice Admiral for the fleet of Admiral Jacob Wilkens, wrote to the Directors in Amsterdam stating that he was sending three private consignments as gifts to his father. Two of the parcels, as recently noted by Viallé, contained only porcelain. One consisted of 224 pieces, the other of 92 pieces.[327] A variety of shapes are listed, including butter plates, *cameelscoppen* (camel cups),[328] fruit dishes, small cups, covered cups, saucers, stem cups, small flasks, rose cups. There are also large, fine, moulded [?] cups, smaller cups with blue borders, fine white angular saucers, fine white-and-blue cups, small painted cups, a yellow covered cup and green cups in which to put 'gibet'.[329]

It is well known that porcelain was also brought as booty seized from Portuguese ships trading in Asia at this time. The first, as mentioned earlier, was the porcelain cargo of the richly laden carrack *São Tiago*, sold in the autumn of 1602 in the port of Middelburg in the province of Zeeland, which belonged in part to the Italian Francesco Carletti. According to Carletti, his porcelain included 'an assortment of between 650 and 700 pieces, large and small, of plates, bowls and other luxuries', which he bought at very low prices. In addition, there were 'two large vases, perhaps the largest that ever have been brought to Europe from those lands' and 'three others, and all of them full of Chinese-made Ginger, which is the best'. Carletti mentions that he purchased this assortment of porcelain 'white and decorated in blue' with the 'help of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who also got the aforementioned vases for me'.[330] Part of the porcelain cargo of the *São Tiago*, which according to Dutch records consisted of dishes and small bowls, was given as gifts to the town of Middelburg and a number of its officials.[331] Then on February 1603, the *Santa Catarina* was captured in the Straits of Singapore while en route from Macao to Malacca. The proceeds from the sale of the booty by the newly established VOC, which took place in September of the following year, reached over 3 million guilders. According to the German publisher of travel accounts, Levinus Hulsius, the ship's cargo included 'an innumerable quantity of porcelain vessels of all kinds, about 30 lasts, which is over a thousand hundredweight'.[332] From Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck, whose fleet captured the *Santa Catarina*, we learn that it included both 'much coarse and fine porcelain'.[333] The States General, as the members of the Portuguese and Spanish royal courts had done earlier, sent some of the porcelain as diplomatic gifts. For instance, five wooden cases filled with porcelain and other rarities were sent to King Henry IV of France (r. 1589–1610) and his wife, Maria de Medici (1573–1642). Some pieces were also sent to three French ministers.[334]

That same year, 1603, the Directors instructed the Company merchants sailing to Asia to buy 'a good batch of porcelain of various assortments, also a quantity of the largest dishes, because these were in demand in the Northern Netherlands, and yielded more profit than spices'.[335] This order, together with a list of prices (*pryscourant*) given by the Directors to the merchants for the range of porcelain that could be sold in Amsterdam, informs us that a great variety of porcelain shapes, their quality ranging

and his wife Isabel da Vega in Antwerp. For more information, see http://ximenez.unibe.ch/.

303 The term New Christians refers to descendants of Jewish families of Portugal who were forcibly converted to Christianity in 1497.

304 The porcelain collections of the Medici family in Italy are beyond the scope of this study. For information on this subject, see Francesco Morena, *Dalle Indie orientali alla corte di Toscana – Collezioni di arte cinese e giapponese a Palazzo Pitti*, Florence, 2005; and Maura Rinaldi, 'The Italian Connection – Florentine Traders in the East and the Medici Collection of the 16th and 17th Centuries', in Cheng, 2012, pp. 116–129.

305 The inventory describes the residence as having had four floors and lists fifteen rooms or spaces. For more information, see the section 'Emmanuel Ximenez's Town Dwellings on the Antwerp Meir' in the above mentioned website http://ximenez.unibe.ch/..

306 I am grateful to Anne Gerritsen for the correct transcription of the word *saucierkens*, which means saucers.

307 The contents of the 'Cannery' or bottling room included 'A little basket with seven small porcelain bowls'. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 35.

308 J. Veth and Samuel Muller, *Albrecht Dürers Niederländische Reise*, vol. 2, Berlin and Utrecht, 1918, pp. 192–193. Cited in Massing, 2009, p. 308; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 35.

309 For a discussion on António de Fonseca's inventories, see James Nelson Novoa, 'Unicorns and Bezoars in a Portuguese house in Rome. António de Fonseca's Portuguese Inventories', *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate 14.1* (2012), pp. 91–111; and James W. Nelson Novoa, 'Saperi e gusti di un banchiere portoghese a Roma nel Renascimento. L'inventario di António da Fonseca', *Giornale di storia*, 10 (2012), pp. 1–19, in www.giornaledistoria.net (accessed Sept 2014). I am grateful to James W. Nelson Novoa for discussing the Fonseca inventories with me.

310 Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del'Auditore della Camera Apostolica, 1055. Fol. 438r. The inventory is published in Ibid., pp. 11-14. The original text in Italian listing the pieces of porcelain reads: 'una scudella di porcellana com mirambola' / 'Un canestro con otto piatti piccolo et un grande di porcellana e dui scudelle del medemo' / 'Un'altra credenza di albuccio con dentro ventiuno piatti di porcellana grandi, sette piatti del medemo mezzani, centodui piatti del medesimo ordinarii, un vaso grande a modo di cocozza di porcellana ordinarie, venticinque vasi di porcellana di più sorte, sette scudelle grandi di porcellana, ventiquattro scudelline piccoline del medemo, una porcellana grande da otto cantoni con suo coperchio, dui cassetine d'avolio indurate, dicesette scudellini di porcellana per la salsa, dui tazze di maiorica, una escudella cepoerchiata di porcellana, cinquantatre vasi di terra di Portugallo' / 'Un'altra credenza murata con dentro: una cassetta d'avolio del dottor Costa in pergno, quarantotto vasi di terra di Portugallo, un vaso grande di porcellana con suo coperchio, cinque piatti di porcellana grandi, altri tre più grande del medesimo, un catino pur di porcellana, dui scudelle piccolo et tre piatti del medemo'. I am greatly indebted to Maura Rinaldi for translating the original Italian text into English.

311 Novoa, 2012/1, pp. 92, and 95–96.

312 Bruno Blondé, 'Think Local, act Global? Hot drinks and the consumer culture of 18th century Antwerp', paper presented at the *Goods from the East: Trading Eurasia 1600–1830* conference held at the Palazzo Pesaro-Papafava, Venice 11-13 January 2013, organized by the University of Warwick, p. 4 and p. 8, Table 5.

313 The painting is discussed and illustrated in Christine Göttler, 'The Alchemist, the Painter and the "Indian Bird": Joining Arts and Cultures in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp. Adriaen van Utrecht's Allegory of

Figs. 3.2.1.2a, b and c Anonymous sketch-drawings of Chinese porcelain from the logbook of the VOC ship *Gelderland*, 1601–1603
© Nationaal Archief, The Hague

Fire in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Brussels', in Annette Hoffman, Manuela DeGiorgi and Nicola Suthor (eds.), *Synergies in Visual Culture – Bildkulturen im Dialog*, Munich, 2013, pp. 499–512, figs. 1 and 2.

314 For an extant example of this same shape and decoration, formerly in the Mildred and Rafi Mottahedeh Collection, see David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West*, vol. I, London and New York, 1978, p. 50, no. 5. It is worth mentioning that an almost identically decorated elephant-shaped *kendi* is depicted in a Dutch still life painting, monogrammed 'W.F', which was initially thought to be by Willem Kalf (1619–1693). For a detail of this painting, housed in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar, see Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, p. 316.

315 Van Linschoten, Book I. Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 21; and Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*, New Haven and London, 2007, p. 124.

316 Jan van Campen, 'Chinese and Japanese porcelain in the interior', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, p. 191. Van Campen mentions in p. 265, note 1, that his essay includes information taken from Suzanne Limburg, *Porcelein in het interior in the 17de en 18de eeuw*, unpublished MA dissertation, Leiden University, 2005.

317 Cited in Van Campen, 2014, p. 191.

318 For the *São João* shards, see Esterhuizen, 2007/1, p. 3. The Enkhuizen shard, together with those two recovered from the *São João*, and a dish (partially reconstructed) found during archaeological excavations in Brunei confirm, as Yathim recently noted, that porcelain with Arabic inscriptions was not only made as gifts to wealthy personalities in the Malay Islamic world, but also as trade goods. For images of this latter dish, see Othman Yathmin, 'Islamic ware as trade goods?', in Roxanna M. Brown

from fine to coarse, were available in the Northern Netherlands at this time.[336] These documents would almost certainly have been referring to *Kraak* porcelain, which by then had been traded by the Portuguese and Spanish for over two decades.[337] Most expensive were the very fine large dishes: three dishes for 3 guilders, 6 *stivers* and 8 *pennies*; and cheapest the half-sized small rose cups, at a *penny* each.[338] *Kraak klapmutsen*, like that depicted alongside a saucer-dish, a dish and a cup of the type known as 'crow cup' in drawings from the logbook of the *Gelderland* that year, are requested in three different sizes (Figs. 3.2.1.2a, b and c). The purchase price for 3, ranged from 4, 5 to 10 *stivers* according to size.[339] The crew of the *Gelderland* must have considered that the porcelain was a novelty as somebody decided to make drawings of it.[340]

By then the Directors of the VOC had an idea of which porcelain types, sizes and quantities would be required to satisfy the taste and demand not only of the Dutch domestic market, but also of the international markets in Europe.[341] Although regular orders were given to the Company servants in Asia to buy porcelain, without access to China the supply was intermittent.[342] In 1607, a memorandum was given to the fleet of Admiral Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff and Vice Admiral François Wittert sailing to Asia, with specific instructions on the porcelain that should be bought in Bantam and Patani.[343] These included 'A batch of beautiful, large bowls, which are not too deep, for a great many deep bowls have been brought on the carrack *Santa Catarina*, which are too deep and too narrow'. The memorandum specifies that 'one cannot bring too many fine, large pieces, even if they are pieces as large as the bottom of a barrel, as long as the shape is fine and not warped or lopsided'. This suggests that some defective pieces of porcelain had been brought earlier. The 'batch of coarse flat wares […], like those that Jacob van Neck bought at Patani, which are so large that a Dutch cheese can

be carried on one to table', could refer either to the very large, heavily potted *Kraak* dishes made at Jingdezhen or to the coarser ones made at Zhangzhou, measuring up to about 45cm in diameter.[344] Some of the shapes requested were undoubtedly made in *Kraak* porcelain, such as 'Various kinds of covered boxes two fitting on top of each other' and 'Various kinds of beautiful jugs, their mouths like a star' (Fig. 3.2.1.3), which were already traded by the Spanish at the turn of the century, as evidenced by the examples recovered from the galleon *San Diego* that sank in 1600.[345] Two years later, in 1609, the Northern Netherlands became the Dutch Republic governed by the States General. This same year, as discussed in Chapter I, the VOC was able to open a trading factory in Japan. Trade with China, however, continued to be conducted by Chinese junks that were not directly under VOC command, which initially brought trade goods to Bantam, and then to Batavia (VOC headquarters in Asia) and for a brief period also to Formosa.[346]

According to a memorandum sent to the VOC's employees in Asia in 1617, repeated in 1618, and amplified in 1619, the enormous quantities of porcelain imported yearly by the VOC to the Dutch Republic also included some coarse porcelain. It reads: '… And among those about five to six hundred dishes of the largest kind may be sent each year until further orders, also one lot of crude porcelains of the required kind for the time being, as the Company has at present no porcelains'. In a text in the right hand column we read: 'Of the coarse kind none are to be sent for the present, nor any large bowls, medium-sized half-large dishes and small cups, because the country is full of them'.[347] This coarse porcelain, or at least part of it, was produced at the private kilns of Zhangzhou (Appendix 2). Documentary evidence is found in Chinese archives, which have records of the VOC purchasing large quantities of 'ceramics' in Zhangzhou in 1621, 1626 and 1632.[348]

The supply and demand was difficult to regulate at this time. This is explicit in a letter written by Coen to the Directors on January 1618, stating that 'until further order he will neither send or buy any more porcelain'. But two years later, the Directors wrote to Coen requesting again large quantities of porcelain of varied quality. It reads: 'For a long time we have not received any porcelains, wherefore the same are now in more ready demand. You shall have one good lot bought of the finest to be had, one good lot of average quality, and besides, of such as have been sent to us usually, which were crude…'.[349]

Trade was not only conducted by the VOC but also by Dutch private individuals.[350] The Directors issued an *Artikelbrief* (Written directions of trading) to the commanders and officials of each ship, which restricted private imports of porcelain, wickerwork and other goods from Asia. In 1602, for instance, the limit was '50 guilders' worth of porcelain', valued according to the prices in the motherland. Two years later, the limit was doubled to 100 guilders.[351] The limits were clearly ignored by the men in service of the VOC. In 1609, when Pieter Both went to Asia to take his post as first Governor-General of the VOC, he was instructed to stop the violations of the limit of porcelain imports and punish the employees who did not comply with the *Artikelbrief* promptly.[352] Violations of these regulations clearly harmed the VOC's trade in porcelain, affecting not only the purchase price in Asia but also the types available for sale in the Dutch Republic. In November 1610, for instance, Jacques l'Hermite, head of the VOC trading post at Bantam, wrote to the Directors saying that 'the porcelain here comes generally so expensive, especially when there are ships, which immediately run up the prices so much, that I cannot calculate a profit on them, which [situation]

Fig. 3.2.1.3 *Kraak* pomegranate-shaped ewer
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 19cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1989.0305)

(ed.), *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, Vol. V, No. 3, May–June 2008, p. 2.

319 The shards, now joined together, and the Topkapi Saray plate with an inscription that describes the glory of Allah are discussed and illustrated in Sebastiaan Ostkamp, 'Krekels, kikkens en een lang en voorspoedig leven. De boeddhistisch-taoïstische belevingswereld in de huiskamer van de vroegmoderne Republiek', *Vormen uit Vuur*, 212/213, 2011, p. 7, figs. 6 and 7; and Sebastiaan Ostkamp, 'The Dutch 17th-century porcelain trade from an archaeological perspective', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, pp. 59–60, fig. 4.

320 Published in E. Jacobs & J. Vandevelde (eds.), *De Haven van Arnemuiden. Het archeologisch onderzoek aan de Clasinastraat, ADC rapport 1675*, Amersfoort, 2012; and Ostkamp, 2011, p. 6, fig. 2. Also mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 59.

321 See, Auret and Maggs, 1982, p. 20, fig. 188 and 10; Esterhuizen, 2001, Appendix B, p. 274, fig. a; and Huang and Huang, 2009, p. 73, fig. 7.

322 Published in Ostkamp, 2011, p. 7, fig. 4. For the *São Bento* shards, see Esterhuizen, 2001, p. 112, fig. 3; and for an intact dish from the *Espadarte*, see the auction sale catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, 19 May 2004, p. 15, lot. 617.

323 Published in Sebastiaan Ostkamp, 'De introductie van porselein in de Nederlanden', *Vormen uit Vuur*, 180/181, 2003, p. 17, fig. 2; and Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 59 and 61, fig. 5.

324 For sketch drawings of the bowls from the *San Felipe*, see Von der Porten, 2011, p. 39, Type VI.

325 Mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 59 and 61.

326 Published in Ostkamp, 2003, p. 18, fig. 3; and mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 59. On pages 59 and 61 of this latter publication, Ostkamp also mentions four shards of a plate with a rim border decorated with alternating auspicious symbols and knots excavated from a landfill layer in Enkhuizen, which is dated on historical grounds to before 1591.

327 Mentioned in Viallé, 2014, pp. 37–39.

328 According to recent research by Viallé on VOC records, the *cameelscoppen* are among the earliest and most numerous cups bought by the Dutch to be sent to Europe and also for their intra Asian trade in the early seventeenth century. Made in *Kraak* porcelain, they would come in various shapes and sizes, and their quality ranges from very fine to poor. Some of these cups, generally known as 'crow cups', depict a bird on a rock on the central medallion. For Viallé's discussion on the term 'crow cup' and images that according to her would illustrate the *cameelscoppen*, see Viallé, pp. 46–49, figs. 4–6.

329 Nationaal Archief (Hereafter cited to as NA), Den Haag, Compagnieën op Oost-Indië 1594–1603, Access No. 1.04.01, Inv. No. 92 (2), Cornelis van (H) eemskerck aan de bewindhebbers van de Oude Compagnie in Amsterdam, s.l., s.s. [Bantam, vóór 6 December 1600]. Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 38. For a full list sent as a private consignment, see Ibid., Appendix I, p. 50.

330 In Carletti's account of his voyage around the world, he mentions that this porcelain, together with other goods owned by him, was loaded aboard the *São Tiago* in Goa. See, Carletti, 1965, pp. 149–150. Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 254, note 135.

331 Mentioned in Viallé, 2014, p. 37.

332 Hulsius, 1605, pp. 42-43. Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 38. Viallé mentions that a hundredweight is equal to about 50kg.

333 NA, Staten-Generaal, Acess No. 1.01.02, Inv. No. 12551.21 (Loketkas processen), Jacob van Heemskerck aan de Bewindhebbers van de Eerste Verenigde Compagnie op Oost-Indië tot Amsterdam, Bantam, 27 Aug. 1603. Ontvangen 17 Maart 1604. Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 39.

334 Staten-Generaal, Inv. No. 11103, fos. 465–467, 17 Nov. 1604, Resolutie en brief aan François van Aerssen; Staten-Generaal, Inv. No. 4841, fo. 33v, 4 Dec. 1604, Registers van resoluties betreffende de Oost-Indische Compagnie 1602 maart 20 – 1612 december 22. Mentioned in Viallé, 2014, p. 39.

335 VOC, Inv. No. 7525, fo. 92, Pryscourant van de coopmansz: soo die in Amsterdam zyn geldengde desen november anno 1603. Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 41.

336 For a full list of the prevailing prices, see Viallé, 2014, Appendix III, p. 51. One guilder equalled 20 *stivers*; and one *stiver* equalled 16 *pennies*.

337 See section 3.1 of this Chapter.

338 Mentioned in Viallé, 2014, p. 51.

339 Cited in Ibid., p. 41.

340 It is not known who, when or where the drawings of these pieces of porcelain were made. Mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 63.

341 Christiaan Jörg, 'Holanda y Asia Oriental. Algunos Ejemplos de Interacción en las Artes Decorativas – The Netherlands and the Far East. Some Examples of Interaction in Decorative Art', in Pilar Cabañas and Ana Trujillo (coord.), *La creación artística como puente entre Oriente y Occidente. Sobre la investigación del Arte Asiático en países de habla hispana*, Madrid, 2012, p. 12.

342 Viallé, 1992, p. 7; and Christiaan Jörg, 'A Short Story About East-West Interactions', *Aziatische Kunst*, Vol. 40, No. 2, June 2010, p. 4.

343 For a full transcription of this memorandum, see Viallé, 2014, p. 42.

344 Ibid.

345 See Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 352-353, cats. 127–129 and p. 338, cat. 106, respectively.

346 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Scratching the Surface. The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and material Culture in Taiwan and China', in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, Amsterdam, 2014, p. 207.

347 Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 29.

348 Xiong Haitang, 'Huanan yanhai dui taoci jishu de jiaoliu he Fujian Zhangzhouyao faxian de yiyi' (Exchanges of Ceramic Technology of the Coastal Area in South China in light of the Discovery of Zhangzhou Kilns in Fujian), *Fujian Wenbo*, 1996, no. 1, p. 19. Mentioned in Tan, 2007, p. 15; and Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch Trade in Zhangzhou Porcelain (Part III)', *Fujian Wenbo*, No. 78, May 2012, p. 13.

349 Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 30.

350 Jörg, 2002/03, p. 20.

351 Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 40.

352 P. van Dam, Beschryvinge van de Oostindische

I think will mend only when an order is given that the crews and others shall not be allowed to buy privately which I think cannot be enforced from here because it is an old and inveterate custom'.[353] In the summer of that year, the Zeeland Chamber had notified the Amsterdam Chamber that the sailors and Company men who arrived in the *Zeeland* had privately bought all the small dishes, and thus they could only offer for sale large dishes that had been sent by the Company employees in the East Indies.[354] Although a number of references to confiscations of private imports of porcelain are found in Dutch documents it is virtually impossible to calculate the number of pieces contained in all the barrels and tubs imported, because no specific quantities are given. The volume of the VOC's trade in porcelain is equally difficult to calculate due to incomplete documentation in the VOC archives.[355]

Surviving bills of lading of VOC ships, marine archaeological finds from VOC ships that sank on their return trip from Asia, and various Dutch visual sources, thus serve to give us an indication on the types, purchase prices and quantities of porcelain imported into the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century. This documentary, material and visual evidence, together with land and marine archaeological finds discussed in the following pages, will show that the Dutch imported similar types of Jingdezhen, Zhangzhou and Dehua porcelain to those traded by the Portuguese and Spanish.

The bills of lading of two ships that returned in 1608 list only a small amount of porcelain. The bill of the *Gouda*, sailing from Patani 'on account of the Old Company and the United Company', lists one barrel containing 8 large porcelain dishes costing 8 *maes* a piece and 7 somewhat smaller costing 3 *maes* a piece;[356] and that of the *Bantam* for account of the Company lists 278 large porcelain dishes, two broken, with an average cost price price of 3.33 *florins*.[357] The *Mauritius*, a ship of the Amsterdam Chamber that sank while sailing from Bantam in 1609 off Cap Lopez in the southern coast of the Gulf of Guinea (present-day Port-Gentil in Gabon) in West Africa, yielded shards of approximately 215 pieces of blue-and-white porcelain as well as shards of pottery, thousands of peppercorns, zinc ingots and cast cannons (bronze and iron). The porcelain mostly formed part of Wanli *Kraak* dishes, saucer-dishes, *klapmutsen* and cups known as 'crow cups', and others to seven *Zhangzhou* dishes.[358] They may have been part of a few crates destined to Amsterdam either as samples for the VOC or as private trade by the officers on board.[359]

The quantity of porcelain imported in the next four years increased considerably. In July of 1610 the *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* arrived in the Dutch Republic with 9,227 pieces of porcelain.[360] The bill of lading of the ship of the Zeeland Chamber, the *Vlissingen*, one of four ships that formed the return fleet that left Bantam for the Dutch Republic in 1612, shows that a huge quantity of porcelain was imported that year.[361] It lists a total of 38,641 pieces of fine porcelain for the purchasing price of almost 6,793 guilders. The cargo included new types of porcelain: small round pots; small cups signed with blue letters; small oil-and-vinegar jugs with spouts; fine, small cups; small pots with spouts and handles; and small brandy-wine cups. The bill of lading of the *Wapen van Amsterdam*, which was in the same fleet as the *Vlissingen* and the ill-fated *Witte Leeuw*, lists only 5 barrels of large porcelain dishes, each containing 5 pieces, on the account of the Amsterdam Chamber.[362] The *Witte Leeuw*, a ship built by and for the Amsterdam Chamber, sank in 1613 after an exchange of fire with two Portuguese carracks, while on a stopover at the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic Ocean. Even though the shipwreck yielded a significant quantity of porcelain, including 291

Fig. 3.2.1.4 Large *Kraak* dish from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1978-127-5)

Fig. 3.2.1.5 *Kraak* elephant-shaped *kendi* from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 17cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1977-172-W)

Fig. 3.2.1.6 Blue-and-white bowl from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Height: 10.8cm; diameter: 11cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1977-149-W)

Opposite page
Fig. 3.2.1.7 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 27cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. M-NG-1977-166-W-00)

Fig. 3.2.1.8 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 19.3cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. M-NG-1978-127-11850-W-00)

intact or reconstructed pieces and 200–300 kilos of shards, there is no mention of porcelain on the bill of lading.[363] The porcelain on board, as Viallé has convincingly argued, most probably belonged to the crew and part of it may have been consigned privately on behalf of others.[364] The early seventeenth century porcelain consists mainly of a large assortment of *Kraak*, various other types of Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, a small quantity of the coarser *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain as well as a variety of stoneware jars.[365] *Kraak* porcelain included shards that formed part of a considerable number of dishes and plates, ranging from large to small size, decorated with various panelled rim borders (Fig. 3.2.1.4).[366] The presence of such dishes/plates in the Dutch Republic at about this time is attested by an example depicted containing cherries in a still life painting formerly attributed to Clara Peeters, dating from 1610–1615.[367] It is worth mentioning that an inventory of the estate of Hendrik Buyck (b. 1551), who had invested 12000 f. in VOC shares,[368] drawn up after his death in 1613, lists at least 220 pieces of porcelain, which include a variety of dishes, plates and bowls, as well as an 'elephant' which was most probably a *Kraak* elephant-shaped *kendi* like that recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) (Fig. 3.2.1.5), and from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600).[369] As Van Campen has remarked, the detailed descriptions of damaged porcelain found in Buyck's inventory suggest

Compagnie, Deel 3, F.W. Stapel (ed.), 's-Gravenhage, 1943, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën Grote Serie 87, Bijlage A, No. 2, Instructie voor Pieter Both, Gouverneur-Generaal, en die van den Raedt van Indiën, […] gegeven by de gecommitteerde van de Oostindische Camer tot Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 14 Nov. 1609, pp. 522–523, No. 18. Mentioned in Viallé, 2014, p. 40.

353 VOC, Inv. No. 1053, Bantam, 10 Nov. 1610, Jacq Lhermite de Jonghe aan de Heren bewinthebberen. Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 24; and Viallé, 2014, p. 44.

354 For more information on violations during this early period of trade, see Ibid., p. 40.

355 Mentioned in Ibid.

356 Mentioned in Volker, 1954, p. 24.

357 Mentioned in Ibid.; and Christine van der Pijl-Ketel, 'Kraak porcelain ware salvaged from shipwrecks of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 67 and 69.

358 See Michael L'Hour, *Le Mauritius. La mémoire engloutie*, Grenoble, 1989; M. L'Hour, L. Long and E. Reith, "The wreck of the 'experimental' ship of the 'Oost-Indische Companie': The Mauritius (1609)', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 1990, 19.1, pp. 63–73.

359 For this opinion, see Ibid., p. 67.

360 Mentioned in Volker, 1954, p. 25.

361 For the list of porcelain from the bills of lading of the *Vlissingen and Wapen van Amsterdam*, see Viallé, 2014, Appendix IV, p. 51.

362 Ibid., p. 42.

363 The porcelain recovered was all unpacked and no loose remains of packing were found. For a discussion on the *Kraak*, *Zhangzhou* and other porcelain recovered from the shipwreck, see C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw'*, Amsterdam, 1982; Robert Sténuit, 'Les Porcelaines du Witte Leeuw' in 'Céramiques du fond des mers Les nouvelles découvertes', *Taoci*, No. 2, December 2001, pp. 562–576; Christine van der Pijl-Ketel, 'Kraak Type Porcelain and other Ceramic Wares Recovered from the Dutch East Indiaman the "Witte Leeuw", Sunk in 1613', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 67, 2002–2003, pp. 91–98; Christine van der Pijl-Ketel, 'De ceramiek uit de Oost-Indië-vaarder de Witte Leeuw' [The Ceramics from the East-Indiaman the 'Witte Leeuw'], *Vormen uit Vuur*, Nr. 180/181, 2003/1–2, pp. 42–47; Canepa, 2012/2, p. 14; and Viallé, 2014, p. 42. Caution has to be taken when referring to the dating of porcelain recovered from this wreck site. The finds, as Ostkamp recently pointed out, are not exclusively from the *Witte Leeuw*, but at least from one or more ships that wrecked in the harbor of St. Helena in the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, it is known that the 1982 publication on the *Witte Leeuw's* cargo has a few errors in the classification and/or dating of some of the pieces recovered. See, Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 57–59.

364 Viallé, 2014, p. 44.

365 I am grateful to Christine van der Pijl-Ketel for providing me with images of porcelain recovered from the *Witte Leeuw*. For a discussion on the *Zhangzhou* porcelain recovered from the wreck site, see Canepa, 2012/2, p. 14.

366 For a discussion and images of these dishes, see Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1986, pp. 53–82.

367 Published in Canepa, 2014/1, pp. 34–35, fig. 17.

that despite the larger quantities of porcelain now regularly available in the Dutch Republic, porcelain was still considered rare and/or valuable in the early years of VOC trade.[370] The ordinary trade porcelain includes three crudely potted bowls sketchily painted in watery cobalt blue with a scroll of stylized lotus and leaves (Fig. 3.2.1.6).[371] The *Zhangzhou* porcelain of the *Witte Leeuw* includes a saucer-dish with a pair of phoenixes with overlapping bodies (Fig. 3.2.1.7),[372] similarly decorated to about 853 examples recovered from the *Binh Thuan* shipwreck, a Chinese junk that sank east of Phan Thiet in southern Vietnam in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[373] An almost identical example excavated in Hoorn, north of Amsterdam, demonstrates that at least a few such saucer-dishes were imported into the Dutch Republic.[374] Three saucer-dishes show a similar phoenix within a diamond and trigram border design to that of examples recovered from the *San Diego* (1600), shards salvaged from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), as well as shards found at the survivor's campsite of the Portuguese shipwreck *São Gonçalo* (1630), at Moneda Street in Mexico City and at the Santo Domingo convent in Oaxaca (Fig. 3.2.1.8).[375]

The *Gelderland*, which sailed from Bantam in 1614, carried the largest quantity, a total of 69,057 pieces of porcelain. Besides the usual types of porcelain, the bill of lading lists half-sized white *klapmutsen*, most probably the type made at Jingdezhen with moulded decoration such as an example in the Groninger Museum in Groningen (Fig. 3.2.1.9), low white cups and plain white cups.[376] Shards of blue-and-white porcelain from both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou similar to those found on the wreck site of the *Witte Leeuw* were recovered from the *Banda*, which wrecked during a storm in 1615 on a reef off the coast of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean (Fig. 3.2.1.10).[377] The *Banda*, together with the *Delft, Geünieerde Provinciën* and *Gelderland*, were part of the same return fleet from Bantam. The Jingdezhen porcelain includes over 40 intact *Kraak* saucer dishes, *klapmutsen* and a bottle, as well as a group of tiny finely potted wine cups with flame motifs above a band of scrolls encircling the foot ring like those from the *Wiitte Leeuw* (Fig. 3.2.1.11). A floral still life painting dated 1617 by the Dutch artist Christoffel van den Berghe (*c.*1590–1650), who is documented as having been in Middelburg between 1617 and 1628, confirms the presence of such cups in the Dutch Republic in the late 1610s (Fig. 3.2.1.12). The *Banda* also yielded shards of Jingdezhen white cups of small size with semi-pierced swastika or *wan* lattice decoration with a cobalt blue mark on the base. Governor-General Pieter Both was on board the *Banda*, so it is possible that part of the porcelain may have been his private consignment. The *Geünieerde Provinciën*, which sank on the same storm as the *Gelderland* and the *Banda*, carried a considerable number of Jingdezhen white cups with semi-pierced swastika decoration like those from the *Banda* (Figs. 3.2.1.10 and Fig. 3.2.1.13),[378] together with Jingdezhen bowls decorated with peony scrolls and Chinese characters. Only a small quantity of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white shards, with similar designs to some of the pieces found in the *Witte Leeuw* wreck site,[379] have washed up on the beach of Albion, where the *Geünieerde Provinciën* shipwrecked and broke into pieces (Appendix 3).[380]

The return cargo of diverse origins of the *Hollandia*, one of five VOC ships that left Batavia in November 1627 and arrived in the Dutch Republic in June 1628, included 16 tubs of porcelain reported as 'conquered', which was most probably booty taken from at least four Portuguese ships defeated by VOC ships in the Straight of Malacca that year.[381] This is just one example that shows that captured cargoes were part of the imports in the Dutch Republic.

Fig. 3.2.1.9 *Kraak* white-glazed *klapmuts*
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 15cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. STA 2013-1)

Fig. 3.2.1.10 Shards of *Kraak* blue-and-white and white-glazed porcelain from the VOC shipwrecks *Banda* and *Geünieerde Provinciëen* (1615)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Christine Van der Pijl-Ketel

Fig. 3.2.1.11 Blue-and-white wine cup from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 5.1cm; height: 3.9cm;
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1977-126-W)

Fig. 3.2.1.12 *Still Life with Flowers in a Vase*
Oil on copper, 37.6cm x 29.5cm
Christoffel van den Berghe
(c.1590–1650), 1617
Philadelphia Museum of Art:
John G. Johnson Collection, 1917

Fig. 3.2.1.13 Shards of white-glazed cups with semi-pierced decoration from the VOC shipwreck *Geünieerde Provinciën* (1615)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Yann Von Arnim

To supply porcelain to the Dutch Republic, the Company employees in Batavia were forced to acquire any porcelain brought by the Chinese junks, even if not entirely satisfactory in terms of quality. This is explicit in a letter written by Jan Coen to the Directors in 1616, explaining that 'Porcelain, to wit, mostly half, third and quarter-sized dishes I send herewith a good lot which I have been obliged to take on credit. They are, it seems to me, bad as to painting. Notwithstanding the big losses the Chinese have incurred this year on this, the next junks which are expected at the end of this month will bring yet another lot of similar wares which have been made in stock in China, but after that, if there is no lack of money with us, you may expect fine and beautiful porcelain'.[382]

The 1618 memorandum of the board of Directors, as the memorandum of 1607 discussed earlier, demonstrate that the VOC was greatly concerned with making choices that offered the highest possible profits when purchasing or ordering porcelain from the Chinese to be sent to the Dutch Republic. It states that the Company employees should buy *cammelscoppen* (camel cups) 'which have straight or sheer rims, not those with everted rims like the common camel cups generally have, because the sort with sheer rims will be worth at least a quarter more than those with everted rims'.[383] Three years earlier, the board of Directors had sent a letter to their representatives in Patani, which repeated a memorandum of 1614, instructing that 'none of that very small ware, to wit, the very smallest, of which 44,000 have been sent on the ship the *Veer*, of those you shall send none'.[384] They were most likely referring to small cups, which are listed in VOC documents as *pimpelkens* or *pimpeltjes*. This is suggested by the instruction

368 Hendrick Buyck was the brother of Jacob Buyck, the last pastor of the Oude Kerck. In the freighting contracts of 1591–1602, Buijck's name comes up several times. Mentioned in J. G. Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van der Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague, 1958, p. 108.
369 Limburg, 2005, p. 22. Mentioned in Van Campen, 2014, p. 191.
370 Ibid.
371 Published in William M. Kelso and Beverly Straube (eds.), *2000–2006 Interim Report on the APVA Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*, Richmond, 2008, p. 29, fig. 61. For the *Witte Leew* bowls, see Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 156–157. Mentioned in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
372 I am greatly indebted to Jan van Campen for providing me with images of two *Zhangzhou* saucer-dishes (one almost intact, the other reconstructed) recovered from the *Witte Leeuw*, which are now part of the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Published in Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 204; and Canepa, 2012/2, p. 12, fig. 1.
373 One is published in Vinhais and Welsh, 2006, pp. 78–79, no. 10. Also, see Michael Flecker, 'A Cargo of Zhangzhou Porcelain found off Binh Thuan Province, Vietnam', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 5 (2002/03), pp. 57–63; and Michael Flecker, 'Treasures of the Binh Thuan Shipwreck', *Heritage Asia Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 4, June-August 2004. Saucer dishes with this particular decoration have not yet been found at any of the excavated Zhangzhou kilns. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/2, p. 14.
374 Published in Sebastiaan Ostkamp, 'Exportkeramiek uit Zhangzhou. Het zogenoemde 'Swatow' en andersoortige producten (Export ceramics from Zhangzhou. The so-called 'Swatow' porcelain and other products)', *Vormen uit Vuur*, nr. 206/207 (2009/3–4), p. 33, fig. 54.
375 See Canepa, 2010, p. 65, fig. 6 and p. 66, fig. 10; and Canepa, 2011/1, p. 61, fig. 7 and p. 62, fig. 11.
376 Mentioned in Volker, 1954, p. 25.
377 No archaeological report or cataloguing of the porcelain finds was made at the time of the maritime excavation. The wreck site also yielded a Portuguese nautical astrolabe made in 1568, Spanish silver (*reales de ocho*) and spices. For information on the shipwreck, see Jacques Dumas, *Fortune de Mer a l'Ille Maurice*, Paris, 1981. The porcelain shards are now housed at the National History Museum in Mahebourg.
378 A cup of this type has been excavated in Delft. I am grateful to Sebastiaan Ostkamp, senior archaeologist, Amsterdam Archaeological Projects (ADC), for providing me with images of the porcelain.
379 Mentioned in Ostkamp, 2009, p. 31; and Canepa, 2012/2, p. 15.
380 I am grateful to Yann Von Arnim for providing me with images of some of the thousands of blue-and-white and white porcelain shards recovered from the wreck site.
381 Mentioned in Robert Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters. The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia 1595–1660*, Amsterdam, 2010, pp. 63–64, Table 4.1.
382 Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 26; and Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, pp. 133–134.
383 VOC, INV. No. 313, 30 Nov. 1618, Memorie van Bewindhebbers der OI Compagnie, waarnaar zich de commiezen bij het doen van hun inkoopen hebben te richten. Cited in Viallé, 2014, p. 49.
384 Volker mentions only 440 pieces, but Viallé's research of the VOC archives has shown that there were 44,000 *pimpelkens* mentioned in the original document. See, Volker, 1954, p. 26; and Viallé, 2014, p. 45.
385 Cited in Ibid.
386 I am greatly indebted to Dr. Lu Tai-Kang, Department of Art History, Tainan National University of the Arts, for providing me with research material on the *Zhangzhou* porcelain found in Taiwan and Penghu archipelago. Lu has written extensively on this subject, including *A study of Imported Ceramics in Taiwan in the 17th Century-Exploring the History of Taiwan from Late Ming to Early Qing Dynasties through the Ceramics*, unpublished PhD Thesis, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan, 2005; 'Zhangzhou Blue and White Wares of the 17th Century found in Taiwan and Penghu Archipelago', *Studies in memory of Chen Chang-wei*, 4th Issue, Taipei, 2009, pp. 217–257; 'Ceramic Relics from Fengguiwei at Penghu during the Dutch Settlement', *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, Issue No. 221, August 2001, pp. 116–134; 'Export Porcelain Excavated from Penghu Fengguiwei', *Tianye Archaeology*, Vol. 9, December 2004, pp. 89–98; and 'The Fujian Merchants and Southern Fujian's Trade Ceramics Found in Taiwan', in Li Jian'an (ed.), *Minshang Wenhua Yanjiu Wenku. Xuezhe Wencong: Kaoguxue shiye zhong de Minshang (Research Series of Fujianese Business Culture. An assortment of scholarly articles: Fujianese Business Culture in Archaeological Perspective)*, Beijing, 2010, pp. 114–127. For a recent discussion on the *Zhangzhou* porcelain from the VOC fortress at Fengguiwei, see Canepa, 2012/2, pp. 16–17.
387 For images of these shards, see Lu, 2005, pp. 73–77.

given by the board of Directors to the Governor-General and Councillors of the Indies the following year, in 1616, of not to send 'tubs with pimpelkens, for we have more than we shall sell in three years'.[385]

Archaeological finds made at the VOC fortress at Fengguiwei in Penghu Islands, present-day Taiwan, occupied by the Dutch for only two years, from 1622 to 1624, provide material evidence of the porcelain trade at the time.[386] A large amount of late Ming porcelain shards were excavated at the site, but only a small quantity is from Jingdezhen. The Jingdezhen shards form part of *Kraak* dishes and plates with panelled or continuous rim borders of varying quality, as well as of globular *kendi*.[387] An interesting find is a shard that formed part of a heavily potted bowl with an everted rim decorated on the outside with an abbreviated version of the famous Chinese poem *Qibi fu* (Ode to the Red Cliff) by Su Shi (1037–1101) and a river scene depicting the poet and other guests on a boat, made at the private kilns of Jingdezhen for the Chinese domestic market (Appendix 2).[388] This may have been the type described as 'character cups' in the invoice of the Mauritius of February 1623, and as '500 large cups painted with Chinese characters' in the invoice of the *Schetdam* of December 1626, which sailed from Batavia to Amsterdam.[389] Bowls of this type for the domestic market, as well as those decorated with the Eight Immortals on a ground of repeated *shou* characters recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625) (Fig. 3.1.1.19) and the survivor campsite of the shipwreck *São Gonçalo* (1630), seem to have appealed to Europeans tastes, probably because the foreign Chinese script was regarded as extra exotic.[390] Most finds at Fengguiwei are *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, which include shards of bowls decorated with circular fruiting branches similar to a find made at Wolio Castle,[391] and shards of *klapmutsen* decorated with deer within a continuous rim border.[392] This latter find is rare, as *Zhangzhou klapmutsen* are seldom found in land archaeological excavations or shipwrecks.[393] A few *Zhangzhou* shards with colour-glazed decoration were excavated at the site, including one with white slip on a blue glaze similar to shards excavated at Wolio Castle.[394] Similar finds of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain were made the site of the VOC fortress, Fort Zeelandia, at Relanzhe Cheng in Dayuan (present-day Anping in south Taiwan), where the Dutch moved their settlement in 1624.[395] The site also yielded shards of *Kraak* dishes[396] and a blue-and-white saucer dish decorated with a stylized leaf and a Chinese inscription similar to the examples mounted in the ceiling of the Santos Palace in Lisbon and those recovered from the *Binh Thuan* shipwreck, which sank in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[397]

From a letter written in July 1630 by Governor-General Jacques Specx in Batavia to Governor Hans Putmans in Tayouan, the VOC settlement in Formosa, we learn that high quality porcelain was preferred in the Dutch Republic. Specx wrote: 'Do not fail to send a large assortment of all kinds of fine porcelain, this being one of the best returns and easily marketable in the fatherland'.[398] Four years later, in June 1634, Specx wrote again to Putmans with a request for porcelain of high quality, saying 'The fine porcelain found a ready sale in Holland and the demand continues.[399] Therefore we shall expect a large consignment from China of different kinds and with a free trade Your Honour should procure rare porcelains like *piringhs* [plates] with flat borders like the Dutch pewter tableplates, jugs, mugs, also *doorluchtich* [see through] or cut through porcelain, all of the finest to be had, well painted with Chinese persons. Whole, half, 1/3 and ¼ dishes, finer than the ones sent so far, will be pleasing and profitable for the Company'.[400] As noted by Viallé, this is the earliest mention in VOC

documents of 'see through or cut through' porcelain, most probably referring to the type made at Jingdezhen with an extremely fine technique of reticulation, known in Chinese as *linglong* or *guigong* (devil's work).[401] This is also the earliest request for porcelain 'well painted with Chinese persons'.[402] In all probability this latter porcelain is a new type, the so-called Transitional porcelain mentioned earlier, as inferred in the answer sent by Putmans to Batavia in September of that year, saying that 'After we had given many and various undertakings to different merchants from year to year, finally some arrived with a good batch of porcelains of different old assortments and some new paintings with Chinese figures, but still none of our patterns given them over two years ago.[403] What will happen in future, time will tell. A much better buy than this will not be had for the time being, but we tried because there are already complaints about some assortments on which a loss was made. We trust that this batch will please Your Honour and our Lords and masters, which we should like to her in future'.[404]

A memorandum sent by the Directors to Batavia in April 1638, which specifies which assortments were most in demand in the Dutch Republic, is of particular interest. Number 38 lists an order for '5,000 pieces at 3 gl each being a broken *craek* [pierced, *linglong* work] com [*Kraak* bowl] and a good batch of half-sized ditto may also be brought', and number 43 lists 'decagonal tableplates of which we also order 10,000 pieces also decorated with Chinese paintings, all rare and perfectly executed and painted like the *caraek* [*Kraak*] porcelain and the bottles which have just arrived'.[405] The '3,000 pieces at 3 gl each being a half-sized *cammelscop* [camel cup] painted all round with Chinese, the same is broken [pierced]' listed in number 33, demonstrate that *Kraak* and the so-called Transitional porcelain were being produced and ordered at the same time.[406] In May of the following year, Batavia sent an order to Tayouan with a request that mentions *craecqporceleijn* (*Kraak* porcelain). As remarked by Jörg, these are the earliest known written references in Dutch of the use of the terms *craek*, *caraek* and *craecqporcelaijn* to refer to *Kraak* porcelain found thus far in VOC documents.[407] It reads: 'Your Honour is again recommended to employ all possible means in order that our principals' order may be fulfilled, especially the fine and rare assortments of porcelain and piece goods, so that we shall obtain for once true flavor of China's fruits and that we may also get the reputation of being able to bring kraak porcelain and exquisite fabrics from China'.[408] It is likely that the large porcelain dishes used to display food from the Indies, along with fruits and other products from Persia, Arabia, the Moluccas, Japan and China on a long table during a banquet offered to Maria de Médicis, Queen Mother of France, by the Directors of the VOC at the East India House in Amsterdam in the late summer of 1638, were all *Kraak* porcelain.[409] According to Kasper van Bearle, a famous Dutch scholar and poet who witnessed the festivities performed for Maria de Médicis and her suite, the Directors 'made her a present of very rare and exquisite things from their house, like porcelain dishes' a few days after she visited the East India House.[410]

An order for 192,400 pieces of porcelain placed in 1643 by the VOC with the Chinese merchant Jousit listing 2,000 small cups 'half cut through' and 2,000 small cups 'wholly cut through', indicates that reticulated porcelain remained popular in the Dutch Republic for at least a decade.[411] Thirty bowls of octagonal shape and a few others of circular shape, all with cobalt blue and reticulated decoration dating to the Chongzhen reign, were recovered from the *Hatcher junk*, a Chinese junk that sank in the South China Sea while en route to Batavia in *c.*1643 (Fig. 3.2.1.14) (Appendix 3).[412]

388 See Ibid., p. 76. A number of such bowls are known in Western public collections. For examples and a discussion on these bowls, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 366–368, no. 12:36 (including a translation of the poem); and Ströber, 2013, pp. 212–213, no. 92.
389 Volker, 1954, pp. 31 and 34. Mentioned in Ströber, 2013, p. 212.
390 A bowl of this type depicted in a still life painting by the French artist Jacques Linard (*c.*1600–1645), *The Five Senses* dated 1638, provides visual evidence of the presence of such bowls in Europe at the time. This painting, housed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, is published in Ströber, 2013, p. 212.
391 Lu, 2004, pp. 89–98, pl. 5.
392 Lu, 2005, p. 80; and Lu, 2009, p. 235, fig. 1–20. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/2, p. 16.
393 Ibid., p. 16 and p. 21, note 62.
394 Lu, 2009, p. 232, figs. 1–14 and 1–13, respectively. For fragments of various objects with this type of colour-glazed decoration excavated from the Huazilou kiln site, see Li, 2009, p. 49, fig. 32. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/2, p. 16.
395 See Xie Mingliang, Liu Yichang, Yan Tingshu and Wang Shujin, 'The Relics excavated from Relanzhe Cheng and their meaning', *Monthly Magazine of Archaeology at Relanzhe Cheng*, 2003, Vol. 6, pp. 25–34; and Wang Shujin, Liu Yichang, Yan Tingshu, Zhong Guofeng, 'Chinese and Japanese porcelain excavated from Relanzhe Cheng', *Taiwanese Archaeological Report 2006*, Central Taiwan: National Natural Sciences Museum, Anthropology Department, 2007, pp. 1–19; and Lu, 2009, p. 222.
396 I am grateful to Dr. Sakai Takashi for providing me images of porcelain recovered from the site.
397 Lu, 2009, p. 247, fig. 2–3. For images of the pyramid-shaped ceiling of the Santos Palace, see Lion-Goldschmidt, 1984; Canepa, 2010, p. 67, fig. 11. and fig. 3.1.1.27 in this Chapter. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/2, p. 16.
398 VOC 855. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 7.
399 As pointed out by Viallé, Specx refers to the return cargo of 1632, which consisted mainly of porcelain taken as booty. Ibid., p. 33, note 4.
400 VOC 1111. Cited in Ibid., pp. 8–9; and Jörg, 1993, p. 184. The measurements of the pieces, as mentioned by Viallé, were given as whole, half-sized, third-sized, quarter-sized, single or double. Viallé, 1992, p. 33, note 6.
401 A very refined technique of *linglong* seems to have appeared in the Wanli reign, as frequent mentions of *linglong* porcelain are found in the lists of porcelain supplied for the court of Emperor Wanli. This technique continued to be used in the Chongzhen reign in combination with painting in circular panels decorated in underglaze cobalt blue. For a general discussion on *linglong* porcelain and a few examples dating to the late Ming dynasty, see Teresa Canepa, 'Introduction', in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Linglong*, exhibition catalogue, London and Lisbon, 2004, pp. 13, 14 and 17, and pp. 28-45, nos. 1–4, respectively.
402 Viallé, 1992, p. 9.
403 Porcelain ordered with specific motifs for the VOC will be discussed in section 3.4.2.2 of this Chapter.
404 VOC 1116. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 9.
405 VOC 316. Cited in Ibid., pp. 17 and 19; and Canepa, 2008/2, p. 58, note 5.
406 VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 17 and 21. Mentioned in Canepa, 2008/2, p. 18.
407 First mentioned in C.J.A Jörg, 'Kraakporselein', *Antiek*, vol. XXV, no. 2, August/September 1990, p. 64, note 14.
408 VOC 863. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 22; and Canepa, 2008/2, p. 58, note 6.

Fig. 3.2.1.14 Blue-and-white bowls with reticulated decoration from *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Diameter: 11.7cm; height: 6cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. 1984,0303.12a-b)

409 Mentioned in Viallé, 2010, pp. 188–189.
410 Kasper van *Baerle, Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste Koninginne, Maria de Médicis, t'Amsterdam* [The entry in state of the most serene Queen, *Maria de Médicis, in Amsterdam]*, Amsterdam, *1639*. This extract is taken from the French version of Van Baerle's book, *Marie de Médicis, entrant dans Amsterdam: ou, Histoire de la reception faicte à la reyne mere du roy très-chrestien, par les bourgmaistres & bourgeoisie de la ville d'Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1638, p. 91. Cited in Viallé, 2010, p. 189, note 4.
411 Cited from an extract of the 1643 order published in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, Appendix B, p. 169.
412 Published in Ibid., p. 44, pl. 53 and pp. 70–71, pl. 110.
413 Thus far only a small quantity of seventeenth century porcelain has been found in the towns of Venlo, Den Bosch and Nijmegen, situated the eastern provinces of The Netherlands. For a discussion on the porcelain finds in these towns, see Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 64–65, and fig. 10. A survey of finds in the eastern and northeastern areas in present-day The Netherlands is not yet published.
414 Mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 64.
415 Published in Ibid., pp. 61–62, fig. 6. For the *San Diego* example, see Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, p. 346, cat. 119.
416 See Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 61–62, fig. 7; and Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, p. 340, cat. 110, respectively.
417 Published in Ostkamp, 2003, p. 19, fig. 6 (left side); and mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 61. The *San Diego* yielded not only bowls but also bottles with this decoration. See Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 318–319, cat. 110.
418 Mentioned in Ostkamp, 2014, p. 56. Also see the related plate in a private collection in Japan, illustrated on p. 55, fig. 3.
419 H. F. Wijnman, 'Twee vonstcomplexen: de afvalkuil van dr. Peutius en een beerput', in W. J. van Hoord (ed.), *Observantenklooster Amersfoort*, Ameersfort, 1982, pp. 73–74; Ostkamp, 2011, pp. 14–15, figs. 17 and 19; and Ostkamp, 2014, p. 56.
420 Ibid., p. 53, fig. 7 and p. 61.

Archaeological evidence of porcelain from Dutch cities

Porcelain found in archaeological excavations which can be dated by stylistic comparison to the early seventeenth century would have been brought to the Dutch Republic as booty taken from Portuguese or Spanish ships, and Chinese junks, as cargo imported by the VOC during its first years of trade in Asia, or as private trade. The majority, as it will be shown in the following pages, is *Kraak* porcelain not of particularly high quality. As Ostkmap has recently noted, excavations on a large number of cesspits have revealed that porcelain circulated mainly to towns located in the western provinces of the Dutch Republic.[413] In Holland and Zeeland, many finds have been made at Enkhuizen, Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Delft, Rotterdam and Middelburg.[414]

In Middelburg, where as mentioned earlier the cargo of the *São Tiago* was sold at public auction, excavations yielded porcelain of relatively high quality. It includes fragments of a *Kraak* plate (partially reconstructed) with deer in a landscape within a white cavetto and a continuous water plants border found in the cesspit of a building on the Glasmarkt in use from the last decade of the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, which relates in size and decorative style to a plate recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600).[415] Dating to this same period, are shards of a *Kraak* camel cup found in a cesspit of a building on the Singelstraat, which shows a similar interior decoration to that seen on a bowl from the *San Diego*.[416] Further finds related to the porcelain from the *San Diego* include a fragment of a bowl decorated with cranes standing on lotus reserved in white on blue found in a cesspit in Alkmaar, which can be dated to between 1580 and 1620.[417]

A fragment of a *Kraak* plate rather crudely painted with deer in a landscape within a white cavetto and rim border with *chilongs*, almost identical to that from the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora de la Consolação* (1608) discussed earlier (Fig. 3.1.1.16), was found in a cesspit in Middleburg.[418] Other finds of this type of plate attest to the popularity of this porcelain design in the Dutch Republic in the early decades of the seventeenth century. This includes a plate of smaller size found in a cesspit in Amersfoort, which was filled with waste from the household of Jacob Peutius, a physician who worked there from 1603 until his death in 1618;[419] and one other plate found among a number of *Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white pieces of porcelain in the cesspit of a building on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal in Amsterdam, in use between 1600 and 1625 (Fig. 3.2.1.15).[420] This latter cesspit also yielded fragments

of plates (reconstructed) decorated with deer in landscape within a white cavetto and a continuous rim border with ducks and aquatic plants, similar to those on board the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora dos Martires* (1606). Finds from the Oudezijds Voorburgwal cesspit and one other of a building on the Jodenbreestraat in use during this same period, demonstrate that different types of Jingdezhen porcelain, and of varying quality, were imported into Amsterdam. Besides *Kraak* plates with deer in a landscape and a camel cup decorated with deer, the Jodenbreestraat cesspit yielded two blue-and-white bowls: one decorated with floral medallions and the other with a peony scroll interspersed by Chinese characters like those on board the *Geünieerde Provinciën* (1615), which were most probably made for the Chinese domestic market. Such blue-and-white bowls continued to be made in the following decades, as evidenced by the shards recovered from the survivor's campsite of the Portuguese shipwreck *São Gonçãlo* (1630).[421] Both cesspits yielded a type of Jingdezhen plate with a flat, upturned rim with a central medallion painted in cobalt blue within *anhua* and moulded decoration beneath a monochrome white glaze,[422] which thus far has not appeared in marine archaeological excavations. It is worth mentioning that both these buildings were located in one of the more expensive neighbourhoods of Amsterdam.[423] The latter plate relates closely to another Jingdezhen plate with incised and moulded decoration beneath a monochrome white glaze, which was excavated together with two *pimpeltjes* like those from the *Witte Leeuw*, *Banda* and *Geünieerde Provinciën* shipwrecks, from a cesspit in Kasteel De Haar near Utrecht.[424] A large fragment of an identical plate found at the VOC factory in Hirado indicates that this type of plate was not only shipped to the Dutch Republic but also to Japan.[425] Jingdezhen porcelain of markedly low quality was excavated from the cesspit of a building on the Staalstraat, the centre of the cloth industry at the time, in use between 1620 and 1630. This site yielded bowls decorated with butterflies and a plate crudely painted with deer in a landscape that had been misfired.[426] Almost identical bowls were recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), which was, as mentioned earlier, probably owned by Portuguese merchants.[427]

Until now there have been only a few archaeological finds of early seventeenth century *Zhangzhou* porcelain.[428] Shards of two *Kraak* plates and a Jingdezhen finely potted cup, together with fragments of two *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dishes

Fig. 3.2.1.15 *Kraak* and blue-and-white porcelain excavated at Oudezijds Voorburgwal, Amsterdam, in use between 1600 and 1625
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Sebastiaan Ostkamp

Fig. 3.2.1.16 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain excavated from the Rosendaal house, Lisse, in use between 1610–1630
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
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Opposite page
Figs. 3.2.1.17a and b *Blanc de chine* 'puzzle cup' excavated at a cesspit in Alkmaar
Dehua kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© Sebastiaan Ostkamp

421 I am grateful to Valerie Esterhuizen for providing me with images of the porcelain recovered from the shipwreck for research purposes.
422 Published in Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 65–66, figs. 11-14.
423 Ibid., p. 66.
424 Published in Ibid., pp. 71–72, fig. 23.
425 Ostkamp, 2014, p. 71.
426 Published in Ibid., pp. 69–70, figs. 18 and 20.
427 See Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, 2007, p. 130, serial no. 6085.
428 I am greatly indebted to Sebastiaan Ostkamp for providing me with images of the *Zhangzhou* porcelain excavated in The Netherlands.

429 Published in Ostkamp, 2003, p. 22, fig. 10; and Canepa, 2012/2, pp. 16–17, fig. 6. The pieces are individually illustrated in Ostkamp, 2009, pp. 31–2, figs. 47–49. These pieces have been recently discussed and some illustrated in Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 72–74, figs. 24 and 26.
430 Published in Ostkamp, 2009, p. 32, fig. 50; and Ostkamp, 2014, p. 64, fig. 9.
431 The decoration is similar to that of an intact example in a private collection, which was collected in Indonesia. Published in Ibid., p. 21, fig. 9.
432 For the *Zhangzhou* porcelain found in Enkhuizen, see Ostkamp, 2009, p. 33, figs. 52 and 53; and Canepa, 2012/2, pp. 16–17, figs. 9 and 10. The Hoorn porcelain was discussed earlier in this section of Chapter III.
433 Ostkamp, 2014, p. 73.
434 Cited in Donnelly, 1969, p. 144. Donnelly illustrates a pair of lions dated in accordance with 1645 from a private Hong Kong collection. Ibid., pl. 74A. VOC records indicate that Yue Gang (Moon Port) in Zhangzhou prefecture was one of the ports from which *Blanc de chine* was exported. The Dutch bought 'small figures' and 'figured white porcelain' sporadically throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Batavia. The latter were probably part of shipments available at Amoy (present-day Xiamen), another port from where *Blanc de chine* was exported, situated about seventy miles south of Dehua. Archaeological finds yielded from three VOC shipwrecks which sank in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the *Oosterland* (1697), *Bennebroek* (1713) and *Geldermalsen* (1751), indicate that only a limited quantity of *Blanc de chine* porcelain was imported into the Dutch Republic. For a discussion on these latter finds, which are out of the scope of this study, see Canepa, 2012/3, pp. 2–3.
435 I would like to thank Sebastiaan Ostkamp for providing me with images of *Blanc de chine* porcelain excavated in present-day The Netherlands.
436 Illustrated in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 73, pl. 113.
437 Martino Martini was sent to China as a missionary in 1638. He arrived to Macao in 1642 and from there he travelled throughout China during the years

decorated with four-clawed dragons chasing a flaming pearl, two dishes decorated with a recumbent deer amongst grasses within a white up-turned rim, and two bowls with a monochrome white glaze, were found in a cesspit next to the kitchen of the former country house Rosendaal at Lisse, a small village near Amsterdam (Fig. 3.2.1.16).[429] From 1624, this house belonged to Adriaan Block (1581–1661), a private trader, navigator and prominent VOC employee who made several voyages to Asia. A *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer-dish with a related decoration to the Lisse examples, showing two deer standing amongst bamboo within a white rim, was excavated from a cesspit in Middelburg.[430] *Zhangzhou* finds in Middleburg, also include a shard of a blue-and-white stem cup painted with winged dragons and horses flying amidst waves excavated from a waste layer at Kinderdijk Street, which has a context datable to *c.*1600.[431] Small quantities of *Zhangzhou* porcelain have been found in two other cities that housed a chamber of the VOC, Enkhuizen and Hoorn.[432] Other finds in cities not related to the VOC like Zwolle and Zupthen, as convincingly argued by Ostkamp, suggest that *Zhangzhou* porcelain was imported into the Dutch Republic by both VOC employees and incidentally perhaps by the VOC itself as trade goods.[433]

Written sources indicate that porcelain made in other kilns of Fujian province was brought into the Dutch Republic as early as the 1630s. A 'white lion' is listed in an inventory of the belongings of the deceased Dutch painter Jan Blasse, taken in 1637, which in all probability refers to a *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion stick holder made at the kilns of Dehua, such as that recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641) discussed earlier (Fig. 35.1.2.22).[434] Material evidence of *Blanc de chine* porcelain imported into the Dutch Republic at about this time is provided by a few pieces that have been excavated from cesspits.[435] These include a 'puzzle cup' found in a cesspit in Alkmaar (Figs. 3.2.1.17a and b). 'Puzzle cups' of similar form with a robed figure holding a fly-whisk standing at the centre were recovered from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643).[436] Almost a decade later, in 1655, a figure of Guanyin, the Goddess of Mercy worshipped by both Buddhists and Daoists, enthroned with her acolyte attendants, was depicted on the upper left section of a map of Yunnan province made by the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini (1614–1661) for his *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Fig. 3.2.1.18a and b).[437] So far, this is the earliest known reference to *Blanc de chine* figure models in European literature. The figure depicted on this map resembles closely one of the earliest known *Blanc de chine* figures of Guanyin, but reversed (Fig. 3.2.1.19).[438] *Blanc de chine* figure models, though not of Guanyin, were also recovered from the *Hatcher junk*.[439] The above mentioned finds provide textual, material and visual evidence of the trade in *Blanc de chine* porcelain to Europe as early as the third decade of the seventeenth, which makes one wonder if other types of porcelain that we consider unusual today would have been more frequently imported and much earlier than previously thought.

A cesspit found on the Torenstraat in Enkhuizen, which belonged to the house of a Director of the VOC, doctor Zacheus de Jager (1599–1650), yielded 16 pieces of porcelain. These include three Jingdezhen blue-and-white saucer dishes with sketchily painted fish, crabs and water weeds on the interior and an all over fishing net pattern on the exterior, which are similar to a saucer-dish found in a cesspit on the Leliegracht in Amsterdam, and to three examples found in the cesspit of a building on the former Dokke in Vlissingen, near Middelburg, in use between 1600 and 1650 (Fig. 3.2.1.20).[440] The fact that Zacheus de Jager lived in this house from about 1630

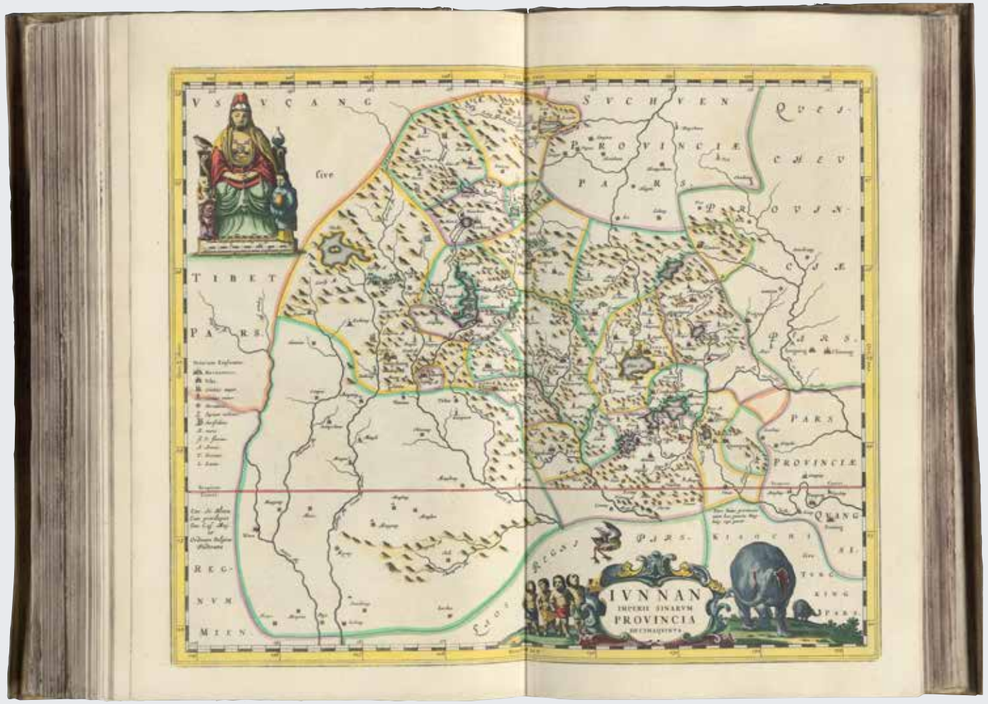

Fig. 3.2.1.18a Map of Yunnan Province from *Novus Atlas Sinensis* by Martino Martini (1614–1661)
Published in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarium* by Johan Blaeuw, Amsterdam 1655
National Library of Australia (inv. no. MAP Ra 300)

Fig. 3.2.1.18b Map of Yunnan Province from *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (detail)

Fig. 3.2.1.19 *Blanc de chine* Guanyin seated on a rockwork throne and two standing acolytes, the Jade Maiden and the Golden Youth, Shoukai
Dehua kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1620–1644), *c.*1620–1640
Height: 23.5cm
© S. Marchant & Son 2006

Fig. 3.2.1.20 **Blue-and-white saucer dishes excavated at Dokke, Vlissingen, in use between 1600 and 1650**
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
© Sebastiaan Ostkamp

Fig. 3.2.1.21 ***Still life with a pewter pitcher and a Chinese bowl***
Oil on oak, 66.5cm x 50.5cm
Jan Janz Treck (1605/6–1652), dated 1645
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (inv. no. 1064)

to 1650, that saucer-dishes of this exact form with the fishing net pattern on both the interior and exterior were recovered from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643),[441] and that one appears depicted turned upside-down alongside a *Kraak klapmuts* in a still life painting by the Amsterdam artist Jan Janz Treck (1605/6–1652), dated 1645, proves that this type of saucer-dish was imported into the Dutch Republic in the early 1640s (Fig. 3.2.1.21).[442]

Porcelain, as has been shown in the previous pages, made frequent appearance on the laid tables depicted in still life paintings of various artists of the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century.[443] A closer examination of these paintings reveals a variety of porcelain shapes mainly brought to the Dutch Republic as cargoes of the VOC, all depicted in great detail together with other imported and/or local objects. The artists' careful observation and rendering of the various pieces of porcelain and their painted decorative motifs undoubtedly denotes the great appreciation that porcelain had in the Dutch Republic at the time. The majority of pieces depicted seem to be *Kraak* porcelain, thus confirming the information provided by the VOC documents as well as marine and land archaeological finds discussed above.

By the early 1610s, porcelain appears to have been already incorporated in the daily life of middle class residents. The historian Johannes Isaäcs Pontanus (1571–1639) in his book describing Amsterdam and its history, published in Latin in 1611 and in Dutch in 1614, notes that 'the East India traffic has brought a large amount of porcelain to the Netherlands … that is why one must conclude about the porcelains, the abundance of which grows daily, that only because of these navigations they come to be with us in nearly daily use with the common people'.[444] A few group portrait paintings indicate that porcelain was used as tableware in middle-class households by the late 1620s. These include a painting entitled *Family in Prayer before Mealtime* by an unknown artist, dated 1627, which depicts a *Kraak* cup, of the type known as 'crow cup', with a simplified version of its panelled decoration containing berries alongside traditional pewter tableware with bread or a large cooked fowl (Fig. 3.2.1.22).[445] This 'crow cup', probably dating to the Wanli or Tianqi reigns, is similar to extant examples, such as the one in the Princessehof Museum in Leeuwarden (Fig. 3.2.1.23). A painting entitled *Merry Company* by the Haarlem artist Isack Elyas, dated 1629, alludes to the Five Senses depicting a group of well-dressed people enjoying food, drink and music seated around a table with pewter plates, a salt, and a jug, together with a *Kraak* plate with a panelled rim border that is also being used to serve berries (Fig. 3.2.1.24).[446] A few other similar examples, as noted by Spriggs and Berger Hochstrasser, are known.[447]

In the Dutch Republic, porcelain not only had a practical function, but also ornamental. As recently noted by Bischoff, documentary evidence shows that formal arrangements of porcelain were adopted for interior decoration in the Dutch Republic by the early decades of the seventeenth century. Female members of the House of Orange not only collected large quantities of porcelain, but also had separate rooms or cabinets in their palaces specially created to display pieces of porcelain arranged in groups. For instance, Louise de Coligny (1555–1620), fourth and last wife of Stadtholder William I of Orange, had 285 pieces of porcelain in one room at the

between the end of the Ming and the rise of the Qing dynasty, conducting astronomical, geographical and topographical observations. In 1651, Martini returned back to Europe via the Philippines and Batavia (present-day Jakarta), where he was taken prisoner for one year by the Dutch. He then travelled to Bergen in Norway, to Hamburg in Germany and finally to Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic, where he published his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*. The atlas included 15 maps of provinces that formed the Chinese Empire at the time Martini lived there. It was first published as the sixth volume of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarium* by the Dutchman Johan Blaeuw. A detail showing the Guanyin is published in Donnelly, pp. 134–135; John Ayers, 'Blanc-de-Chine: Some Reflections', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 51, 1986–1987, p. 29, fig. 17; Kerr and Ayers, et. al., 2002, p. 29, fig. 17; and Canepa, 2012/3, p. 3, fig. 3.

438 For an example in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Bequest of Forrest R. Brauer (85. 1502), see Ayers, 2002 p. 99, no. 50.

439 Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 73, pl. 113 and Apendix A.

440 Published in Ostkamp, 2014, pp. 75–76, fig. 28. A blue-and-white wine cup with a similar fishing net pattern on the exterior and a single fish on the centre interior is found in the Sir Percival David Collection now housed at the British Museum in London. Published in Stacey Pierson, *Illustrated Catalogue of Underglaze Blue and Copper red Decorated Porcelains in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art*, London, 2004, p. 103, no. C615.

441 Two of these saucer-dishes, one of them shown upside down, are published in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 45, pl. 55. In April 1643, the VOC placed an order of porcelain with the Chinese merchant Tecklim for a total of 146,000 pieces, including 5,000 small 'net' dishes. Cited in Ibid., Appendix B, p. 169.

442 Published in N.R.A Vroom, *De schilders van het monochrome banketje, N.V. Uitgevers-Mij "Kosmos"*, Amsterdam, 1945, p. 163, no. 143.

443 For a comprehensive study on the porcelain depicted in Dutch paintings, see Berger Hochstrasser, 2007.

444 Cited in Volker, 1954, p. 23; and Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, p. 133.

445 Published in Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 35; and Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, pp. 128 and 130, fig. 64.

446 Published in Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 35.

447 Spriggs, 1964–1966; and Berger Hochstrasser, 2007.

Fig. 3.2.1.22 *Family in Prayer before Mealtime*
Oil on panel, 120.5cm x 191cm
Anonymous, Dutch Republic, dated 1627
Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
(inv. no. RMCC s49)

Fig. 3.2.1.23 *Kraak* bowl
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Diameter: 10.6cm; height: 5.3cm
Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden
(inv. no. GMP 1929/32)

Next pages 200–201
Fig. 3.2.1.24 *Merry Company*
Oil on panel, 47.1cm x 63.2cm
Isack Elyas, dated 1629
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. SK-A-1754)

Noordeinde Palace in The Hague, displayed in two rows of three shelves, placed one above the other.[448] Louise de Coligny may have acquired her passion for porcelain as early as 1604, when she was asked to select porcelain from the cargo of a ship captured by the VOC, in all probability the *Santa Catarina*.[449] A description written in 1634 indicates that Catharine Belgica (1578–1648), a daughter of William I from his third marriage who lived in Noordeinde Palace from 1622 to 1648, displayed her porcelain on red- and gilt-painted shelves alongside large porcelain pots placed on stands.[450] Two years earlier, in 1632, Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, who was married to William I's fourth legitimate son Frederick Henry of Orange, third Stadholder of the States General, had created a cabinet, and around 1632–1634 a gallery, to display porcelain along with other curiosities at Noordeinde Palace.[451] In 1639, the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC asked the Zeeland Chamber to set aside various types of the finest porcelain to be presented as gift to Amalia.[452] We know that Amalia's porcelain collection increased considerably in 1642. That year, during the visit of Queen Henrietta Maria and her daughter Princess Maria Henrietta Stuart to the Dutch Republic, the VOC sent deputies to The Hague with porcelain gifts for them and Amalia.[453] Maria and Amalia each received 642 pieces of porcelain.[454] Frederick Henry and his wife and cousin Amalia, who were heirs of the House of Orange, established a court in The Hague that could be compared to European royal courts in France, Spain and England, through displays of wealth, by securing political alliances through marriage and above all by building palaces, and becoming prominent art collectors and patrons.[455] The princesses of the House of Orange, as convincingly argued by Bischoff, created rooms with large porcelain collections in their palaces that served not only as symbols of their high status, but at the same time represented their political and dynastic interests.[456]

Van Campen and Sargent have noted that in the early seventeenth century porcelain also gained a prominent decorative function in the interior of the households of middle class residents, who used it to show their prosperity.[457] Emulating the taste for acquiring and collecting porcelain of the Oranges/Stadholders of the Dutch Republic and upper classes, the urban middle class began to display small pieces of porcelain inside hanging cupboards in private rooms. For example, the inventory of the estate of Geertrut Uytten Engh, the widow of a well-known lawyer who died in 1616, lists in her bedroom a closed hanging cupboard which contains silverwork and '2 porcelain cups with silver bases'.[458] The appreciation for porcelain was so high among the middle class that silver or silver-gilt mounts were sometimes added to some pieces, a custom that as we saw occurred earlier in Portugal, Spain and the Southern Netherlands. Small hanging cupboards with glass doors for displaying small precious objects appear to have been popular during the 1620s and 1630s, as suggested by an engraving showing two designs for wall cupboards published in series *Boutique Menuseries* in 1621, and then again in 1642.[459] This would most probably have been the forerunner of the cabinets with glass doors that came to be used to display objects throughout Europe at the end of the seventeenth century.[460] The English traveller Peter Mundy, who visited Amsterdam in 1640 observed in his diary that the people are '… All in general striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces, …. Alsoe their other Furniture and Ornaments off their dwellings very Costly and Curious, Full of pleasure and home contentment, as Ritche Cupboards, Cabinetts, etts., Imagery, porcelaine, Costly Fine cages with birds, etts.; all these commonly in any house off indifferent quality'.[461]

448 Mentioned in Juliet Claxton, 'The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room: an inventory of all the parcells or Purselin, glasses and other Goods now remaining in the Pranketing Roome at Tart Hall, 8th Sept 1641', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2010, p. 189; and Cordula Bischoff, 'Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet', in Van Campen and Eliëns, 2014, p. 171.
449 Mentioned in A.M.L.E. Erkelens, 'Die Porzellansammlung der Amalia van Solms: Aufstellungsweise und Einfluss in Deutschland', in W. Savelsberg and C. Völkel (eds.), *Die Niederlande und Deutschland. Aspekte der Beziehungen zweier Länder im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert*, Dessau, 2000, p. 112; and Bischoff, 2014, p. 264, note 81.
450 Mentioned in Erkelens, 2000, p. 112; and Bischoff, 2014, p. 171.
451 In 1648–1649, after the death of her husband, Amalia van Solms had a two-part room created as a *'groote porceleyn-cabinet'* in her newly established apartments at Noordeinde. Erkelens, 2000, pp. 108-115; and C. Willemijn Fock, 'The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms; Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain', in Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (eds.), *Princely Patrons. The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, Zwolle, 1997, pp. 76–86, p. 8of. Mentioned in Bischoff, 2014, p. 171.
452 Mentioned in Fock, 1997, p. 80.
453 Viallé, 2010, p. 190.
454 VOC 148, Resoluties van de Heren Zeventien, November 25, 1642. Cited in Viallé, 2010, pp. 207–209. Mentioned in Van Campen, 2014, p. 197.
455 Mentioned in Hugh J. Mason, 'Charikleia at the Mauritshuis', in Marília P. Futre Pinheiro and Stephen J. Harrison (eds.), *Fictional Traces: Receptions of the Ancient Novel, Vol. 2, Ancient Narrative Supplementum 14.2*, Groningen, 2011, p. 9; and Bischoff, 2014, p. 181.
456 Ibid., pp. 188–189.
457 Jan van Campen, 'Kraakporselein 'tot oogen lust en pronkery'', *Keramika*, Jaargang 14, nummer 2, zomer 2002, pp. 24–27; Sargent, 2012, p. 11; and Van Campen, 2014, pp. 191 and 194.
458 The inventory is published in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. W. Fock and A. J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg; geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, Leiden, 1986–1992, Part IIIa, pp. 397–403. Cited in Van Campen, 2014, p. 191.
459 Published in Ibid., pp. 192–193, fig. 2.
460 For a brief discussion on the use of such cabinets in Spain, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 156–157, fig. 45.
461 Richard Carnac Temple (ed.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, Vol. IV, Travels in Europe, 1639–1647, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 70–71.

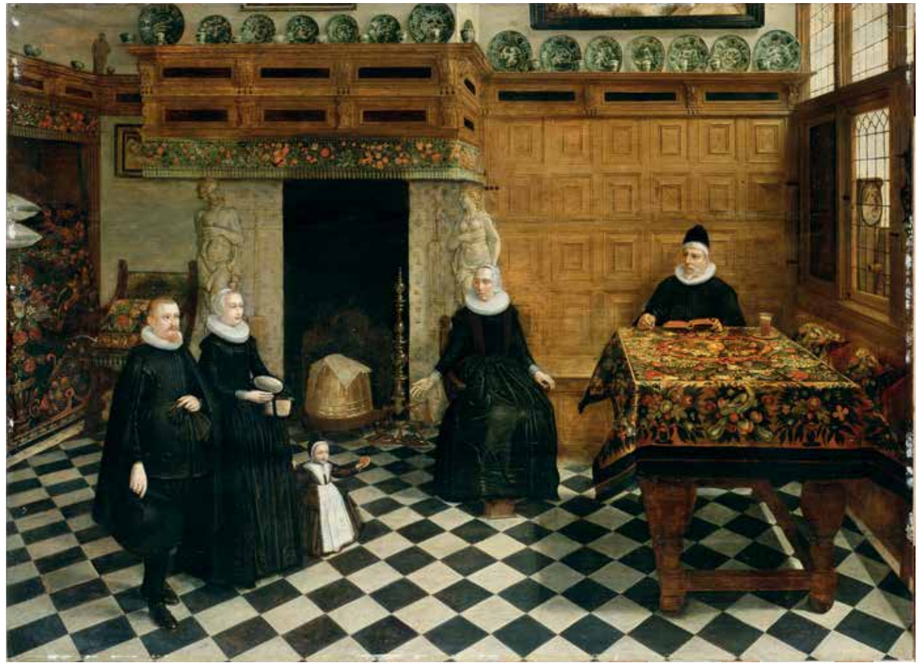

Fig. 3.2.1.25 Family in interior
Oil on panel, 86cm x 118cm
Anonymous, Dutch Republic, *c.*1630
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
(inv. no. BASZ 5)

Visual sources depicting interiors also attest to the presence of considerable quantities of porcelain in the Dutch Republic at this time giving us an insight on the variety of porcelain available and the manner in which porcelain was displayed in the domestic sphere. An anonymous painting dating to *c.*1630–1635, possibly depicting a West Frisian interior, shows the top ledge of a wooden wall panelling filled with a row of 15 *Kraak* dishes, and another in front of 20 *Kraak* bowls and cups, some of which appear to be decorated in the so-called Transitional style (Fig. 3.2.1.25).[462] Small porcelain pieces with similar blue-and-white decoration could also be placed on top of the lintel above the door, while others of larger size were arranged symmetrically on top of a cupboard. This is clear in an inventory drawn up after the death of Jan Bassé (1571/76–1636), a painter, dealer and art collector, which mentions that he had two collector's cabinets, with porcelain both on top and inside the cupboard, as well as pieces of porcelain in various drawers.[463] This manner to display porcelain had been used earlier in the Southern Netherlands, as demonstrated by the *Sense of Sight*, one of a cycle of five paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens made for Archduke Albert VII and Isabella Clara Eugenia in 1617–1618, discussed earlier (Fig. 3.1.3.1a and b).

To sum up, written sources have shown that porcelain began to be imported into the Northern Netherlands before the foundation of the VOC, in 1602. Only a few well-to-do residents, however, owned a small quantity of porcelain. Archaeological excavations have yielded shards of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain dating to the Jiajing reign, which relate closely to porcelain traded by the Portuguese in the 1550s. Other shards with blue-and-white and *Kinrande* decoration, dating to the early Wanli reign, are similar to those traded by the Spanish in the mid 1570s. Thus the porcelain may have been brought as booty taken from the Portuguese or Spanish, or by the Early Companies that preceded the VOC. These finds confirm that porcelain was incidentally found in Dutch households as early as the second half of the sixteenth century.

By the turn of the century, porcelain was being imported into the Northern Netherlands in a more structured way as part of private consignments. Porcelain, both fine and coarse, was also being brought as booty seized from Portuguese ships trading in Asia. The Directors of the newly established VOC immediately began to instruct the Company servants in Bantam and Patani to purchase porcelain of various specific types to satisfy the taste and demand not only of the Dutch domestic market but also the international markets in Europe. The range of porcelain that according to the Directors could be sold in Amsterdam was both fine and coarse, and included *Kraak*. Visual sources attest to the importation of *Kraak klapmutsen*, saucer dishes, dishes and 'crow cups' as early as 1603. Textual sources indicate that by 1617 the enourmous quantities of porcelain imported into the now Dutch Republic governed by the States General also included porcelain made at the private kilns of Zhangzhou. The supply and demand, however, was difficult to regulate at this time. Trade was not only conducted by the VOC but also by Dutch private individuals. Although the VOC tried to limit the private porcelain imports because they affected not only the purchase price in Asia but also the types available for sale in the Dutch Republic, the Company employees despite the menace of punishement and confiscations clearly ignored the limits imposed. Surviving bills of lading, maritime archaeological finds from VOC ships, and various Dutch visual sources have shown that the Dutch imported smilar types of Jingdezhen, Zhangzhou and Dehua porcelain to those traded by the Portuguese and Spanish. Most of the porcelain imported was blue-and-white of the *Kraak* and so-called Transitional types, but it also included small quantities of *Kinrande, Linglong, Blanc de chine* and porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels. A few types of blue-and-white porcelain made for the Chinese domestic market were also imported in small quantities. The Dutch acquired the porcelain from Chinese junk traders who initially brought trade goods to Bantam, and then to Batavia (VOC headquarters in Asia) and for a brief period also to Formosa. To maintain a regular supply of porcelain to the Dutch Republic, the Company employees in these Asian settlements were forced to acquire any porcelain brought by the junks, even if not entirely satisfied in terms of quality. The VOC was greatly concerned with making choices that offered the higest possible profits when purchasing or ordering porcelain, as they knew that high quality porcelain was preferred in the Dutch Republic.

By the early seventeenth century, as Dutch visual sources have demonstrated, there was a great appreciation for porcelain in the Dutch Republic. Porcelain pieces, mostly of the *Kraak* type, appear depicted in great detail alongside other imported and/or local objects in paintings of laid tables. Other paintings indicate that porcelain was already incorporated in the daily life of middle class residents by the 1620s, being used as tableware. Porcelain, however, had also an ornamental function. Textual and visual sources have shown that formal arrangements of porcelain were adopted for interior decoration by this time. Considerable numbers of pieces were arranged in groups and displayed in separate rooms or cabinets especially created by the princesses of Orange

462 Published in Van Campen, 2002, p. 26, fig. 3; Sargent, 2012, p. 12, fig. 8; and Van Campen, 2014, p. 194, fig. 3. *Kraak* dishes with panelled rim borders and small bowls with continuous scenes in the so-called Transitional style continued to appear depicted, usually arranged symmetrically on shelves, in group portraits of the 1650s, as evidenced by the painting Interior with a Dordrecht Family dated 1656 by the artist Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693), who worked in his native city Dordrecht and in Amsterdam, housed in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. Published in Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, p. 146, fig. 80.

463 Published in A. Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, The Hague, 1915–1922, Part I, pp. 129–147. Mentioned in C. W. Fock, 'Kunst en rariteiten in het Hollandse interieur', in E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker (eds.), *De Wereld binner Handbereik; Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735*, exhibition catalogue, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Zwolle and Amsterdam, 1992, p. 79; and Van Campen, 2014, p. 194. Visual evidence is provided by an anonymous painting, possibly by Christiaen Coeuershof (*c.*1596–1659), *Portrait of an Enkhuizen family in interior, c.*1635, published in Ibid., p. 195, fig. 4.

for that purpose in the Stadholders' palaces, which served not only as symbols of their high status, but at the same time represented their political and dynastic interests. Visual souces also indicate that by this time, porcelain had gained a prominent decorative function in the interior of the households of middle class residents. By the 1620s and 1630s, pieces of porcelain were displayed in small hanging cupboards with glass doors, on the ledge of wooden wall panelling, on the lintel above the door, and others of larger size were arranged symmetrically on top of a cupboard. It is important to remember that the display of porcelain in separate rooms was first used in Portugal in the early 1560s, and that the manner of displaying porcelain in cupboards was used in the Southern Netherlands by the late 1610s.

Trade to England [3.2.2]

A small amount of porcelain arrived in Tudor England through indirect trade routes before 1600, when ships of the newly established East India Company (hereafter EIC) began to sail regularly to Asia.[464] Documentary and material evidence of the presence of porcelain at this time is scarce. A few references to 'purslane', 'purslaine', 'porselin', 'china' or 'chyna' can be found in English written sources related to the royal court, nobility and affluent individuals, but as mentioned earlier, some may have referred to a different material.[465]

Evidence of porcelain in England before the establishment of the EIC in 1600

The earliest recorded piece of porcelain to arrive in Tudor England is the celadon-glazed stoneware 'Warham' bowl fitted with silver-gilt mounts, listed in the inventory of New College of Oxford of *c.*1532, discussed earlier (Fig. 3.1.2.2). Thus it is possible that the two 'faire Laires [small jugs] of Purslane' listed in an inventory of the Jewel House taken in 1547 after the death of King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547),[466] as Pierson has convincingly argued, may refer to celadon-glazed stoneware ewers of a type made at the Longquan kilns after Near Eastern metalwork in the fourteenth century.[467] The inventory of the Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I, taken in 1574, lists seven pieces of porcelain. These include item 349: 'oone Cup of Purslaine glasse fation with two handles garnisshid with siluer and guilt the Couer garnished with iiij Camewe heddes and thre garnettes'; item 1080: 'oone faire Laire of Purslaine garnisshid with silver and guilt beign a Griffens hed with a Chaine of silver guilt'; item 1099: 'oone Laire of Purslaine garnisshid with siluer and guilt and furnisshid with sundry stones sett in collettes of golde having in the toppe thereof an Amatest pointed'; and item 1363: 'oone lie potte of siluer and guilt with a purslaine hedde in the fore parte'.[468]

Elizabeth received three pieces of porcelain as New Year's gifts in 1587–1588. Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, 1st Baron of Burghley (1520–1598), gave her a porcelain porringer, listed as item 1577: 'one Porrynger of white Pvrselyn garnisshid with golde the Cover of golde with a Lyon on the Toppe thereof poiz all xxxviij oz.';[469] his youngest son, Robert Cecil, gave the Queen a green cup, listed as item 1580: 'one Cvp of Greene Pursselyne the Foute Shanke and Cover Sylver gylte Chased Lyke Droppes poiz all xv oz. quarter'; and Mr Lychfelde gave the Queen a cup painted in red, listed as item 1582: 'one Cvp of Pursseline thoneysde paynted Red the foute and Cover sylver guilt poiz all xiiij oz. quarter'.[470] The pieces described as 'garnisshid' were presumably fitted with gold or silver mounts.

As Kerr has noted, only a few extant pieces of porcelain are documented as having arrived in Tudor England in the second half of the sixteenth century.[471] The high appreciation of such rare and costly pieces of porcelain at the time is attested by the elaborate mounts of silver-gilt fitted to the porcelain by renowned English silversmiths, which as noted earlier, further enhanced their status as rare objects. In England, like it had occurred earlier in Portugal and Spain, mounted pieces of porcelain were regarded as suitable for royal or diplomatic gifts, as well as for the furnishing of royal palaces and aristocratic houses. Sometimes, as will be shown in the following pages, the mounts fitted transformed the porcelain piece into a different type of object. One such example is a bowl decorated with incised scrolling lotus beneath a white monochrome glaze of the Jiajing reign fitted with silver-gilt mounts bearing London hallmarks for 1569–1570 in the Percival David Collection, now housed at the British Museum in London (Fig. 3.2.2.1).[472] This bowl, one of a number of bowls of this type made at Jingdezhen for export to Japan and the Near East, was transformed into a Renaissance *tazza* with the addition of a silver-gilt high foot and domed cover in Elizabethan style made by the goldsmith Roger Flynt (active 1568–1588).[473] Known as the 'Lennard Cup', it belonged to the Devon merchant named Samuel Lennard (1553–1618), who was Lord of the Manor at Wickham Court, West Wickham in Kent.[474] The fact that Lennard was not a member of the English royal court, suggests that although porcelain was still rare at that time, it was available to those who could afford it.[475] It is likely that the bowl arrived in England via the Near East, where English merchants traded

Fig. 3.2.2.1 White-glazed bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Mounts: England (London), hallmarked 1569–1570
Diameter: 12cm
British Museum, London (museum no. PDF.695)

464 Bracken, 2001, pp. 8–10; and Pierson, 2007, p. 22.
465 Ibid., p. 20; and Pierson, 2013, p. 55.
466 David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript*, vol. I, London, 1998.
467 Pierson, 2007, pp. 19–20.
468 A. Jefferies Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: the inventory of 1574, edited from Harley MS 1650 and Stowe MS 555 in the British Museum*, London, 1955, pp. 349, 487, 491, and 536, respectively. Mentioned in Pierson, 2007, p. 25.
469 Mentioned in John Gough Nichols, *The Unton Inventories: relating to Wadley and Faringdon, co. Berks., in the years 1596 and 1620, from the originals in the possession of Earl Ferrers. With a memoir of the family of Unton*, Berkshire Asmolean Society, Reading, 1841, p. 45 under Purslen stuffe; Philippa Glanville, 'Chinese Porcelain and English Goldsmiths c. 1560 to c. 1660', *The V&A Album 3*, London, 1984, p. 249; and Pierson, 2007, p. 26.
470 Collins, 1955, pp. 590, 591 and 592, respectively.
471 Kerr, 2004, p. 50.
472 The centre interior of the bowl is decorated with a white hare reserved on a cobalt blue rock with pine and bamboo, and its base bears a commendatory mark that reads *changming fu gui* (long life, riches and honours). The bowl without its silver-gilt lid is published in Glanville, 1984, p. 251, fig. 5. The bowl with its lid was more recently published in Stacey Pierson, *Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. A Guide to the Collection*, London, 2002, p. 71, no. 58; and Kerr, 2004, pp. 50–51, pl. 4.7.
473 Glanville, 1984, p. 249.
474 Published in Ibid., p. 251, fig. 5; Pierson, 2002, p. 71; Kerr, 2004, p. 50, pl. 4.7; and Pierson, 2007, pp. 20 and 233, pl. 1.
475 Pierson, 2013, p. 45.

Figs. 3.2.2.2a and b *Kinrande* bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Mounts: Affabel Partridge (active *c.*1551–1580)
Diameter: 13.3cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 68.141.125a, b)

in Ottoman Turkey.[476] A *Kinrande* bowl of the Jiajing reign with overglaze iron red enamel and traces of gilt decoration on the exterior and underglaze cobalt blue on the interior is fitted with silver-gilt mounts made in *c.*1570 by the royal goldsmith Affabel Partridge, which also transformed it into a *tazza* (Figs. 3.2.2.2a and b).[477] This bowl, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has royal associations. It is said to have been a gift from King James II (r. 1685–1688) to his Groom of the Stairs, H. Green of Rolleston Hall and descended in the latter's family until purchased for the collection of Sir Samuel Montague.[478] The description of the mounted porcelain presented by Mr Lytchfelde to Elizabeth I in 1588, corresponds closely to the aforementioned *Kinrande* bowl.[479]

The earliest known pieces of blue-and-white porcelain with late sixteenth century English mounts were made at the Jingdezhen kilns during the Wanli reign (Appendix 2). These include an octagonal ewer of not particularly high quality made after a Persian shape and decorated with panels enclosing boys playing on the globular body and flames on the spout, fitted with London silver-gilt mounts hallmarked to 1585–1586, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Fig. 3.2.2.3).[480] Flames, a common Chinese motif used to decorate the spout of Wanli ewers, are also seen on a blue-and-white ewer of Islamic shape fitted with silver-gilt mounts hallmarked to 1589 found in Hardwick Hall, the house built by the Countess of Shrewsbury, familiarly known as Bess of Hardwick, discussed in Chapter II (Fig. 3.2.2.4).[481] This latter ewer relates closely in shape and decoration to two ewers in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul.[482] Similar flame motifs are seen on the fragment of a spout excavated at Santa Elena (present-day Parris Island, South Carolina), occupied by the Spanish from 1566 to 1587.[483]

It is not surprising that *Kraak* porcelain too reached Tudor England at this time, as the Portuguese were importing considerable quantities into continental Europe by then. Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), who succeeded his father William Cecil as Elizabeth I's chief minister in 1598, acquired a few *Kraak* and high

476 Pierson, 2004, p. 19.
477 Images of the bowl are published in Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, *Chinese Export Porcelain, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 60, no. 3 (Winter 2003), p. 7, fig. 2.
478 For a discussion on this wine cup, see Glanville, 1984, p. 249; and Pierson, 2007, pp. 20–21, and note 21.
479 Collins, 1955, p. 592. Mentioned in Le Corbeiller and Frelinghuysen, 2003, p. 7. Cited in Pomper, 2014, p. 82.
480 Published in Glanville, 1984, pp. 250–251, fig. 6; and Kerr, 2004, p. 51, pl. 4.9. As noted by Kerr, the repair to some damage on the spout, lip and neckband carried out in silver in the late seventeenth century attests to the high appreciation that the owner had for this ewer.
481 The porcelain lid of the ewer is a replacement, but the silver-gilt mounts indicate that it originally had such a lid. According to Glanville, the mounts are by the same goldsmith who mounted the 'Trenchard' bowl discussed earlier. The ewer may have been bought by the Sixth Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858), who is documented as having had a passion for decorating the house in antiquarian style. Published in Glanville, 1984, p. 253, fig. 9; and Pomper, Legg and DePratter, 2011, p. 32. I am grateful to Jenny Liddle, National Trust Photo Library, for granting me permission to include an image of the ewer in this doctoral dissertation.
482 Published in Krahl and Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 652, nos. 1007–1008.
483 Published in Pomper, Legg and DePratter, 2011, p. 40, fig. 15 (bottom image).

Fig. 3.2.2.3 Blue-and-white ewer with English silver-gilt mounts,
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English, hallmarked to 1585-1586
Height: 25.6cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 7915-1862)

Fig. 3.2.2.4 Blue-and-white ewer with English silver-gilt mounts,
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English, hallmarked 1598
Height: 32 cm
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire
© National Trust Images (inv. no. 1127144)

Fig. 3.2.2.5 *Kraak* bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English, *c.*1580-1600
Diameter: 21.5cm
Height: 13.9cm; diam: 21.5cm
Burghley House, South Lincolnshire

484 Oliver Impey, *The Cecil Family Collects: Four Centuries of Decorative Art From Burghley House*, exhibition catalogue, Art Services International, Alexandria, Virginia, 1998, p. 60. Mentioned in Pierson, 2007, p. 24.
485 This magnificent Elizabethan home is still owned by the Cecil family. There are also a number of *Kraak* pieces with no mounts at Burghley House. For images, see Gordon Lang, *The Wrestling Boys. An exhibition of Chinese and Japanese ceramics from the 16th to the 18th century in the collection at Burghley House*, exhibition catalogue, Burghley House, Eastbourne, 1983, p. 53, nos. 128–130, p. 55, no. 133, p. 57, nos. 137–138, and pp. 58–59, nos. 140–142; and Alexandra Munroe and Naomi Noble Richard (eds.), *The Burghley Porcelains: An Exhibition from the Burghley House Collection and based on the 1688 Inventory and 1690 Devonshire Schedule*, New York, 1986, pp. 72–75, nos. 1 and 2.
486 In 1731, Lady Osborne, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Walsingham, gave the bowl to the 8th Earl of Exeter, who was the only male heir of the family. Published in Lang, 1983, p. 51, no. 126; Munroe and Noble Richard, 1986, pp. 80–81, no. 5; Glanville, 1984, p. 249, fig. 4; Impey, 1998, p. 163, no. 67; and Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, p. 279, fig. 50a.
487 Cited in Oliver R. Impey, 'Collecting Oriental Porcelain in Britain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Munroe and Noble Richard, 1986, p. 36.
488 Bracken, 2001, p. 9.
489 Malcolm Airs, ''Pomp or Glory: The Influence of Theobalds', in Pauline Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power. The Early Cecils*, Studies in British Art 8, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 3–19.
490 Adam Nicholson, *God's Secretaries: The Making of the King James Bible*, New York, 2003, p. 18. Cited in Pomper, 2014, p. 82.
491 On that occasion the Earl of Salisbury also received as gifts from 'Mr. Coalle, of Devonshire, one basin and ewer of fine 'purslen,' gilt. Six fair dishes of 'purslen,' gilt. Six lesser, of fine 'purslen,' gilt. One perfuming pot in the form of a cat, of 'purslen.' One fine voyder of China, gilt'. The citation is taken from G. Ravenscroft Dennis, *The Cecil Family*, Boston and New York, 1914, p. 197. Bracken cited from *Historical*

quality blue-and-white pieces of porcelain and fitted them with Elizabethan silver-gilt mounts as early as 1580–1600.[484] Some are still at Burghley House, a large manor house in South Lincolnshire, which belonged to William Cecil by inheritance.[485] They include a Wanli bowl with lobed sides alternately decorated with a bird perched on tree branches and flower sprays beneath a border of flying horses (Fig. 3.2.2.5). This bowl, traditionally believed to have been a gift from Elizabeth I to her godchild Thomas Walsingham (1568–1630), a cousin of the Queen's minister Sir Francis Walsingham, is known as the 'Walsingham' bowl.[486] In 1597, the English explorer Sir Walter Raleigh (*c.*1552–1618), who established a colony near Roanoke Island and named the area Virginia, bequeathed some porcelain to the Earl of Salisbury: 'my Right Honorable good Frinde Sir Roberte Cecil … one suite of Porcellane sett in silver and gylt'.[487] As noted by Bracken, this bequest cannot have been fulfilled because Raleigh was prisoner in the Tower at the time of the Earl of Salisbury's premature death in 1612.[488] According to the historian Nicholson, by the time King James I (r. 1603–1625) ascended to the English throne after Elizabeth I died unmarried in 1603, the Earl of Salisbury had at Theobalds, the palatial country house built by Lord Burghley in Hertfordshire,[489] a 'cabinet of china gilt all over'.[490] The pieces in the aforementioned cabinet and the New Year's gift received by the Earl of Salisbury in 1602-1603, consisting of 'one basin and ewer of fine purslen gilt',[491] may have been *Kinrande* porcelain or blue-and-white with gilded decoration like those listed in the Spanish inventories discussed earlier. It seems that the Earl of Salisbury asked others to acquire high quality porcelain for him. This is suggested by an extract from a correspondence dated March 1602–1603 sent by Richard Hawkins to him saying 'I have a dozen porcelain dishes, the best that I could find for you'.[492]

Four Wanli blue-and-white porcelain pieces fitted with Elizabethan silver-gilt mounts of *c.*1585 sold in 1888 from Burghley House, are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[493] Two of them are high quality pieces: a dish with rounded sides decorated with a river scene within a white cavetto and a rim border of

Figs. 3.2.2.6a and b Blue-and-white dish with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English, *c.*1585
Diameter: 36.5cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 44.14.1)

Opposite page
Fig. 3.2.2.7 Blue-and-white bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign mark and of the period (1573–1620)
Mounts: English (London), *c.*1585
Diameter: 22.9cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 44.14.3)

Fig. 3.2.2.8 *Kraak* bottle with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English (London), *c.*1585
Height: 34.6cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 44.14.2)

Fig. 3.2.2.9 *Kraak* bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English (London), *c.*1585
Diameter: 24.1cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 44.14.5)

herons and lotus (Figs. 3.2.2.6a and b), and a bowl decorated with phoenixes flying amongst floral sprays (Fig. 3.2.2.7).[494] The other two pieces are *Kraak* porcelain of not especially high quality. One is a bottle with moulded vertical panels decorated with birds perched on flowering or fruiting tree branches, transformed into an ewer with the mounts (Fig. 3.2.2.8),[495] and the other is a bowl decorated with panels of white spotted deer reserved on blue foliage and wheel motifs (Fig. 3.2.2.9).[496]

The Metropolitan Museum has another piece of *Kraak* porcelain with English mounts of *c.*1585. It is a bowl decorated with panels of scrolling foliage and auspicious symbols divided by double lines on the exterior, and a *chakra* or flaming wheel border encircling the interior medallion, which has the same dimensions and rim border of horses above waves as the Walsingham bowl (Figs. 3.2.2.10a and b). This bowl was probably made for the export market in the late 1570s, as suggested by the resemblance of the scrolling foliage decoration to that seen on a bowl fragment recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576).[497] In addition, the Metropolitan Museum has a *Kinrande* bowl with blue glaze and gilt decoration on the exterior and underglaze cobalt blue on the interior of the Jiajing reign, fitted with English silver-gilt mounts of *c.*1590–1610 (Fig. 3.2.2.11).[498]

A *Kraak* rectangular box of the Wanli reign from the Lee Collection housed at the Royal Ontario Museum is fitted with English silver-gilt mounts dating to *c.*1570–1580, which relate in workmanship and style to those fitted to the porcelain pieces formerly owned by Lord Burghley at the Metropolitan Museum discussed above (Fig. 3.2.2.12).[499] This box is comparable to the examples recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600). Two further pieces of *Kraak* porcelain dating to the Wanli reign fitted with English silver-gilt mounts of the late sixteenth or early

Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury, Vol. XII, p. 527. Cited in Bracken, 2001, p. 9.

492 *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Salisbury, Vol. XII, p. 697. Cited in Bracken, 2001, p. 9.

493 The Metropolitan Museum of Art records the provenance of these pieces as follows: William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter; William Alleyne Cecil, 3rd Marquis of Exeter; William Agnew until 1888 (sold at auction Christie's London, June 7–8, 1888, lots 256–259); J. Pierpont Morgan; and J. P. Morgan Jr.

494 This bowl bears a six-character Wanli reign mark within a double ring on its recessed base.

495 A bottle of this shape with a related decoration found in the Topkapi Saray, inv. no. TKS 15/7804, indicates that such bottles were also exported to the Middle East. Published in Krahl and Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 748, no. 1377.

496 These four pieces of porcelain and their mounts are discussed and illustrated in Louise Avery, 'Chinese Porcelain in English Mounts', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2 (9), 1944, pp. 269–271.

497 For a sketch-drawing of the bowl, see Von der Porten, 2012, p. 4, IV–1.

498 The bowl bears the mark *wan fu you tong* (may happiness without end favour your affairs) on the recessed base. Images of the interior and exterior of this bowl are published in Pomper, 2014, p. 79, fig. 10.

499 The mounts transformed the box into a hinged casket with a classical figure surmounting the lid resting on four large ball feet. Yvonee Hackenbroch,

Figs. 3.2.2.10a and b *Kraak* bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English (London), c.1585
Diameter: 35.6cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 44.14.4)

Fig. 3.2.2.11 *Kinrande* bowl with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Mounts: English, *c.*1590–1610
Diameter: 12.1cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 79.2.1122)

Fig. 3.2.2.12 *Kraak* box with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Mounts: English, *c.*1570–1580
Height: 14.7cm; length: 12.8cm; width: 9.3cm
Lee Collection, Royal Ontario Museum
(inv. no. 997.158.94)

seventeenth century in the Victoria and Albert Museum attest to the popularity of this type of Jingdezhen export porcelain in Tudor and early Stuart England. The earliest is a cup decorated with panels of pending emblems and a scholar's table fitted with mounts of *c.*1585, which transformed it into a chalice with a high pedestal.[500] The other is a *kendi* dating to the early seventeenth century decorated with alternating panels of flowers and flying horses, transformed into an ewer with the addition of a mount composed of a spout terminating in a wolf's head, handle, lid and splayed foot in *c.*1600–1610 (Fig. 3.2.2.13). This mounted *kendi* was originally at Bell Hall, Belbourghton in Leicestershire.[501]

By the turn of the sixteenth century porcelains were still being acquired in England as valuable curiosities.[502] As noted by Pierson, several prominent men began collecting a variety of exotic objects that would be displayed for a selected audience, following the continental fashion for cabinets of curiosity. Such objects, including porcelain, displayed for well-connected visitors would have reinforced the social standing of the collector as well as conferred honor to both collector and viewer.[503] From the diary *Travels in England* written by the Swiss physician and traveller Thomas Platter (1574–1628) who visited London in 1599, we learn that porcelain and other Chinese goods were among a variety of natural and artificial curiosities collected by Walter Cope (d. 1614) in his London residence.[504] Platter notes that Cope, a politician who held office at the Elizabethan court and was a close friend of the 1st Earl of Salisbury, inhabited a 'fine house in the Snecgas'[505] and that he led them into 'an apartment stuffed with queer foreign objects in every corner, and amongst other things I saw there, the following seemed of interest … 25. Artful little Chinese box. 26. Earthen pitchers from China … 33. Porcelain from China'.[506] Platter continues to remark that 'There are also other people in London interested in curios, but this gentleman is superior to them all for strange objects, because of the Indian voyage he carried out with such zeal'.[507]

The Lee Collection, Toronto, 1949, p. 13. Published in F.J.B. Watson and Gillian Wilson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Los Angeles, revised edition 1999, p. 7, fig. 9.

500 This cup, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Schatzkammer collection (50–2008), is published in Kerr and Mengoni, 2011, p. 82, pl. 112.

501 Published in Ibid., pp. 82–83, pl. 113.

502 Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, 'From the curious to the "artinatural": the meaning of oriental porcelain in 17th and 18th–century English interiors', *Miranda* [Online], 7, 2012, p. 2. http://mitranda.revues.org/4390. Accessed November 13, 2014.

503 Pierson, 2007, pp. 29–30; and Peck, 2005, p. 156.

504 Arthur MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum, 1683, with a Catalogue of the Surviving Early Collections*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 17–18.

505 Ibid., p. 17, note, 3. MacGregor states that this street has not been identified, while Williams suggests that it was Snow or Snor Hill. Clare Williams (ed.), *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, London, 1937, p. 171.

506 Ibid., pp. 171–172. Cited in Pierson, 2007, p. 30.

507 Williams, 1937, pp. 171–173. Cited in MacGregor, 1983, p. 18.

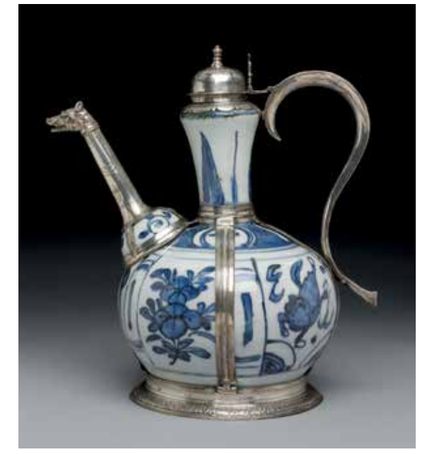

Fig. 3.2.2.13 *Kraak kendi* with English silver-gilt mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1600
Mounts: English, *c.*1600–1610
Height: 24.1cm; length: 21.5cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. M.220-1916)

Evidence of porcelain in England from the establishment of the EIC in 1600 up to 1644

Textual sources indicate that after the establishment of the EIC in 1600, porcelain continued to be imported as private trade. According to Volker, representatives of James I bought porcelain for him in 1604, when the booty cargo of the Portuguese ship *Santa Catarina* was sold at auction in Amsterdam.[508] From that same year the EIC allowed each of its supercargoes to import a 'small chest' of porcelain, but it was not until 1615 that the EIC itself began importing porcelain, though only in small quantities.[509] As Swann has remarked, after James I made peace with Spain, new forms of aristocratic material display began to emerge in England.[510] It is reported that in December 1609, there were 'Preparations for launching the great ship on the morrow, and entertaining the King at a banquet on board, on china dishes; salutes to be fired'.[511] Porcelain remained for a few decades the privilege of the royalty, nobility and rich merchant class who could afford such costly imported objects, but then it gradually became more widely available to different social groups. The following inventories of the nobility serve as examples. The 1601 inventory of Hardwick Hall, discussed in Chapter II, lists only one piece of porcelain described as 'a pursland [porcelain] Cup with a Cover trymmed with silver and guilt waying fourtene ounces'.[512] A surviving inventory taken in 1605 of the furnishings of the ruined Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, which belonged to Sir Mathew Arundell (d. 1598), lists 154 pieces of 'possylen' or 'possylon' (porcelain) displayed alongside earthenware, brass, marble, wicker and Venetian glass objects 'In the possylen house' (Fig. 3.2.2.14).[513] The displaying of a considerable quantity of porcelain in a separate architectural space, like the aforementioned 'possylen house' at Wardour, was probably new in England at this time, but the post-mortem inventory of Teodósio I, 5th Duke of Braganza discussed earlier demonstrates that separate rooms especially created for displaying porcelain already existed in continental Europe in the early 1560s.[514]

The inventories drawn up following the Earl of Salisbury's death in 1612 reveal that he owned a considerable quantity of pieces of porcelain, both with and without

508 Volker, 1954, p. 22. Mentioned in Impey, 1980, p. 38; and Pierson, 2007, p. 28.

509 Mentioned in Philip Allen, 'The Uses of Oriental Porcelain in English Houses', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 67 (2002–2003), p. 121.

510 Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*, Philadelphia, 2001, p. 16.

511 CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, pp. 199–202.

512 Boynton, 1971, p. 35. Cited in Glanville, 1984, p. 247.

513 *An Inventory of All the Ornaments Ympedmts and household stuffe in Warder Castell Anstye house and Shaston house taken the Xth of August 1605. Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, MS 2667/22/2/2, Wardour Castle Inventory, 1605.* Mentioned in Bracken, 2001, p. 10; and Pierson, 2007, p. 29. The inventory also lists tapestries and leather wall-hangings, cushions and bed-curtains of silk and velvet, gilded beds and tables inlaid with marble, and 192 pictures, most of which were looted or smashed after a siege in 1643. Brian K. Davison, *Old Wardour Castle*, English Heritage, London, 1999, p. 28. I am grateful to Gill Neal, Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre, Wiltshire, for providing me with an image of the original inventory. Wardour Castle was one of several properties in Wilshire bought in the 1540s by Sir Thomas Arundell, who was related to the Earl of Salisbury. These properties were all confiscated when the Duke of Somerset and him were accused of treason and executed in 1552. In 1570, his son Sir Mathew Arundell was able to recover Wardour from William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, by an exchange of land. After Sir Matthew Arundell was knighted in 1574, he began to refurbish the castle, which he regarded as family property. Mentioned in Davison, 1999, pp. 26–27.

514 As suggested by the 100 pieces of porcelain listed among the dowager Duchess's 'House of glass and porcelain' in 1563, discussed in section 3.1.1 of this Chapter.

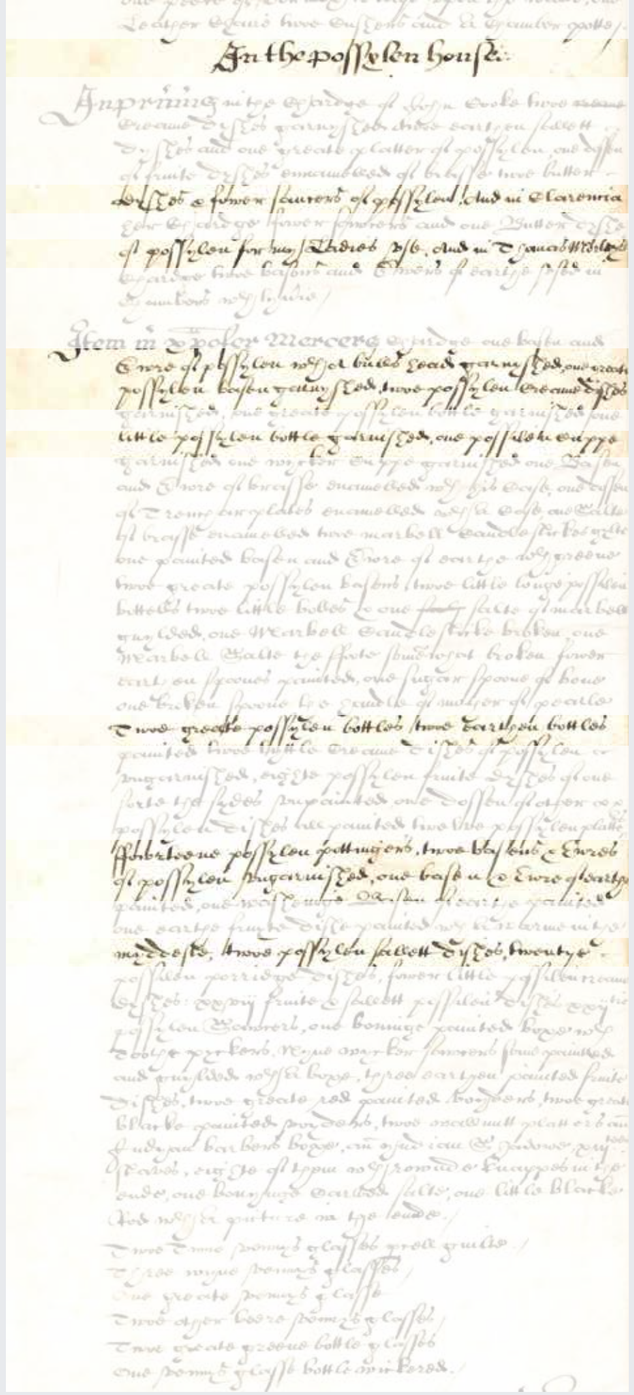

Fig. 3.2.2.14 Inventory of Wardour Castle, 1605 (document no. 2667/22/21) Wiltshire Council, Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre

mounts. The inventory of Salisbury House, his London residence in the Strand, lists 81 pieces of porcelain in a room described as the 'Cabonnett', including 'thirty flat fruit dishes of a lesser size, painted and gilt of diverse sorts',[515] which were presumably *Kinrande* or blue-and-white and gilded porcelain. Knowles has noted that the inventory of the Earl of Salisbury's country estate, Hatfield House, drawn up in 1612, lists 65 pieces of porcelain.[516] Another inventory drawn up seventeen years later, in 1629, lists 'in the Chamber over the Porters Lodge … XXVI China dishes sett out a banquet'.[517] This clearly shows that by this time porcelain was not only regarded in England as a valuable curiosity worth of displaying, but also as a functional object for use as tableware at the dinner table.[518]

Porcelain also appears listed in the 1614 inventory of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, mentioned in Chapter II. Among the jewels and plate is listed 'a cupboard contayninge seeven parcels of Purslane cuppes trimmed with silver and guilte', valued at 12 pounds, left to Lady Lumley.[519] There is also 'a China guilte cabonnet upon a frame', valued at 30 pounds, listed among the 'Household-stuffe at London'.[520] This suggests that porcelain fitted with mounts was displayed or kept in cupboards. An inventory drawn up in 1619 after the death of Ann of Denmark (1574–1619),[521] Queen consort of James I, lists 14 pieces of mounted porcelain, Chinese textiles and mother-of-pearl caskets.[522] This same year, Sir Thomas Dale sent a box from Batavia containing 82 pieces of porcelain as gift for his brother-in law,[523] despite EIC instructions given to its servants in Asia not to trade privately in porcelain. Recent research by Lux has shown that the EIC was giving porcelain as diplomatic gifts at this time. In December 1618, for instance, the EIC sent '35 great basins or chargers, 17 great dishes or platters, 33 of a lesser sort, 25 great porringers or posset bowls, and 1,000 cups of various patterns' as gift to the King of Persia.[524]

An inventory taken slightly later, in 1620, of the belongings of Lady Dorothy Shirley, whose second husband was George Shirley,[525] at her house in Farrington, lists 'purslin stuffe, Chinie stuffe, and cubbert frames, shelves and stooles' among the 'Silver Plate in my la. Closett'.[526] This is another example of the display cabinet frames and shelves associated with porcelain. There are also 'ij [2] dozen of fruite purslen dishes, and tun [10] dishes' listed in 'my Ladies Clossett and Chmbare att Atswell'.[527] Her husband, George Shirley, was made Sheriff of Northamptonshire and knighted in 1603, when he conducted James I through that county on his first entrance into England; and he was included in the original creation of Baronets in 1611.[528] Porcelain is also listed in an inventory taken in 1629 of the belongings of Arthur Coke, of Bramfield, the third son of Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England.[529] Arthur Coke and his wife Elizabeth (d.1627), daughter and sole heiress of Sir George Waldegrave, lived at the old manor house called Brook Hall, in Bramfield, where he collected an astonishing amount of curiosities.[530] In 'the Parlor Chamber Clossett' are listed 'iij [3] gally potts, vij [7] China dishes with other Tryfles', valued at 4 shillings; and in the 'Mistress Cokes Clossett' are 'certayne brasse waytes, certayne China dishes, glasse plates, & certayne water glasses', valued at 8 *shillings*.[531]

The inventory of the goods belonging to Lettice, Countess of Leicester, taken in January 1634 after her death, lists among the plate and jewels: 'one pursland boule, with a guilt foote and a guilt cover', valued at 45 *shillings*.[532] In her 'Sweete-meate Closett' are listed 'sixe pursland fruit dishes', which together with 'bone lace of divers sorts, glass bottles, waxe lights, many glasses, a trunke and other boxes, and divers other trifles', are only valued at 40 *shillings*.[533] The 1638 inventory of the Viscountess

515 Mentioned in Bracken, 2001, p. 9; Pierson, 2007, p. 29; and Philippa Glanville, 'Oriental Porcelain in 16th and 17th Century England', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 72, 2007–2008, p. 70.

516 James Knowles, 'Cecil's Shopping Centre. The rediscovery of a Ben Jonson masque in praise of trade', *Times Literary Supplement*, 7 February 1997, pp. 14–15.

517 Mentioned in Impey, 1998, p. 60; and Pierson, 2007, p. 29.

518 Oliver Impey, 'Porcelain for Palaces', in John Ayers, Oliver Impey and J.V.G. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe, 1650–1750*, exhibition catalogue, Oriental Ceramic Society, London, 1990, p. 57; Pierson, 2007, p. 33. Visual sources indicate that English noble families were dining with a limited range of utensils, mainly plates made of silver or pewter. See, for instance, a portrait painting of William Brooke, 10th Baron of Cobham and his family of 1567, reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warmister, Wilshire, by Alejandra Gutiérrez, 'Of Sundry Colours and Mouls. Imports of Early Pottery Along the Atlantic Seaboard', in André Teixeira and José António Bettencourt (eds.), *Velhos e Novos Mundos. Estudos de Arqueologia Moderna – Old and New Worlds. Studies on Early Modern Archaeology*, Vol. 1, 2012, p. 47, fig. 12.

519 *Arqueologia*, Vol. XLII, 1869, p. 353. Cited in Glanville, 1984, p. 255.

520 *Arqueologia*, Vol. XLII, 1869, p. 354.

521 Anne of Denmark was the second daughter of King Frederick II of Denmark and Norway (r.1559–1588) and Sophie Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1557–1631), daughter of the Duke Ulrich III of Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1527–1603) and Princess Elizabeth of Denmark (1524–1586). Ann was 15 years old when she married by proxy King James, then James VI of Scotland, in 1589.

522 Mentioned in Glanville, 2007–2008, p. 70.

523 Mentioned in Farrington, 2002, p. 82; and Pierson, 2007, p. 27.

524 *Original Correspondence of the East India Company*, 1602–1712, No. 717. Cited in Lux, 2014, p. 147.

525 Dorothy was the widow of Sir Henry Unton (d. 1596). She married George Shirley in 1598. Nichols, 1841, p. lxvii.

526 Ibid., p. 26. Cited in Glanville, 2007–2008, p. 71.

527 Nichols, 1841, p. 30.

528 Ibid., pp. lxvii and lxviii.

529 Francis W. Steer, 'The Inventory of Arthur Coke of Bramfield, 1629', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, Vol. XXV, Part 3 (1951), p. 265.

530 Ibid., pp. 265–266.

531 Ibid., pp. 278 and 280, respectively.

532 James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *Ancient Inventories of Furniture, Pictures, Tapestry, Plate, etc. illustrative of the domestic manner of the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. Selected from inedited Manuscripts*, London, 1854, p. 4. Cited in Glanville, 1984, p. 255. Glanville translated the term 'boule' as bottle.

533 Halliwell, 1854, p. 12. Cited in Glanville, 1984, p. 255.

Dorchester discussed in Chapter II, lists '2 creame bowles of chyna garnish with silver', valued at 40 pounds; and 'All the china dishes, glasses & bottles taken out of the closett' at Gosfield Hall in Essex, valued at 3 pounds.[534] 'In the great barrd trunck', together with the 5 white pieces of Chinese damask, are listed '5 drawers full of Cheney dishes and glass plates, 3 inckhornes and divers other small necessary things, a dozen of tortus shell dishes with the barrd trunck', with a value of 6 pounds.[535] The aforementioned inventories demonstrate that by this time porcelain had a much higher monetary value only if fitted with mounts, and that more ordinary porcelain used as tableware was thus given a lower value. The same occurred in continental Europe, as discussed earlier, especially in Spain. It is clear that the monetary value of mounted porcelain had fallen considerably, if one compares the 7 parcels of porcelain cups valued at 12 pounds in the 1614 inventory of the Earl of Northampton to that of a single bowl worth only 45 *shillings* in the aforementioned Countess of Leicester's inventory drawn up twenty years later, in 1634. It appears that as early as the late 1630s, porcelain made to order for the VOC after European models began to reach England. A letter written by Lady Brilliana Harley to her son in 1638, states that 'I haue sent a token to Mrs. Wilkinson: … It is two cruets of china, with siluer and gilt couers, and bars and feete. Do not let the boxe be opened before she has it'.[536] According to Glanville and Pierson the pieces described as 'cruets of chinna' referred to sugar casters.[537] If so, they might have been like the type of *Kraak* porcelain spice box of cylindrical form with a domed cover perforated with small holes and bud finial made to order for the Dutch market in the Chongzhen reign, discussed in section 3.4.2.1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3.4.2.1.5).

The earliest documentary evidence of the presence of *Blanc de chine* porcelain from the kilns of Dehua (Appendix 2) in England is found in an inventory taken in 1641 of the contents of Tart Hall, the London residence of the art collector Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel (1585–1646).[538] Among the contents of a room known as 'The Dutch Pranketing Room', located in the grounds of Tart Hall, are listed sixty-nine models of white porcelain, including 'a white Figure of a Man and a Boy in Purselin', 'A white Purselin Eure', 'the Figure of a lyon on a Pedistall of white Purselin', 'Figure of a woeman sitting of white Purselin' and 'A figure of a woeman of white Purselin'.[539] A total of 8 animal models of 'lyon on a Pedistall' are listed, which were in all probability similar to the example recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* which sank that same year (Fig. 3.1.2.22), and that listed as a 'white lion' in the 1637 inventory of the belongings of the Dutch painter Jan Blasse. It is clear from the recurrent use of the phrase 'for ornament' when listing the aforementioned pieces in the inventory that the *Blanc de chine* figure and animal models served as ornamental pieces. But there were also a few *Blanc de chine* functional pieces listed as '2 white Purselin dishes' and 2 'white Purselin Flower pott'.[540] In addition, various pieces of both open and closed forms are listed in the inventory. These include 'a very Deepe large Purselin Bason', 'six square salt of Purselin', 'a Purselin Pott narrow on the Top', 'two greate flower potts of Purselyne', 'a Flagon & 2 Flower potts of Purselin', 'two Jarres of Purselin', and 'two greate Purseland Dishes and three little Purslynd Dishes'.[541] Pieces were arranged in groups for display, such as the 'fifteene square bottles of Purselin : At the Ends of them two little Carued Purselin Dishes & a little Couered dish standing in one of them & 14 little Purselin Cuppes without Feete, between Euery two bottles one', all placed on a little shelf over the mantle.[542] The square bottles were most probably *Kraak* porcelain, of similar shape to those recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625) discussed earlier. Many other pieces may have been

534 Steer, 1953, p. 96.
535 Ibid., pp. 155-156. Cited in Glanville, 2007–2008, p. 71.
536 Thomas Taylor Lewis, *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley*, London, 1854, p. 15.
537 Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (eds.), *Elegant Eating: Four hundred years of dining in style*, London, 2002, p. 60; and Pierson, 2007, p. 32, note 83.
538 Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, commissioned the inventory when she left England that year, in 1641. Arundel Castle Archives, IN 1, 'An Inventory of all the Parcells or Purselin, glasses and other Goods now remaining in the Pranketing Roome at tart hall, the 8 Sept 1641'. The original manuscript is kept in the archives of Arundel Castle. The main inventory of Tart Hall is kept in the British Library. For more information and a transcription of the inventory by kind permission of His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, see Claxton, 2010, pp. 187–196 and Appendix, pp. 3–33.
539 Ibid., p. 192 and Appendix, pp. 11, 12 and 14. Cited in Canepa, 2012/3, p. 5.
540 Claxton, 2010, Appendix, pp. 11, 15 and 18, respectively.
541 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13 and 22, repectively.
542 Ibid., Appendix, p. 7.

Kraak too, such as the 'two little long necke bottells of Purselin'.[543] Only a few pieces appear to have been decorated with overglaze enamels, including the 'Saeuen very large Jarres with Coeurs of Purselin'.[544] Even pieces intended for personal hygiene or use at that dinner table were displayed on shelves, like the 'foure Chamberpotts of Purselyne, and thereon three Purselin dishes', 'two little Mustard Purselin Potts & two little Deepe Porringers with Eares', and 'two saltsellors of Purselin'.[545] The fact that not a single piece of porcelain from the 'Dutch Pranketing Room' remains extant, and that the 1641 inventory does not specify their decoration, makes it very difficult to identify with certainty the pieces listed.[546]

Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel (*c.*1582–1654), a prominent patron and art collector at the court of James I and then of King Charles I (r. 1625–1649), built this room to both entertain and display her collection of 496 pieces of porcelain alongside other imported objects on shelves around the room, over the mantle, and on top of furniture.[547] The Countess of Arundel, as convincingly argued by Claxton, may have purchased porcelain in the Dutch Republic when she stopped there on her homeward journey from Italy to visit her friend Princess Elizabeth, later Elizabeth of Bohemia, who was then in exile in The Hague.[548] Moreover, it is likely that the Countess of Arundel viewed the formal porcelain arrangements that had been adopted for interior decoration in the Dutch Republic by the early seventeenth century. As an important visitor, she would have been entertained by the Stadholder or his wife at Noordeinde Palace in The Hague, and would thus have viewed the displays of porcelain created by Louise de Coligny and Catharine Belgica, discussed earlier. The collecting and formal display of large quantities of porcelain by these female members of the House of Orange probably inspired the Countess of Arundel to create the 'Dutch Pranketing Room' on her return to England.[549] This is one of the most notable examples of an English porcelain collection assembled and formally displayed prior to 1688, when Queen Mary II (r. 1688-1694) had her apartments at Kensington Palace and Hampton Court decorated with a large number of porcelain pieces.[550] For instance, only 65 pieces of 'purselaine' are listed in an inventory taken in 1649 of Charles I's belongings at Somerset House, which were probably displayed on the 'Nyne Woodden hanging Shellves turned and guilt' listed immediately before the porcelain.[551]

Various Chinese items are listed in the catalogue of the rarities collected by John Tradescant the elder (d. 1638) in his London residence at Lambeth, which came to be known as the 'Ark'.[552] The catalogue, published by his son John Tradescant in 1656, lists all the rarities contributed by over 100 donors, including courtiers, office holders, merchants, diplomats and sea captains.[553] Among the 'Artificialls' are included Chinese items such as 'Birds nests from China', 'China Armour', 'Sandals of wood, from China', 'Tobacco-pipes, 30 forts … from China' and others. In section X, listing the 'Utensils', are also included '*China* ware, purple and green',[554] which referred to a stoneware jar with green and purple glaze, now known as the 'Tradescant jar' in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford; as well as a 'Variety of *China* dishes'.[555] An extant blue-and-white jar decorated round the body with Buddhist Lions among peony scrolls with a woven cane casing from the Tradescant collection was listed in 1685 as no. 687: 'Duae ollae chinenses, quarum una vidris est coloris, ramis aurei coloris notate: altera alba caeruleo colore perbelle picta' (Fig. 3.2.2.15).[556]

References to China, and specifically to porcelain, can also be found in English literary works published in the seventeenth century, during the early years of the reign of James I. One reference is found in William Shakespeare's play, *Measure for Measure*,

543 Claxton, 2010, Appendix, p. 12.
544 Ibid., Appendix, p. 24.
545 Ibid., Appendix, p. 8, 11 and 12, repectively.
546 Ibid., p. 192.
547 Ibid., pp. 187, 188 and 192.
548 Mentioned in Fock, 1997, p. 80; and Claxton, 2010, p. 189.
549 Ibid., p. 190.
550 For a brief discussion on this subject, see Anna Somers Cocks, 'The non-functional use of ceramics in the English Country-house during the eighteenth century', in Gervase Jackson-Stops, et. al. (eds.), *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Studies in the History of Art, 25, Washington, D.C., 1989, pp. 195–196.
551 Cited in Impey, 1990, p. 57; and Fock, 1997, p. 81. Mentioned in Claxton, 2010, p. 195, note 12.
552 Levy Peck, 2005, p. 158.
553 John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: or, A Collection of rarities Preserved At South-Lambeth neeer London, printed by John Grismold, and are to be sold by Nathanael Brooke,* London, 1656. A copy of this publication can be found in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., No. 154794. Levy Peck, 2005, pp. 157–158.
554 Tradescant, 1656, p. 52. A digital copy in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (No. 6957189), University of Toronto, was accessed for this research study in November 2014.
555 Tradescant, 1656, p. 53.
556 Published in MacGregor, 1983, p. 182 and pl. LIV, No. 77.

Fig. 3.2.2.15 Blue-and-white jar with a woven cane casing from the Tradescant Collection
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1600
Height: 23.5cm
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
(inv. no. AN1685 B.687.b Jar)

probably written in 1603 or 1604. When his character Pompey states that 'they are not China dishes, but very good dishes', he is implying that the dishes used commonly at the table were considered to be of inferior quality than those of porcelain.[557] The next reference appears in Ben Jonson's recently discovered masque, *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, a performance that took place in London in April 1609 on the occasion of the opening of the Earl of Salisbury's New Exchange, located adjacent to Salisbury House in the Strand, which was hoped would 'rival Greshman's Royal Exchange in the City'.[558] Jonson claims that there was a profusion of manufactured luxury goods on display.[559] As Baker has noted, the 'Shop-Boy' character offers for sale a variety of exotic goods from China, describing them to his audience as 'Veary fine China stuffes, of all kindes and qualities'. They include 'China Chaynes, China Braceletts, China scarfes, China fannes, China girdles, China kniues, China boxes, China Cabinetts'.[560] The 'Shop-Boy', as Baker points out, attempts to discredit the porcelain that other merchants have for sale in London, saying that there are 'other China howses about the town', to be sure, but what do they offer? 'Trash', or counterfeit goods. 'Not a peece of Purslane about this towne, but is most false and adulterate, except what you see on this shelfe'.[561] Although Robert Cecil was the owner of the new Burse and an investor in many of the trading companies trading in the Asian goods promoted by the 'Shop-Boy',[562] Jonson's commentary saying that they 'thinke to haue' the same goods 'cheape … at the next returne of the Hollanders fleete from the Indyes', further indicates that some of the porcelain that arrived in England at this time was acquired via the Dutch Republic.[563]

Porcelain was still very much unknown in England at this time. By the 1610s, English writers began describing what they believed about the process of manufacturing porcelain. For instance, according to the philosopher Francis Bacon in his *Novum Organum* of 1620, porcelain developed from an 'artificial cement' when 'buried in the

557 William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, Act 2, scene 1, in Brian Gibbons (ed.), *Measure for Measure*, Cambridge and New York, 1991, p. 103. Cited in Pierson, 2007, pp. 27–28.
558 The *Entertainment* was discovered by James Knowles among the State papers Domestic in the Public Record Office. David J. Baker, '"The Allegory of a China Shop": Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse', *ELH*, vol. 72, No. 1, Spring 2005, p. 159.
559 Peck, 2005, p. 50.
560 Cited in Baker, 2005, p. 159.
561 Cited in Ibid., p. 173. Baker points out in p. 179, note 50, that 'Purslane' is an editorial emendation. The original text reads 'Pursla'.
562 Baker, 2005, p. 162.
563 Cited in Ibid., p. 174.

Earth a long time'.[564] Peter Mundy published a manuscript between 1634 and 1637, explaining that porcelain pieces 'should ly 100 yeares undergrounde before they come to perfection…..'.[565] Later English publications, like Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* of 1646, continued to include accounts of how to make porcelain.[566]

Archaeological evidence of porcelain from English cities

Material evidence of the import of porcelain into England in the early to mid-seventeenth century is provided by a few archaeological finds in London. Cesspit excavations that took place between February and May of the year 2000 in the yards behind the remains of timber houses of a site at 43–53 Narrow Street in the East London suburb of Limehouse, yielded a small amount of porcelain along other imported ceramic material.[567] This area, first used for domestic occupation in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, was inhabited by seafaring families that until the 1620s were involved in privateering expeditions against the Spanish, especially in the Caribbean.[568] As Killock and Medders have noted, some commanders of the EIC lived in the emerging merchant community of the Ratcliff waterfront and many of the mariners recruited by the Company at Ratcliffe, Limehouse and the neighbouring areas, served as privateer captains against both Spanish and Portuguese ships.[569] Thus it could be assumed that the seafaring families who inhabited the houses in Narrow Street acquired at least some of porcelain through plunder. Both Jingdezhen and *Zhangzhou* porcelain were found in four cesspits of Phase VII, dating to *c.*1640–1660.[570] The excavation of Pit 912, located to the north of building IV, yielded two porcelain dishes, one of them *Zhangzhou*, which constitute 5.14 percent of the total assemblage excavated.[571] Pit 480, yielded two *Kraak* dishes with panelled rim borders. The fragment of another dish from this latter cesspit, crudely decorated with two deer in a landscape within a panelled peach spray border, and a similar fragment excavated from Pitt 384, relate to finds from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643).[572] Pit 214, associated with the property of Captain Thomas Harrison, yielded a fragment of a *Kraak* dish with deer in a landscape within a white cavetto and continuous rim border as well as a few *Zhangzhou* shards, but they constitute only 0.54 percent of the assemblage.[573] Pit 307 with a context dating to *c.*1650–1660, yielded the base of a small *Kraak* bowl (Fig. 3.2.2.16) and Pit 913, dating to *c.*1660–1670, yielded a fragment of a *Zhangzhou* saucer dish (Fig. 3.2.2.17), like those recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600), the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), and the campsite of the Portuguese shipwreck *São Gonçalo* (1630) discussed earlier.[574]

In London, other finds of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century porcelain were made during excavations undertaken between September 2000 and April 2001 at Paternoster Square, located immediately to the north of St. Paul's Cathedral.[575] As noted by Watson and Pierce, this area of London was known during the later medieval period for the high end of the cloth trade (silk, lace and other quality materials) and from the sixteenth century onwards, for publishing houses.[576] The cesspit of Building 3, yielded fragments of a *Kraak* plate crudely decorated with mandarin ducks in a pond within a white cavetto and continuous border (Fig. 3.2.2.18).[577] Shards of two *Kraak klapmutsen* with panelled decoration and of two further plates were also found in the cesspit, which appears to have been in use until the beginning of the eighteenth century.[578] This porcelain, constituting only 4.9 percent of the local and imported ceramic assemblage, probably belonged to a reasonably well-to-do individual from London's rapidly growing professional and middle class.[579] A fragment of a tiny finely

564 Kerr and Wood, 2004, p. 742. Mentioned in Pierson, 2005, p. 34.
565 Jane Hwang Degenhardt, 'Cracking the Mysteries of "China": China (ware) in the Early Modern Imagination', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 110, No. 1, Winter 2013, p. 156.
566 For a full citation, see Adrian Hsia (ed.), *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Hong Kong, 1998, p. 41.
567 It is important to mention that the material recovered from rubbish pits of Phase VI, containing ceramics imported from 1580 to 1630, do not include porcelain. For more information on this archaeological site and sketch-drawings of some porcelain finds, see Douglas Killock and Frank Medders, 'Pottery as plunder: a 17th-century maritime site in Limehouse, London', *The Society of Post-Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 39, Issue 1 (2005), pp. 1–91. Mentioned in David Gaimster, 'Arqueology of an Age of Print? Everyday Objects in an Age of Transition', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, Farnham, 2010, p. 142.
568 Killock and Medders, 2005, p. 34.
569 Ibid., p. 30.
570 Ibid., pp. 35–48. The fact that cesspits of *c.*1650–1660, *c.*1660–1670 and *c.*1680–1700, and a timber-lined pit of *c.*1670–1680 at this site also yielded *Kraak* and *Zhangzhou* porcelain demonstrate that these two types of late Ming export porcelain continued to be used in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. These latter finds are out of the scope of this study.
571 Killock and Medders, 2005, pp. 11 and 51.
572 Ibid., p. 44. For a sketch-drawing of the *Kraak* dish, see p. 45, fig. 27:22.
573 In 1655, Captain Thomas Harrison took over the Noah's Ark Inn, located in the south-east corner of the excavation area, and the adjacent tenement from Elizabeth Ellis. Harrison bought another adjacent house at the same time, and later acquired two other houses to the east of the excavated area. Killock and Medders, 2005, pp. 12, 29, 39 and 51. A sketch-drawing of the *Kraak* dish is illustrated as fig. 27:20 in p. 45.
574 I am grateful to Chris Jarret, Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd, for providing me information and images of some of the porcelain found at the site.
575 Sadie Watson and Jacqueline Pierce, 'Taverns and other entertainments in the City of London? Seventeenth- and 18th-century finds from excavations at paternoster Square', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 44, Issue 1 (2010), pp. 172–208. I am indebted to Jacqueline Pierce, Museum of London Archaeology, for providing me with an image of one of the shards excavated at the site and information on porcelain finds from the database MOLA, and to Cath Maloney, archivist, for information on the LAARC online catalogue.
576 Watson and Pierce, 2010, p. 174.
577 Ibid., p. 184, fig. 11.
578 Ibid., pp. 181 and 184.
579 Ibid., pp. 180, 184–185.

potted blue-and-white wine cup decorated with a band of flame and scrolls excavated from Minnories, London EC3, relates closely to finds from two VOC shipwrecks, the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and *Banda* (1615), discussed earlier (Figs. 3.2.1.11 and 3.2.1.10, respectively).[580]

Porcelain has also been excavated in towns in the South West of England. Shards of *Kraak* and *Kinrande* porcelain were found among a large group of ceramic and glass household objects, dating to *c.*1600, in a garderobe pit (pit 314) in Queen Street, Plymouth.[581] In addition, 20 shards of blue-and-white porcelain were excavated along other imported ceramics from a site at the centre of old Plymouth, known as Kitto Institute.[582] They appear to have formed part of a *Kraak* saucer dish, two blue-and-white bowls (one with reticulated decoration) and two blue-and-white plates.[583] This porcelain may have come from the Spanish royal ship *San Felipe* taken to Plymouth in 1587 after Sir Francis Drake captured her in the Azores carrying a cargo of 1,800 pounds of porcelain on board.[584] Porcelain was also on board *La Trinidad Valencera*, a large Venetian merchant ship requisitioned by Spain that wrecked during a storm off Donegal, northwestern coast of Ireland, when the Spanish Armada attempted to conquer England the following year, in 1588.[585] Two rim shards of a blue-and-white plate decorated with auspicious symbols tied with ribbons along an intact crudely potted Jingdezhen blue-and-white bowl with sketchily painted horses flying among *ruyi* clouds were recovered from the shipwreck (Fig. 3.2.2.19) (Appendix 3).[586] Plymouth, as noted earlier, was the port of departure for ships of the Virginia Company (hereafter referred to as VC), formed with a charter from James I in 1606, which crossed the Atlantic with settlers and supplies for the English colonies in Virginia.

Several finds have been made in Devon. Shards of a few *Kraak* and other blue-and-white porcelain plates, saucer-dishes and a bowl, along other imported ceramics, were found during excavation at the ruins of Berry Pomeroy Castle, near the village of Berry Pomeroy in south Devon (Fig. 3.2.2.20).[587] The porcelain was dated to *c.*1565–1585, but it could have been made slightly later, in the 1580s–1590s.[588] It is likely that the porcelain was acquired when the house was enlarged and transformed into 'a very stately house' by Lord Seymour's son, Edward Seymour II (*c.*1563–1613), who inherited Berry Pomeroy Castle in 1593.[589] Other porcelain finds in south Devon, include blue-and-white shards of a Wanli saucer-dish dating to *c.*1600 excavated at 39 Fore Street, Totnes.[590]

Fragments of a few *Kraak* and other blue-and-white porcelain pieces, also dating to *c.*1600, have been excavated in Exeter. The site of 38 North Street yielded fragments of a finely potted *Kraak* plate decorated with a landscape scene within a rim panelled border of flower and peach sprays, and of a small saucer dish with a bird on a rock within a border of tear-drop medallions with peach sprays (Fig. 3.2.2.21 and 3.2.2.22). The porcelain was found along other imported ceramic and glass objects dating to *c.*1680, which represent a large assemblage even for a wealthy merchant's household. The ceramic assemblage of *c.*1660 found in another cesspit located in Trichay Street, which appears to represent the clearance of a household, includes a *Kraak* plate and a bowl, a blue-and-white saucer dish decorated with spotted deer (Fig. 3.2.2.23), and a tiny finely potted wine cup decorated with a band of flame and scrolls, all dating to the late sixteenth century.[591] The aforementioned wine cup relates to the fragment excavated in London, as well as to finds from the VOC shipwrecks *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and *Banda* (1615) (Figs. 3.2.1.11 and 3.2.1.10).

As has been shown by Allan, the presence of pieces of porcelain in Exeter is

Fig. 3.2.2.16 Fragment of a *Kraak* bowl excavated at Narrow Street, Limehouse, London
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
© Chris Jarret

Fig. 3.2.2.17 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* saucer dish excavated at Narrow Street, Limehouse, London
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
© Chris Jarret

Fig. 3.2.2.18 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Paternoster Square, London
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Museum of London Archaeology, London

580 The cup fragment is now housed in the Museum of London (MIO 86:1010). Published in Rose Kerr, Pillip Allen and Jean Martin, *The World in Blue and White. An exhibition of Blue and White ceramics, dating between 1320 and 1820, from members of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, exhibition catalogue, The Oriental Ceramic Society, London, 2003, p. 47, fig. 8.

581 I am grateful to John P. Allan for providing me with images of the porcelain recovered for research purposes.

582 John Allan and James Barber, 'A seventeenth-century pottery group from Kitto Institute, Plymouth', in David Gaimster and Mark Redknap (eds.), *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650–1900. Studies in honour of John G. Hurst*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1992, p. 230 and p. 234, table 1.

583 Ibid., p. 231, pl. 1.

584 J. P. Allan (ed.), *'Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971–1980'*, Exeter Archaeological Reports, Exeter, 1984, Vol. 3, p. 106. Mentioned in Pomper, 2014, p. 82.

585 For information on the shipwreck, see Colin J. M. Martin, 'La Trinidad Valencera: an Armada invasion transport lost off Donegal. Interim site report, 1971–76', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, Vol. 8, Issue 1 (1979), pp. 13–38; and David Atherton, *La Trinidad Valencera*, Derry-Londonderry, 2013.

586 According to research by Martin, porcelain was only found on *La Trinidad Valencera*, not on the other Spanish Armada shipwrecks so far discovered, the *Girona, Santa Maria de la Rosa* and *San Juan de Sicilia*. Images of the shards are published in Colin J. M. Martin, 'Spanish Armada pottery', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, Vol. 8, Issue 4 (1979), Fig. 13, nos. 98.TV and 99.TV; and Fig. 14 (sketch-drawing). For images of the bowl, see Laurence Flanagan, *Ireland's Armada Legacy*, Dublin, 1988, p. 137, no. 9.70.

587 For a full report of the archaeological excavation, see S. Brown (ed.), 'Berry Pomeroy Castle', *Devon Archaeological Society*, Proceedings No. 54, 1996.

588 Ibid., pp. 220–222, pl. 79.

589 The Castle was built by the Pomeroy family in the late fifteenth century, and was bought in 1547 by the wealthy and powerful Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (c.1500–1552), brother of Henry VIII's third and favourite queen, Jane Seymour. That same year, Edward Seymour became 'Lord Protector' of

Fig. 3.2.2.19 Blue-and-white bowl from the shipwreck *La Trinidad Valencera* (1588)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 15.2cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast

Fig. 3.2.2.20 Shard of a *Kraak* plate and pottery excavated at Berry Pomeroy Castle, south Devon
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© David Garner. English Heritage (M940025)

documented as early as 1596. An Exeter inventory of November of that year mentions that the apothecary Thomas Baskerville left '6 Carracke' dishes with two stone jugs and one dozen of cheese trenchers in his cellar, valued at a total of 5s (Fig. 3.2.2.24).[592] Baskerville owned a remarkable range of oriental products, including benzoin, China root, camphor, rhubarb and musk.[593] An inventory taken in 1597, lists three 'China dishes', valued at 3s, in the buttery of Walter Horsey; and another taken in April of the following year lists '9 carricke dishes', valued at 5s, left by John Anthonye in his 'lyttell chamber' (Fig. 3.2.2.25).[594] The estates left by Horsey and Anthonye valued at over £2,000, demonstrate that they were both very rich merchants.[595] The 1596 inventory is of particular importance because it provides the earliest written reference known thus far of the use of the term 'Carracke' to refer to dishes, which in all probability were made of *Kraak* porcelain. The fact that the inventory taken two years later, in 1598, mentions again 'carricke dishes' proves that it was a commonly used term in northern Europe, in England as early as the last decade of the sixteenth century and in the Dutch Republic, as mentioned earlier, as early as the third decade of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, this proves that the Dutch term *kraken* is not derived from a type of wall-shelf used for displaying blue-and-white porcelain in the Dutch town of Friesland.[596]

It is clear that the possession of porcelain in Exeter at the time, even among the wealthy residents, was limited to only a few pieces. Allan has noted that the earliest documentary evidence of sizable quantities of porcelain owned by an Exeter resident dates to 1603. The inventory taken this year after the death of Richard Bevys, Lord

Fig. 3.2.2.21 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at 38 North Street, Exeter
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter
(museum no. 300/1988/2269)

Fig. 3.2.2.22 Fragment of a *Kraak* saucer dish excavated at 38 North Street, Exeter
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter
(museum no. 300/1988/2272)

Fig. 3.2.2.23 Fragment of a blue-and-white saucer dish excavated at Trichay Street, Exeter
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter
(museum no. 300/1988/2100)

Mayor of Exeter, lists among his possessions 'One Carricke Goblett with a foote of silver gilte' valued at 26s 8d; 'One other Carricke Goblett with a silver foote' valued at £1.[597] This mention of the term 'Carricke' further illustrates the common use of the term.

Richard Carew in his *Survey of Cornwall*, first published in 1602, wrote in a reference to the town of Saltash that 'Here that great carrack which Sir Francis Drake surprised in her return from the East Indies unloaded her freight, and through a negligent firing met with an improper ending'.[598] When Drake seized the *San Felipe* off the Azores in 1587, this Portuguese carrack was carrying a double cargo as she had taken aboard the goods of the *San Lorenzo*. The ship, carrying great quantities of pepper, calico, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, jewels, gold and silver, as well as silk and porcelain from China,[599] was taken in June of that year to Plymouth. Thus it is likely that the nobility and wealthy merchants of Devon acquired at least some of the porcelain and other imported luxury goods discussed above from the booty of the *San Felipe*.

Extant bills of lading of EIC ships bound for London prior to 1650 show that the EIC sometimes acquired porcelain and other Chinese goods from the Portuguese in Macao. Two EIC ships that departed from Macao list porcelain among their cargoes: the *James* in 1615 and the *Catherine* in 1637.[600] The *Hinde* arrived to Macao in August of 1644, but this English trading venture proved unfruitful as the city was 'destitute of all sorts of commodities; there not being to be bought in the City, either Silks raw or wrought, or Chinaroot … nor indeed anything but Chinaware, which is the bulk of the *Hinde's* lading, the rest being brought in gold'.[601] This clearly reflects the difficulties experienced by the Portuguese and other Europeans to trade with Chinese merchants at that time, when Ming China had fallen to the Manchus, who proclaimed the Qing dynasty. Trade in porcelain was only restored in about 1680, during the reign of the second Qing emperor, Kangxi (1662–1722). The English, unlike the Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch, were going to import thousands of *Blanc de chine* pieces in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[602] *Blanc de chine* figure and animal models came to be greatly admired and collected, along with other Chinese and Japanese porcelain, in a number of English royal palaces and country houses.

From the information provided by textual sources, archaeological excavations and extant pieces discussed above it is possible to conclude that a small amount of porcelain arrived in Tudor England through indirect routes before the establishment of the EIC in 1600. These earliest recorded pieces, owned by King Henry III and the Archbishop of Canterbury, were described as porcelain but were made of celadon-glazed stoneware. By the 1570s, a small number of pieces of porcelain were owned by Queen Elizabeth I, some of which she received as gifts. A few extant pieces known as having arrived in Tudor England in the second half of the sixteenth century serve to illustrate the high appreciation that porcelain had in England at the time, as they are fitted with elaborate silver-gilt mounts made by renowned English silversmiths. These mounts sometimes transformed the porcelain piece into a different type of object. These mounted pieces of porcelain were regarded as suitable for royal or diplomatic gifts, as well as for furnishing the interiors of royal palaces and aristocratic houses. Although

his young nephew Edward VI, and thus effectively ruler of England. His eldest surviving son by his first marriage, Edward, Lord Seymour (1529–1593), built an Elizabethan courtyard house within the medieval castle walls. The information regarding Berry Pomeroy Castle is taken from the 'History of Berry Pomeroy Castle' in the English Heritage website www.english-heritage.org.uk, accessed on November 17 2014; and Brown, 1996, pp. 1, 10–9.

590 D. M. Griffiths and F. M. Griffith, 'An Excavation at 39 Fore Street, Totnes', in John Allan (ed.), *Devon Archaeological Society*, No. 42, Torquay, 1984, p. 84, fig. 2, no. 1.

591 I am grateful to John Allan and Val Maxfield, Exeter University, for providing me with images of some of the porcelain excavated in Devon for research purposes. I am indebted to Thomas Cadbury, curator of Antiquities at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter, for granting me permission to illustrate some of the porcelain finds from 38 North Street and Trinchay Street in this doctoral dissertation, which are now housed at the RAAM.

592 Allan, 1984, p. 106. Cited in Jacqueline Pearce and Jean Martin, 'Oriental Blue and White Porcelain Found at Archaeological Excavations in London: Research in Progress', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 67, 2002–2003, p. 102.

593 Allan, 1984, p. 106. Mentioned in Pearce and Martin, 2002–2003, p. 102.

594 Allan, 1984, p. 106. I am greatly indebted to John Allan and Todd Gray for providing me with digital images of extracts from the original ECA Orphans Court inventories of Thomas Baskerville (1596) and John Anthonye (1598) as well as a transcription of them. I am grateful to Stuart Tyler, Devon Archives and Local Studies Service, for granting me permission to include images of these inventories in this doctoral dissertation.

595 E. A. Donaldson, 'Inventory of the goods and chattels of Richard Bevys, late Mayor of Exeter. 1603', *Trans. Devonshire Association 41*, 1909, pp. 215–240. Cited in Allan, 1984, pp. 107–108.

596 This interpretation was put forward by Barbara Harrison in the early 1980s, and has continued to be cited by many scholars from then on. Barbara Harrison, 'Kraak Porcelains', *Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong*, Bulletin Number Five, Hong Kong, 1980–1982, p. 29.

597 Cited in Allan, 1984, p. 107.

598 F. E. Halliday (ed.), *Richard Carew of Anthony, The Survey of Cornwall*, London, New edition, 1969, p. 182.

599 John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake*, London, 2006, pp. 215–216.

600 Mentioned in Curtis, 1998, p. 28.

601 Cited in H. B. Morse, *Britain and the China Trade 1635–1842*, Vol. I, London and New York, reprint 2000, p. 32.

602 Shipping and sale records of the EIC show that the trade to England consisted mostly of *Blanc de chine* figure and animal models. This period of the English trade in porcelain is out of the scope of the present study. For a detailed account on the EIC trade of *Blanc de chine* porcelain to England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and its Influence on European Wares*, London, 1979, pp. 257–280; and Canepa, December 2012/3, pp. 3–6.

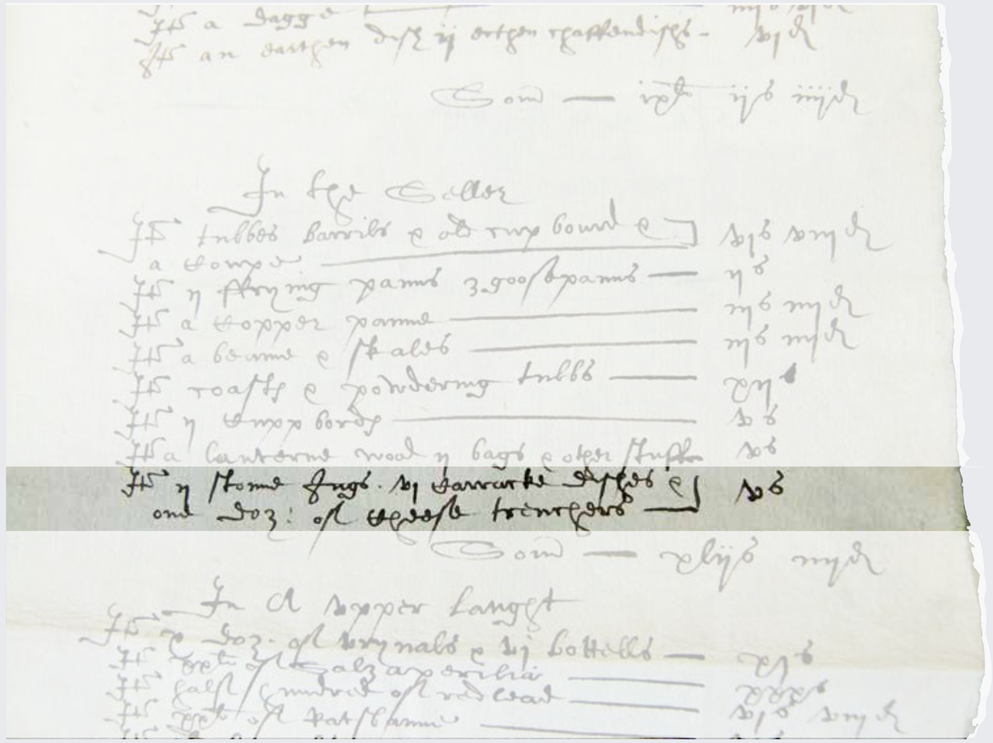

Fig. 3.2.2.24 Excerpt from ECA/OC/62
Orphans Court Inventory of Thomas Baskerville, 1596
Exeter City Archives, on loan from Exeter City Council
Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter

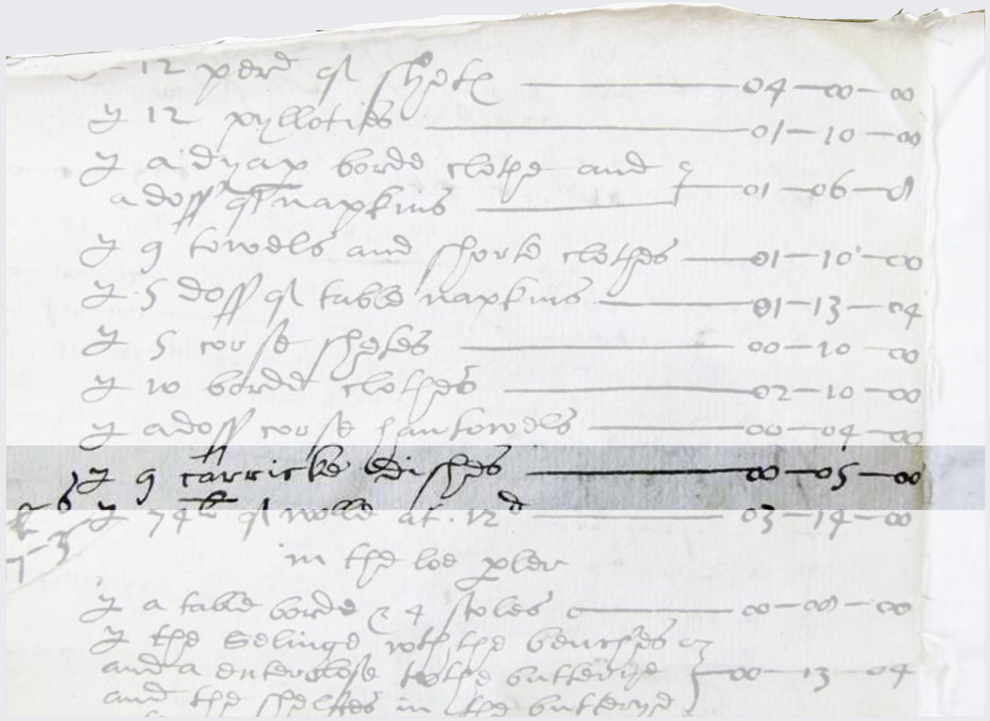

Fig. 3.2.2.25 Excerpt from ECA/OC/72
Orphans Court Inventory of John Anthonye, 1598
Exeter City Archives, on loan from Exeter City Council
Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter

porcelain was still rare at the time, it seems that was available to those who could afford it. It is possible that some of the porcelain arrived in England via the Near East, where English merchants traded in Ottoman Turkey. Extant pieces of porcelain with late sixteenth century English mounts demonstrate that the majority of the porcelain imported into Tudor England at the time was blue-and-white from Jingdezhen. It included ordinary trade porcelain made after Islamic shapes as well as *Kraak* porcelain of various types, dating to the Wanli reign. Porcelain with gilded decorations, perhaps of the *Kinrande* type, was also imported. Some pieces are comparable to finds from the Spanish sipwrecks, the *San Felipe* (1576) and *San Diego* (1600). By the turn of the century pieces of porcelain were still being acquired as valuable curiosities. Several prominent men are known to have collected porcelain and other exotic objects in London to be displayed for a selected audience, following the continental fashion of the cabinets of curiosity. These objects would have reinforced the social standing of the collector and well as to conferred honour to the collector and visitor.

After the establishment of the EIC in 1600, porcelain continued to be imported as private trade. The EIC, as the Portuguese and Spanish royal courts and the VOC had done earlier, sent porcelain as diplomatic gifts. It is known that ships from the EIC acquired porcelain and other Chinese goods from the Portuguese in Macao at least twice, in 1615 and 1637. Textual sources have shown that porcelain remained for a few decades the privilege of the royalty, nobility and rich merchant class, but then it gradually became more widely available to different socio-economic groups. As early as 1605, a considerable quantity of porcelain was displayed alongside other imported objects in a separate architectural space at Wardour Castle, following a fashion that appears to have begun in Portugal in the early 1560s. Porcelain fitted with mounts was also kept in cupboards or displayed in shelves. In England, as it occurred in Spain, porcelain had a much higher monetary value only if fitted with mounts. We have learned from English literary works that porcelain and other exotic goods from China were sold at the New Exchange when it opened in London in 1609, that there were other merchants that also sold porcelain in London, and that some of the porcelain that arrived in England at this time was acquired via the Dutch Republic. By the late 1620s, porcelain was not only regarded as a valuable curiosity worth of displaying, but also as a functional object for use as tableware and thus had a lower monetary value.

It appears that some of the porcelain made to order for the Dutch market began to reach England in the late 1630s. The presence of *Blanc de chine* porcelain, including Buddhist Lion incense stick holders, is documented as early as 1641. While the animal and figure models clearly served as ornamental pieces, there were also a few pieces with practical functions, such as dishes and flowerpots. By this time, female members of the nobility had built rooms to display large quantities of porcelain and other imported objects in shelves, over the mantle, and on top of furniture, most probably following the formal arrangements adopted earlier in the Dutch Republic.

Material from archaeological excavations has shown that a small quantity of both *Kraak* porcelain from Jingdezhen and *Zhangzhou* porcelain, of varying quality, were available in London in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Small quantities of porcelain also circulated to towns in the South West of England, particularly to Plymouth, Devon and Exeter. Most of the porcelain was blue-and-white of the ordinary trade or *Kraak* types, but there was also a small amount of *Kinrande* porcelain. Some of the porcelain appears to have been acquired as booty from Portuguese and Spanish ships, or taken from Spanish shipwrecks that sank off the coast of Ireland. An inventory of an apothecary from Exeter taken in 1596 has provided the earliest written reference known thus far of the use of the term 'Carracke' to refer to dishes, which were in all probability made of *Kraak* porcelain. Another inventory taken two years later, in 1598, mentions again 'carricke dishes' and thus proves that it was a common term used in northern Europe, in England as early as the last decade of the sixteenth century, and in the Dutch Republic as early as the third decade of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, this proves that the Dutch term *kraken* does not derive from a type of wall-shelf used for displaying blue-and-white porcelain in Friesland.

Porcelain trade to the New World [3.3]

Trade to the Spanish Colonies [3.3.1]

The Spanish, through their trans-Pacific trade route established after discovering a feasable eastward route to Acapulco in 1565, appear to have been the first Europeans to import porcelain into the New World. By the time large quantities of porcelain began to be imported into Acapulco in the early 1570s, the colonial society, with the exception of the high military officials, the clergy and the viceregal administration, was accustomed to use in the household a wide variety of pottery objects imported from Seville that were not very sophisticated and corresponded with Iberian customs. These were functional for use in the kitchen as containers or cooking utensils, in the dining table as dinner sets and in the private rooms for personal higiene, though a few were ornamental.[603] In contrast to findings in Spain, the Spanish written sources and the porcelain recovered from archaeological excavations at colonial sites in the New World discussed in the following pages will reveal that by the late sixteenth century porcelain had made its way into nearly every level of the multi-ethnic colonial society of both the viceroyalty of New Spain and Peru.

Although the trade to the Portuguese colonies in the New World was consciously left out of this study because of the scantity of documentary and archaeological evidence, it is important to note that a few fragments of blue-and-white porcelain dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century have been excavated at Salvador da Bahia, the capital of the Portuguese colony, and at Pernambuco, in present-day Brazil. Excavations at the Praça da Sé in Salvador de Bahia, eapecially at the remains of a church, brought to light 73 shards of blue-and-white porcelain dating to the reigns of Jiajing and Wanli. More than half of them formed part of pieces of

603 For more information on the pottery objects imported into New Spain from Europe in the sixteenth century, see José María Sánchez, 'La Cerámica Exportada a América en el Siglo XVI a Través de la Documentación del archive General de Indias (II). Ajuares Domésticos y Cerámica Cultural y Laboral', *Laboratorio de Arte*, 11 (1998), pp. 121–133.

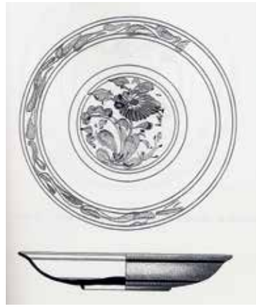

Fig. 3.3.1.1.1 Sketch-drawing of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dish from the shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576)
© Edward von der Porten

604 Carlos Etchevarne and João Pedro Gomes, 'Porcelana Chinesa em Salvador da Bahia (Seculos XVI a XVIII)', in Teixeira and Bettencourt, 2012, pp. 933–935. Unfortunately, the images of the porcelain excavated have been lost. The archaeologists intend to photograph the porcelain material in the near future.

605 The shard is housed at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, inv. nos. LA/UFPE – Reg. 4797/4858 – 15 and LA/UFPE – Reg. 3366–1490. See porcelain section at http://www.brasilarqueologico.com.br. Accessed February 2015.

606 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 162.

607 AGI, Contaduría, Caja de Filipinas, 943–956. Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42.

608 Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590–1785*, Mexico City, 1984, p. 26.

609 Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42.

610 Mentioned in Ibid.; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 252, note 61.

611 Cited in Schurz, 1959, p. 27; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

612 The *San Felipe*, a large galleon built in Acapulco in 1573, sailed from Manila without escort in 1576. Sailing north after leaving the San Bernardino Strait between Luzon and Samar she was lost without trace. She had struck a sandy shoal nearly half a kilometer offshore, while sailing along the coast towards her final destination, the port of Acapulco. The *San Felipe* subsequently got hit by a severe storm that torn the ship apart. The ship's wreckage and its shattered porcelain cargo spread across the beaches of Baja California, present-day Mexico, for many kilometers. I am greatly indebted to Edward von der Porten for providing me with research material of this shipwreck. For more information, see Von der Porten, 2011, pp. 7–9. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/2, p. 105.

613 Porcelain shards were found during eleven joined Mexico-United States archaeological expeditions to the wreck site, which took place from 1999 to 2012. A further expedition was carried out in October 2014. The site also yielded 352 shards of stoneware, but these are out of the scope of this study. For a general discussion, photos and sketch-drawings of the porcelain finds, see Edward von der Porten, 'The Manila Galleon San Felipe, 1573–1576', *Mains'l Haul*, vol. 46, 1 & 2, Winter/Spring 2010; and Von der Porten, 2011, pp. 16-70. For a further discussion on the *Kraak* finds, see Rinaldi, 2003, pp. 32–33; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 64; Canepa, 2012/1, p. 265; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

Kraak porcelain.[604] The Pernambuco finds include fragments of two *Kraak* porcelain dishes with panelled rim borders.[605] Future research will undoubtedly provide valuable information regarding the types and quantities of porcelain brought by the Portuguese via the Atlantic to their colonies in the New World.

Viceroyalty of New Spain [3.3.1.1]

The viceroyalty of New Spain, positioned at the crossroads of both trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, facilitated the exchange and circulation of large quantities of silk, porcelain and other Chinese goods in the Spanish colonies of the New World, and as we saw earlier, also to Spain. After silk, as shown in Chapter II, porcelain was the second most important trade good imported into New Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[606] Porcelain appears regularly listed in the registers of the ships that traversed the Pacific annually from Cebú, and after 1571 from Manila, to Acapulco between 1565 and 1576.[607] Porcelain, as well as other Asian goods, usually appears registered as private consignments, under the name of the person who either ordered or consigned the cargo, and not as a trade good.[608] Many Spanish colonial merchants or private individuals, both male and female, are named. There are also a number of Portuguese merchants, some of them wealthy New Christians, mentioned as owners of cargoes that included porcelain. An early example is that of the *Espíritu Santo*, which left Cebú in 1570 with a cargo of '… porcelains, porcelain jars with less value, silk, mantas from Luzon, twelve packages of porcelain, six pieces of porcelain, 300 large pieces of porcelain, jars, and twenty other mantas from Luzon' brought by the Portuguese Jiménez Barbero; and with '700 pieces of porcelain' brought by another Portuguese, named Felipe.[609] Two years later, in 1572, the *Santiago* left Manila with '400 pieces of porcelain', which belonged to a merchant named Julian de Arbolancha.[610] By the following year, the amount of porcelain shipped to the New World had increased exponentially. That year, as mentioned earlier, two galleons carried 22,300 pieces of 'fine gilt china, and other porcelain ware' to Acapulco.[611] This suggests that early trade cargoes of the Manila Galleons not only included porcelain of differing quality, but also that it may have originated from multiple production centers and workshops in China.

An indication of the diverse variety and provenance of the porcelain imported into New Spain around this time is provided by the shards found thus far on the coast of Baja California, where one of the earliest eastbound Manila Galleons, the *San Felipe*, wrecked in 1576.[612] The cargo included a full range of fine, intermediate and coarse porcelain (Appendix 3).[613] In addition to shards of variously decorated Jingdezhen blue-and-white bowls, plates, cups, bottles and jars; and bowls, plates and cups decorated with overglaze enamels (some with lids); the finds include shards of a monochrome white-glazed jar and a few *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dishes both of small and large size as well as shards of a large jar, all decorated with broad brushstrokes of cobalt blue without outline (Fig. 3.3.1.1.1).[614] About 27 percent of the cargo recovered consists of plates with a phoenix in profile within a border of peach sprays and auspicious symbols, like those discussed earlier. It included only two finely potted *Kraak* plates with a white cavetto and continuous naturalistic rim border and a bowl with panels divided by single or double lines, as well as a few plates and bowls with overglaze red medallions originally decorated with gold, and thus of *Kinrande* type.[615] The earliest documentary reference to the Spanish encountering gilded and fine porcelain in the Philippines is found in the anonymous account *Relation of the*

voyage to Luzon of 1570, which mentions 'gilded porcelain bowls', 'gilded water-jugs' and 'some fine porcelain jars, which they call *sinoratas*…' among the valuable goods confiscated by the Spanish when they captured two Chinese junks near Mindoro.[616] Porcelain with gilded decoration, as shown earlier, appears mentioned frequently in inventories of the royalty, nobility and wealthy merchants of Spain.

Further marine archaeological evidence of the trans-Pacific trade in porcelain to New Spain is provided by four Manila Galleons, which shipwrecked at the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries: the *San Agustín*, which sank in 1595 in Drake's Bay, Alta California; the *San Diego*, which sank in 1600 off Fortune Island; the *Santa Margarita*, which sank in 1601 near the island of Rota; and the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, which sank in 1638 off the southwest coast of Saipan, both in the Northern Mariana Islands (Appendix 3). Porcelain finds from these shipwrecks will be briefly discussed in the following pages to visualize the variety and quality of the porcelain imported into New Spain at the time.

The 200-ton galleon *San Agustín*, like the *San Felipe*, would have been in a distressful condition when she reached the shores of New Spain, beaten by winter storms of the north Pacific, and her surviving crew suffering scurvy and famine.[617] She was driven ashore and sank during a storm at *tamál-húye* in 1595.[618] The survivors, after having interacted for over a month with the indigenous Coast Miwok-speaking Tamal hunter-gatherers (inhabitants of present-day coastal Marin County), abandoned the *San Agustín* and its cargo and sailed to Mexico in a small boat. Even before the Spaniards departed, the Tamal people may have begun collecting ship's timber, porcelain (intact or in fragments) and other cargo materials.[619] The origin of a large quantity of porcelain fragments and shards, mostly blue-and-white from Jingdezhen, found at Tamal village sites in Drake's Bay has been much debated (Appendix 3). They formed part of finely painted *Kraak* saucer dishes with star-shaped medallions (Fig. 3.3.1.1.2), of plates with a white cavetto and continuous naturalistic rim border (Fig. 3.3.1.1.3), of plates with panelled rim borders divided by single lines (Fig. 3.3.1.1.4), of plates with a border of bracket-lobed or I-wedge panels (Fig. 3.3.1.1.5), and of bowls with deer panels separated by single lines.[620] In addition, many shards of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain were found, remains of 15 large dishes almost identically decorated with deer in a landscape, a cavetto with flowering branches and a flat, up-turned rim border with floral bracket-lobed panels reserved on alternating diaper grounds.[621] There were also shards of blue-and-white dishes with a phoenix in profile within a diamond and trigram border, showing a somewhat simpler design to that of the Jingdezhen phoenix plates recovered from the *San Felipe* (1576) (Fig. 3.3.1.1.6).[622] Fragments of two *Zhangzhou* dishes with related decoration were recovered from a Chinese junk shipwreck, known as *Beijiao no. 3*, which sank in the Xisha Islands in the late Ming dynasty.[623] A recent study by Russell based on anthropological assessment of historical accounts and archaeological finds has concluded that all the shards, whether showing signs of water and sand abrasion or not, were those carried on board the *San Agustín*.[624] However, Von der Porten still postulates that the non-waterworn shards come from porcelain abandoned or given to the Tamal people by the English privateer Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) sixteenth years earlier, when the explorer stopped in this area for thirty-six days while his ship, the *Golden Hind*, was being repaired for the return voyage to England. This latter possibility cannot be ruled out considering the fact that a cove near Point Reyes in what is now Marin County, north of San Francisco, has been now officially recognized

Fig. 3.3.1.1.2 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Tamal village, Drake's Bay
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Point Reyes National Seashore Museum
(PORE 876)

Fig. 3.3.1.1.3 Shard of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Tamal village, Drake's Bay
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Point Reyes National Seashore Museum
(PORE 6394)

Fig. 3.3.1.1.4 Shard of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Tamal village, Drake's Bay
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Point Reyes National Seashore Museum
(PORE 877)

Fig. 3.3.1.1.5 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Tamal village, Drake's Bay
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Point Reyes National Seashore Museum
(PORE 878)

Fig. 3.3.1.1.6 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white plate excavated at Tamal village, Drake's Bay
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Point Reyes National Seashore Museum
(PORE 1034)

Fig. 3.3.1.1.7 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dishes and plates from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Franck Goddio, Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine (IEASM)

614 For a discussion and sketch-drawings of the *Zhangzhou* porcelain, see Von der Porten, 2011, p. 71, pp. 72–73, Type XII, figs. XXII–1, XXII–2, XXII–3; p. 76, Type XXIII, fig. XXIII-1; and p. 77, Type XXIV, fig. XXIV–1. The *Zhangzhou* shards relate to archaeological finds made at the Erlong kiln site in Wuzhai township, Pinghe county. Published in Fujian Provincial Museum, *Zhangzhou yao: Fujian Zhangzhou diqu Ming Qing yaozhi diaocha fajue baogao zhiji* [First excavation report of the discoveries at the Zhangzhou kiln sites in Fujian], Fuzhou, 1997, pl. 10, fig. 2. Mentioned in Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch Trade in Zhangzhou Porcelain (Part II)', *Fujian Wenbo*, No. 73, March 2011, pp. 59–60.

615 Von der Porten, 2011, pp. 38–39, VI–1 and p. 48, IX–2.

616 The junk's cabins are said to have contained valuable goods, including 'silk, both woven and in skeins; gold thread, musk, gilded porcelain bowls, pieces of cotton cloth, gilded water-jugs, and other curious articles – although – not in large quantity, considering the size of the ships' and 'the decks of both vessels were full of earthen jars and crockery; large porcelain vases, plates, and bowls…'. Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, pp. 59–60.

617 This was a reality to all the Manila Galleons that reached safely the western shores of New Spain after crossing the Pacific. For this opinion, see William Lytle Schurz, 'The Manila Galleon and California', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (October, 1917), p. 111.

618 The shipwreck has never been located. *Tamál-húye* is the Coast Miwok name for what is today Drake's Bay in Point Reyes National Seashore, northern California. Matthew A. Russell, *Encounters at tamál-húye: An Archaeology of Intercultural Engagement in Sixteenth-Century Northern California*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011, pp. 1 and 6. Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 265, note 27.

619 For more information on the shipwreck and the Tamal people's incorporation of porcelain from the *San Agustín* into their daily lives, see Marco Meniketti, 'Searching for a Safe Harbor on a Treacherous Coast: The Wreck of the Manila Galleon San Agustin', *Conference for the Society of Historical Archaeology*, Corpus Cristi, Texas, 1997; Matthew A. Russell, 'The Tamál-Huye Archaeological

as the site where Sir Francis Drake landed in 1579 and claimed California for Queen Elizabeth I.[625] If Francis Drake left some porcelain behind or gave it to the Tamal people, it would most likely have been part of loot captured from a Spanish galleon. It seems unlikely, however, that Francis Drake would have left and/or given away many pieces of porcelain, which then would have been considered very rare and valuable in England as well as in continental Europe. Furthermore, the wide variety of *Kraak* porcelain shards found at Drake's Bay in comparison with those recovered from the *San Felipe* (1576), suggests a later dating for the porcelain.

The *San Diego*, a merchant galleon of about 300-tons armed to fight the Dutch fleet sank after its first exchange of fire off Fortune Islands in 1600. The cargo of this shipwreck is well documented, and yielded more than 500 intact pieces or fragments of blue-and-white porcelain (Appendix 3).[626] Most of them are *Kraak*, including dishes and plates with continuous, panelled or white moulded lotus-petal rim borders and a few small bowls with a bird painted on the interior. As noted by Rinaldi, this is the first time that a shipwreck includes a variety of *Kraak* porcelain of closed shapes: covered boxes, pear-shaped bottles, jars, pomegranate-shaped ewers and globular or elephant-shaped *kendis* (Figs. 3.1.3.3 and 3.1.2.7).[627] The shipwreck also yielded a considerable quantity of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, consisting mainly of dishes and plates (Fig. 3.3.1.1.7), bowls, large jars, jarlets, covered boxes and some pieces modelled after Western shapes such as *albarello* jars and a flowerpot, which will be discussed in section 3.4.1.2 of this Chapter.[628] Their decoration is mostly executed in outline and washes of blue, with the exception of the large jars, the *albarello* jars and some bowls that show floral motifs painted with broad blue brushstrokes (Fig. 3.4.1.2.12). Only one plate, an oblong box and one bowl recovered from the shipwreck show traces of overglaze red and green enamel decoration.[629] This latter bowl is also decorated with parts of the outline of two dragons in underglaze cobalt blue, and thus can be identified as porcelain of the *wucai* type.[630] It is not clear whether the Spanish had a preference for blue-and-white porcelain, or if porcelain decorated with colour overglaze enamel was not brought in large quantities to Manila. Two saucer dishes are decorated with

Fig. 3.3.1.1.8 *Kraak* plate from the shipwreck *Santa Margarita* (1601)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
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Fig. 3.3.1.1.9 *Kraak* porcelain from the shipwreck *Santa Margarita* (1601)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
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a similar dragon rim border to that seen on shards from the *San Agustín*, which sank five years earlier, in 1595.[631] A few dishes, showing a related phoenix design within a diamond and trigram border to that of shards recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625); the survivor's campsite of the *São Gonçalo* (1630);[632] and the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643), prove that this type of phoenix design dish remained popular until the mid-seventeenth century.[633]

The *Santa Margarita*, after having docked alongside the *San Diego* in Manila, stayed off course and wrecked along with its rich cargo eight months later while trying to reach Acapulco passing by the Northern Mariana Islands in 1601.[634] The wreck site yielded fragments of over 300 ivory sculptures mostly representing Christian images together with a few intact *Kraak* dishes and plates with continuous or panelled rim borders (Fig. 3.3.1.1.8), and thousands of shards of dishes, plates, pear-shaped bottles, small bowls and covered boxes (Fig. 3.3.1.1.9).[635] The fact that many pieces or shards are almost identical to those recovered from the *San Diego* (1600) suggests that the porcelain was probably purchased from the same Chinese junk and/or Portuguese ship that came to trade in Manila.[636]

The large galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* of about 2,000-tons and her smaller consort *San Ambrosio* left Cavite in August 1638, and a few days after passing the Ladrones, the overloaded galleon smashed against a coral reef and sank off the Mariana Islands.[637] The shipwreck was first plundered by islanders, and more than thirty years later it was partially salvaged by the Jesuits, who were doing missionary work in the Ladrones. Studies of the artifacts recovered from an archaeological excavation of the shipwreck were undertaken in 1989 and 1990. After Rinaldi studied the ceramic cargo of the shipwreck, she concluded that over half of the porcelain recovered was *Kraak* (Appendix 3). Although no intact pieces were recovered, most of

Project: Cross-Cultural Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Northern California', *Society for California Archaeology Newsletter*, vol. 41, Number 2, June 2007, pp. 32–34; Russell, 2011; and Li Min, 'The Trans-Pacific Extension of Porcelain Trade in The early Modern Era: Cultural Transformations Across Pacific Spaces', in Cheng, 2012, pp. 222–227, figs. 1–5.

620 Discussed in Rinaldi, 2003, pp. 33-34; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 64; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 265.

621 Three shards from the central medallion of one of these dishes are published in Clarence Shangraw and Edward Von der Porten, *The Drake and Cermeño Expeditions' Chinese Porcelains at Drake's Bay, California, 1579 and 1595*, Santa Rosa and Palo Alto, 1981, p. 54. They are now part of the Point Reyes National Seashore Museum collection. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/1, p. 60 and p. 65, note 28.

622 This dish and the fragment, now in a private collection, are published in George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico*, Los Angeles, 1997, p. 58, no. 25. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011, p. 60.

623 This shipwreck yielded 153 ceramic artifacts, including a great quantity of *Kraak* and *Zhangzhou* porcelain. Marine archaeologists postulate that the *Beijiao* no. 3 was a Chinese junk that had not yet trans-shipped her cargo destined for Europe. For images of these two *Zhangzhou* dishes, see Zhang Wei (ed.), *Xisha Shuixia Kaogu (1998–1999) – Underwater Archaeology from the Xisha Islands (1998–1999)*, Beijing, 2006, pp. 176–77, nos. 6–164 and 6–165. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/1, p. 60 and p. 65, note 37.

624 Russell, 2011, p. 5.

625 The US federal government recently ended a long period of historical controversy. Thus Sir Francis Drake would be the first European to discover California. The short-term contact between his crew and the Coast Miwok is one of the earliest cross-cultural interactions on the west coast of present-day United States. The official Drake landing site is now one of 27 sites that are national historic landmarks.

Fig. 3.3.1.1.10 *Kraak* shards of dishes from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (1638)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© William Mathers, Pacific Sea Resources

Fig. 3.3.1.1.11 *Kraak* shards of bowls from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (1638)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© William Mathers, Pacific Sea Resources

626 For general information and images of the porcelain recovered from this shipwreck, see National Museum of the Philippines, *Saga of the San Diego*, Philippines, 1993; and Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994. Also see Rinaldi, 2003, pp. 34–36, figs. 3–7; Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 64–65, fig. 2; Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 265–266; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 224–226. An important part of the porcelain recovered from the *San Diego* is housed in the Naval Museum in Madrid. I am greatly indebted to Franck Goddio for providing me with images of porcelain recovered from the *San Diego* to include in this doctoral dissertation.

627 Rinaldi, 2003, p. 36; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 64; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 266.

628 Part of the *Zhangzhou* porcelain cargo of the *San Diego* was published and discussed in National Museum of the Philippines, 1993, p. 73, no. 1 and p. 75, no. 4; and Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 354–359, nos. 130–33. An article by Monique Crick, 'The San Diego galleon, 14 December 1600, a dating for 'Swatow' Porcelains', was first published in *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, 2000, pp. 22–31 and was later translated by Fang Wang and published in *Fujian Wenbo*, No. 39, 2001, pp. 46–52. A number of pieces were published in Tan, 2007 and in Li Min, 'Early Global Trade and Fujianese Ceramic Archaeology: Zhangzhou Ceramics along the Pacific Ocean Route', in Li, 2010. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/1, p. 65, note 39.

629 The *San Diego* finds can be related to shards excavated in Pinghe county at the Erlong, Dalong, Dongkou and Wanyaoshan kiln sites in Wuzhai and Huazilou kiln site in Nansheng. Discussed and illustrated in Canepa, 2010, pp. 60–61, figs. 3–4.

630 Published in Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 162–163, inv. 40; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 226, fig. 208.

631 One of them has a deer central scene while the other is painted with ducks in a pond. Published in Crick, 2001, p. 51, fig. 18; and Tan, 2007, p. 108, no. 87, respectively. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/1, p. 60.

the shards formed part of dishes of at least four sizes decorated with panelled borders of alternating sunflower and auspicious symbols (Fig. 3.3.1.1.10), as well as of bowls with a bird painted on the interior, of the type known as 'crow cups', which are all of fairly low quality (Fig. 3.3.1.1.11). There was also one shard that appeas to have formed part of a bowl decorated on the interior with tulip flowers in the so-called Transitional style.[638] In addition, shards of a variety of other blue-and-white pieces were recovered from the shipwreck. These included the upper part of a large jar with four moulded lion masks on the shoulder decorated with a continuous mountainous landscape,[639] as well as shards of small cups decorated with landscape scenes and inner rim borders of spiraling trendils interspersed by a flower, which most probably formed part of bell-shaped cups similar to those decorated in the so-called Transitional style recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625) and the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641) (Figs. 3.1.2.15 and 3.1.2.16).[640] These finds further suggest a *c.*1630–1635 dating for the *Wanli* shipwreck. The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* also yielded a shard of very high quality Jingdezhen porcelain possibly of a jar with a straight neck, which may have been of similar shape to the slender, ovoid jar decorated in the so-called Transitional style recovered from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*.[641] These latter finds are of particular interest because they demonstrate that porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style began to be imported into New Spain at least as early as the late 1630s and that it was then re-exported to Spain in subsequent years. Future marine archaeological finds of Spanish ships that sank while plying the trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes may provide new information on this respect. The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* was carrying a mixed cargo, as it was common at the time, which also included some coarser blue-and-white dishes made at the Zhangzhou kilns (Appendices 2 and 3).[642]

Figs. 3.3.1.1.12a and b Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl from an unidentified shipwreck, known as *Angra D* (early seventeenth century)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Centro de História de Além-Mar (CHAM), Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Research has brought to light a few shards of blue-and-white porcelain recovered from an unidentified shipwreck, known as Angra D, in Angra do Heroísmo Bay in Terceira, Azores, which played an important role in both Spanish and Portuguese maritime trade routes (Appendix 3).[643] These include a shard that most probably formed part of the rim of a Jingdezhen plate of rather ordinary quality with a phoenix design within a diamond and trigram border, similar those discussed earlier that were recovered from Spanish shipwrecks and excavated at Lagos in southern Portugal. This shipwreck, believed to be a Spanish ship that sunk in the beginning of the seventeenth century, also yielded a fragment of the base of a bowl bearing the mark *Da Ming nian zao* (Made in the Great Ming dynasty), made at a private Jingdezhen kiln (Figs. 3.3.1.1.12a and b) (Appendices 2 and 3).[644]

Additional material evidence of the various types of porcelain imported into New Spain is provided by a large number of porcelain shards that have been excavated in Manila. Finds include both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou porcelain ranging from high to rather low quality. Shards that formed part of a variety of *Kraak* bowls, dishes, saucer dishes and plates with continuous or panelled rim borders, shards of saucer dishes with white or blue lotus-petal borders as well as shards of rectangular or oval covered boxes were excavated from three sites in Intramuros: the Ayuntamiento, the Baston de San Diego and the Parian sites.[645] These sites also yielded shards of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dishes, saucer dishes and plates, as well as of dishes decorated with overglaze enamels or with raised white porcelain clay slip on a pale greenish-white celadon glaze.[646] In the north of Isla Hermosa (present-day Taiwan), which was occupied by the Spanish from 1626 to 1646, there was a casual find of a *Kraak* shard.[647] This shard, unearthed in the vicinity of Fort Santo Domingo at Tamsui, shows a similar rim decoration to that of a dish reconstructed from shards recovered from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641) and the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643). This suggests that *Kraak* was among the porcelain purchased by the Spanish in Isla Hermosa to be shipped to Manila, and then via the trans-Pacific trade route to New Spain and subsequently re-exported via the trans-Atlatic trade route to Spain.

To sum up, the overwhelming majority of the porcelain imported into New Spain by the Manila Galleons in the last decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was blue-and-white porcelain from Jingdezhen. Most consisted of *Kraak* porcelain of open forms, including dishes, saucer dishes, plates and bowls of various sizes. Closed forms, such as covered boxes, pear-shaped bottles, jars, pomegranate-shaped ewers

632 See Canepa, 2010, figs. 10 and 7, respectively.
633 Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/1, pp. 60–61.
634 Two years later, the galleon *Jesus Maria* while sailing from Acapulco to Guam, and then to Cavite, rescued 260 survivors of the *Santa Margarita*. Fish, 2011, p. 499.
635 I am grateful to Jack Harbeston, IOTA Partners, for providing me with images of the porcelain recovered from the shipwreck.
636 Personal communication with Jack Harbeston, December 2007.
637 William M. Mathers, Henry S. Parker III, PhD, and Kathleen A. Copus (eds.), *Archaeological Report. The Recovery Of The Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, Pacific Sea Resources, Sutton, 1990; William M. Mathers, 'Nuestra Señora de la Concepción', *National Geographic*, vol. 178, No. 3, September 1990, pp. 39–53; Maura Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 57, 1992–1993, pp. 95–96; and William M. Mathers and Nancy Shaw, *Treasure of the Concepción*, Hong Kong, 1993.
638 Maura Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the Concepción', in Mathers, Parker III, and Copus, 1990, pp. 406-418, pls. 3a, 6a, b, c and d, 8a, b and c, 10a and b, 12, 13a, b and c, 14a and b, 15a and b, 16a and b, 17a and b, and 20a.
639 Ibid., pp. 418–419, pl. 21a.
640 This is further suggested by the fact that many bases of the cups found bear apocryphal Chenghua reign marks like those recovered from the other two shipwrecks. Ibid., p. 419, pl. 22a and b and 23a and b.
641 Ibid., p. 427, pls. 30a and b.
642 Ibid., pp. 428–429, pls. 40a and b.
643 I am grateful to Catarina Garcia for providing me with images of the porcelain shards recovered from the shipwreck. The shards are tiny, thus it is very difficult to identify the type of pieces that they originally formed part.
644 I am grateful to José Bettencourt and Catarina Garcia, Centro de História de Além-Mar (CHAM), Universidade Nova de Lisboa, for providing me with information on the *Agra D* shipwreck, and images of the porcelain recovered from the wreck site. The shard is published in Catarina Garcia, 'Preliminary assessment of the daily life on board an Iberian ship from the beginning of the 17th century (Terceira, Açores)', in Marinella Pasquinucci and Timm Welski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea- and Riverborne Trade, Ports and Hinterlands, Ship Construction and Navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time*, BAR International Series 1283, Oxford, 2004, p. 168, fig. 10.

and globular or elephant-shaped *kendis*, are thus far recorded for the first time in a shipwreck in 1600, on the cargo of the *San Diego*. The quality of the *Kraak* porcelain in most cargoes was mixed, ranging from very fine to rather crude. A change to simplified methods of production at the private kilns of Jingdezhen over time seems evident, as many pieces in the earlier cargoes were moulded but by the late 1630s, pieces had no longer moulded decoration. From the very beginning the cargoes included a small quantity of the cruder blue-and-white porcelain made at the private kilns of Zhangzhou, of both open and closed forms. Furthermore, *Kinrande* and other porcelains decorated with overglaze enamels appear to have been imported only in small amounts, and not regularly. It is unclear if this was due to the tastes of the multi-ethnic clientele in the New World, or the amount of porcelain with colour overglaze enamel decoration brought to Manila by the Chinese junk traders and Portuguese.

As noted in section 1.1.2 of Chapter I, after the Manila Galleon reached Acapulco in the mid-December, the porcelain alongside other Chinese goods (including silk, as shown in Chapter II), were sold at the annual wholesale and retail fair that was held in Acapulco in the month of February, which was attended by merchants from both viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Most of the porcelain, intended for consumption in New Spain, was carried inland on an arduous mule train over the mountains to Mexico City, where it was sold in the city market housed in a building southeast of the cathedral (present-day Zócalo area, the historic centre of the city). The exotic nature, beauty, translucense and durability of the porcelain made it a highly desirable commodity and thus coveted not only by the Spanish colonial elite, clergy and wealthy merchant class of New Spain but also by other residents of lower socio-economic classes.

Textual sources provide important evidence of a large-scale consumption of porcelain among the multi-ethnic colonial society of Mexico City, in contrast to what we saw ocurred in Madrid, Seville and other urban cities of Spain. Probate inventories of the belongings of 128 residents of the city dating from 1580 to 1630 recently studied by Gasch-Tomás have shown that almost 24.2 percent include porcelain, giving an average of 13 pieces of porcelain per inventory.[648] The study also revealed that around 80 percent of the inventories of individuals with patrimonies valued in 100,000 to 1,000,000 *maravedís* who belonged to the elites or at least were well-to-do residents, such as craftsmen and bureaucrats, had Asian goods; and that most inventories valued at 50,000 to 100,000 *maravedís* had at least 1 Asian commodity.[649] These data indicate that porcelain and other Asian goods imported into New Spain were more numerous and cheaper than in Spain (Seville, for example), and that the demand was more diversified among social classes in Mexico City.[650] According to Gasch-Tomás over 50 percent of the Spaniards and Creoles of Mexico City consumed Asian goods, which would have belonged to the highest elites such as noblemen, clergymen and wholesale merchants; and middle elites such as Crown employees, craftsmen, low and middle merchants, shopkeepers, professionals, and even some poor residents.[651] This high level of porcelain consumption in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as demonstrated by both Gasch-Tomás and Krahe, was unattainable in Spain. Interestingly, the data provided by Gasch-Tomás show that the middle elites of both Mexico City and Seville acquired more pieces of porcelain than the wealthiest elites. The reason for this may partly lie in the tastes of the wealthiest elites of New Spain, who as the members of the royal court back in Spain, preferred to acquire tableware made of silver rather than of porcelain to both use at their dining tables and

645 Takenori Nogami, Wilfredo P. Ronquillo, Alfredo B. Orogo, Nida T. Cuevas and Kazuhiko Tanaka, 'Porcelains from Manila in Spanish Philippines', *Departmental Bulletin Paper*, Kanazawa University, No. 28, 2006, pp. 39–51, figs. 7–20. I am greatly indebted to Nogami Takenori, Arita History and Folklore Museum, Japan, for providing me with research material on the excavations carried out in Manila in 2004–2005.
646 Ibid., pp. 40–42, figs. 8–10, p. 44, fig. 12, p. 48, fig. 16, and p. 51, fig. 20.
647 In 1626, the Spanish established a settlement and built Fort San Salvador at Keelung, incorporating Isla Hermosa in the Manila-Acapulco trade route. Three years later, they built Fort San Domingo at Tamsui on the north-western coast of the island. In 1642, however, the Dutch who were at war with the Spanish over the Moluccas, expelled them from Keelung and temporarily took over the island. I am grateful to Tai-kang Lu, Tainan National University of the Arts, for providing me with information and images of the porcelain found in Taiwan.
648 Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 260, Table 6.3 and p. 262.
649 Ibid., pp. 268–269.
650 Ibid., p. 269.
651 It is important to consider, however, that the inventories only show the belongings of the white residents of Mexico City, as *mestizos*, mulattoes and indigenous people did not make inventories when they died. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 270.

Fig. 3.3.1.1.13 *Kraak* shards excavated from the Donceles Street site and Metropolitan Cathedral, Zócalo area, Mexico City
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Eladio Terreros and Álvaro Barrera, Museo del Templo Mayor (INAH)

display.[652] Although silverware objects were extremely expensive, they had an intrinsic value as they could be melted down and made into coinage or recycled as different objects.[653] Anyhow, porcelain was integrated into the daily lives of the elites as objects for household consumption, which were both displayed and used in gatherings to eat and drink or other social-cultural practices.[654] This is clearly reflected in inventories of the belongings of members of the *Consulado* (Consulate) of Mexico City dating from 1589 to 1645, studied by Ballesteros Flores, which list considerable quantities of Asian goods including 'loza de la China' (pottery from China), most probably referring to porcelain.[655] One of these inventories, dating to 1645, is of particular interest to this study.[656] It is the inventory of Lope de Osorio, which lists pieces that had both practical and ornamental functions. Most were large vases or jars with lids, some used to store amber; barrel-shaped jars; and there were also a few little plates, salt cellars, trays and flowerpots. Although the descriptions are vague, one cannot fail to wonder if the pieces described as 'Ten little lions of the said pottery from China, small' may have referred to *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion incense stick holders similar to that recovered from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, which sank while en route to Spain in 1641 (Fig. 3.1.2.22). If this were the case, other pieces described as 'two little horses of pottery from China' and 'a small heron of pottery from China' may also have been *Blanc de chine* animal models from the private kilns of Dehua (Appendix 2).[657]

In New Spain, unlike in Spain, the demand for porcelain was so great that it soon was consumed as a trade good, which could be acquired from street markets, from peddlers, second-hand markets, and even shops.[658] The rise of a wealthy colonial merchant class and its commercial networks with factors and agents stationed in key locations within New Spain, such as Veracruz, Mexico City and Puebla de los Angeles, as well as in a variety of Caribbean port cities, facilitated the wholesale and retail trade of porcelain. These networks were built on pre-existing social networks based upon nationality and kinship. In addition to the Spanish networks, there were succesfull networks comprised of Portuguese, Burgalese (from Burgos), Catalans, English and Genoese merchants operating in New Spain.[659] This extensive retailing, as will be shown in the following pages, resulted in a wide distribution of porcelain throughout the viceroyalty.

Archaeological evidence of porcelain in New Spain

Material evidence of the trade in various types of porcelain from Jingdezhen, Zhangzhou and Dehua within the viceroyalty of New Spain, both by land and sea, is provided

652 Ibid., p. 162.
653 Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 127.
654 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 162.
655 Ballesteros Flores, 2007. Only 5 inventories of a total of 11 studied by Ballesteror Flores date to the late sixteenth and first four decades of the seventeenth century. Of the 5 inventories, only two include porcelain.
656 *Tierras*, vol. 3371, exp. 1, 1645. Inventario de los bienes de mercader Lope de Osorio. Ballesteros Flores also includes the inventory of Francisco Nieto, taken in 1644, but it only lists a few pieces of porcelain: 'Four plates from China and five bowls' and 'Two bowls and one plate from China, [appraised] in 1 peso'. The original text in Spanish reads: 'Cuatro platos de China y cinco escudillas' and 'Dos escudillas y un plato de China, en 1 peso'. *Real Fisco de la Inquisición*, vol. 13, exp. 1, 1644. Inventario de bienes del mercader Francisco Nieto. Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 7.
657 The pieces discussed here are described in the original text in Spanish as follows: 'Diez leoncillos de dicha loza de China, pequeños', 'Dos caballitos de loza de China', and 'Una Garza pequeña de loza de China'. *Tierras*, vol. 3371, exp. 1, 1645. Inventario de los bienes de mercader Lope de Osorio. Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 7.
658 Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 74.
659 G. Connell-Smith, 'English Merchants Trading to the New World in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Historical Research*, vol. 23, Issue 67, May 1950, pp. 53–66.

Fig. 3.3.1.1.14 Fragment of a blue-and-white plate excavated at Templo Mayor site, Zócalo area, Mexico City
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
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by a significant number of archaeological finds in what is now Mexico, the United States and Guatemala. In present-day Mexico, excavations at various archaeological sites have yielded a large quantity of porcelain dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Until now, the urban and religious sites located in Mexico City have yielded not only the largest quantity of porcelain but also the most varied in terms of typology and decorative style. Considering the marine archaeological finds discussed above it is not surprising that the majority of the porcelain is blue-and-white of varying quality. In excavations at various sites located within the perimeter of the first quarter of the Zócalo area, the administrative seat of the viceregal government, the finds include intact *Kraak* pieces and shards of dishes, plates and small bowls (Fig. 3.3.1.1.13).[660] Shards of plates decorated with deer in a landscape within a white cavetto and a continuous naturalistic border excavated at the sites of Templo Mayor and National Palace[661] are similar to those recovered from the *San Diego* (1600)[662] and *Santa Margarita* (1601), and the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606). Shards of cups of the type known as 'crow cups' excavated from Templo Mayor[663] show similar decoration to those from the *San Diego* (1600).[664] Shards of dishes excavated at Donceles Street site show identical panelled borders as those found at the survivor's campsite of the Portuguese shipwreck *São Gonçalo* (1630); and shards of saucer dishes show a similar border of teardrop-shaped panels as those recovered from the earlier Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora da Luz* (1615). Shards of plates with naturalistic borders were also excavated at Donceles Street and the Metropolitan Cathedral sites. The Templo Mayor site also yielded shards of blue-and-white plates with the phoenix design within a diamond and trigram border (Fig. 3.3.1.1.14).[665] In addition, the Donceles Street and Moneda Street sites yielded a few shards of blue-and-white dishes of the coarser *Zhangzhou* porcelain, which relate to finds from the *San Diego* (1600), the Portuguese *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625) and the survivor's campsite of the *São Gonçalo* (1630) (Fig. 3.3.1.1.15), which relate to finds made at the Dongkou kiln site in Pinghe county (Appendix 2).[666] The *Zhangzhou* porcelain included only one shard with overglaze enamel decoration, which probably formed part of a dish (Fig. 3.3.1.1.16), as well as shards of bowls with white slip decoration on a brown glaze, all excavated from a site in Justo Sierra Street. All these porcelain finds date to the early seventeenth century, probably prior to a series of devastating floods that occurred between 1629 and 1634.[667] It is important to note that the Zócalo area sites also yielded *Blanc de chine* porcelain, including a fragment of the base of a Buddhist Lion incense stick holder found in a stratigraphic pit of the street Lic. Verdad-Block

660 The porcelain, recovered during excavations to build a subway in the city, is now housed in the Museo del Templo Mayor. For information on the porcelain and other ceramic material found, as well as images of some of the porcelain excavated, see Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, 'Non-Indian Ceramics from The Mexico City Subway', *El Palacio*, Vol. 81, No. 2, Summer 1975, pp. 25–48, fig. 22. I am greatly indebted to Eladio Terreros, archaeologist professor at Museo del Templo Mayor (INAH), for providing me with information and images of the porcelain excavated from sites in the Zócalo area of Mexico City. For further images of the porcelain excavated, see Canepa, 2011/1, p. 268, Figs. 19–21.
661 A reconstructed example is published in Kuwayama, 1997, p. 53, no. 20; and Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 49, fig. 13.
662 Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994, p. 315, cat. 75 and pp. 242–43, cat. 111.
663 Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 52, figs 22 and 23.
664 Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 340–341, cat. 107.
665 Published in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 50, figs. 14–15.
666 Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 15, fig. 4 and pl. 36, fig. 1; and Canepa, 2010, p. 61, figs. 6 and 7.
667 Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/2, p. 111.

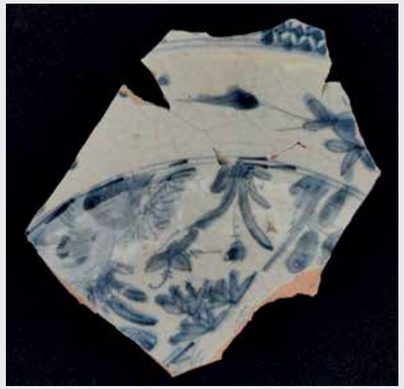

Fig. 3.3.1.1.15 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dish excavated at Donceles Street site, Zócalo area, Mexico City
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
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Fig. 3.3.1.1.16 Shard of a *Zhangzhou* dish with overglaze enamel decoration excavated at Justo Sierra Street site, Zócalo area, Mexico City
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
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Fig. 3.3.1.1.17 Shards of *Kraak* plates excavated at the former Convent of Santa Paula, Mexico City
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
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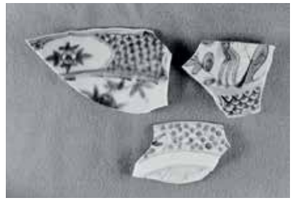
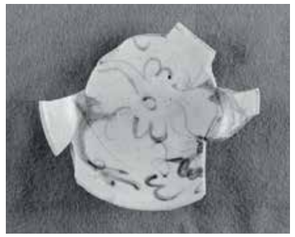
Fig. 3.3.1.1.18 Shards of *Kraak* plates excavated at the former Convent of Santa Paula, Mexico City
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Patricia Fournier García

Opposite page
Fig. 3.3.1.1.19 Shards of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white plates excavated at the former Convent of Santa Paula, Mexico City
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Patricia Fournier García

Fig. 3.3.1.1.20 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish excavated at the former Convent of Santa Paula, Mexico City
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Patricia Fournier García





III, which in all probability was of similar shape to that recovered from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641) (Fig. 3.1.2.22), and thus may have been imported into Mexico City by that time.[668] The 1645 inventory of Lope de Osorio listing 'Ten little lions' mentioned earlier suggests the presence of such *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lions in Mexico City by the early to mid 1640s.

In Mexico City, further archaeological finds of *Kraak* and *Zhangzhou* porcelain were made at the former Convent of Santa Paula, better known by its later name San Jerónimo, of the Hieronymite order.[669] The *Kraak* shards, dating to the Wanli/Tianqi period, formed part of a few plates and dishes with panelled borders of rather low quality (Fig. 3.3.1.1.17), of plates with continuous naturalistic borders (Fig. 3.3.1.1.18), of saucer dishes with lotus-petal borders outlined in blue and of small bowls or *klapmutsen* decorated with monster masks.[670] Three shards of *Zhangzhou* plates show a similar central phoenix and scale diaper border to those excavated at the Moneda Street site (Fig. 3.3.1.1.19) and large fragments of two saucer dishes show an overall decoration of sketchily painted dragons (Fig. 3.3.1.1.20), which relates to finds made at the Xuizhuan kiln ste in Zhaoan county (Appendix 2).[671]

Textual sources and material evidence indicate that a small quantity of the porcelain imported into Acapulco was subsequently distributed to the frontier provinces of New Spain. In the coastal settlement of Colima, for instance, references to porcelain are found in judicial documents and wills made by both female and male residents as early as 1580. A judicial document of that year, listing the belongings brought from Manila by the deceased sailor Manuel Pérez, mentions '2 large porcelains from China' and '2 small porcelains from China', besides silk clothing and furnishings from China, as discussed in Chapter II.[672] A will made by Isabel de Monjaraz in 1589, lists '1 medium porcelain from China' and '1 small porcelain from China'.[673] Another made by the landowner Andrés García in 1616 lists '1 large porcelain from China' and '1 large plate [of porcelain] from China', as well as a few ecclesiastical vestments and furnishings made of damask and brocade from China.[674] Juana Quintero made a will in 1622, which included '2 porcelains from China' and '2 medium plates [of porcelain] from China'.[675] Porcelain was also given as dowry, as evidenced by the '1 large porcelain from China' listed in a dowry letter made by Martín de Segura in 1614.[676] The high esteem that the residents of Colima had for porcelain was shown in 1625, when Juan de Balmaceda purchased '2 plates [of porcelain] from China (broken)' for which he paid 1 peso at the pubic auction of the belongings of Gaspar Pagés de Moncada, already discussed in Chapter II.[677] Balmaceda wanted so badly to own porcelain that he did not mind the poor condition of these pieces.

Material evidence indicates that a small quantity of Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou porcelain imported into Acapulco was subsequently distributed to the isolated frontier province of Florida (present-day United States), prized by the Spaniards for its strategic location to the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic shipping routes.[678] Four shards of blue-and-white porcelain, including one that probably formed part of a finely potted *Kraak* bowl, were excavated from the remains of the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine in Florida. Saint Augustine, founded in 1565 to prevent French colonizing efforts in the region, served as the Spanish military and religious headquarters until the end of the colonial period in 1821.[679] The porcelain is believed to have reached Florida via the Manila Galleon trade to Acapulco in about 1576–1578.[680]

A total of 747 shards of blue-and-white porcelain dating to the sixteenth century have been excavated from the remains of the town of Santa Elena in what is today

668 Published in Canepa and Terreros Espinosa, 2014, p. 4, fig. 8.

669 This convent was founded in 1585 by Isabel de Barrios (1522–1613), daughter of conquistador Andrés de Barrios and Maria Suarez de Avila, and niece of the conquistador Hernan Cortés (1485–1547), who led the expedition that captured the city of Tenochtitlan – the capital of the Aztec Empire – and brought a large part of the territory of present-day Mexico under Spanish rule. San Jerónimo was exclusively for Spanish and Criolla (Spanish women born in the New World) nuns. Patricia Fournier García, *Evidencias Arqueológicas de la importación de cerámica en México, con base en los materiales del ex-Convento de San Jerónimo*, no. 213, INAH, 1990, pp. 18–20. I am grateful to Patricia Fournier García, Escuela Nacional de Arqueología e Historia, Mexico, for granting me permission to include images of the excavated porcelain in this doctoral dissertation.

670 Published in Ibid., pp. 34–35, figs. 3–6; p. 37, fig. 8c and d; and p. 38, fig. 10.

671 Published in Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 39, fig. 1; and Canepa, 2010, p. 62, fig. 10.

672 The original texts in Spanish read: '2 porcelanas grandes de la China' and '2 porcelanas pequeñas de la China'. AHMC, box A-10, exp. 20. Cited in Machuca, 2012, p. 115.

673 The original texts in Spanish read: '1 porcelana mediana de la China' and '1 porcelana chica de la China'. José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquistas e instituciones de gobierno en Colima de la Nueva España (1523–1600)*, Colima y Zamora, 2007, p. 148. Cited in Machuca, 2012, p. 117.

674 The original texts in Spanish read: '1 porcelana grande de China', '1 plato grande de China', 'casulla vieja de damasco de China', and 'frontal con su frontalero de brocadillo de China'. Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima (hereafter cited as AHEC), Fondo Virreinal (hereafter cited as FV), box 10, fol. 12, exp. 1628. Cited in Machuca, 2012, p. 120.

675 The original texts in Spanish read: '2 porcelanas de China' and '2 platos medianos de China'. AHEC, FV, box 11, fol. 5, exp. 1906. Cited in Machuca, 2012, p. 123.

676 The original text in Spanish reads: '1 porcelana grande de China'. AHEC, FV, box 9, fol. 5, exp. 1150. Cited in Machuca, 2012, p. 119.

Parris Island in South Carolina.[681] Santa Elena, originally intended as the capital of Florida, was inhabited from 1566 to 1587. The shard finds form part of at least 76 pieces.[682] Most of the shards are of plates from Jingdezhen, including shards of plates with the phoenix in profile design, similar to those excavated in Mexico City. There are also shards of bowls variously decorated with Chinese characters, Chinese figures, landscape scenes with pine trees, or blossoming prunus branches pending from the rim, which relate to finds from the shipwreck of the Manila Galleon *San Felipe* (1576) and the Church of Santa María de los Corporales in Daroca, Zaragoza (Fig. 3.3.1.1.21). In addition, there are shards of a bowl decorated with sketchily painted dragons,[683] similar to examples recovered from the *San Felipe* (1576) and the *San Pedro*, which sank while en route from Veracruz to Spain in 1595.[684] In addition, the site yielded two white-glazed bowls (now partially reconstructed), of related shape to examples recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558) (Fig. 3.1.1.8); and a few shards of *Zhangzhou* porcelain decorated with flowers and leaves executed with broad blue brushstrokes (Fig. 3.3.1.1.22),[684] which probably formed part of a saucer dish of the type excavated at the Erlong kiln site in Pinghe county (Appendix 2).[686]

By the early seventeenth century, a small quantity of porcelain, alongside silk, made its way to Spanish settlements in the northernmost province of New Mexico.[687] Although excavated colonial sites of this period are not numerous, shards of porcelain have been found at urban and rural settlements.[688] The porcelain could have been brought by the colonists when they emigrated there or could have arrived through the overland mission supply caravans provided by the Spanish Crown, which regularly supplied imported ceramics, and once there, may have been exchanged among the Spanish colonists' (including governors and *encomenderos*)[689] households.[690] Thus porcelain appears to have been desired by the early colonists, not only for its practical function in the household but also because it would have served to exhibit to others their social status and wealth. As noted by Thomas Snow, porcelain together with imported Mexican and Spanish majolica (tin-glazed earthenware) were a means by which the colonists maintained their ties to polite society and mannerly behaviour of the Spanish culture of which they were a part.[691] Archaeological finds, however, show that the early colonists owned only limited quantities of porcelain in comparison to Mexican and Spanish majolica brought to New Mexico or to ceramics made locally by native Pueblo Indians.[692]

The finds from urban sites include a few shards of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain dating to the Wanli reign, and one other Jingdezhen shard of the *Kinrande* type decorated in cobalt blue on one side and overglaze red enamel on the other, excavated from the Spanish settlement San Gabriel del Yunque, the capital of New Mexico founded in 1598.[693] Thus far this is the earliest porcelain known to have arrived in New Mexico, during the period between 1598 and 1610, when San Gabriel was abandoned.[694] A few other shards of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain that probably formed part of a small cup of the *Kraak* type and two shards of a bowl with monochrome blue-glaze and gilded decoration of the *Kinrande* type that may have been similar to the example fitted with English gilt mounts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art discussed earlier (Fig. 3.2.2.11), all dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, were excavated from the site of the Palace of the Governors (former *casas reales*) in downtown Santa Fe,[695] where the capital of New Mexico was relocated in 1610.[696] An interesting find is a blue-and-white shard decorated with a stylized four-petalled flower, which may have formed part of a high-quality ewer made

Fig. 3.3.1.1.21 Shard of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at Santa Elena, Parris Island, South Carolina
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Chester DePatter

Fig. 3.3.1.1.22 Shards of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain excavated at Santa Elena, Parris Island, South Carolina
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Chester DePatter

677 AHCM, section B, box 4, exp. 4. Cited in Machuca Chávez, 2010, p. 21.
678 David H. White, 'A View of Spanish West Florida: Selected Letters of Governor Juan Vicente Folch', *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Oct., 1977), p. 138.
679 In 1513, Juan Ponce de Leon first explored the continent, where he discovered the bay of Saint Augustine in Florida. The French had established a colony of three hundred people on the Carolina coast. A few days after Pedro Menéndez de Aviles (1519–1574) founded Saint Augustine, he moved northward and after a fierce attack destroyed the French colony.
680 Linda S. Shulsky, 'Chinese Porcelain in Spanish Colonial Sites in the Southern Part of North America and the Caribbean', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 63, 1998–1999, p. 91 and p. 93, fig. 9.
681 I am greatly indebted to Linda Pomper and Chester DePratter, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, for providing me with images of the Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou porcelain excavated at the site and for granting permission to include some of them in this doctoral dissertation.
682 Published in Pomper, Legg and DePratter, 2011, pp. 34–41, figs. 2–3, and 5–16.
683 Ibid., p. 37, fig. 9.
684 The author studied the shards of these bowls during a research trip to Bermuda in March 2012.

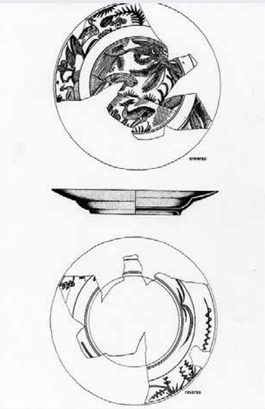
685 Published in Pomper, Legg and DePratter, 2011, p. 41, fig. 18.
686 Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 11, no. 1.
687 See Chapter II, note 254.
688 A small number of porcelain shards have been also excavated at Franciscan missions, including the missions of Quarai, Abó, Awatovi and Pecos, but the finds published thus far are out of the scope of this doctoral dissertation because they date to the late seventeenth century onwards. I am grateful to Cordelia Thomas Snow, David Phillips, curator of Archaeology Maxwell Museum, and other members of the New Mexico Archaeological Council, for sending me information and images of the porcelain excavated in New Mexico. Although no material evidence has been found it is likely that late Ming porcelain was imported alongside silk, as shown in Chapter II, through the overland mission supply caravans in the early seventeenth century. Most of the ceramic material found at all mission sites consists of Pueblo ceramics. For information on the porcelain excavated at the missions, see Alfred V. Kidder, *The 1939-1940 Excavation Project at Quarai Pueblo and Mission Buildings*, New Mexico, 1990, p. 167; and Trigg, 2005, p. 113.
689 According to Thomas Snow, the majority of the settlers were descended from second and third generation of Spanish conquerors, and others arrived in New Mexico directly from Spain. Cordelia Thomas Snow, 'Objects Supporting Ideas: A Study of Archaeological Majolica and Polite Behaviour in New Mexico, 1598–1846', *The Archaeological Society of New Mexico*, No. 31, 2005, p. 194.
690 Trigg, 2005, pp. 15 and 178.
691 Snow, 2005, p. 188.
692 Heather B. Trigg, 'The Ties that Blind: Economic and Social Interactions in Early-Colonial New Mexico, A.D. 1598–1680', *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003), pp. 66–67.
693 Two blue-and-white shards of Jingdezeh porcelain are illustrated in the web page *The Testimony of Hands*. https://hands.unm.edu/68-43-56. Accessed June 2013. These shards together with the *Kinrande* shard are discussed and illustrated in Pierce, 2010, p. 159, fig. 7. The *Kinrande* shard is also published in Shulsky, 1994, p. 15, fig. 1.
694 Pierce, 2010, p. 159.
695 Viceroy Peralta, in keeping with the *villa's* status as capital of the colony, established the *casas reales* to serve as a home for the governor, a fortification, storerooms, and a prison. Trigg, 2005, p. 69.
696 The blue monochrome and gilt shards have been dated to between 1610 and 1680, the terminus date corresponds to the year the native Pueblo Indians revolted and attacked Santa Fe. The revolt forced the Spanish colonists to retreat southward out of New Mexico. Only twelve years later, in 1692, a Spanish army under the command of Diego de Vargas returned and conquered New Mexico again. For this opinion, see Shulsky, 1994, p. 17. For images of the shards, see Kuwayama, 1997, p. 69, fig. 23; and Pierce, 2010, p. 162, fig. 13a.
697 Published in Shulsky, 1994, p. 17, fig. 5; and Pierce, 2010, p. 162, fig. 12b (right hand side).
698 Santa Fe was the largest Spanish settlement in New Mexico. The Spanish term *villa* denotes that it was a settlement of limited size and complexity, but that it had a complete civil government. A *villa* was smaller than a *ciudad* but larger than a *pueblo*. According to the former Governor Martínez de Baeza, there were only 50 inhabitants in Santa Fe in 1639 and that in the entire population of the colony was 'two hundred persons, Spaniards and mestizos'. About two thirds of the population lived in rural areas on *ranchos* or *estancias*. Trigg, 2005, pp. 69–70 and 72.
699 The vast majority of the ceramic material excavated from rural *estancias* was made locally by Pueblo Indians. Ibid., p. 107.
700 Mentioned in David H. Snow, 'Ceramics from LA

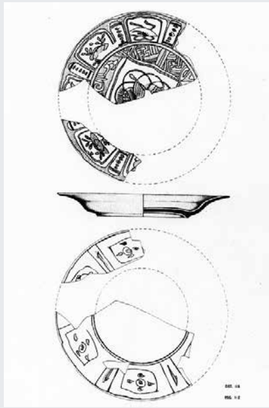
in the so-called Transitional porcelain during the Chongzhen reign.[697] The *villa* of Santa Fe served as the terminus of the overland trade route, known as the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (Royal Road of the Interior Land), which connected Mexico City and Veracruz (through Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya) with New Mexico during the Spanish colonial period.[698] Finds at rural sites near Santa Fe clearly indicate that colonists who established homes in isolated *estancias* (ranches) had both the desire and economic capacity to acquire porcelain, if only in small quantities.[699] Four blue-and-white shards of *Kraak* porcelain and two others of the so-called Transitional porcelain were excavated at an *estancia* known as the Sanchez Site (LA 20,000) in lower La Cienega, a *villa* situated about 24km southwest of Santa Fe.[700]

While admittedly sparse, documentary evidence indicates that some of the porcelain imported into Acapulco in the late sixteenth century was among the common household items owned by Spanish colonists in Puebla de Los Angeles, a city founded 130km to the southeast of Mexico City in 1531. This is not surprising as Puebla was situated midway on the mule route overland from Acapulco to Veracruz. An early example is that of a man named Jerónimo de la Fuente, who was a *maestro de cantería* (master of stone carving) from Toledo (Spain). An inventory of his possessions, taken in 1589, lists a 'dozen Chinese plates and bowls valued at 5 pesos, two large porcelains of China valued at 3 pesos'.[701] The presence of porcelain in this area is further demonstrated by a few shards of sixteenth and early seventeenth century blue-and-white porcelain excavated just northwest of Puebla at the church and convent of San Miguel in Huejotzingo, which was built between about 1554 and 1570 by Franciscan friars. The fact that the amount of porcelain found at this religious site was proportionally higher than that of European ceramics suggests that porcelain was more available and/or that the Franciscans desired it more and could afford it.[702] It is important to remember that the Franciscan Mendicant Order was, together with the Spanish Crown, Spanish colonial political elites, governors and clergy, one of the major participants in the colony-empire trade.[703] Until 1664, the Crown facilitated the Franciscan's trade by providing commodities and wagons of the supply caravans for their use.

Material evidence shows that porcelain also circulated to Spanish colonial settlements in southern New Spain. A few shards of late Ming blue-and-white porcelain were excavated at the former convent of the religious Mendicant Order of the Dominicans in Oaxaca (present-day Mexico), bordering Veracruz to the north and the Pacific in the south.[704] The remains of the convent Santo Domingo de Guzmán, which began to be constructed in 1572, yielded shards that formed part of a few *Kraak* plates with continuous naturalistic rim borders (Fig. 3.3.1.1.23), dishes with panelled rim borders (Fig. 3.3.1.1.24), cups of the type known as 'crow cups' and small bowls with deer surrounded by foliate and wheel motifs (Fig. 3.3.1.1.25), which relate closely to pieces recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600) and the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613).[705] It also yielded *Zhangzhou* shards that formed part of saucer dish with a phoenix design within a diamond and trigram border (now reconstructed) (Fig. 3.3.1.1.26),[706] similar to those excavated at the Moneda Street site in Mexico City, as well as shards of a bowl with floral decoration.[707] The Dominican friars, as noted by Gómez Serafín, may have acquired the porcelain as gifts rather than through direct purchase.[708]

A small number of shards of late Ming blue-and-white porcelain have been found at two religious sites in Santiago de Guatemala (present-day La Antigua Guatemala),





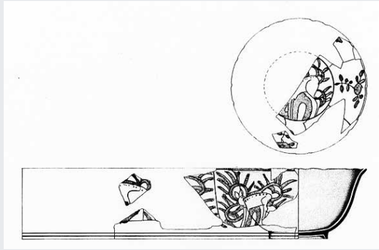


Fig. 3.3.1.1.23 Sketch-drawing of a *Kraak* plate excavated at the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Susana Gómez Serafín

Fig. 3.3.1.1.24 Sketch-drawing of *Kraak* plate excavated at the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Susana Gómez Serafín

Fig. 3.3.1.1.25 Sketch-drawing of a *Kraak* cup excavated at the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Susana Gómez Serafín

Fig. 3.3.1.1.26 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish (reconstructed) excavated at the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Susana Gómez Serafín

20,000: A 17th century *estancia* Near Santa Fe', *Pottery Southwest*, Vol. 28, No. 2, July 2009, p. 15. No porcelain finds had been reported at the LA 20,000 site by Trigg in 2005. See, Trigg, 2005, p. 107.

701 AGNP, Notaría 4, box 35, Protocolos 1589, fols. 1339–1341r and 1341–1342r. Cited in Margaret E. Connors MacQuade, *Loza Poblana: The Emergence of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition*, unpublished PhD dissertation, The City University of New York, 2005, p. 49.

702 John M. Goggin, *Spanish Maiolica in the New World: Types of the 16th to 18th Centuries*, Yale University Publications in Antropology, no. 72, New Haven, 1968, pp. 97–8; and Connors MacQuade, 2005, pp. 49-50.

703 Trigg, 2005, p. 189.

704 In 1521, Oaxaca was granted by the Spanish Crown to the conquistador Hernán Cortés as his prize for conquering New Spain. That same year, the Spanish founded a settlement named Segura de la Frontera, later known as Nueva Antequera, and in 1532 it was officially raised to the category of a royal city by decree of Charles V with the name of Antequera de Guaxaca.

705 Published in Susana Gómez Serafín and Enrique Fernández Dávila, *Catálogo de los objetos cerámicos de la orden dominicana del ex convent de Santo Domingo de Oaxaca*, Mexico, 2007, pp. 214–215 and pp. 220–221. I am grateful to Susana Gómez Serafín, Centro INAH Morelos, Cuernavaca, Mexico, for providing me with sketch-drawings of the porcelain recovered from the convent. For the examples recovered from the *San Diego* and *Witte Leeuw*, see Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, p. 344, cat. 117; and Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 141, no. 1.9.3; respectively.

706 This saucer dish, catalogued as porcelain from Canton, is published in Ibid., p. 217, no. 452 (bottom image).

707 A sketch-drawing of this bowl is published in Susana Gómez Serafín and Enrique Fernández Dávila, *Las cerámicas coloniales del ex convent de Santo Domingo de Oaxaca. Pasado y presente de una tradición*, Mexico, 2007, p. 165, no. 238.

708 Shards that formed part of a total of 4.219 pieces dating to the late Ming and early Qing dynasty have been excavated at the convent. For more information and images of the porcelain, see Susana Gómez Serafín, *'Porcelanas orientales en Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca', Cuadernos del Sur*, nos. 6–7, Year 3, 1994, pp. 5–24.

709 L. A. Romero, *La cerámica de importación de Santo Domingo, Antigua Guatemala*, Paper presented at the XX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Guatemala, 2006. I am grateful to George Kuwayama for providing me with information and images of the porcelain excavated at Antigua Guatemala.

710 George Kuwayama and Anthony Pasinski, 'Chinese Ceramics in the Audiencia of Guatemala, *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4, 2002, p. 26.

711 Ibid.

712 Published in Ibid., pp. 28–29, figs. 2 and 3, and p. 30, fig. 8 (top centre). The site of the convent of Santo Domingo also yielded porcelain dating to the Qing dynasty. For more information and images of the Qing porcelain recovered, see Tony Pasinski, 'Informe Sobre la Ceramica de Importacion: Siglos XVI al XVIII, Tomo I: Resumen del Estudio', *Proyecto Arqueologico Ex-Convento de Santo Domingo, La Antigua Guatemala*, Guatemala, July 2004, pp. 8–10.

713 Compare the decoration of the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643) pieces illustrated in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 56, pl. 72.

714 Kuwayama and Pasinski, 2002, p. 29, fig. 5; and Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 71, no. 1, respectively.

715 Kuwayama and Pasinski, 2002, p. 28, fig. 3; and p. 30, fig. 7.

716 Ibid., p. 29, fig. 6; and Kuwayama, 1997, p. 36, no. 6, respectively.

situated in the highlands of Guatemala.[709] The city was founded in 1543 and served as the seat of the military governor of the Spanish colony of Guatemala, which included almost all of present-day Central America and the Mexican state of Chiapas.[710] Such porcelain finds are not surprising as the Audiencia of Guatemala played an important role in the trade between the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, and also traded directly with the Philippines. Although a *cédula real* (royal decree) in 1593 specifically prohibited this trade, it continued clandestinely until 1597, when trade was authorized again. After 1610, Guatemala became involved in the trade of Chinese goods transported overland from Acapulco to the Audiencia ports of Acajutla (present-day Salvador), Fonseca and Realejo (present-day Nicaragua), on the Pacific coast, where they were loaded onto ships bound for Peru.[711] This lucrative trade continued until the 1630s and then declined. The direct trade of porcelain from the Philippines or via New Spain and Peru is attested by finds of blue-and-white porcelain from both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou at the site of the former Dominican monastery of Santo Domingo, which was founded in 1542 and housed a large church, a hospital, a pharmacy and the College of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The site yielded more than 350,000 local and imported ceramic shards, among which are shards of a Jingdezhen blue-and-white bowl decorated with chrysanthemum among scrolling foliage, of a plate with the phoenix in profile design, similar to those recovered from the shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576) and excavated in Drake's Bay, most probably associated with the *San Agustín* (1595), and in Mexico City (Fig. 3.3.1.1.14), and of a *Kraak* dish with a panelled border.[712] There are also two shards of cups decorated with scattered flowers and insects in the so-called Transitional style, which relate closely to porcelain recovered from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643).[713] The Santo Domingo site also yielded a shard of a *Zhanghzou* dish with flowering branches on the cavetto and a scale diaper border, which relates closely to dish fragments found at the Dalong kiln site in Pinghe (Appendix 2).[714] Excavations in the gardens of the former Franciscan monastery of San Francisco, built in the 1570s, yielded a shard decorated with deer that most probably formed part of a *Kraak* plate with a continuous rim border, similar to those recovered from the *San Diego* (1600), a shard of a *Kraak* plate with panelled border,[715] as well as a shard of the neck of a *Kraak* pear-shaped bottle decorated with pomegranate seeds in reserve, which most probably had a garlic-shaped neck such as the example in the Museo Franz Mayer in Mexico City.[716]

The wide circulation of porcelain within the viceroyalty in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is further evidenced by porcelain finds from archaeological excavations at Spanish settlements in the Caribbean. These include sites in Hispaniola, the first permanent Spanish settlement in the New World, which became part of New Spain in 1535. Excavations at an old Spanish fortress built after 1512 in the town of Concepción de la Vega, located halfway between Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata (present-day Dominican Republic), yielded a few shards of a small blue-and-white bowl with an everted rim decorated with lotus and other water plants, bearing the mark *da ming nian zao* (made in the great Ming dynasty), which was most probably made in the Jiajing reign at a private kiln of Jingdezhen (Appendix 2).[717] As noted by Pomper, the fact that the town was destroyed in 1562 indicates that the bowl could not have reached the settlement via the Manila Galleon trade. The following year, in 1563, Philip II complained to the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo about cargoes from Portugal and other countries being brought to Hispaniola to be exchanged for gold, silver and other colonial products.[718] Thus it is possible that the bowl was brought by

one of the Portuguese ships that sailed there to trade. Although ceramics accounted to over 90 percent of the material excavated from the remains of two domestic sites at Puerto Real on the northern coast of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti), known as Locus 33/35 and 19, they only yielded a small number of shards of finely potted blue-and-white porcelain. Forty-five shards were found at Locus 19, and ten at Locus 33–35, both of which appear to have been upper-status residence households. The settlement's isolation and the frequent attacks by privateers, led to the official abandonment of Puerto Real in 1603.[719] Thus the Spanish colonists must have acquired the porcelain sometime before they abandoned the site.[720] It is likely that the porcelain had been imported via Veracruz.

Excavations undertaken at various sites in the port city of Havana (present-day Cuba), an important stopover for the ships of the Spanish Treasure Fleet before beginning the eastward voyage via the Atlantic to Spain, have demonstrated that some of the porcelain carried by these ships was destined to this colonial market. The site of the Plaza de Armas yielded shards of a plate with blue-and-white and overglaze red enamel decoration, thus of *Kinrande* type; a fragment of a *Kraak* plate with a continuous naturalistic rim border and a blue-and-white cup. The site of a colonial house in Calvo de la Puerta, the *Casa de Obrapía*, located in area of Old Havana in the intersections of Obrapía and Mercaderes streets, yielded a considerable quantity of ceramic material of various origins, including over 200 porcelain shards.[721] These include shards of various blue-and-white bowls, some of the *chi*-dragon type recovered from the shipwreck *San Pedro* (1595) (Fig. 3.1.2.3).

Viceroyalty of Peru [3.3.1.2]

Direct trade between Manila and the viceroyalty of Peru, as mentioned in Chapter II, first occurred in 1582, when the second ship sent by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa arrived safely in El Callao carrying silk, porcelains, spices, iron, wax and other wares, despite the prohibition of traffic between Peru and the Philippines imposed in 1579.[722] A register of the goods carried by the ship sent by Governor Ronquillo, the *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta*, taken a year earlier, lists a large quantity of pottery pieces of various types, including thick pottery.[723] From a letter sent by the Viceroy of Peru to the King in 1582 we learn that the ship was definitely carrying porcelain, as it states that 'a quantity of things from China which are porcelains and silks and spices and iron and wax and blankets and silk … and other knick-knacks which are those commonly brought and all sold well, except for the cinnamon that does not sell because it is not good. And what it was said to be of the Real Hazienda were about four hundred quintals of iron and one hundred and ninety quintals of spices in which were cinnamon, pepper and clove'.[724] The porcelain carried as private consignments (together with spices) aboard the ship, captained by D. Gonzalo Ronquillo de Ballesteros, include pieces described as '1 box of gilded pottery cups', '12 boxes of gilded pottery', '17 cups of gilded pottery', '12 boxes of gilded pottery', '4 boxes of gilded pottery' and '3 jars of gilded pottery',[725] which most probably were porcelain with overglaze gilded decoration, as suggested by the 22,300 pieces of fine gilt china imported into Acapulco in 1573. Further information regarding the porcelain carried on board the ship is found in documents related to the interrogation of the sea pilot Antonio de Bilbao that took place on 7 January of 1583, during which he described the contents of the cargo as 'that ship [was carring] iron and pieces of bronze, damasks and other things of wax and silk, and pottery blue and gilt, and clover and pepper and

717 Published in Linda R. Shulsky, 'A Chinese Porcelain Bowl found in Concepción de la Vega', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVII, no. 2 (2001), p. 63, figs. 2–6.

718 Clarence Henry Haring, *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918, p. 116. Mentioned in Shulsky, 2001, p. 62.

719 Bonnie G. McEwan, 'Domestic Adaptation at Puerto Real, Haiti', *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1986), p. 44; and William H. Hodges, 'How We Found Puerto Real', in Kathleen Deagan (ed.), *Puerto Real. The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola*, Gainesville, 1995, p. 27.

720 Bonnie G. McEwan, 'Spanish Precedents and Domestic Life at Puerto Real: The Archaeology of Two Spanish Homesites', in Deagan, 1995, pp. 200–204 and 208–211, fig. 8.7 and table 8.1.

721 For more information and images of the porcelain recovered, see Lourdes Domínguez, 'Cerámica transcultural en el sitio colonial Casa de la Obrapía' and 'Presencia de porcelana oriental en algunos sitios coloniales de la Habana', in *Cuba Arqueológica*, No. 2, november 1980, pp. 15-26 and 27-37, respectively.

722 Spate, 2004, p. 218; and Borah, 1954, p. 117. According to Iwasaki Cauti, the first ships were sent from the Philippines to Callao in July 1580, but they returned to the Philippines after three months. Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y Perú en el Siglo XVI*, Lima, 2005, p. 34.

723 AGI, Patronato 24, R 55. 1581. Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 2, pp. 251–253.

724 The original text in Spanish reads: ' … ha ymbiado un navío con cantidad de cosas de China que son porçcelanas y sedas y especería y hierro y sera y mantas y seda en maço y otras buxerías que son las que suelen traer y todo se ha vendido bien, sino ha sido la canela que tiene mala salida por no ser Buena. Y lo que señalaba ser de la Real Hazienda eran como quatrocientos quintales de hierro y ciento y nouenta quintales de especería en que entraua canela, pimiento y clavo. AGI, Lima 30 (Lima, 6, VIII. 1582). Cited in Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, p. 37.

725 The original text in Spanish reads: '1 caja de cubiles de loza dorada', '12 cajas de loza dorada', '17 cubiles de loza dorada', '12 cajones de loza dorada', '4 cajas de loza dorada', '3 tinas de loza dorada', and '1 caja de loza dorada'. Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 2, pp. 252–253.

canela'.[726] This suggests that the cargo consisted in both blue-and-white and gilded porcelain. Perhaps some pieces of porcelain were decorated with underglaze cobalt blue as well as overglaze gold.

In Peru, as in New Spain, porcelain and other Asian goods imported from Manila were far more abundant and cheaper than those imported from Spain.[727] The low sale price of porcelain is clearly seen in a register of the sale made by Pedro de Valladolid to the vecino Mercado de Peñalosa in 1582–1583, which lists '130 dozen-and-a-half gilded pottery at 3 ¾ *reales* a piece' and '60 dozens and ten pieces of white pottery at 2 *reales* a piece'.[728] This was a very profitable business transaction, as noted by Cauti, because the porcelain and other Asian goods would not only be traded in Lima, but also in Quito, Panama, Potosí and Chile.[729] The merchants who imported the porcelain into Peru had already made a considerable profit, as indicated by the approximated prices of porcelain imported in the year 1581: 1 piece of gilded pottery (porcelain) was 1 *real* and 10 *maravedí* in Macao and in Lima 6 *reales*; the price of blue pottery (porcelain) was 1 *real* ½ in Macao and 3 *reales* in Lima; and the price of white pottery (porcelain) was 7 *maravedí* in Macao and 3 *reales* in Lima.[730] Thus residents of Lima who did not belong to the highest elite could acquire porcelain and other Asian goods if they could afford them. For instance, a modest tailor paid the sum of 1.125 pesos for blue and gilded pottery, 150 fans at 1 *real* and a half each', and other goods.[731] According to Cauti at least two shops sold goods from China legally in Lima at the time, and hucksters were also involved in the profitable trade of such goods.[732]

The same year that Governor Ronquillo sent the *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* to Peru, in 1581, a royal order forbade direct trade between Lima and Manila. Thus porcelain and other Asian goods had to be acquired by way of Acapulco. As mentioned in Chapter II, despite the ban on trade between Peru and Acapulco and the purchase of merchandise from the Manila Galleons imposed in 1587 and again in 1595, a flourishing illicit trade prospered. The porcelain shards excavated at various archaeological sites in present-day Peru, Panama, Ecuador, Argentina and Chile, attest to the illicit trade in porcelain brought by the Manila Galleons between the colonial viceroyalties. When considering the archaeological finds discussed in the following pages it is important to bear in mind that most of these countries have suffered numerous earthquakes since the colonial period, which have undoubtedly affected the condition of the pieces of porcelain imported into each of them.[733] The same applies to finds made in the countries that once formed part of the viceroyalty of New Spain discussed earlier.

In Peru, urban sites have yielded blue-and-white porcelain and pieces decorated with overglaze enamels though most shards are blue-and-white. In Lima, the viceregal capital, the archaeological excavations undertaken by the Catholic University of Peru at the site Huaca Tres Palos in the Valle del Rimac yielded only fragments of a blue-and-white bowl with a central lotus roundel within a crosshatch diaper border probably dating to the Longqing/Wanli reign (partially reconstructed), now housed at the Instituto Riva-Agüero.[734] Archaeological excavations from a context dating to the mid-seventeenth century in front of the Palacio de Justicia (Palace of Justice) yielded a few shards of a *Kraak* porcelain plate with panelled borders of relatively low quality and a cup of the type known as 'crow cup', and a blue-and–white bowl of ordinary trade porcelain. The finds also included a shard that formed part of a *Zhangzhou* dish and another of a bowl, both decorated with overglaze enamels (Figs. 3.3.1.2.1a and b).[735]

726 The original text in Spanish reads: '… dijo que lleuaba el dicho nauio yerro y pieças de bronce, damasquillos y otras cosas de cera y seda, y loça azul y dorada, y clauo y pimienta y canela'. AGI, Patronato 263, no. 1, r. 2. Cited in Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, p. 39, note 56.

727 George Kuwayama, 'Chinese Porcelain in the Viceroyalty of Peru', in Pierce and Otsuka, 2009, p. 165.

728 Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, p. 45; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 55.

729 AGI, Patronato 263, no. 1, r. 2. Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, p. 46.

730 AGI, Patronato 46, r. 31; AGI, Patronato 263, no. 1, r. 2; and AGI, Patronato 263, no. 2, r. 3. Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, Appendix, p. 61.

731 AGI, Patronato 263, no. 1, r. 2. Iwasaki Cauti, 2005, p. 46.

732 Ibid., pp. 46–47.

733 Kuwayama, 2009, p. 169.

734 Published in Ibid., p. 169, fig. 7.

735 I am greatly indebted to Juan Mogrovejo for providing me with images of the porcelain and majolica decorated with *Kraak* style panels made by local potters (both Spanish and *mestizo*) in Lima majolica workshops, which were found together at the site.

Figs. 3.3.1.2.1a and b Shards of a *Zhangzhou* dish and bowl with overglaze enamel decoration excavated in front of the Palacio de Justicia, Lima
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Juan Mogrovejo

Fig. 3.3.1.2.2 Fragment of a *Kraak* dish excavated at an old colonial house, now the Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima

Fig. 3.3.1.2.3 Fragments of a blue-and-white plate excavated at an old colonial house, now the Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima

Opposite page
Fig. 3.3.1.2.4 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white plate excavated at an old colonial house, now the Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima

A number of shards of late Ming blue-and-white porcelain were recently found during excavations of one of the walls of an old colonial house, now the Museo de Sitio Bodega y Cuadra, located in the city's main square.[736] These include several fragments of *Kraak* porcelain, which formed part of plates with continuous naturalistic borders similar to examples recovered from the *San Diego* (1600), dishes with panelled borders (Fig. 3.3.1.2.2), cups of the type known as 'crow cups', and bowls with spotted or white deer surrounded by foliage and wheel motifs, similar to that excavated at the former Dominican convent in Oaxaca (Figs. 3.3.1.1.23 and 3.3.1.1.24). A fragment of a Jingdezhen blue-and-white plate is decorated with dragons at the centre and rim (Fig. 3.3.1.2.3). There are also fragments of a blue-and-white bowl decorated with stylized chrysanthemums, of a bowl with crane medallions interspersed by *ruyi* clouds, and of a bowl with a central roudel enclosing Shou Lao. There is also a blue-and-white fragment, possibly of a bowl, which is decorated with Chinese characters. In addition, the site yielded a fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white plate with phoenix within a border of bracket-lobed panels reserved on a scale pattern ground (Fig. 3.3.1.2.4), similar to a shard excavated at Moneda Street in Mexico City, which relate to finds made at the Wanyaoshan, Dalong and Erlong kiln sites in Wuzhai, Pinghe county (Appendix 2).[737]

There have been also a few accidental finds of porcelain shards in Lima. These include a shard of a finely painted *Kraak* dish with a panelled border excavated at Bolivia Street, a shard of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dish decorated with broad brushstrokes excavated from a context dating to the last quarter of the seventeenth century at Camana Street (Fig. 3.3.1.2.5), which relates to finds made at the Erlong kiln (Appendix 2), and a shard that most probably formed part of the rim of a bowl

736 The excavations that began in 2003, and undertaken again in 2010, yielded shards of ceramics from Peru, Panama and China. I am greatful to Claudia Prado, archaeologist of Chile, for bringing these finds to my attention. I am indebted to Miguel Fhon, Director of the Museo de Sitio Bodega y Quadra, Lima, for providing me with information and images of the porcelain recovered at the site. The porcelain is discussed and some of it illustrated in Miguel Fhon Bazán, 'El comercio con china a través del desentierro de menaje colonial (Casa Bodega y Cuadra, siglos XVI-XVIII)', in Richard Chuhue, Li Jing Na and Antonio Coello (eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú. Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad*, Lima, 2012, pp. 23-38.

737 Published in Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 71, fig. 1, pl. 74, fig. 1 and pl. 85, fig. 1.

decorated with red and yellow overglaze enamels with lotus flowers and pearl strings with tassels, which relates to fragments of bowls recovered from the shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576). These latter Lima finds are now all housed at the Intituto Riva-Agüero.[738] Excavations at a site located two blocks to the east of the main square of colonial Lima, known as the house of Osambela, which formed part of a Dominican monastery from the mid-sixteenth century to 1807, yielded shards of plates and small cups, which were most probably of *Kraak* porcelain.[739] One of the Spanish literary figures of the time, Lope de Vega (1562–1635), in his comedy *Servir a señor discreto* implies the interest in porcelain in Lima when he presents the character of Don Silvestre as a Spanish returning to Madrid from the New World, who is bringing for his wife 'a thousand things of China, that to be sold/ come to Lima', and among them 'some pieces of porcelain, make / silver jealous, if they are plates'.[740]

In northern Peru, a few shards of *Kraak* porcelain were found during recent excavations at the site of the colonial town and church complex Magdalena de Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley, which was occupied from 1578 to about 1780. They appear to have formed part of a plate or dish with a panelled border (Fig. 3.3.1.2.6) and of a small bowl or cup of the type known as 'crow cup' (Fig. 3.3.1.2.7).[741] The church complex of this tiny coastal re-settlement was established and run by the Dominican Mendicant Order.[742] A number of porcelain shards were found in a rubbish heap within part of a former temple compound in Chucuito, a town located northwest of Lake Titicaca in the south Peruvian highland. The finds at this town, also associated with the Dominican Order who began to build churches and monasteries there in 1539, provide further material evidence of both the interest of the clergy in acquiring porcelain and its wide distribution within Peru.[743]

Porcelain from both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou circulated to the northern regions of the viceroyalty. A small number of shards have been excavated in the old city of Panama, now known as Panama La Vieja, founded by the Spaniards in 1519 on the Pacific coast of present-day Panama. This colonial port city played an important role in the Spanish trade route used to export Peruvian silver to Spain, but was abandoned when the English privateer Henry Morgan destroyed it in 1671.[744] The Jingdezhen finds at this archaeological site, declared a World Heritage Site in 2003,[745] include shards of finely potted *Kraak* saucer dishes, plates and bowls, dating to the Wanli reign.[746] These include shards decorated with lotus-petals outlined in blue identical to those recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Santo Alberto* (1593).[747] The ruins of the convent of nuns of the Concepción yielded shards of dishes with continuous or panelled borders, as well as of bowls decorated with deer surrounded by foliage and wheel motifs similar to those recovered from the *San Diego* (1600) and the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and those excavated in Lima, and of bowls with a rim border of flying horses.[748] The latter two finds also relate to the Wanli bowls from Burghley House discussed earlier (Figs. 3.2.2.9 and 3.2.2.5).[749] A rim shard shows a similar panelled border to pieces recovered from both the *San Diego* and the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606) (Fig. 3.1.1.15).[750] Shards have also been excavated from the site of a house built sometime after 1600, which had an infirmary for slaves adjacent to it during the period from 1662 to 1671. The finds that most probably date from an earlier occupation of the house include a shard of a bowl with traces of overglaze enamel and gilded decoration on the exterior and a crosshatch diaper border on the inner rim in underglaze blue, thus of *Kinrande* type, similar to bowls recovered from the *San Felipe* (1576) and to an intact example in the

738 Kuwayama, 2009, pp. 170–171, figs. 11, 10 and 8, respectively. The *Zhangzhou* shard is also published in Canepa, 2010, p. 62, fig. 12. For the *San Felipe* fragments, see Kuwayama, 2009, p. 170, fig. 9; and Von der Porten, 2011, p. 39, Type VI.

739 The finds are discussed but not illustrated in Isabel Flores Espinoza, Ruben Garcia Soto, and Lorenzo Huertas V., *Investigación Arqueológica-Histórica de la Casa Osambela (o de Oquendo)-Lima*, Lima, 1981, p. 43. The authors described the decoration of the pieces as with 'birds, flowers and conventional designs' arranged 'in horizontal bands'. Mentioned in Ross W. Jamieson, *Domestic Architecture and Power. The Historical Archaeology of Colonial Ecuador*, New York, 2000, pp. 194–195.

740 Cited in Javier Portús Pérez, '"Que están vertiendo claveles". Notas sobre el aprecio por la ceramica en el Siglo de Oro', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, serie VII, 6, 1993, p. 272. Also see, Coll Conesa, 2007, p. 128.

741 I am grateful to Jeffrey Quilter, William and Muriel Seabury Howells Director, Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, for providing me with images of the porcelain excavated.

742 For more information on this archaeological site, see Jeffrey Quilter, 'Cultural Encounters at Magdalena de Cao in Early Colonial Period', in Matthew Liebmann and Melissa S. Murphy (eds.), *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Resistance to Spanish Colonialism in the Americas*, Santa Fe, 2011, pp. 103–126. Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 55.

743 The author does not give any information regarding the type or decoration of the porcelain. Harry Tschopik, 'An Andrean Ceramic Tradition in Historical Perspective', *American Antiquity*, vol. 15, 1950, pp. 204 and 509. Mentioned in Kuwayama, 2009, pp. 165–174.

744 Shulsky, 1998–1999, p. 84.

745 For further information on this site, see Juan G. Martín and Beatriz Rovira, 'The Panamá Viejo Archaeoligical Porject: More than a Decade of Research and Management of Heritage Resources', *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 46, 3, 2012, pp. 16–26.

746 Published in Shulsky, 1998–1999, pp. 90–1, fig. 7.

747 Mentioned in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 269.

748 The shards are published in Pomper, 2008, p. 9, fig. 2; and Linda Rosenfeld Pomper, 'Early Chinese Porcelain Found in Panama', in Robert Hunter (ed.), *Ceramics in America*, Hanover and London, 2012, p. 34, fig. 8, p. 36, figs. 10-12, and p. 37, fig. 16. For the *Witte Leeuw* finds, see Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 129, 153 and 187.

749 Published in Pomper, 2008, p. 9, fig. 2.

750 Pomper, 2012, p. 37, fig. 16.

751 Both published in Ibid., p. 32, figs. 3 and 4, respectively.

Fig. 3.3.1.2.5 Fragment of a *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white dish excavated at Camana Street, Lima
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Instituto Riva-Agüero, Mogrovejo Collection, Lima

Fig. 3.3.1.2.6 Shard of a *Kraak* plate of a plate or dish excavated at the colonial town and church complex Magdalena de Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Fig. 3.3.1.2.7 Shard of a *Kraak* bowl or cup excavated at the colonial town and church complex Magdalena de Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Fig. 3.3.1.2.8 Shard of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Santa Fe La Vieja
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Parque Arqueológico Santa Fe la Vieja

Fig. 3.3.1.2.9 Shard of a *Kraak* plate excavated at Santa Fe La Vieja
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Parque Arqueológico Santa Fe la Vieja

Fig. 3.3.1.2.10 Shard probably of a *Kinrande* ewer or bottle excavated at Santa Fe La Vieja
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Parque Arqueológico Santa Fe la Vieja

Princessehof Museum.[751] Two shards decorated with a duck swimming among lotus in a pond with the water depicted with thin parallel lines may have formed part of a dish with an up-turned rim dating to *c.*1550.[752] Several shards of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, all decorated with broad brushstrokes, have been excavated at Panama La Vieja from contexts dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Some of them relate to finds from the *San Diego* (1600).[753] A very unusual find is that of a few shards that formed part of the base of an ewer in the shape of a phoenix decorated with overglaze enamels on the biscuit, now housed at the Florida Museum of Natural History, similar to that given as part of a diplomatic gift by Ferdinand de' Medici of Tuscany (1549–1609) to the Elector Christian I of Saxony in 1595, which is listed in a 1505 inventory of the Dresden collection.[754]

In Ecuador, porcelain has been found at both religious and domestic sites. Excavations at the Santo Domingo monastery in Quito yielded five shards of blue-and-white porcelain probably dating to the early seventeenh century.[755] The presence of porcelain in Quito is further evidenced by the 1596 will of the Indian woman María de Amores, already discussed in Chapter II, which lists among her belongings a large Chinese porcelain jar.[756] Two tiny shards of *Kraak* porcelain were found at an urban domestic site in the city of Cuenca, situated in the southern highlands of Ecuador. Cuenca was formally established as a Spanish town in 1557 by order of the Viceroy of Peru, Don Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza y Cabrera, 2nd Marquis of Cañete (*c.*1500–1561). The porcelain would most probably have reached Cuenca through Guayaquil, a port city founded by the Spaniards in 1538. By the late sixteenth century porcelain and silks transhipped from Manila Galleons arrived at the Guayaquil market for sale.[757]

Shards of late Ming porcelain have been found as far south as Argentina and Chile. In the northeast of Argentina, a few shards of porcelain were excavated at Santa Fe La Vieja, occupied by the Spaniards from 1573 to 1660.[758] These include shards that formed part of a *Kraak* plate with a panelled border (Fig. 3.3.1.2.8), of another with a white cavetto and a continuous naturalistic border similar to those from the *San Diego* (1600) and *Santa Margarita* (1601) (Fig. 3.3.1.2.9), of at least two others with continuous borders with egrets or landscapes, and of a saucer dish with a lotus-petal border outlined in blue identical to those from the *Santo Alberto* (1593) and Panama La Vieja discussed above. Other Jingdezhen blue-and-white shards formed part of the base of bowls with sketchily painted *chi*-dragons similar to those recovered from the *San Pedro* that sank while en route to Spain in 1595 (Fig. 3.1.2.3), and of bell-shaped cups decorated with continuous landscapes in the so-called Transitional style similar to the examples recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625) and the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción* (1641) (Fig. 3.1.2.15), discussed earlier. Two other shards may have formed part of a plate with the phoenix in profile design, like those excavated in Mexico City and Santa Elena discussed above. In addition, the site yielded a few shards decorated with red and green overglaze enamels showing traces of gilded decoration, which most probably formed part of a *Kinrande* porcelain ewer or bottle (Fig. 3.3.1.2.10). Textual sources attest to the interest in porcelain, and also in silk as shown in Chapter II, among the residents of Santa Fe La Vieja in the early years of the seventeenth century. The will of Feliciano Rodríguez taken in April 1606 discussed earlier lists 'a little porcelain from China'.[759] In central Chile, a few shards of blue-and-white porcelain were found during excavations at the Plaza (Square) Mekis of the capital city, Santiago. Although most shards are tiny making it very difficult to

752 Such as the intact example illustrated alongside the shard in Ibid., p. 33, figs. 5 and 6.
753 Published in Shulsky, 1998–1999, pp. 87–88, figs. 2–4.
754 Published in Ibid., p. 89, fig. 5. For an image of the ewer and other pieces of porcelain given as part of this gift, see Eva Ströber, 'Het verhaal van een kreeftenkannetje', *Vormen uit vuur*, 206/207, 3–4, 2009, p. 50, fig. 3.
755 Josef Buys, 'La Cerámica Colonial', paper presented at the *Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology*, Kingston, Jamaica, 1992. Mentioned in Jamieson, 2000, p. 195.
756 Lane, 2002, pp. 97–98.
757 Jamieson, 2000, pp. 31 and 36.
758 See Chapter II, note 287. Archaeological excavations at the site were undertaken by Agustín Zapata Gollan beginning in 1949. Further information is found in the digital catalogue *Catálogo Santa Fe la Vieja (1573–1660). Bienes arqueológicos del Departamento de Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales de la Provincia de Santa Fe*, Santa Fe, 2009. I am greately indebted to Luis María Calvo, Director Department Estudios Etnógraficos y Coloniales, Santa Fe, for providing me with information and images of the shards excavated at the site.
759 The original text in Spanish reads: 'una porcelanita de la China'. ADEEC, EC, vol. 52, fols. 116–130.

identify the object to which they originally formed part, a few of them appear to have formed part of a cup and/or bowl probably dating to the early seventeenth century (Figs. 3.3.1.2.11 and 3.3.1.2.12). Other tiny blue-and-white shards were excavated at the site Plaza de Justicia and Morande 83.[760]

The textual sources and archaeological material discussed above have shown that large quantities of porcelain were imported from Manila into the New World, initially to both Acapulco and Lima, and after the royal trade ban imposed in 1582 (re-issued in 1592, 1593, 1595 and 1604) solely to Acapulco. Most of the porcelain was blue-and-white made at private kilns of Jingdezhen, alongside smaller quantities of porcelain made at private kilns of Zhangzhou. The majority of the Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain was of the *Kraak* type, the quality ranging from high to rather low. A small quantity of porcelain of the *Kinrande* type and porcelain decorated in overglaze enamels, with or without underglaze blue, was also imported. *Blanc de chine* porcelain from the private kilns of Dehua appears to have begun to be imported in the late 1630s.

Unlike in Spain, porcelain had a great significance among the multi-ethnic colonial societies of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. This is evident in both documentary sources and archaeological finds made at a number of Spanish colonial sites. Porcelain was widely distributed, both locally and regionally within each viceroyalty, and made its way into nearly every level of these multi-ethnic societies. Secular and religious sites in the viceregal capitals and other important urban cities/towns yielded larger quantities of porcelain, alongside majolica imported from Europe, than those in rural areas. The porcelains from the urban sites show a much wider range in terms of places of manufacture, types and qualities. Those from rural sites not only show fewer types, but also a tendency to be of lower quality. Porcelain, however, represents only a small percentage of the total assemblage of ceramic material recovered from these urban and rural sites.

Porcelain, as we have seen in the previous Chapter occurred with silk, was integrated into the daily life not only of the Spanish elites sent from the Iberian Peninsula by the Crown and the clergy, but also of the Creole and indigenous residents of both viceroyalties. The reasons behind this colonial porcelain consumption are most probably related to the fact that porcelain was far more accessible in the New World than in Spain, and that it was considerably less expensive than the majolica imported from Europe. Thus residents of lower socio-economic stand were able to acquire porcelain, even if only in small numbers. Porcelain did not only have practical and ornamental functions in the colonial households, but also served as social indicators. The Spanish and other European colonists, as well as the Creoles, who could afford to own porcelains would have used them as tableware when guests were entertained, and perhaps more importantly placed them in visible areas of the household to exhibit their wealth and social status in front of their guests. Moreover, these imported porcelains served to advertise their connections with the Spanish colonies in Asia. The clergy, just as we saw occurred in the Iberian Peninsula (both Spain and Portugal) and in Manila, appear to have valued highly porcelain and thus became regular consumers, most probably for use during religious ceremonies.

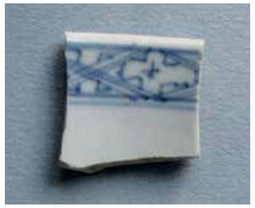


Fig. 3.3.1.2.11 Shard of a blue-and-white cup excavated at Plaza Mekis, Santiago
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), probably early seventeenth century
© Mónica Barrera

Fig. 3.3.1.2.12 Shard of a blue-and-white cup or bowl excavated at Plaza Mekis, Santiago
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), probably early seventeenth century
© Mónica Barrera

760 I am grateful to the archaeologists Mónica Barrera, Verónica Reyes and Claudia Prado, Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales, for providing me with images of the porcelain shards excavated in Santiago, Chile.

Trade to the Dutch colonies [3.3.2]

The Dutch traded in the New World during much of the early seventeenth century in defiance of English Law.[761] According to a report of the New Netherland Board of Accounts of 1644, the Dutch began exploring and trading along the Atlantic coast of what is today North America as early as 1598.[762] In 1609, the English explorer Henry Hudson (1565–1611) in the service of the VOC sailed along the northeast coast of present-day United States in search for a northern trade route to reach Asia. Hudson failed his mission, but a Dutch official document indicates that by 1614 thirteen Dutch merchant explorers had been granted exclusive trade rights for having 'discovered and found with … five ships … during the present year certain New Lands situated … between New France and Virginia, the Sea Coast whereof lie between forty and forty-five degrees of Latitude, and now called New Netherland'.[763]

Colony of New Netherland [3.3.2.1]

In 1624, the colony of New Netherland was established by the States General awarding exclusive trading rights and administrative responsibility to the newly founded *Geoctroyeerde Westinsische Compangnie*, or Dutch West India Company (hereafter referred to as WIC), in what is now New York State, New Jersey, and parts of Delaware and Connecticut. The States General ended the monopoly in 1638 and proclaimed New Netherland open to all, whether Dutch or foreigner, for trade.[764]

Only a few shards of blue-and-white porcelain dating to the late Ming dynasty have been found among the ceramic material excavated from seventeenth century contexts at the remains of a part of the site of Fort Orange, a fortress built by the WIC in 1624 to protect their northernmost and isolated permanent settlement on the west bank of the Hudson River, near the present-day city of Albany.[765] This is not surprising, as the early colonial society that inhabited Fort Orange and its vicinity had a low income in comparison with that of the Dutch Republic, and thus could not afford an expensive foreign trade good like porcelain.[766] By 1652, Fort Orange was still the most important settlement in the area, with the best houses and nearly all the institutions located within the fortress.[767] It is interesting to note that two rim shards that formed part of a globular mustard pot decorated in the so-called Transitional style, one of a small number of porcelain shapes made to order for the Dutch after European models in the 1630s and early 1640s that will be discussed in section 3.4.2.1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3.4.2.1.26), were excavated from the cellar of the house of Hendrick van Doesburgh, a successful gunstock maker who emigrated from Amsterdam with his wife Marietje Damen in 1651 (Fig. 3.3.2.1.1).[768] The finds also include two shards of a *Kraak* porcelain dish with a panelled border and of a tea or wine cup, which were among the household artifacts excavated from cellar no.1 at the Flatts Farm (Fig. 3.3.2.1.2).[769] It is not known whether these few pieces of porcelain were brought as personal possessions by the Dutch colonists to the New World or were acquired there through trade with other European colonies.

Although archaeological finds of porcelain are thus far scant, it seems likely that most of the porcelain imported was blue-and-white from Jingdezhen, including both *Kraak* and the so-called Transitional porcelain. It is surprising that even porcelain made to order for the Dutch after European models found its way to the Dutch colonies in the New World by the mid-seventeenth century. Although no documentary evidence

761 Carlotte Wilcoxen, *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century*, Albany, 1987, p. 13.

762 Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1853–1858, p. 149. Mentioned in Wilcoxen, 1987, p. 13.

763 The ships and their commanders were *Little Fox* (Jan de With), *Tiger* (Adriaen Block), *Fortune* (Henrick Corstianssen), *Nightingale* (Thuys Volckertssen), and *Fortuyn* (Cornelis Jacobssen Mey). Cited in Ibid., p. 14. Also see p. 17, note 5.

764 In the struggle for gaining global power, the town of New Amsterdam was taken over by the English and renamed New York. It was briefly restored to Dutch control in 1673, but was permanently ceded to England the following year. The colony, however, continued to be predominantly Dutch speaking in the early eighteenth century.

765 The Dutch continuously occupied Fort Orange until 1664. The ceramic material recovered from the site includes majolica and Delft manufactured in the Netherlands, as well as tin-glazed earthenware and stoneware from Italy, England, the Iberian Peninsula and Germany. Wilcoxen, 1987, p. 82.

766 Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley (eds.), *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609–1776: Proceedings of the Symposium Organized by Albany Institute of History and Art*, Albany, 1987, pp. 41–42.

767 Paul R. Huey, 'Archaeology of Fort Orange and Beverwijck', in Nancy A. McClue Zeller (ed.), *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers*, Albany, 1984, p. 327; and James W. Bradley, *Before Albany. An Archaeology of Native-Dutch Relations in the Capital Region 1600–1664, New York State Museum Bulletin 509*, Albany, N.Y, 2007, p. 139.

768 Illustrated in Paul R. Huey, *Aspects of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch material Culture at Fort Orange, 1624–1664*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1988, p. 411–412. I am indebted to Paul Huey, retired archaeologist of the New York State Bureau of Historic Sites, for granting me permission to include images of the porcelain shards in this doctoral dissertation.

769 Mentioned in Bradley, 2007, p. 161. For images of the *Kraak* shards, see Ibid., p. 164, fig. 5.27. These images are also found in the website http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/digital-exhibitions/arent-van-curler-and-the-flatts. Accessed May 2014.

has yet come to light, Curtis has convincingly argued that the Dutch may have played an important role in supplying porcelain to the English colonists who settled in Virginia. The fact that private Dutch merchants were active in Virginia participating in the slave trade from about 1620 and in the tobacco trade in the 1620s and 1630s, that the porcelain excavated at the English colonial sites discussed in the following pages is very similar to porcelain recovered from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613), and finally that in a few cases porcelain was found alongside Dutch or Dutch related artifacts, support this theory.[770] Future research on Dutch textual sources and archaeological finds may shed light on the Dutch trade in porcelain to Virginia.

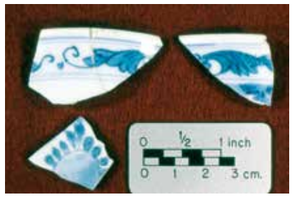
Trade to the English colonies [3.3.3]

Recent research has shown that small quantities of porcelain reached the earliest English settlements in the New World. Evidence is provided by English textual sources as well as porcelain recovered from archaeological excavations at various sites in the colony of Virginia and at the colony of Avalon, and English shipwrecks that sank while en route from England to Virginia in the early seventeenth century.[771]

Colony of Virginia [3.3.3.1]

The earliest documentary reference to porcelain in the colony of Virginia dates to 1622. That year, the secretary for the Virginia Company (hereafter VC), Edward Waterhouse, in a letter sent to James I noted that when Lieutenant Maramaduke Parkinson and other English men visited an Indian chief up the River of Potomac, north of the James River, they saw a '*China Boxe*' in one of the chief's houses. The letter continues saying that the Indian chief informed them 'That it was sent to him from a King that dwelt in the West, over the great Hils, some tenne dayes journey, whose Countrey is neare a great Sea, hee having that Boxe, from a people as he said, that came thither in ships, that weare cloaths, crooked swords, & somewhat like our men, dwelt in houses, and were called *Acanack-China*'.[772] This account suggests that the box was sent to the Indian chief by a king who lived in a land that could be reached in about ten days journey, but it seems more likely that the chief would have acquired the box through trade contacts with the Spanish colonists of La Florida.[773]

Archaeological excavations undertaken at the Jamestown fortified settlement in the Chesapeake Bay since the year 1994, have yielded 574 shards of porcelain along with thousands of shards of tin-glazed earthenware and stoneware from England, the Dutch Republic, France, Germany and Spain.[774] Only 167 porcelain shards can be dated to the early seventeenth century, corresponding to the James Fort period (1607–1624). Most of them are shards of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain, both of fine and rather crude quality. Shards of a tiny finely potted blue-and-white wine cup decorated with a band of flame and scrolls was excavated at Pit 8 from a *c.*1610 context, which relates to those recovered from the VOC shipwrecks, the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and *Banda* (1615) (Figs. 3.2.1.11 and 3.2.1.10).[775] The wine cup along with other imported finds from the cesspit reflects a certain status of its owner.[776] Fragments of more than a dozen of such wine cups have been found on other seventeenth century



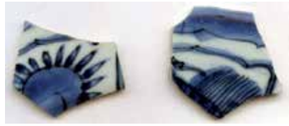


Fig. 3.3.2.1.1 Two shards of a so-called Transitional style mustard pot excavated at the site of Fort Orange, near Albany
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© Paul Huey

Fig. 3.3.2.1.2 Shards of a *Kraak* dish excavated at the site of Fort Orange, near Albany
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Photo by Joe McEvoy

770 Julia B. Curtis, 'Chinese Ceramics and the Dutch Connection in Early Seventeenth Century Virginia', *Vereninging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, Mededelingenblad* 15 (February 1985), pp. 6-13.
771 Beth Gardiner, 'Nova Britannia: 17th Century Chinese Porcelain Found at English Settlements in the New World', Bermuda Museum, forthcoming 2015.
772 Myra Jehlen and Michael Warner (eds.), *The English Literatures of America, 1500–1800*, New York and London, 1997, p. 134. Cited in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
773 By 1600, according to Joseph Hall, the Oconee peoples in the Oconee Valey in what is now north central Georgia were using Spanish goods. Thus this implies trade contacts with the indigenous population in the area. For a discussion on Maramaduke Parkinson's account and its relation with the Spanish residents of La Florida, see Joseph Hall, 'Between Old World and New. Oconee Valey Residents and the Spanish Southeast, 1640–1621', in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, Chapel Hill, 2007, pp. 66–70.
774 Curtis, 1985, pp. 6–13; Beverly Straube, 'European Ceramics in the New World: The Jamestown Example', in Robert Hunter (ed.), *Ceramics in America*, Hanover and London, 2001, p. 47; and Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
775 Published in Kelso and Straube, 2008, p. 29, fig. 61. For the *Witte Leeuw* bowls, see Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 156–157; and Straube, 2001, p. 52, fig. 7. Mentioned in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
776 Straube, 2001, p. 52; and Kelso and Straube, 2008, p. 20.

Fig. 3.3.3.1.1 Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl from the shipwreck *Sea Venture* (1609)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
National Museum of Bermuda (acc. no. 81:304)

777 Only one is published in Martha W. McCartney, *Jordan's Point, Virginia. Archaeology in Perspective, Prehistoric to Modern Times*, Virginia, 2011, pp. 76–77, fig. d. Recent research by Gardiner has shown that five of such wine cups were found at the site. See Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
778 Published in Seth Mallios, *Archaeological Excavations at 44JC568. The Reverend Richard Buck Site*, Richmond, 1999, p. 44, fig. 56.
779 McCartney, 2011, p. 37.
780 For more information on Reverend Buck, see Frank E. Grizzard, Jr. and D. Boyd Smith, *Jamestown Colony: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, Santa Barbara, 2007, pp. 32–33; and Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
781 Mentioned in Julia B. Curtis, 'Perceptions of an artifact: Chinese porcelain in colonial Tidewater Virginia', in Mary C. Beaudry (ed.), *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 26.
782 Straube, 2001, p. 51.
783 Published in Tucker, 2011, pp. 145–146; and Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
784 Dr. Edward C. Harris and Jason Paterniti, 'The Explorers Club Flag 132 Report. The Warwick Project, Bermuda, 11 June–17 July, 2011', *Global Exploration & Oceanographic Society*, 2011, pp. 2-3; and Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
785 David B. Quinn, 'Bermuda in the Age of Exploration and Settlement', in Dr. J. C. Arnell (ed.), *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History*, Vol. 1, 1989, pp. 14–20.
786 Ibid., p. 14.
787 Published in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015. For the British Museum example, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 278–279, no. 11:6.
788 Published in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015. Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 180, no. 3.19.
789 Canepa, 2006, p. 39, fig. 23.
790 Published in Kelso and Straube, 2008, p. 29, fig. 61. For the *Witte Leeuw* bowls, see Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 156–157. Mentioned in Gardiner, forthcoming 2015.
791 Published in Ibid.

archaeological sites along the James River. Five were excavated at Jordan's Point, the remains of Jordan's Journey,[777] and the base of one other was excavated in 1996–1997 from the Narrow Ditch III at the Reverend Richard Buck site.[778] These were two plantations established by the early English colonists. The first was a fortified compound believed to have protected the home of the VC investor Samuel Jordan and his wife Cisley, who settled there in 1621–1622. After becoming a widow in 1623, Cisley married William Farrar, who was placed in command of the settlers at Jordan's Journey six year later, in 1629.[779] Thus the porcelain cup and other imported finds most probably belonged to the Jordan-Farrar household. The latter site, occupied from *c.*1630–1650, has been named after the area's first documented land owner, Reverend Richard Buck, an Anglican who served as minister at Jamestown from 1610 until his death in 1624.[780] Further examples have been found at other Virginia plantations, including Kingsmill, Governor's Land and neighbouring areas.[781] Those found in later contexts, thicker and with the flame band further up from the foot, relate to finds from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643).[782]

The fact that one cup of this type was recovered from the shipwreck *Warwick*, a VC ship which sank during a hurricane at Castle Harbour in Bermuda while en route from Plymouth to Jamestown in 1619,[783] and that fragments of two other examples have been excavated in London and Exeter, demonstrates that at least some of the wine cups discussed above were imported into Virginia via England, where in turn they would have arrived through trade with the Dutch Republic. The *Warwick* was both a naval warship and a merchantman owned by Sir Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick. She was carrying the new Governor of Jamestown, Captain Nathaniel Butler, as well as settlers and supplies to the struggling colony.[784] The *Sea Venture*, another English ship that sank off Bermuda while en route from Plymouth to Virginia ten years earlier, in 1609, was also carrying porcelain.[785] So far, the shipwreck has yielded only a Jingdezhen blue-and-white bowl (now partially reconstructed) with sketchily painted *chi*-dragons (Fig. 3.3.3.1.1), comparable to examples recovered from the Spanish shipwrecks *San Felipe* (1576) and *San Pedro* (1595) (Fig. 3.1.2.3), discussed earlier. Aboard the ship were the new Governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates, the admiral of the expedition, Sir George Somers, and Captain Christopher Newport.[786] Thus it is likely that the aforementioned pieces of porcelain were personal possessions brought by the Governor, by prominent gentlemen of the colony, or by the admirals or captains of the VC ships.

A few other Jingdezhen finds at the James Fort area relate to porcelain recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) site. These include a fragment that formed part of a blue-and-white stem cup with a winged dragon painted in pencilled-style found in a stratum dating to 1610 of Pit 3, which is identical to an extant example in the British Museum.[787] Only one stem cup of this type was recovered from the *Witte Leeuw*.[787] Excavations at Pit 3 also yielded shards of the cruder *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain.[789] There are also shards from a crudely potted bowl sketchily painted in watery cobalt blue with a scroll of stylized lotus and leaves found at Pit 17, comparable to the three *Witte Leeuw* examples discussed earlier.[790] Similar bowls were found at Flowerdew Hundred, Governor's Land and Eppes Island, and a shard of another example was found at Jordan's Point.

Archaeological excavations undertaken in the 1980s at the Boldrup Plantation in what is now the port city of Newport News, near Jamestown, yielded a shard of a finely potted *Kraak* plate decorated with deer in a landscape within a white cavetto.[791]

This shard, as recently noted by Gardiner, relates closely to a plate of *c.*1575–1600 displayed in the ceiling of the Santos Palace in Lisbon.[792] This porcelain may have belonged to William Claiborne, who patented Baldrup plantation on the Warwick River in 1625; to Captain Samuel Stevens who acquired the estate in 1632; or to Richard Stephens and his wife Elizabeth Percy, who married Governor John Harvey (d. 1646) in 1638.[793]

Shards of a *Kraak* saucer dish were also found at Flowerdew Hundred, another plantation founded in 1619 by George Yeardley, Virginia's first Royal Governor, on the south side of the James River.[794] As noted by McCartney, porcelain is listed in an inventory of the belongings of George Thorpe taken after his death in 1622 at a private plantation called Berkeley Hundred on the north side of the James River, which was also founded in 1619. This inventory, taken in April 1634, lists '6 litle pursline dishes' along a considerable quantity of silver, pewter and wooden objects, as well as household furnishings and clothing.[795] Thorpe, an Episcopal priest, was a member of the VC and one of the owners of the plantation.[796]

As mentioned earlier, the English colonists may have acquired some of the porcelain discussed above through trade with ships of private Dutch traders that visited Virginia from as early as 1611, just a year before Virginia began growing tobacco in sizable quantities for commercial export, which came to be the colony's most important source of income. We know that after the establishment of the WIC in 1621 with its monopoly on trade, the Dutch continued to trade in tobacco with the colony of Virginia and supply it with a greater variety of consumer goods than their own English ships, and at a more favorable exchange.[797] When the civil war between Charles I and Parliament broke out in 1642, disrupting shipping between London and Virginia, the Dutch took advantage of the situation not only by establishing permanent trading posts in the colony and associating themselves with Virginia's governing class, but also by becoming major tobacco exporters.[798]

Colony of Avalon [3.3.3.2]

Porcelain has also been found at another early English permanent settlement in present-day Canada. Archaeological excavations at the Ferryland site, on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland, yielded a fragment of the base and two body shards from a small blue-and-white wine cup with flame and scroll bands identical to those found at other English sites in Virginia discussed above (Fig. 3.3.3.2.1).[799] According to Miller, the wine cup probably belonged to the founder of the fishing colony Sir George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore (1579/80–1632), who was shareholder in both the VC and EIC from 1609, and Secretary of State in England under James I until 1625.[800] Calvert first reached Ferryland or the Colony of Avalon, as he called his settlement, in 1627, and the following year he returned to reside there with his family and forty other settlers.[801] Although Calvert and his family only lived briefly in Ferryland, a few other porcelain shards of the Wanli reign found in an early seventeenth century midden have been associated with the family household. These include a base fragment of another blue-and-white cup with a shallow, wide foot ring[802] and four shards of a small blue-and-white bowl decorated with *ruyi*-heads (Fig. 3.3.3.2.2).[803]

In addition, shards of a small blue-and-white wine cup sketchily painted with stylized peach sprays were excavated from a context dating to the second half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.3.3.2.3).[804] Its form and decoration, however, relate closely to about 20 wine cups recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613).[805] There is also a tiny

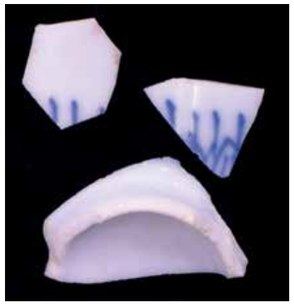


Fig. 3.3.3.2.1 Fragment of a blue-and-white wine cup excavated at the Ferryland site, Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Aaron Miller

792 For an image of this plate, see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 79, pl. 54.
793 The information on the inhabitants of Boldrup Plantation is taken from Calder Loth (ed.), *The Virginia Landmarks Register*, fourth edition, Virginia, 1999, p. 337.
794 Mentioned in Curtis, 1998, p. 24. For more information on this colonial plantation, see James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation*, 1619–1864, Charlottesville and London, 1993.
795 McCartney, 2011, pp. 77–78. For a transcription of the original inventory, see Eric Gethyn-Jones, *George Thorpe and the Berkeley Company: A Gloucestershire Enterprise in Virginia*, Gloucester, 1982, pp. 208–210.
796 Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*, London, 2003, p. 146.
797 Wilcoxen, 1987, pp. 19–20. As Pagan has noted, the Dutch retained a commercial foothold in Virginia during the 1620s and 1630s despite opposition from the English government and merchants from London. For more information, see John R. Pagan, 'Dutch Maritime and Commercial Activity in Mid-Seventeenth Century Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (1982), pp. 485–501.
798 The Dutch had ample opportunity to import porcelain into Virginia in the early 1640s, as in March 1643 the assembly proclaimed that 'It shall be free and lawfull for any merchant, factors or others of the Dutch nation to import wares and merchandizes and to trade or traffique for the commoditys of the colony in any ship or shipps of their owne or belonging to the Netherlands'. Cited in Pagan, 1982, pp. 491–492. Also see pp. 486–487.
799 The shards were excavated in Area F, Event 334, in a refuse disposal located at the base of the 1622 defensive ditch to the east of the primary settlement. Aaron Miller, *The far East in the northeast: an analysis of the Chinese export porcelain excavated at Ferryland, Newfoundland*, unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005, p. 10; p. 90, fig. 9.2; pp. 108–109; and Appendix 3, p. 170, fig. 3.23. I am greatly indebted to Aaron Miller for providing me with information and images of the porcelain excavated at the site.
800 Miller, 2005, pp. 110–111; and Stephen Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*, Hanover and London, 2005, p. 89.

Fig. 3.3.3.2.2 Shards of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at the Ferryland site, Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Aaron Miller

Fig. 3.3.3.2.3 Fragment of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at the Ferryland site, Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
© Aaron Miller

801 Calvert purchased a portion of the grant of land of the Avalon Peninsula from Sir William Vaughan, who had founded and settled two English colonies near the present location of Ferryland in 1617. Calvert sought to benefit from the rich fishing off the coast of Newfoundland and the inter-Atlantic trade between Europe, the New World and the West Indies. In 1621, he dispatched Captain Edward Wynne and eleven other men to begin construction of the settlement. A large 'Mansion House' was built a year later, which came to be the home of the Calvert family. Miller, 2005, pp. 11–12.
802 Excavated in Area F, Event 367. Ibid., p. 112, fig. 10.5; and Appendix 3, p. 172, fig. 3.28.
803 Excavated in Area F, Events 363, 432, and 481. Ibid., p. 113, fig. 10.6; and Appendix 3, p. 198.
804 Excavated in Area G, Event 545. Ibid., pp. 114–115, fig. 10.8; and Appendix 3, p. 171, fig. 3.25.
805 Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 161–162, no. 3.10.1.
806 Excavated in Area F, Event 464. Miller, 2005, Appendix 3, p. 213, fig. 3.86. After the harsh winter of 1628–1629, Calvert wrote a letter to King Charles I informing his intentions to leave Ferryland and establish himself in Virginia. The Calvert family continued to own the Avalon Colony until 1637, when Charles I granted the Island of Newfoundland to Sir David Kirke. The following year, Kirke dispossessed Calvert's governor and established Ferryland as the principal settlement of Newfoundland. A dispute for its ownership between the Calvert and Kirke families lasted until the third quarter of the seventeenth century. James A. Tuck, 'Archaeology at Ferryland, Newfoundland', *Newfoundland Studies 9*, 2 (1993), pp. 294–295. Until now, the Kirke house is the only dwelling that has had ownership attributed. Miller, 2005, p. 113.
807 Ibid., p. 136.

blue-and-white shard, possibly from a *Kraak* plate, excavated from the remains of the house of the subsequent proprietor of the settlement, Sir David Kirke (d. 1654), who renamed it the Pool Plantation.[806] It is likely that the small quantity of early seventeenth century porcelain found at Ferryland was brought over from England when the wealthy Calvert and Kirke colonists arrived to this small and isolated fishing colony, perhaps as symbols of their elite social status in the motherland.[807]

To sum up, the information from English written sources as well as porcelain recovered from English shipwrecks that sank while en route from England to Virginia, and from various sites at the colonies of Virginia and of Avalon, indicate that only small quantities of porcelain reached the earliest English settlements in the New World in the early seventeenth century. Most of the porcelain, as it also occurred in the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the New World, was blue-and-white from Jingdezhen ranging from fine to rather low quality. The porcelain excavated not only shows close similarities to finds made in England, but also to finds from two Dutch shipwrecks which sank in the early 1610s, the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and the *Banda* (1615). There is some porcelain that relates to finds from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643). It seems clear that some of the porcelain was imported into the English colonies via England, most probably brought among the personal belongings of the early colonists, but other may have come from trade with private Dutch merchants that traded mainly in slaves and tobacco in Virginia. The porcelain that was brought to the colonies from England would in turn have been acquired via the Dutch Republic or as booty taken from Spanish ships and shipwrecks. The porcelain finds are associated with households of well-to-do English colonists, and thus would probably have served as symbols of their elite social status.

European influence on Chinese Porcelain [3.4]

A small number of surviving porcelain pieces decorated with European motifs or made after European shapes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are among the most interesting porcelain to have been produced in China during the late Ming dynasty. In this section of Chapter III, the porcelain made to order for the European market has been placed at the centre of this documentary and material study. The selected pieces of porcelain discussed in the following pages not only reflect complex processes of cultural interaction that occurred between the European and Chinese junk merchants in Asia that are essential for understanding the unprecedented commercial expansion of the early sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, but it also highlights the importance of long-distance mercantile and social networks in Asia, Europe and the New World, and reflects the profound political, economic and social changes that took place in both Europe and China at the time. Our understanding of the European demand of porcelain with European motifs, and later also with European shapes, has grown in the past decades, but is still limited. This section attempts to show to what extent the orders of the Europeans, always placed through Chinese middlemen, influenced the porcelain produced at the private kilns in Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou over the time period of this study.

Fig. 3.4.1.1.1 Large blue-and-white saucer dish bearing the 'IHS' monogram
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Diameter: 52.7cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. 1979,1217.1)

Porcelain made to order for the Iberian market [3.4.1]

European motifs [3.4.1.1]

The earliest known porcelain to reflect European influence was made for the Portuguese market during the reign of emperor Zhengde. Despite commercial relations between Portugal and China being prohibited during the subsequent reign of Jiajing, from 1522 to 1554, the continuous and regular trade activities of the Portuguese in coastal provinces of southeast China left an impression on the porcelain produced at Jingdezhen. Written documents with references to specific orders of porcelain at this time are scant.[808] There are however, a group of about 50 blue-and-white ewers, bottles, dishes and bowls recorded in public and private collections around the world, which provide material evidence of special orders still being fulfilled during this period of clandestine trade, or soon after the establishment of Macao as a Portuguese enclave in 1557. The porcelain combines traditional Chinese motifs with Buddhist, Daoist or Confucian connotations, with European motifs related to the Portuguese Crown, nobility and Christian church, such as the Portuguese royal coat-of-arms (always inverted), the armillary sphere (Fig. 2.3.1.8), the *IHS* monogram encircled by an olive or laurel (or bay) wreath (Fig. 3.4.1.1.1),[809] and Portuguese or Latin inscriptions. These pieces, generally referred to as 'first orders', were made at private kilns in Jingdezhen during the reigns of Zhengde and early Jiajing (Appendix 2).[810] Recent archaeological excavations in both China and Portugal have yielded important material evidence of yet another Portuguese order made during the Zhengde reign. Shards of three blue-and-white dishes marked on their base with a cross motif (Fig.

808 References to porcelain orders in inventories of the Portuguese monarchy are discussed in section 3.1.1 of this Chapter.

809 Although these pieces have been usually linked to the Jesuits, they pre-date the foundation of the Society of Jesus. The *IHS* monogram, used from the third century onwards, stands for the first three letters of the name of Jesus Christ in Greek: *iota*, *eta* and *sigma*. This symbolic monogram continued to be used during the Middle Ages. It became popular after the twelfth century when the Franciscan friar Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) insisted on the devotion of the Holy Name of Jesus. The Society of Jesus, after having been recognized officially by Pope Paul III in 1541, adopted the *IHS* monogram, which by then was usually depicted surrounded by rays of light. Until recently the motif encircling the *IHS* monogram had been misinterpreted as a crown of thorns. For this new interpretation, see Sargent, 2012, pp. 49–50. Two shards of a dish, one depicting part of the *IHS* monogram and the other part of the Portuguese Royal coat-of-arms, excavated from a layer dating to 1580–1598 at the former residence of a *daimyō* near Osaka Castle in Osaka, demonstrate that such porcelains also circulated to countries where the Portuguese traded regularly. Published in The Excavation Report of the Naniwa Palace Site, series *The Historical Investigation of the Forbidden City of Naniwa*, vol. IX, Osaka, 1992, inv. 1841 and 1842; and Christiaan J.A. Jörg, 'The Portuguese and the trade in Chinese porcelain. From the beginning until the end of the Ming dynasty', in A. Varela Santos (ed.), *Portugal na Porcelana da China. 500 Anos de Comércio / Portugal in Porcelain from*

3.4.1.1.2), copying the cross of the Portuguese Order of Christ depicted on gold coins and the sails of ships during this period, were excavated from Huawanping site at Shangchuan Island in Guangdong province, where the Portuguese regularly conducted clandestine trade before 1557.[811] A ten-cruzado gold coin with the cross of the Order of Christ dating to the reign of John III recovered from a Portuguese shipwreck that sank near *Oranjemund* in Namibia during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, proves that such coins were taken by the Portuguese to India and thus could have found their way to Portuguese settlements in Asia to serve as models for the porcelain dishes (Fig. 3.4.1.1.3).[812] Another shard with the Order of Christ cross was excavated at Penny's Bay, a site discovered in Lantau Island, Hong Kong, where merchants from China and Southeast Asia traded clandestinely since the early Ming dynasty.[813] A shard of a dish with similar decoration and cross motif excavated at Alfama, one of Lisbon's oldest districts, proves that this type of dish was shipped to Portugal.[814] While these dishes were clearly intended for Portuguese consumers residing in their homeland or overseas, some pieces bearing this cross motif were exported, together with ordinary trade porcelain, to the Middle East. This is evidenced by a fragment of the base of a bottle, bearing a similar cross motif, from the Ardebil Shrine in Iran.[815] Other porcelain orders of this period may still yet come to light.

A more recent excavation at the Huawanping site yielded a shard that formed part of a blue-and-white pear-shaped bottle bearing the Portuguese inscription '*ISTO MANDOU FAZER JORGE ALVRZ N/A ERA DE 1552 REINA*' (JORGE ALVAREZ HAD THIS MADE AT THE TIME OF 1552) (Fig. 3.4.1.1.4).[816] Nine extant bottles bearing this inscription with the name of an individual person, all dating to the Jiajing reign, have been recorded so far.[817] One of them is housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 3.4.1.1.5). Jorge Álvarez, a naval captain and merchant, was the first Portuguese to reach China, and a friend of the famous Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier, who died on Shangchuan Island that same year. Scholars have suggested that the inscription (written upside down with several errors and arranged in two lines) is incomplete and it may have ended with the text 'REINANDO EM PORTUGAL EL REI D. JOÃO III' (REIGNING IN PORTUGAL THE KING JOHN III).[818] The shape and main decoration of the bottles are wholly Chinese, the latter varying from one example to the next and depicting Chinese nature and aquatic scenes.

The earliest surviving porcelain bearing the coat-of-arms of a Portuguese individual is dated by inscription to the Jiajing reign. It is a blue-and-white bowl that has two small horizontal handles with lobed edges in the Museum Duca di Martina in Naples, which bears a coat-of-arms of the Portuguese family Abreu in combination with the Portuguese inscription 'EM TEMPO DE PERO DE FARIA DE 1541' (AT THE TIME OF PERO DE FARIA IN 1541) (Fig. 3.4.1.2.1), which will be discussed in the following pages. The arms have been attributed to Jõao Fernandes de Abreu, tutor of King John III and friend of Pero de Faria, who was in Malacca at the time the latter was serving his second term as captain, from 1537 to 1543.[819] Another bowl of this shape, and one other with everted rim, bear the same inscription but lack the arms.[820] All three bowls are decorated on the exterior with purely Chinese motifs, but an example in the Topkapi Saray bears also the armillary sphere and the Portuguese royal coat-of-arms (inverted), which is repeated on the centre interior. It is still unclear who ordered these bowls or for whom they were made. Scholars believe that the inscription states that the bowls were ordered during the second term Pero de Faria was captain, but probably not by him personally.[821]

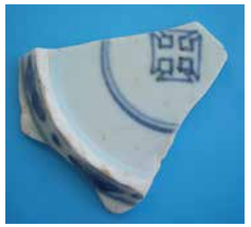


Fig. 3.4.1.1.2 Shard of a blue-and-white dish excavated from Huawanping site at Shangchuan Island, Guangdong province
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Zhengde reign (1506–1521)
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

Fig. 3.4.1.1.3 Ten-cruzado gold coin minted during the reign of King John III from the shipwreck *Oranjemund* (second quarter of the sixteenth century)
© Namibia Namdeb/De Beers, via Bloomberg News

China. 500 Years of Trade, Lisbon, 2007. Reprinted in a private edition, Haren, 2008, p. 30, fig. 2.

810 The majority of the extant pieces are large dishes and bowls, but there are also a few ewers and bottles. For the most recent and comprehensive study on this subject and eight examples from a private collection, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 129–133 and pp. 140–161, nos. 56–63, respectively.

811 For a discussion and images of these shards, see Huang and Huang, 2007, p. 85, figs. 28 and 30–31; and p. 86, figs. 32–33; and Huang and Huang, 2009, pp. 76–8, figs. 14-18.

812 Portuguese 10-cruzado gold coins with the cross of the Order of Christ were minted between the reigns of King Manuel I and King John III. The coin was first discussed and illustrated in Francisco J.S. Alves, 'The 16th century Portuguese shipwreck of Oranjemund, Namibia. Report on the missions carried out by the Portuguese team in 2008 and 2009', *Trabalhos da DANS*, 45, Lisbon, April 2011, pp. 9–10. I am indebted to Francisco Alves for granting me permission to illustrate an image of the coin in this doctoral dissertation.

813 Published in Peter Y. K. Lam, 'Late 15th to Early 16th Century Blue and White Porcelain from Penny's Bay, Hong Kong', *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, Vol. 12, 1986–1988, p. 154, fig. 18. This archaeological find was recently discussed by Liu, 2010.

814 Sketch-drawings of the front and back of the shard are illustrated in Rodrigo Banha da Silva, Pedro Miranda, Vasco Noronha Vieira, António Moreira

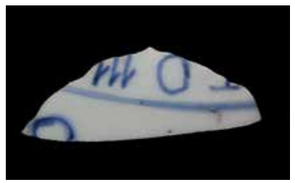


Fig. 3.4.1.1.4 Shard of a blue-and-white bottle excavated from Huawanping site at Shangchuan Island, Guangdong province
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

Fig. 3.4.1.1.5 Blue-and-white bottle bearing a Portuguese inscription and date 1552 with metal mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Height: 24.8cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 237-1892)

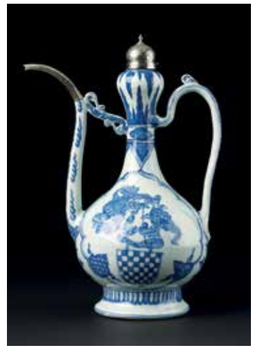


Fig. 3.4.1.1.6 Blue-and-white armorial ewer with Iranian silver mounts
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing mark and of the period (1522–1566)
Height: 33.5cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. C.222-1931)

Vicente, Gonçalo Lopes and Cristina Nozes, 'Largo do Chafariz de Dentro-Alfama em Época Moderna', Paper presented at *Congresso Internacional de Arqueologia Moderna*, Lisbon, 2011, pl. 2, no. 1.

815 A sketch-drawing of the cross motif is illustrated in Pope, 1981, p. 162; where the author mentions that the bottle is similar to an intact bottle decorated with lotus scrolls, no. 29.451, shown on plate 74.

816 The shard is discussed and illustrated in Huang and Huang, 2009, p. 59 and p. 79, fig. 22, respectively.

817 The bottles are found in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (illustrated here), Museu do Caramulo (Fundação Abel e João de Lacerda) in Caramulo, Fundação Carmona e Costa in Lisbon, Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet in Paris, Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Bastan Museum in Teheran (formerly in the Ardebil Shrine), and three private collections. The examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Caramulo Museum have both their necks broken and fitted with metal mounts; and a bottle in a private collection has its neck remade in white porcelain. Published in Kerr, 2001, p. 36, fig. 2; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978, pp. 142–143, figs. 134 and 134a; Pinto de Matos 1993, p. 42; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1998, p. 66; Pope, 1956, pp. 57–58, pl. 6, fig. L; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 160–161, no. 63.

818 Luis Keil, 'Porcelanas chinesas do século XVI com inscriçoes em português', *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-artes*, 1942, p. 15; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 160.

819 For this opinion and a discussion on this bowl, see Lucia Catherina, 'Chinese "Blue-and-White" in the "Duca di Martina" Museum in Naples', *East and West*, Instituto Italiano per l'Africa e L'Oriente, Vol. 26, No. 1/2 (March–June 1976), pp. 213–214.

820 They are found in the Museu Regional (Museu Rainha Dona Leonor) in Beja and the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul. All three bowls bear an apocryphal Xuande mark (1426–1435). For a detailed discussion on these pieces and images of the Rainha Dona Leonor example, see Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, 'Liampó nas Relações Sino-Portuguesas entre 1524 e 1541 e a Escudela de Pêro de Faria', *Revista de Cultura*, Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau,

Of this reign are also known two blue-and-white ewers of a Middle Eastern metal shape, which bear a coat-of-arms attributed to the nobleman, navigator and merchant Antonio Peixoto, who after being rejected entry to Canton in 1542 traded off the south China coast and Japan (Fig. 3.4.1.1.6).[822] The arms, depicted within a shield, fill each side of their pear-shaped bodies, and are shown in combination with Chinese supporting borders and motifs. These ewers, like two of the ewers of related form decorated with the 'fountain motif' discussed below, were made for export and yet they all bear an imperial Jiajing reign mark. Thus they are the result of a combination of direct Chinese, Middle Eastern and European influences. In addition, the contemporary Persian (Iranian) silver mounts of the ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrated here, led us to believe that it was exported to the Middle East and later mounted there. This would suggest that porcelain made as special order for Portuguese customers circulated to the Middle East more commonly than previously thought.[823]

About the same time, the Jingdezhen potters made blue-and-white porcelain decorated with striking motifs taken from the artistic repertoire of Renaissance Europe. Fabulous grotesque masks, for instance, decorate the exterior of two extant bowls, which bear imperial Jiajing reign marks (Figs. 3.4.1.1.7a, b, c, d and e).[824] The desire to commission porcelain with grotesque imagery underlines the European taste for this novel and extravagant style, which by the early sixteenth century was widely disseminated throughout Europe, usually by way of copying or adapting drawings and prints.[825] There is no firm evidence as to who commissioned these bowls. We have, however, graphic evidence of the use of similar grotesque ornamental designs both in secular and religious contexts in the Southern Netherlands (then ruled by Spain) and Portugal at the time. The three grotesque masks (each repeated once) depicted on each bowl, for example, are closely comparable to those seen on sets of prints published in Antwerp in the 1550s (Fig. 3.4.1.1.8a, b and c).[826] The grotesque border chosen to decorate the rim, on the other hand, resembles stone reliefs of the Jerónimos

Figs. 3.4.1.1.7a, b, c, d and e
Blue-and-white bowl
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing mark and of the period
(1522–1566)
Diameter: 28.4cm
S. & F. Aichele, Stuttgart

Figs. 3.4.1.1.8a, b and c Prints of designs for masks, from a set of 18, entitled *Pourtraicture ingenieuse de pleusieurs façon de Masques. Tailleurs de pierres, voirriers et Tailleurs d'images*
Engraved by Frans Huys (1517–1562)
Published by Hans Liefrinck (1517–1573)
in Antwerp, 1555
Dimensions: a 15.5cm x 13.8cm;
b 15.6cm x 14.6cm; c 15.8cm x 14.6cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum nos. 14475:6; 14475:7; and 14475:8)

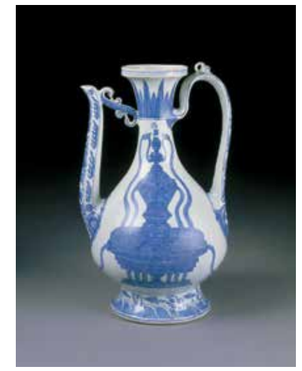
Opposite page
Fig. 3.4.1.1.9 Struck silver medal with a shield of the coat of arms of Saluzzo impaling Foix and Béarn quarterly (reverse)
Bust of Marguerite de Foix, Marchioness of Saluzzo (obverse)
Italy, dated 1516
Diameter: 4.5cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. BNK,ItM.37)

Opposite page
Fig. 3.4.1.1.10 Blue-and-white vase
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Height: 30.2cm
British Museum, London (museum no. PDF.689)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.11 Blue-and-white ewer
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566)
Height: 30cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. C.105-1928)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.12 *The Hunt of the Unicorn*
Wool wrap with wool, silk, silver, and gilt wefts
Southern Netherlands
Late-fifteenth/early sixteenth century
Dimensions: 368.3cm x 378.5cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 37.80.2)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.13 *Still Life with Ewer and Basin, Fruit, Nautilus Cup and Other Objects*
Oil on canvas, 111cm x 84cm
Wilhelm Kalf (1619–1693), *c.*1660
Museum Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
(inv. no. 204 1981.77)



No. 24, 2007, pp. 6–19. The shape of the bowls in the Museum Duca di Martina and the Museu Regional will be discussed in section 3.4.1.2 of this Chapter.

821 For a discussion on various hypothesis regarding the decoration of these bowls, see Catherina, 1976, pp. 213–214; and Jin and Wu 2007, pp. 14–15.

822 Antonio Peixoto, together with his business partners Antonio da Mota and Francisco Zeimoto, sailed in a junk laden with hides and other goods. These ewers are found in the Fundação Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon and the Victoria and Albert Museum (illustrated here). Published in Pinto de Matos, 1999, pp. 152–53, no. 10; Clunas, 1987, fig. 12; Kerr, 2004, p. 225, no. 173; and Liefkes and Young, 2008, pp. 68–69. The Victoria and Albert example was included in the exhibition *Passion for Porcelain: Ceramic Masterpieces from the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum*, held at the National Museum of China, Beijing from June 2012 to January 2013.

823 Also consider the 'magic fountain' ewers in the Topkapi Saray and the Ardebil Shrine, and the bottle with the cross motif also from Ardebil, discussed earlier in this Chapter.

824 One of the bowls is found in the Topkapi Saray, the other is in the possession of the dealer S. & F. Aichele, Stuttgart. I am greately indebted to Frieder Aichele for providing me with images of the bowl to include in this doctoral dissertation. For images and discussion on these bowls, see Krahl and

monastery in Lisbon, built between 1502 and 1580.[827] The branching tree motif enclosed by a wreath of scrolls on the centre interior of each bowl may also derive from a European source. Shulsky has noted that a similar motif is found on the reverse of an Italian struck silver medal dating to 1516 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.9), and that a medal or coin of this type could have been taken by the Italian merchants that went to Asia in the early sixteenth century, some of them in the service of the Portuguese.[828] However, two dishes in the Topkapi Saray and another in the Victoria and Albert Museum, all bearing Jiajing reign marks, are decorated with a similar central motif.[829]

In addition there are also a small number of blue-and-white ewers of Middle Eastern metal form and bottle vases decorated with a complex motif that resembles a Renaissance bronze fountain, known as the 'magic fountain' (Fig. 3.4.1.1.10).[830] The fountain has monster-head spouts from which water pours, and its base is usually resting on a recumbent elephant on one side and a dappled horse on the other, which are sometimes replaced by a *qilin*. An ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows only the fountain, omitting the animals (Fig. 3.4.1.1.11).[831] The source of this fountain motif is still unknown.[832] It is likely, as suggested by Pomper, that it was based on a drawing or print depicting a European fountain, such as that depicted with a unicorn and other animals resting at its base in a South Netherlandish tapestry made in *c.*1495–1505 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.12).[833] Pinto de Matos has noted that the arrangement of the motif, isolated on opposite sides of either an ewer or bottle, is similar to that seen on Jiajing porcelain ewers made to order for the Portuguese market, such as the example with the coat of arms attributed to Antonio Peixoto discussed above (Fig. 3.4.1.1.6).[834] The motif has been associated with Christian iconography, and it has been suggested that the pieces with this motif were made to order for the Jesuits in China.[835] However, the depiction of a *qilin*, one of the four mythical animals of the Four Divine Creatures (*siling*), is purely Chinese. The fact that the *qilin* is most auspicious (perfect goodwill, benevolence, gentleness and integrity)[836] and that some of the porcelain pieces bear auspicious marks, such as the ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrated here marked with *wanfu youtong* (may all happiness gather here), suggests that the Jingdezhen porcelain painters regarded such pieces as auspicious.[837] Visual sources attest to the presence of this type of 'magic fountain' ewer in Europe in the seventeenth century. One example, together with a large porcelain dish similar to the example with English silver-gilt mounts of *c.*1585 discussed earlier (Fig. 3.2.2.6a and b), both embellished with gilt metal mounts, appear depicted in a still life painting by the Dutch artist Wilhelm Kalf (1619–1693) of *c.*1660 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.13). An ewer with similar decoration is in a private collection in Peru, but it is not public information how it was acquired. This example may indicate that such pieces were imported into the New World sometime after the trans-Pacific trade route from Manila was established in 1573.[838] Nine ewers and one other decorated in overglaze enamels in the Topkapi Saray, together with a blue-and-white example formerly in the Ardebil Shrine, show that porcelain with this motif was also exported to the Middle East.[839] The fact that two of the ewers bear Jiajing reign marks and are of the period further demonstrates that porcelain with an imperial reign mark was not only made for the court, but in some occasions, also for export.[840] One cannot fail to wonder if the Jingdezhen painters found this European motif exotic and thus chose it to decorate porcelain made for the court of emperor Jiajing.

The Zhengde and Jiajing porcelains discussed thus far would have been ordered via the Chinese junk traders that frequented Malacca or Shangchuan and acted as

Fig. 3.4.1.1.14 Blue-and-white armorial saucer dish
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 26.3cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(inv. no. 5489 Cer)

middleman for the Portuguese, and after 1557 from those that came to trade in Macao. The illegible inscriptions or dates, as well as the multiple errors in the execution of the European motifs, reflect the indirect nature of such orders. Portuguese merchants most probably supplied the junk traders with motifs and inscriptions they desired in printed form to be copied onto the porcelain. We do not know whether the Portuguese specified a preference of colour and/or decoration, or which European motifs or inscriptions were to be used (alone or in combination with others) in a particular piece. The Jingdezhen painters, who were unfamiliar with such motifs and did not understand the meaning of the Latin or Portuguese inscriptions, incorporated them on pieces of relatively coarse workmanship, which relate closely in form and overall decorative style to those made for the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The use of inscriptions in foreign languages in porcelain decoration was not a novelty, as blue-and-white porcelain with Arabic and Persian inscriptions written within roundels or square cartouches was made at the official kilns for use by Muslim eunuch officials at court, and probably for use by the Zhengde emperor himself, and is now believed to have been also given as diplomatic gifts.[841] Portuguese merchants trading in Asia must have been familiar with this latter type of porcelain, and thus realised that porcelain could be custom ordered with motifs related to their own culture. Such orders would have taken the trade in porcelain to a higher profitability, even with the risk and cost of shipping it thousands of kilometres to Europe. They knew that their customers, both at home and in the colonies, would want to obtain porcelain with a blend of distinctive Chinese and European motifs that would be perceived as much rarer and had far superior intrinsic qualities than the fragile majolica with coat of arms, devices and mottoes made in Renaissance Italy as early as the fifteenth century for the nobility and clergy across Europe, which was used for display and gift-giving practices.[842] The small number of extant pieces and shards of others found in archaeological excavations,

Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 638, cat. 950; Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, 'The "Fountain" Ewers: An Explanation for the Motif', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, vol. 67, 1995, p. 52, note 8, figs. 14–18; and Krahl, 2009, p. 330, no. 153.

825 The grotesque style, consisting on the juxtaposition of real objects and imaginary creatures, was inspired by the painted and relief interior decoration of Emperor Nero's Golden House, which had been discovered in the late fifteenth century below ground level in Rome. See, Elizabeth Miller, 'The grotesque', in Glyn Davies and Kirstin Kennedy (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Art. People and Possessions*, London, 2009, p. 184. The invention of engraving and printing earlier in the century enabled ornamental motifs to circulate on sheets of paper throughout Europe.

826 These prints were engraved by Frans Huys (1517–1562), and based on designs by the Flemish sculptor Cornelis Floris (1514–1575), who after spending sometime in Rome invented a Flemish version of the grotesque style in about 1541. The set was published in Antwerp in 1555 by Hans Liefrinck (1518?–1573), who was an important operator in the Antwerp print trade. For the complete set of prints, see Antoinette Huysmans (et al.), *Cornelis Floris. 1514–1575: beeldhouwer, architect, ontwerper*, Brussels, 1996, pp. 150–152, nos. 150–167.

827 Mentioned in Krahl, 2009, p. 330.

828 Published in Shulsky, 1995, p. 52, note 8 and p. 78, fig. 18.

829 See, Krahl and Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 632, cat. 927; and Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 513–1893. Mentioned in Krahl, 2009, p. 330.

830 This bottle vase from the Percival David Collection, bearing a hare mark, is now housed in the British Museum. Published in Rosemary Scott and Rose Kerr, *Ceramic Evolution in the Middle Ming Period*, Singapore, 1994, p. 29 no. 48; and Pierson, 2001, p. 74, no. 74. A closely related example from a private collection with the same hare mark is published in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 162–163, no. 64. Another bottle vase but depicting a *qilin* instead of the elephant with a metal mount on its neck (porbably reduced) was sold at auction in Bonhams, Bond Street, 13 May 2010, lot 213.

831 Published in Scott and Kerr, 1994, p. 29, no. 49. Other examples can be found in the Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet in Paris, Hamburg Museum, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Zekiye-Halit Cingillioglu Collection in Istanbul, Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo and Matsuda Museum in Japan.

832 A number of variations of the 'magic fountain' motif are known to exist. Scholars have long discussed the origin of this motif and put forward various interpretations and possible sources. See, Percival David, 'The Magic Fountain in Chinese Ceramic Art; an Exercise in Illustrational Representation', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 24, Stockholm, 1952; Pope, 1956, pp. 134–136, no. 282; Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II, pp. 654 and 655; and Shulsky, 1995, pp. 49–78. For a recent discussion on this motif, together with a bottle and an ewer in a private collection, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 162–165, nos. 64–65.

833 Shulsky, 1995, pp. 53, 57, and 74, fig. 13.

834 Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 164.

835 Pope, 1952, pp. 135–136; Shulsky, 1995, pp. 55–57; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 164.

836 Ströber, 2011, pp. 48 and 66.

837 Another ewer in a private collection in the United States bears the mark 'may infinite happiness embrace all your affairs'. Published in Shulsky, 1995, p. 61, fig. 1.

838 Published in Kuwayama, 2009, p. 166, fig. 1.

839 Published in Krahl, 1986, Vol. II, pp. 654–655, nos. 1013–1016 and 1632 (with polychrome details); and Pope, 1956, pl. 99, no. 29.423, respectively.

840 One other ewer bearing a Jiajing reign mark is in the Lee Kong Chian Art Museum, National University of Singapore.

841 This group of fine quality, heavily potted porcelain was mainly made in the form of items for the scholar-official's desk, bearing six-character Zhengde reign marks. According to a merchant of eastern Turkey, named Ali Akhbar, who travelled to China in 1505, the majority of court officials were Muslim eunuchs. He also asserted that the young emperor Zhengde had converted to Islam, a fact that has not been confirmed by any Ming official records. This group of Zhengde porcelains reflects the influence of the Muslim eunuchs at court in Beijing. For a few examples, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 192–199, nos. 8:3–8:11. Emperor Zhengde, who appears to have been fascinated by foreign scripts, is said to have given two porcelain bowls with Arabic inscriptions to the ambassador to the court of Selim I when he visited China as an official gift to the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Mentioned in Ayse Erdočdu, 'Chinese Porcelains', *Arts of Asia*, no. 6 (Nov–Dec), 2001, p. 84. By the Jiajing reign, porcelain with Arabian or Persian inscriptions was occasionally being sold as trade goods. As mentioned earlier, at least one such a dish was part of the cargo of the Portuguese shipwreck, the *São João* (1552). Esterhuizen, 2007, p. 3.

842 An early sixteenth century bowl on high foot from Montelupo painted at the centre with the arms of Pope Leo X surrounded by four roundels with devices and mottoes, and on the exterior with six shields enclosing the arms of Medici, Salviati, Orsini and Strozzi, serves to illustrate the type of armorial majolica commissioned at that time. For further information on Italian majolica bearing European coat of arms see, Alessandro Bettini, 'Sul servizio di Mattia Corvino e sulla majolica pesarese della seconda metà del XV secolo', *Faenza 83* (1997), pp. 169–175; and J.V.G. Mallet, 'Tiled floors and court designers in Mantua and Northern Italy', in Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (eds.), *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of*

however, suggest that only a small number of such pieces were made to order. It seems clear that their purchase price was higher than that of ordinary porcelain, but could it have been so exceedingly high that after adding the shipping costs to Portugal, there was no profit to be made? There is also the possibility that special orders of porcelain were not fulfilled to the expectations of the Portuguese and their customers. Future research might shed light on these questions.

Material evidence indicates that orders of armorial blue-and-white porcelain increased considerably from the Wanli reign onwards. Some pieces continued to be made in the rather thick and coarsely potted ordinary trade porcelain of the preceding Zhengde and Jiajing reigns. Such an example is the saucer dish in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, which bears a coat of arms attributed to Matias de Albuquerque, who was Captain of Malacca and Hormuz (1584–1588) and Viceroy of India from 1591 to 1597 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.14).[843] A shard of a dish bearing part of this coat of arms found on the island of Hormuz suggests that these armorial dishes were ordered during the time Matias served as its captain.[844] Their unusual decoration deserves particular attention. The Jingdezhen porcelain painters depicted the arms, barred helmet and mantling very large, filling the entire surface of the dish, and repeated the helmet and mantling on the reverse. This appears to be the first instance in which all Chinese supporting motifs have been omitted, with the exception of the characters *fu* (happiness) painted on the recessed base. It is not clear whether this decorative scheme was an invention of the porcelain painters or whether it was copied from a European source.[845]

The overwhelming majority of the armorials made for the Portuguese market, however, were made in the new style of Jingdezhen export porcelain known as *Kraak*, which was probably first made in large quantities at the end of the Longqing reign. At this point it is important to clarify that these special orders were only a very small part of the *Kraak* porcelain production. Armorial *Kraak* porcelain, reflecting a change in both European consumer taste and production strategies at Jingdezhen, differs from that previously produced. The body is thinner, moulded with more precisely articulated profiles, and has a more carefully controlled cobalt blue decoration.[846] European coat of arms, most probably adapted or copied from drawings or prints, were depicted on a new range of porcelain shapes, made in various sizes. The stylized Chinese supporting motifs of the early to mid-sixteenth century, gave way to a decoration rich in motifs taken from nature repeated in panels, medallions and borders in combination with a variety of religious auspicious motifs with Taoist, Buddhist and Confucian connotations which are purely Chinese.[847] It seems likely that the Jingdezhen potters developed techniques that facilitated the mass production of this new type of export porcelain in response to increasingly larger demands of porcelain for the European market, and perhaps also of other foreign markets. Moreover, its production on a large scale provided new and easier possibilities to fulfill the special orders requested by their European customers. To date, only two armorial pieces for other European markets have been recorded, one bearing the impaled coat of arms of a Spanish nobleman and his wife, the other of a German nobleman.

Space constraints prevent the study and illustration of all these armorials pieces, so only a few examples will be discussed here in detail.[848] The earliest armorial *Kraak* porcelain made for the Portuguese maket dates to the Wanli reign. It includes two finely potted plates, a saucer dish and an elephant-shaped *kendi*, which bear a coat of arms of the families Almeida or Melo (Fig. 3.4.1.1.15).[849] The arms depicted on these

pieces, dating to *c.*1590–1600, have been attributed to Dom João de Almeida.[850] A closely related coat of arms is carved on a stone that is mounted in the entrance hall of the Senate building in Macao (Fig. 3.4.1.1.16). It is believed that this stone, dated 1633, was taken from the St Francisco Fortress when it was demolished in 1866.[851] There are also two plates, similarly modelled to the aforementioned examples, as well as a small bowl bearing a coat of arms attributed to the Cordero or Cordeiro family, whose lineage possibly originated in Asturias, Spain.[852]

Other pieces, dating to the Wanli/Tianqi reign, include a small number of bottles of square cross-section bearing a coat of arms attributed to the Portuguese families Vilas Boas and Faria, or Vaz in combination with blossoming flowers growing from rocks typically Chinese in style, which will be discussed in the following pages.[853] Álvaro de Vilas-Boas, a Knight of the Order of S. Tiago who was commended for his service to the Indian Route, has been most commonly named as the commissioner.[854] A pear-shaped bottle, a two-handled jar and a small dish, all dating to the Tianqi period, bear a coat of arms that was initially attributed to the city of Macao, but has now been reattributed to Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, who as mentioned in Chapter II served as Captain General and 1st Governor of Macao for three years, from 1623 to 1626 (Figs. 3.4.1.1.17a and b).[855] The Jingdezhen potters appear to have been painted an erroneous rendering of the arms, most probably from a seal on a signet ring, on their recessed bases as if they were a reign or potter's mark. This was not an innovation, as porcelain pieces marked on their base with a European motif were first made in the Zhengde reign.[856] As mentioned earlier, this order of porcelain may be related to the set of seven known hangings dating to the first half of the seventeenth century, each embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread in China depicting a scene from the story of the Trojan War, within a border that combines Chinese and European motifs, including at each corner a coat of arms that may also be an erroneous rendering of the arms of the Mascarenhas family (Figs. 2.3.1.14a and b), discussed in Chapter II.

Mantegna: 1450–1550, London and Mantua, March 1992, pp. 253–272.

843 Some scholars believe that the arms are those of António de Albuquerque, high-captain of Paraíba and Maranhão. For this opinion, see José de Campos e Sousa, *Loiça Brasonada*, Oporto, 1962, pp. 55–56. The dish is published in Krahl, 2007, p. 331, no. 155.

844 This shard, today housed in the Cologne Museum, is published in Ulrich Wiesner, *Chinesische keramik auf Hormoz. Spuren einer Handelsmetropole im Persischen Golf*, series Kleine Monographien, no. 1, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln, 1979, p. 18; and Jörg, 2008, p. 29, fig. 1.

845 At the beginning of the sixteenth century the production of Italian majolica workshops saw important developments, including a tendency to use the whole surface of a dish as a canvas for the painting. See, for example, a bowl with the coat of arms of Pope Julius II della Rovere and those of the Manzoli family of Bologna, all surrounded by putti and satyrs, made in Castel Durante in 1508, published in Olga Raggio, 'The Lehman Collection of Italian Maiolica', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 14, no. 8 (April, 1956), p. 188.

846 The technical characteristics and material qualities of *Kraak* porcelain have been discussed elsewhere. For more information, see Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 23–26; and Wu, 2013, pp. 77–90.

847 For a recent discussion on the iconography and decorative motifs used in the decoration of *Kraak* porcelain, see Ibid., pp. 145–164.

848 This group of *Kraak* armorial pieces became the focus of the author's research for the last six years, and the finds have been published elsewhere. Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 49–54; Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 68–76; Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 271–276; and Canepa, 2014/2, pp. 117–118.

849 The arms show some variations. The plate illustrated here from the British Museum has the arms painted in blue on white; but another in the Museu do Caramulo in Caramulo and a saucer dish in the Musée national d'Arts Asiatiques - Guimet in Paris have the arms in white on blue. An elephant-shaped *kendi* in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul has the arms in white on blue, but painted upside down.

Opposite page

Fig. 3.4.1.1.15 *Kraak* armorial plate
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1590–1600
Diameter: 20.2cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. OA 1925.5-12.1)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.16 Carved stoned mounted in the entrance hall of the Senate building in Macao
China, dated 1633
© Francisco Vizheu Pinheiro

Figs. 3.4.1.1.17a and b *Kraak* armorial bottle
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi reign (1621–1627)
Height: 24.8cm
Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden
(inv. no. BP 307)
Photo: Johan van der Veer

Fig. 3.4.1.1.18 *Kraak* armorial plate
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1589–1596
Diameter: 20cm
Private collection, United States

Fig. 3.4.1.1.19 *Kraak* armorial dish
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1627), *c.*1625–1635
Diameter: 50cm
Residenz Museum, Munich (inv. no. 235)

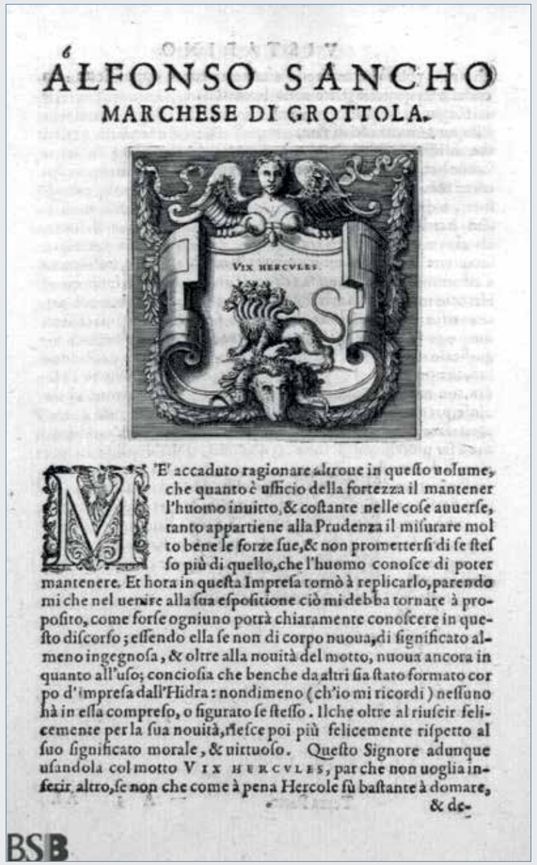
These pieces are published in Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 313, no. 11:103; De Castro, 2007, p. 86; Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994, p. 310; and Krahl and Ayers, Vol. II, 1986, p. 730, no. 1295 and colour plate p. 460; respectively.

850 Dom João de Almeida, who was from the family of the Counts of Abrantes, settled in Macao in about 1570 and built a massive and renowned palace. He was twice captain of the journey to Macao, once in 1571–1572 and again in 1581–1582.

851 A similar coat of arms, though without the barred helmet and mantling, appears on a portrait of the first Governor and Viceroy of India, Dom Francisco de Almeida (1450–1510), which was painted by an unknown artist in *c.*1555–1580. The stone is published in Francisco V. Pinheiro, 'Using a Comparative Graphic Method in the Analysis of the Evolution of the Macao Senate', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, vol. 4, No. 1, May 2005, p. 76, fig. 31; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 70, fig. 7. For the painting, see Sezon Museum of Art, 1993, p. 96, no. 62.

852 The arms were initially attributed to the Galego family from Galicia and later to the Lobo family. Recent research has shown that the arms correspond exactly to the fourth variant of the Cordero family arms published in the book *Heraldica de los apellidos asturianos*. For this opinion, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 170. The arms, also showing

The only known armorial *Kraak* porcelain made for the Spanish market dates to the Wanli reign. It is a finely potted plate, of similar shape to the Almeida or Melo and Cordero or Cordeiro examples, bearing at the centre the impaled arms of García Hurtado de Mendoza, 4th Marquis of Cañete (1535–1609), and his wife, Teresa de Castro y de la Cueva (1547–1596) within a panelled border in a private collection in the United States (Fig. 3.4.1.1.18).[857] This plate appears to be closely tied to the political history of the viceroyalty of Peru. The Marquis of Cañete, a descendant of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1385) and a member of the richest noble family in Spain, was appointed Governor of Chile in 1557, a post he held until 1559. In 1590, after having fought in Milan and Flanders for Philip II, he returned to the New World, now as the 8th Viceroy of Peru. He was the first viceroy to bring his Spanish noble wife to Peru with him.[858] Textual sources indicate that when the new viceroy arrived in 1589, an arch was erected displaying the impaled arms of the viceroy and vicereine, alongside those of Lima, representing the symbolic union of the head city with the new rulers of the kingdom.[859] The armorial plate was most probably ordered via Manila during the time García Hurtado de Mendoza was Viceroy of Peru, between 1589 and 1596, and would have served to display the couple's high social stance within the viceregal court of Lima.



ALFONSO SANCHO
MARCHESE DI GROTTOLA.

VIX HERCVLES.

M'E' accaduto ragionare altroue in questo uolume, che quanto è ufficio della fortezza il mantener l'huomo inuitto, & costante nelle cose auuerse, tanto appartiene alla Prudenza il misurare molto bene le forze sue, & non promettersi di se stesso più di quello, che l'huomo conosce di poter mantenere. Et hora in questa Impresa tornò à replicarlo, parendo mi che nel uenire alla sua espositione ciò mi debba tornare à proposito, come forse ogniuno potrà chiaramente conoscere in questo discorso; essendo ella se non di corpo nuoua, di significato almeno ingegnosa, & oltre alla nouità del motto, nuoua ancora in quanto all'uso; conciosia che benche da altri sia stato formato corpo d'impresa dall'Hidra: nondimeno (ch'io mi ricordi) nessuno hà in essa compreso, o figurato se stesso. Ilche oltre al riuscir felicemente per la sua nouità, riesce poi più felicemente rispetto al suo significato morale, & uirtuoso. Questo Signore adunque usandola col motto VIX HERCVLES, par che non uoglia inferir altro, se non che come à pena Hercole fù bastante à domare, & de-

BSB

Fig. 3.4.1.1.20 Large *Kraak* dish with a pseudo-armorial
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 43.5cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts
(inv. no. E84086)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.21 Print by Girolamo Porro Padovano (*c.*1550–1604) published by Camillo Camilli (*c.*1560–1615) in *Imprese Illvstri di diversi, co' discorsi*, Venice, 1586

Fig. 3.4.1.1.22 Shard of a *Kraak* dish with a pseudo-armorial excavated at the site of the St. Augustine Church, Macao
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Macao Museum (inv. no. SA/95_587)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.23
Stone façade cathedral of St. Paul, built from 1582 to 1602, Macao

The armorial for the German market was made in the subsequent reign of Tianqi. It is a large dish bearing at the centre the quartered arms of Wittelsbach surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece within a panelled border, which is now in the Residenz Museum in Munich (Fig. 3.4.1.1.19). It is likely, as mentioned earlier, that it was made for Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (r. 1597–1651) in *c.*1625.[860] The exact circumstances of this order are unknown. One may, however, wonder if Maximilian's desire to own porcelain with his arms at the time he was reigning was related to the Urbino majolica 272-piece set of tableware decorated with grotesques and the arms of Bavaria given to his father and predecessor, William V (r. 1579–1597), by Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (1549–1631), in 1587.[861] It is unclear whether this armorial dish was ordered via Macao or Manila, but in all probability the order was made through dynastic relations with the Habsburgs. One wonders if this was a single order, or if other such armorial dishes were made.

Only two pseudo-armorials have been recorded so far in *Kraak* porcelain, both dating to the Wanli reign. One is depicted as a shield enclosing an extraordinary hydra with five animal heads and the heads of a man and a woman, flanked by a scroll inscribed with the Latin motto *Sapienti nihil novum* (To the wise man nothing is new), on the centre of a large dish (Fig. 3.4.1.1.20)[862] and a saucer dish,[863] on the interior of a small bowl,[864] on the sides of two bowls of larger size [865] and a small jar.[866] On all these pieces the pseudo-armorial appears in combination with Buddhist auspicious symbols, but on the dishes it is also surrounded by a standard *Kraak* panelled border divided by single lines. No source for this pseudo-armorial has yet been identified. It is well-known that the seven-headed hydra within a shield appeared frequently on sixteenth century prints, as seen for example in a print by Girolamo Porro Padovano (*c.*1550–1604) published by Camillo Camilli (*c.*1560–1615) in 1586 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.21).[867] It might be related to the Portuguese, as suggested by the saucer dish formerly in the Santos Palace in Lisbon, a shard of a dish or plate with part of this pseudo-armorial found at a site by the St. Augustine Church in Macao (Fig. 3.4.1.1.22)[868] and the seven-headed hydra depicted on the stone façade of the Cathedral of St. Paul, built from

variations, are depicted on a background of four quadrants on the plates. The quadrants of a plate in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, show a *ruyi*-head alternately reserved on honeycomb and Y-diaper grounds; and those in a plate in a private collection in Brazil show *chi*-dragons alternating with stylized flowers in white on blue. The quadrants somewhat resemble that seen on the Galego arms. On the bowl, housed in Lotherthon Hall, Leeds, they are depicted on the interior and on two opposing sides of the exterior, alternating with an unusual motif, which may depict a covered rectangular container suspended from tied ribbons. A similar motif is found on an early Wanli period bowl as well as a few dishes. The bowl shows this container motif on the centre interior. Examples of dishes can be found in the Santos Palace, the Casa-Museu Guerra Junqueiro in Porto and a fragment of another was recovered from the shipwreck of the shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576). This distinctive motif, but omitting the coin, has also been recorded on a fragment of a *klapmuts* salvaged from the VOC shipwreck *Witte Leeuw* (1613). Lion-Goldschmidt, 1984, p. 43, fig. 79; Impey, 1992, pp. 22–3; Kuwamaya, 1997, p. 59, no. 26; Rinaldi, 1989, p. 110, pl. 105; and Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 118, inv. no. 7741. For the arms, see Afonso Eduardo Martins Zuquete (ed.), *Armorial Lusitano. Geneologia e Heráldica*, Lisbon, 1961, p. 172. The plates are published in Sargent, 2000, p. 76, fig. 3; Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 50–51, fig. 24; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 170–171, no. 67.

853 The shape of these bottles will be discussed in section 3.4.1.2 of this Chapter.

854 Five individuals have been suggested as possible

Fig. 3.4.1.1.24 *Kraak* bowl with a pseudo-armorial
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 34.5cm; height: 17.3cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. OA 1957,1216.19)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.25 *Breakfast Still Life*
Oil on canvas, 118.4cm x 97.5cm
Willem Claesz. Heda (1594–1680/82), dated 1638
© Hamburger Kunsthalle / bpk, Hamburg

Fig. 3.4.1.1.26 *Kraak* saucer dish with a pseudo-armorial (one of a pair)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Diameter: 20cm
Gemeentemuseum, The Hague
(inv. nos. 1016744 and 1016745)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.27 Large blue-and-white armorial dish
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573-1620), *c.*1590–1635
Diameter: 51cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (museum no. AE85571)

Fig. 3.4.1.1.28 Carved stoned mounted in the entrance hall of the Senate building in Macao China
© Francisco Vizheu Pinheiro

1582 to 1602 by the Jesuits in Macao (Fig. 3.4.1.1.23).[869] Visual sources and surviving pieces attest to the popularity of bowls of this type among other foreign customers, especially the Dutch and Iranians. A large bowl filled with fish, similar to an example in the British Museum illustrated here (Fig. 3.4.1.1.24), is depicted on a still life painting by the Dutch artist Willem Claesz. Heda (1593/4–1680/2), dated 1638 (Fig. 3.4.1.1.25), and an Iranian fritware bowl copying faithfully the original dating to the second half of the seventeenth century is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[870] The other *Kraak* pseudo-armorial, depicted as a water fountain within a shield, is painted on the centre of three saucer dishes with plain white and moulded rim decoration (Fig. 3.4.1.1.26).[871] The source of this pseudo-armorial is still unknown, but the fountain motif somewhat resembles that shown on the Jiajing blue-and-white 'magic fountain' ewers and bottles discussed above (Figs. 3.4.1.1.10 and 3.4.1.1.11).

As we have seen, motifs related to the Christian Church first appeared on porcelain made for the Portuguese during the reigns of Zhengde and early Jiajing. But it was not until the subsequent reign of Wanli, that Jesuit missionaries and Augustinian friars active in the Far East began to order porcelain with their individual emblems or monograms.[872] All the pieces recorded so far, dating from the Wanli to Chongzhen reign, are made in blue-and-white porcelain, either of the *Kraak* or ordinary trade type. Eight heavily potted *Kraak* jars of large ovoid form and one other of hexagonal form, as well as two hexagonal jars of smaller size, are painted with pentagonal panels enclosing the emblem of the Augustinian Order and exotic animals surmounted by an architectural motif of unknown origin.[873] In addition, there are two large dishes made in ordinary trade porcelain during the same period, which bear a similar Augustinian emblem at the centre encircled by two borders of purely Chinese motifs. The rim border depicts twice an architectural motif similar to that seen on the aforementioned jars alternating with tiny human figures, animals, birds in flight and flowering branches (Fig. 3.4.1.1.27).[874] Sargent has suggested that the architectural motif depicted in both the jars and dishes relates to colonial churches in New Spain.[875] One may argue, however, that all the religious compounds built in Macao whether by the Augustinian, Franciscan and Dominican Mendicant Orders or the Jesuits were walled.[876] There is no firm evidence as to who commissioned these jars. Portuguese or Spanish Augustinian friars most probably ordered them for use at their churches or convents in Macao, the

commissioners of these bottles: Diogo de Vilas-Boas Caminha, Morgado de Airó, Álvaro de Vilas-Boas, Francisco da Costa (nephew of Álvaro de Vilas-Boas) and Pedro Vaz Vilas-Boas. Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 168; and Canepa, 2012/1, p. 272.

855 The bottle (illustrated here) and the two-handled jar are published in Rinaldi, 1989, p. 169, pl. 211 and p. 191, pl. 253, respectively.

856 Shards of a few Zhengde dishes and a bottle, all marked with the cross of the Portuguese Order of Christ, are discussed and illustrated at the beginning of this section of Chapter III.

857 Canepa, 2008/2, p. 51, fig. 28; Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 75, fig. 12; Díaz, 2010, pp. 87–91, no. 3; Canepa, 2012/1, p. 275, fig. 26; Canepa, 2014/1, p. 27, fig. 11; and Canepa, 2014/2, p. 120, fig. 11.

858 Teresa was the daughter of Pedro de Castro y Andrade, Count of Villalba and Lemos and Marquis of Sarriá and of Leonor de la Cueva, daughter of Beltrán de la Cueva, 1st Duke of Albuquerque (*c.*1443–1492), and the favourite of King Enrique IV of Castile (*r.* 1454–1474). Mentioned in Osorio, 2008, p. 74.

859 Ibid., pp. 63–64.

860 This dish is now in the Residenz Museum. The museum curators purchased the dish from an art dealer, who had no records of its provenance. A similar coat of arms and collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece appear depicted on a *pietra dura* table made in Florence in c.1625, which is also in the Residenz. This table together with two large fragments of dishes with similar rim decoration recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), but as discussed earlier probably *c.*1630–1635, strongly suggest a dating of *c.*1625–1635 for the dish. For the armorial dish see Ulrichs, 2005, p. 10; and Eikelmann, 2009, pp. 48–49, cat. no. 5. For the *Wanli shipwreck* shards, see Sten Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, p. 166, serials nos. 2684 and 7534. The author previously dated the dish to c.1625 in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 275, note 115; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 253, note 92.

861 For a brief discussion on this diplomatic gift and an image of an ewer from the service, see Davies and Kennedy, 2009, pp. 47–48, pl. 30.

862 This dish is in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. Published in Canepa, 2008/2, p. 52, fig. 30 (image reversed); Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 74, fig. 11 (image reversed); and Sargent, 2012, pp. 101–103, no. 25.

863 This saucer dish was formerly in the Santos Palace in Lisbon. Lion-Goldschmidt, 1984, pp. 44–5, figs. 80, 81 and 82.

Figs. 3.4.1.1.29a and b *Kraak* jar bearing the 'IHS' monogram
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
Height: 33.2cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. OA 1963.5-20-4)

Philippines or New Spain. The Augustinian emblem carved on a stone fountain at the church of Our Lady of Grace built at Velha (Old) Goa between 1507 and 1602, and on a stone mounted in the entrance Hall of the Senate Building in Macao suggest a Portuguese connection (Fig. 3.4.1.1.28).[877] The fact that the large hexagonal jar and two examples of ovoid form were found in Mexico, on the other hand, would suggest that such jars were imported by the Spaniards into New Spain. They were probably first ordered in *c.*1575, when the Augustinians made their first of several voyages.[878] As noted by Sargent, there appear to have been multiple orders of such jars over a period of time.[879] It seems likely that the orders of these porcelain jars and dishes related to that of the silks finely woven with a repeated crowned double-headed eagle made in the second half of the sixteenth century discussed in Chapter II, which also show hybrid designs incorporating a European motif with many others that are undoubtedly Chinese (Figs. 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.4).

Four heavily-potted *Kraak* jars of large size and similar ovoid form to those discussed above are painted with six ogival panels, two enclosing the monogram of the Society of Jesus (the sacred letters 'IHS')[880] supported by two angels and two winged cherubs, and the other four the symbols of the Passion and the initials 'S' and 'P' referring to St. Paul, the name given to all the Jesuit colleges in the Far East (Figs. 3.4.1.1.29a and b).[881] These jars, like those with the Augustinian emblem, were probably made to contain wine or sacred oils. It is likely that they were intended for the Jesuit colleges at Macao or Goa.[882] While the neck and foot feature *Kraak* borders, the dense design composition surrounding the ogival panels on the body includes exotic flower scrolls with bunches of carnations and other flowers gracefully springing from tufts of curling leaves. Similar flower scrolls are seen in a few other large jars decorated with Chinese motifs typical of the so-called Transitional style, also dating to the last reigns of the Ming dynasty, the Tianqi and Chongzhen.[883] Interestingly, one of these jars housed in the British Museum appears to also have been made for a foreign customer, as it is decorated with four oval cartouches of archers in turbans possibly copied from a Persian source, which cover partly a landscape border with Chinese figures and European-style houses. The jars discussed above may have been made at the private kiln of Shibaqiao, located about 500 metres away from the southern gate of the Imperial kilns in Jingdezhen, where shards of a vase decorated with landscape

864 This bowl, housed in the Gemeentemuseum in Arnhem, is published in Stephen Hartog, *Pronken Met Oosters Porselein*, exhibition catalogue, Gemeentemuseum Arnhem, Zwolle, 1990, pp. 44–45, no. 16.

865 The bowl in the British Museum is also published in Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 300–01, no. 11:63. The other was recently sold in the international market at Nagel Auktionen on May 10, 2013, lot 46.

866 This jar was sold at auction by Skinner, Boston, June 24, 2000, lot 607. Mentioned in Sargent, 2011, p. 103.

867 This publication is available in the Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum, Digitale Bibliothek.

868 I am grateful to Roy Sit Kai Sin, Macao Museum, for providing me with an image of this shard. Published in Canepa, 2012, p. 274, fig. 24.

869 The façade of the Cathedral – the largest Catholic Church in Asia at the time – was intricately carved between 1620 and 1627 under the direction of the Italian Jesuit Carlo Spinola. An inscription carved on the stone in Chinese characters describes the seven-headed hydra as 'the Holy Mother tramples the heads of the dragon'. Canepa, 2008/2, p. 53.

870 The Iranian fritware bowl bears an imitation of a Chinese seal mark on its base, which is not found on any of the *Kraak* pieces known with this pseudo-armorial. The painting and the fritware bowl are published in Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 301, no. 11:63, figs. 1 and 2. The painting is also published in Canepa, 2008/2, p. 53, fig. 33.

871 Two of these dishes, formerly in the Neuwenhuys Collection, were donated to the Gemeentemuseum in 2008. They are published in Lu, 2009, p. 43, ill. 2; and a single example in Canepa, 2012/1, p. 275, fig. 25.

872 Porcelain made to order for other religious congregations was only produced from the reign of emperor Kangxi onwards, during the Qing dynasty. Examples of porcelain pieces commissioned for the Franciscans and Dominicans, as well as of pieces with Christian iconography, both Catholic and Protestant, are discussed and illustrated in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Imagens do Christianismo na Porcelana da China – Christian Images in Chinese Porcelain*, exhibition catalogue, London and Lisbon, 2003.

873 Jars of ovoid form can be found in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, the Roberto Backmann Collection in Lisbon (formerly in the Apoim Calvão Collection), and the Hodroff Collection in the United States.

roundels reserved on a dense design of related flower scrolls with curling leaves were excavated (Appendix 2).[884]

To sum up, the production of blue-and-white porcelain made to order in Jingdezhen for the Portuguese market increased considerably from the Wanli reign onwards. Although some was made in the ordinary trade porcelain of the preceding Zhengde and Jiajing reigns, the overwhelming majority was made in the new export porcelain style known as *Kraak*. It is clear that its production on a large scale provided new and easier possibilities to fulfill the special orders of porcelain with European motifs requested by the Portuguese and clergy, which included coat of arms, pseudo-armorials and religious emblems or monograms. The Jingdezhen potters most probably adapted or copied these motifs from drawings or prints provided by Portuguese merchants, and incorporated them in a new range of shapes, some of them copying European shapes, made in various sizes. The indirect nature of these orders, now placed via the Chinese junk traders that frequented Macao, is reflected in the errors made by the Jingdezhen painters in the execution of the European motifs that were unfamiliar to them. These painters, who were accustomed to make a small quantity of porcelain with a blend of Chinese and European motifs for the Portuguese, continued to create hybrid decorations but now making them much richer by incorporating motifs taken from nature repeated in panels, medallions and borders in combination with a variety of religious auspicious motifs with Taoist, Buddhist and Confucian connotations. It was during the Wanli reign that armorial porcelain began to be made to order for other European customers, namely the Spanish and Germans. The religious emblems and monograms seen on the porcelain give testimony of the active participation of the clergy, both Portuguese and Spanish, as commisioners of porcelain made to order for use in religious services.

European shapes [3.4.1.2]

During the reign of Jiajing, the Jingdezhen potters adapted even more their porcelain production to the taste and requirements of their new European customers, and began to make new shapes that reflected European influence. It was the Portuguese, according to Lochschmidt, who introduced at least two European shapes around the mid-sixteenth century. The earliest appears to be that of two blue-and-white bowls that have small lobed handles bearing the inscription '*EM TEMPO DE PERO DE FARIA DE 1541*' discussed earlier, which are believed to have been made after a contemporary pewter porringer (Fig. 3.4.1.2.1).[885] Marine archaeological finds indicate that pewter porringers with a variety of multi-lobed handles, both of English and Dutch origin, circulated widely in Europe at this time.[886] For instance, a porringer was one of a number of pewter objects recovered from the shipwreck of the English warship *Mary Rose*, which sank off Portsmouth in 1545;[887] others were among mixed shipments of pewter from England and the Low Countries recovered from Spanish shipwrecks, including a shipwreck that sank off the coast of Galicia in northern Spain a year earlier, in 1544 (Fig. 3.4.1.2.2),[888] and the so-called *Pewter Wreck* that sank off Punta Cana on the island of Hispaniola (Dominican Republic) in the 1540s while en route from Seville to the New World.[889] While the influence of pewter seems reasonable, one may argue that the peculiar shape of these porcelain bowls could also have copied a tin-glazed earthenware *scudella* of the type made at pottery centres in Spain in the fifteenth century.[890] By then the kilns at Valencia, Toledo and Seville were producing fine lustre earthenware that was sought after by the highest ranks of society throughout

Fig. 3.4.1.2.1 Two-handled blue-and-white bowl
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign (1522–1566), dated 1541
Diameter: 16.5cm
Museo Duca di Martina, Naples

Fig. 3.4.1.2.2
Pewter porringer from the shipwreck *Galicia* (1544)
Diameter: 13.1cm; width: 22.4cm
© Rosa Benavides

Two further examples are in a private collection in Mexico and one other in another private collection. The large hexagonal jar is in a private collection in Brazil and the two smaller examples are in the Museo do Centro Científico e Cultural de Macao in Lisbon and a private collection. For a discussion on these jars and further literature, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 18–23, no. 1; Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 51–52; Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 72–74, figs. 9 and 10; and Canepa, 2012/1, pp. 273–274.

874 The other dish, of slightly smaller size, is in a private collection in Brazil. For a recent discussion and images of the Peabody Essex dish and the example in the private collection, see Sargent, 2012, pp. 62–63, no. 7; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, 180–181, no. 70, respectively. It is important to note that there are also a number of blue-and-white dishes depicting at the centre confronted lions, similar to those on the jars, encircled by a rim border with a more stylized version of the architectural motif shown on the Augustinian jars and dishes. For two examples, in the Peabody Essex and the collection in Brazil, see Sargent, 2012, pp. 67–68, no. 9; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 182–183, no. 71, respectively.

875 William R. Sargent, 'Two Hundred Years of Collecting Chinese and Japanese Export Porcelain: The Collections of the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts', *The International Asian Art Fair*, March 22–6, New York, 2002, p. 15; William R. Sargent, 'Porcelains with the Arms of the Order of Saint Augustine: For New Spain? A Theory', in Pierce and Otsuka, 2010, pp. 53–66; and Sargent, 2012, pp. 58–61.

876 For instance, the walled compound of the St. Augustine Convent is clearly seen on a map of Macao drawn by Pedro Barreto de Resende in 1635, which was published in 1642 by António Bocarro. Mentioned in Pinheiro, 2005, p. 76.

Fig. 3.4.1.2.3 Blue-and-white bowls from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1558)
Diameter: 19.2cm
© Arqueonautas Foundation, Amsterdam

Fig. 3.4.1.2.4 Pewter dish from the shipwreck *Galicia* (1544)
Diameter: 37cm
© Rosa Benavides

877 For a discussion and image of the stone fountain in Goa, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 176 and 178, fig. 28. The convent of St. Augustine in Macao was later transferred to the present site of the St. Augustine Church, located behind the Senate Building. The Augustinian order was also in charge of the La Penha Hill Chapel. The convent and Chapel was used by Augustinian friars until 1834 when the religious orders were expelled and the stones removed. Pinheiro, 2005, p. 76, fig. 30; and Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 73, fig. 10.

878 According to Howard, a number of these jars were in the St. Augustine Convent in 1589. However, no documentary evidence to support this theory has yet been found. Howard, 1994, p. 231.

879 Pinto de Matos has dated these jars to c.1575–1600. Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 176–179, no. 69. Sargent, considering the archeological find of the upper part of a jar with an identical classic scroll border at the rim from the 1638 Spanish shipwreck *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, dated the jars between 1590 and 1635. Sargent, 2010, p. 63; and Sargent, 2012, p. 65.

880 Saint Igantius Loyola, the founder of the Society, chose the 'IHS' monogram (the initials of the name of Jesus in Greek which may also be read as an abbreviation of the Latin expression *Jesus Hominum Salvator* – Jesus Saviour of Mankind) – with the horizontal bar of the 'H' supporting the Latin cross – as the official monogram and ordered that it be placed on the doors of Jesuit Houses. The 'IHS' monogram was frequently used on the title page of contemporary printed works related to the Christian doctrine. Pinto de Matos, 1996, p. 138; and Canepa, 2008/2, p. 52.

881 These jars are found in the Casa-Museu Dr. Anastacio Gonçalves in Lisbon, the British Museum in London, the Alpoim Calvão collection in Cascais and a private collection in Japan. Published in Pinto de Matos, 1996, pp. 138–139, no. 63; Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 379–80, no. 12:73; De Castro, 1988, p. 28; and Afonso and Borges de Sousa, 1992, p. 159.

882 The college of St. Paul in Goa was founded by a religious brotherhood in 1541 and given to the Jesuits in 1548. Mentioned in Canepa, 2008–2009, p. 74, note 78.

the Iberian Peninsula and exported to other parts of Europe as well as to the New World.[891] Geng Dongsheng has suggested that the porcelain bowls discussed here were intended for soup and originally had a cover, but evidence for this is yet to be found.[892] The fact that only two extant bowls of this shape are known may indicate that it was a single order.

The other shape introduced by the Portuguese during the Jiajing reign, according to Lochschmidt, is that of deep dishes with a slightly upturn rim.[893] The earliest datable examples of this porcelain shape imported by the Portuguese are those recovered from the shipwreck *Espadarte*, which sank in 1558 (Fig. 3.4.1.2.3). Lochschmidt suggests that dishes of this exact or similar shape were probably made after a contemporary wide-rimmed pewter dish of the type commonly produced in northwestern Europe, which were in wide circulation in both Europe and the New World in the 1540s and 1550s.[894] Examples of such pewter dishes have been recovered from shipwrecks of various nationalities, including the *Mary Rose* (1545),[895] a ship that sank off Galicia (1544) (Fig. 3.4.1.2.4), and the Spanish Treasure Fleet that sank off Padre Island in the Gulf of Mexico in 1554.[896] In this case, however, a European influence is questionable. Considering the fact that the rim of the pewter dishes is much wider than that of the porcelain dishes discussed here and that a deep dish of identical shape to the *Espadarte* dishes, though of larger size, made in solid gold was found in the joint tomb of Zhu Zhanji, Prince Zhuang of Liang, and his wife, the Lady Wei, dating to *c.*1424–1441, one can argue that the dishes in question were made after a Chinese rather than a European shape.[897] It is evident that porcelain dishes of this shape could have been used for eating and serving most foods available to the dinner table, just like those made in pewter, and thus became an utilitarian form that attracted Portuguese customers. It seems likely, as Rinaldi has suggested, that such dishes were the forerunners of the *Kraak* porcelain bowls known as *klapmutsen*,[898] which as shown earlier were imported into Portugal, Spain, the Southern Netherlands, the Dutch Republic and England in Europe, as well as into the New World.

Fig. 3.4.1.2.5 *Kraak* armorial square-sectioned bottle from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1573–1627), *c.*1625–1635
Height: 31.9cm
© Sten Sjostrand

Fig. 3.4.1.2.6 *Still life* with sweets
Oil on canvas, 58cm x 97cm
Juan van der Hamen y Leon (1596–1631), dated 1622
Cleveland Museum of Art Cleveland
(inv. no. 1980.6)

883 Another jar with four cartouches of a scholar and servant with fan in a landscape is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See Harrison-Hall, 2004, p. 380, no. 12:74; and Rose Kerr, '16th and 17th Century Chinese Export Ceramics for the Middle East in the Victoria & Albert Museum', in Cheng, 2012, p. 141, ill. 27.

884 Published in May Huang, 'New Finds From Transitional Kiln Sites at Jingdezgen and Two Related Issues', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 74, 2009–2010, p. 95, fig. 7. I am indebted to Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua for permitting me to study and photograph the shards excavated at Shibaqiao during a research trip to Jingdezhen in 2010.

885 For this opinion, see Maria Fernanda Lochschmidt, *Chinesisches Blauweiß-Exportporzellan Die portugiesischen Bestellungen vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1722 – Chinese Blue-and-White Export Porcelain Portuguese Orders from the Beginning of the 16th Century to 1722*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Universität Wien, 2008, p. 101; and Maria Fernanda Lochschmidt, 'As primeras encomendas portuguesas em porcelana azul e branco da China', *Anais do XXX Colóquio do Comitê Brasileiro de História da Arte*, Rio de Janeiro, 2010, p. 842.

886 Sixteenth-century pewter porringers were small deep bowls with single or double multi-lobed handles, an embossed base and a narrow or wider rim used for eating semi-liquid foods, such as porridge or pottage (stew). Porringers with four-lobed handles were commonly found in England and the Netherlands, but their handles could also have five, seven and nine lobes. Three-lobed porringers were made for children.

887 This double-handed tri-lobed porringer, stamped with the letters 'WE', was found in the Barber-surgeon's cabin, and thus may have been used as a bleeding bowl. J. Gardiner and M. J. Allen (eds.), *Before the Mast: life and death aboard the Mary Rose*, The Archaeology of the Mary Rose, Vol. 4, Portsmouth, 2005, pp. 200 and 202.

888 The ship is believed to be the *Honor*, a Flemish ship chartered by Diego de Soto, Bishop of Mondoñedo (1546–1549), which sank in December 1544 while en route from Antwerp to Spain. A nine-lobed porringer was recovered from the shipwreck. I am grateful to Rosa Benavides, Corpus Christi Museum of Science and History, for providing me with images of the pewter recovered from the shipwreck and conservation reports. For further information, see Rosa Benavides García, *Piezas de artillería y platos de peltre del pecio de A Coba – Xove*, Museo do Mar de Galicia, unpublished report, 2009, pp. 1–45.

889 Over one thousand pewter tablewares (both hollow and flatware) in several sizes and styles have been recovered from this shipwreck, which is yet to be identified. They include six porringer types with three, four, five, seven and nine-lobed handles. I am greatful to Martin Roberts for providing me with information and images of these pewter objects, which are published in Martin Roberts, 'The Punta Cana Pewter Wreck. A first look at a mid 16th Century cargo from the Caribbean', *Journal of the Pewter Society*, Spring 2012, pp. 3–15; and Martin Roberts, 'The Punta Cana Pewter Wreck: Discursions on a Discovery', *Journal of the Pewter Society*, Autumn 2013, pp. 14–31.

890 By the end of the fourteenth century the term *scudella, schodelle or scodellini* was used in Spain to refer to shallow bowls of large or small size with or without handles. For this opinion, see Alberto García Porras and Adela Fábregas García, 'La Cerámica Española en el Comercio Mediterráneo Bajomedieval. Algunas Notas Documentales', *Miscelanea Medieval Murciana*, Vol. XXVII–XXVIII (2003–2004), p. 24.

891 A *scudella* such as an armorial example bearing a coat of arms attributed to the Sans family of Catalonia or the Alegre family of Valencia, made in Menises in *c.*1500, housed in the Victoria and Albert

After Portugal and Spain established permanent settlements in Macao and Manila, respectively, a variety of new porcelain shapes modelled directly after European models were ordered for use in both secular and religious contexts. The rapid development of new *Kraak* porcelain shapes by the Jingzdehen potters, as will be shown, resulted in a more marked departure from the traditional Chinese models than was done earlier for the Islamic markets. Some elements of Chinese shapes were occasionally retained, but they blended with the European shapes.

Bottles of square cross-section with rounded, sloping shoulders and narrow cylindrical necks were first made during the Wanli reign. As mentioned earlier a few extant *Kraak* bottles of this shape, made in both small and large size (ranging from about 20 to 32 cm in height) in *c.*1590–1635, bear a coat of arms attributed to the Portuguese families Vilas-Boas and Faria, or Vaz (Fig. 3.4.1.2.5).[899] The shape faithfully copies a glass square moulded bottle that circulated widely throughout Europe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[900] Recent archaeological finds show that this type of glass bottle was used in Portugal at the time.[901] By the early decades of the seventeenth century, such bottles with lead (or pewter) caps were among the luxury objects owned by members of the Spanish royal court or nobility in Madrid, as shown in a still life painting by Juan van der Hamen y León (1596–1631), dated 1622 (Fig. 3.4.1.2.6).[902] They also circulated to southern Spain, as evidenced by the uncapped example depicted in a still life painting by Blas de Ledesma, who was in Grenada and Malaga from 1602 to at least 1652.[903] Bottles of this type with lead screw collars, possibly of Spanish manufacture, were transported in considerable numbers on board Spanish ships for several decades, as evidenced by the fragments and intact examples recovered from the 1622 Tierra Firme shipwrecks *Tortugas*[904] and the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*.[905] Though also recovered from archaeological marine and terrestrial sites of other nationalities,[906] this bottle shape is likely to have been introduced by the Portuguese to both China and Japan.[907] The Jingdezhen potters painted horizontal lines on the narrow cylindrical neck of the large-sized bottles simulating the thread of the screw cap, as seen in a bottle (now reconstructed) and a shard of another recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), which probably sank in *c.*1625–1635, and thus would date to the Tianqi/Chongzhen reign. They also made a number of non-armorial bottles of this shape, but with narrow cylindrical ridged necks, painted solely with Chinese motifs.[908] These square bottles, like their glass prototypes, were used as utensils both for storage and transport of spirituous beverages, which were commonly preferred instead of impure water and were taken for medicinal purposes.[909]

Square-sectioned blue-and-white bottles of even larger size, measuring about 39cm in height, were made as special orders in ordinary trade porcelain decorated with Christian iconography in *c.*1620–1644. The sides of four extant examples, each with a tall cylindrical neck and stepped collar, depict two scenes that represent symbolically the Passion and Death of Christ and his Resurrection, alternating with a miniature Chinese landscape scene below cherubs playing horns or beating drums among scrolling clouds (Fig. 3.4.1.2.7).[910] As Pinto de Matos has noted, although the border of flowers with curling leaves and tendrils that frame each scene relates closely to those seen on porcelain made to order in the so-called Transitional style for the Dutch market, which will be discussed in the following pages, a similar rendering of flower and leaf motifs appears in a few pieces made for the Portuguese market, such as the jar bearing the monogram of the Society of Jesus (Fig. 3.4.1.1.29). This large-size model of square bottle was most probably made after glass prototypes. Visual sources

Fig. 3.4.1.2.7 Blue-and-white square-sectioned bottle
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
Height: 38.5cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. OA 1963.5-20.7)

Fig. 3.4.1.2.8 *Der Maler mit seiner Familie (The Artist and his Family)*
Oil on canvas, 38cm x 58cm
David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690), dated 1645
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / bpk / Jörg P. Anders

Opposite page
Fig. 3.4.1.2.9 Two Blue-and-white ewers with lids
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)
Height: 30.5cm
British Museum, London (museum no. OA F.154)

Fig. 3.4.1.2.10 Silver-gilt jug
Portugal, *c.*1580
Private collection, Oporto

show that residents of Antwerp in the Southern Netherlands, then ruled by Spain, used large-size glass bottles to hold wine. These often appear standing in metal or ceramic cooling tubs in paintings depicting scenes of fashionable daily life, as seen in *Der Maler mit seine Familie* by the Flemish artist David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690), dated 1645 (Fig. 3.4.1.2.8).[911] Such bottles, used from the first through the third quarter of the seventeenth century, served to move wine from casks (or olive jars) in the cellar into pewter decanting jugs to be taken to the dining table.[912] The porcelain bottles with Christian iconography, however, would have been probably ordered to store the Holy oils or wine for use during religious services. The iconography, as Pinto de Matos remarks, suggests that they could have been used during the Holy Week, and specifically during the ceremony to bless the oils.[913] It is unclear for which religious order these bottles were made.

Another porcelain shape that interests us here is that of two blue-and-white ewers with covers in the British Museum and one other without cover in a private collection in Brazil made in ordinary trade porcelain, which date to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Fig. 3.4.1.2.9).[914] Their ornate shape is unusual. Harrison-Hall, Krahl and Pinto de Matos have all suggested that the shape might follow contemporary Portuguese faience and that the figure handles bear resemblance to Indo-Portuguese ivory figures of the crucified Christ and to figures that support carved wooden pulpits in some churches of Goa.[915] Their slender ovoid body with waisted flaring neck and foot with raised bands, however, relates closely to those seen on Iberian ecclesiastical silver or silver-gilt of the first half of the sixteenth century.[916] Krahl also noted that handles in the form of figures with stretched arms, like those on these ewers, appear on Portuguese silver.[917] The handle of a silver-gilt jug probably made for secular use in *c.*1580 serves to illustrate her point (Fig. 3.4.1.2.10).[918] By this time, English silversmiths were also incorporating this type of figure handle into mounts for porcelain, usually in the shape of a mermaid with two entwined tails (Figs. 3.2.2.7 to 3.2.2.10).[919] Interestingly, the scrolls applied in relief at the base of the handle and spout of each porcelain ewer are somewhat similar to those seen on the entwined tails of some English mounts. Visual sources attest to the use of silver-gilt pieces with figure handles throughout Europe in the early seventeenth century.[920] It is likely that the model of ewer sent to China to be copied in porcelain was made of turned wood or tin-glazed earthenware rather than costly silver. The commission of such ewers may have offered some challenge to the Jingdezhen potters, who had to use special moulds and instead of making a direct copy of a European shape choose a spout that is characteristic of late Ming ewers. They also painted landscape borders and supporting motifs typical of *Kraak* porcelain in combination with a roundel motif of unknown origin.

It would appear that Iberian ecclesiastical silver, via wooden or tin-glazed earthenware models, also influenced the shape of four extant jars of small size made as special orders in ordinary trade porcelain with Christian iconography in *c.*1610–1630. All four jars, two of square section and the others of six-lobed form, stand on a hollow conical foot and have cherub heads with curly hair applied in relief and wings painted over pendant grape vines (Fig. 3.4.1.2.11).[921] Although no exact model of the aforementioned jars is known, the winged cherub motif was commonly used in Iberian ecclesiastical silver and a variety of other materials throughout the sixteenth century.[922] The six-lobed jars have the relief winged cherubs alternating with Chinese flower sprays and on those of square section they alternate with four images representing the implements of Christ's Passion, which reflect their symbolic

Museum, museum no. 458–1907, could have also served as model for the porcelain bowls.

892 Mentioned in Jin and Wu, 2007, p. 14.

893 Lochschmidt, 2008, pls. 45-x and 45-y.

894 Ibid., p. 101. The English Pewterers Company produced wide rimmed platters and dishes from as early as the 1530s, which formed part of a set of tablewares for serving food to the table, and also served for ostentatious display on the table and around the hall. Rosemary Weinstein, *The Archaeology of Pewter Vessels in England 1200-1700: A Study of Form and Usage*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, 2011, p. 75.

895 For images of these pewter dishes, see Roberts, 2012, p. 5, fig. 3; and Weinstein, 2011, p. 76, fig. 14.

896 It is likely that the pewter examples from the Padre Island shipwrecks were the personal possessions of crew and passengers rather than trade cargo. J. Barto Arnold and Robert S. Weddle, *The Nautical Archaeology of Padre Island: the Spanish shipwrecks of 1554*, New York, 1978. Pewter dishes of this shape continued to be popular well into the seventeenth century, as evidenced in finds from the Spanish Armada shipwreck *La Trinidad Valencera* (1588), and the Portuguese shipwreck *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606). See, Flanagan, 1988, p. 124, no. 9.8; and Filipe Castro, *Pewter plates from São Julião da Barra, a 17th century site at the mouth of the Tagus river, Portugal*, unpublished report, College Station, December 2000, cat. nos. 3 and 10–18; respectively.

897 Published in Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall (eds.), *Ming. 50 years that changed China*, exhibition catalogue, The British Museum, London, 2014, p. 85, fig. 67.

Fig. 3.4.1.2.11 Blue-and-white jar
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign
(1573–1644), c.1610–1630
Height: 12.2cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. OA F.1397A)

Fig. 3.4.1.2.12 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white *Albarelli* jar from the shipwreck *San Diego* (1600)
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)
© Franck Goddio, Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine (IEASM)

Fig. 3.4.1.2.13 Tin-glazed earthenware drug jar
Paterna or Manises, Spain, c.1400–1450
Height: 28.4cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 49-1907)

significance as Christian motifs. It is widely accepted that these jars were made for use in religious services. Presumably, as Krahl and Harrison-Hall suggest, these jars were commissioned for Portuguese Jesuits.[923] The controlled naturalism and sculptural qualities of both the moulded handle of the ewers and the winged cherubs of the jars discussed above were completely consistent with European Renaissance taste.

As the preceding porcelains indicate, virtually all the new shapes made after European models were manufactured in ordinary trade porcelain or in *Kraak* porcelain at the private kilns of Jingdezhen (Appendix 2). Two European shapes, however, are known in the thickly potted and relatively coarse porcelain made at the Zhangzhou kilns. They prove that the Zhangzhou potters adapted their porcelain production to suit the requirements of their European clients in order to both profit from these special orders and compete with the potters from Jingdezhen. It is likely that these shapes, both different from those ordered at Jingdezhen, were introduced by Iberian merchants (Portuguese or Spanish) at the end of the sixteenth century, namely a jar of tall, waisted cylindrical shape and a flowerpot. Thus far the earliest examples are those recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Diego* (1600) (Fig. 3.4.1.2.12).[924] The jars copy faithfully the slender utilitarian drug jars made for the storing of medicinal herbs at majolica centres in Spain, Italy and France throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which in turn derived from Islamic tin-glazed containers (Fig. 3.4.1.2.13).[925] In Spain they were known as 'Damascus bottles' and in Italy as *albarelli*.[926] The fact that the *San Diego* jars were found among the remains of the ship's pharmacy indicates that they were used for shipboard medicine, containing drugs to treat the crew during the long trans-Pacific voyage originally planned, rather than for export to the New World.[927] It seems that the Zhangzhou potters imitated the scale and shape of the prototype as close as possible, yet the blue-and-white decoration is entirely in their characteristic free and painterly style seen in other *Zhangzhou* porcelains of traditional Chinese shapes. The flowerpot recovered from the *San Diego*, modelled with a tapering body and everted rim, is of unusually high quality.[928] While the jars show a free and painterly floral decoration executed with broad brushstrokes, the flowerpot is finely painted with long-tailed birds perched on peony branches in outline and wash.

Porcelain made to order for the Dutch market [3.4.2]

European Shapes [3.4.2.1]

Unlike Portuguese and Spanish textual sources, Dutch sources provide ample evidence of special orders of porcelain made for the Dutch market. The favorable conditions for direct trade with China after the Dutch settled on Tayouan in 1624 provided the VOC an opportunity to place annual orders for porcelain in European shapes or with specific decorative motifs, for which models were given to Chinese merchants to be copied.[929] As early as 1625, the VOC servants in Batavia supplied Tayouan with models to be copied by Chinese potters in Jingdezhen that may have been either porcelain pieces from earlier shipments or European models. This porcelain, however, was not delivered.[930] The earliest written evidence of porcelain made after European models

898 Rinaldi, 1989, pp. 118–119.

899 These armorial bottles, believed to have been commissioned by Álvaro de Vilas-Boas, were discussed by the author elsewhere. See, Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 160–167; Canepa, 2008–2009, pp. 71–72, fig. 8, Canepa, 2012/1, p. 272. Also see Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 166–169, no. 66.

900 Archaeological finds indicate that green moulded glass bottles of square section were produced in Germany as early as 1570–1580. Such bottles, made in various sizes, became widely used in the Northern Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century. For further information, see Robert H. McNulty, *Dutch Glass Bottles of the 17th and 18th Centuries. A Collectors Guide*, Bethesda, 2004, pp. 19–23; and Kuwayama, 1997, p. 38, fig. 14. Square-sectioned bottles were also made in stoneware and faience.

901 A few fragments were found among the fifteenth/sixteenth century glass assemblage excavated from pits and rubbish deposits at Rua da Judaria in the town of Almada, situated on the Tagus River, opposite Lisbon. Published in Teresa Medici, 'The glass finds from Rua da Judaria, Almada, Portugal (12th–v19th century)', *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2005, p. 548, cat. nos. 131 and 132.

902 Juan van der Hamen belonged to a wealthy, aristocratic family that descended from a line of Flemish noble and military figures who served the Habsburg court for generations. He was a member of the Archer's Guard, like his father and grandfather had been, which had the honorary mission to protect the monarch since the reign of Emperor Charles V. Four years after Van der Hamen married Eugenia Herrera, member of a family of painters and sculptors, he received his first commission from the Madrid court. The compositions made throughout his short career incorporate sumptuous silver, glass Venetian objects, glass square bottles and *Kraak* porcelain, which indicate the level of wealth and taste of those who owned these objects and at the same time reflect the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the royal court he frequented. A glass square bottle, perhaps the same depicted in the *Still Life with Sweets* painting illustrated here, is again shown in his works *Serving Table* of the early 1620s and *Still Life with Fruit and Glassware* dated to 1629.

903 William B. Jordan, *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age, 1600–1650*, Forth Worth, 1985, p. 67, fig. II.3.

904 Archaeologists believe that this shipwreck is the *Buen Jesús y Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, a small Portuguese-built and Spanish-operated ship. They estimate that a minimum of 16 green glass square bottles were aboard the ship. A number of screw collars recovered from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck indicate that bottles of this type were also on this ship. These two shipwrecks, part of the Tierra Firme fleet, sank in the Florida Keys while on their return voyage to Spain in 1622. Pewter screw collars were also recovered from the *San Martin*, the Almiranta of the Honduras fleet that sank en route to Spain in 1618.

905 Corey Malcolm, 'Glass from Nuestra Señora de Atocha', *Astrolabe: Journal of the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Fall 1990, figs. 2–4.

906 Square glass bottles circulated to the New World. Large numbers of examples have been excavated from early seventeenth century English sites, including the sites of Mathews Manor and the Reverend Richard Buck, both in Virginia, and the William Harwood, the Fort and the John Boyse Homestead in Jamestown. Glass square bottles have also been recovered from the Swedish warship *Vasa*, which sank in Stockholm 1628, and the VOC shipwreck *Vergulde Draeck*, which sank off Western Australia in 1656. Pewter and lead caps, associated with the aforementioned bottles, have also been found on VOC's shipwrecks, including the *Batavia* (1629), *Lastdrager* (1653) and *Vergulde Draeck* (1656). For more information, see Stemm, Gerth, Flow, Guerrera-Librero and Kingsley, 2013, pp. 14-15.

907 A small number of extant *Namban* bottles of similar shape, made in Japan during the Momoyama period (1573–1615), will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of Chapter IV.

908 For another example in the Historisch Museum Palthehuis in Oldenzaal, see D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain-Chine de Commande*, London, 1974, pl. 121. The British Museum example illustrated here is published in Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 280–281, nos. 11:11 and 11:12. Visual sources indicate that bottles of this type came to be frequently used as flower containers flanking a crucifix on altars of Christian churches in New Spain in the early eighteenth century, as evidenced in a still life painting by Pedro Calderón in the Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City. Published in Kuwayama, 2006, p. 173, fig. 16; and Dona Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', in Pierce and Otsuka, 2010, p. 33, fig. 11.

909 In the seventeenth century, glass square bottles of this type were carried in wooden cases for protection. Each case usually held twelve bottles. As early as 1656, they were called 'bottle case' or 'case bottles'. For this opinion, see McNulty, 2004, p. 22.

910 They are found in the British Museum (illustrated here), the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, an eighteenth century private house, now the Musée Orbigny-Bernon, La Rochelle, France and another is in a private collection in Brazil. For a discussion on the symbolic meaning of the scenes and images of these bottles, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 384–385, no. 12:79; Pinto de Matos, 2001, p. 30, fig. 6; Jean-Paul Desroches, *Le Jardin des Porcelaines*, Paris, 1987, pp. 112–114, no. 30; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 190–193, no. 74. Bottles of this shape were also decorated with Chinese narrative scenes framed by similar borders of flowers and curling leaves. An example of this latter type, fitted with late-seventeenth century mounts, in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is published in Ashmolean Museum, *Eastern Ceramics and other works of art from the collection of Gerald Reitlinger*, catalogue of the memorial exhibition, Oxford, 1981, no. 45. An unmounted example is published in Viallé, 1992, p. 12.

911 McNulty, 2004, p. 19. David Teniers the Younger moved to Brussels in 1651, where he was appointed court painter and keeper of the art collections of the regent of the Southern Netherlands, the Habsburg Archduke Leopold William of Austria (r. 1646–1656), cousin of Philip II of Spain.

912 This particular use is shown in the painting *Easy come, easy go* by Jan Steen (c.1626–1679), dated 1661, depicting a boy filing a decanter with wine in the foreground, which is housed in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Jan Steen was living in Haarlem at this time. For this opinion and a detail of the painting, see McNulty, 2004, p. 20.

913 Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 193.

914 Harrison-Hall and Pinto de Matos date these ewers to *c.*1610–1630, but Krahl dates them to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The ewers in the British Museum are published in Krahl and Harrison-Hall, 1994, pp. 22–23, no. 5; Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 359, nos. 12:13 and 12:14; and Krahl, 2009, p. 331, no. 154. For the example in the private collection, see Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 198–199, no. 77.

915 Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 359; Krahl, 2009, p. 331; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 198.

916 See for example the body shape of a silver-gilt cruet possibly made in the Southern Netherlands (then under the rule of Spain) in *c.*1540; and that of a silver and parcel-gilt ewer made in Spain in about 1580–1599. Published in Charles Oman, *The Golden Age of Hispanic Silver 1400–1665*, London, 1968, pl. 92, fig. 145; and pl. 144, fig. 225, respectively. Pairs

dates to ten years later. In July of 1635, the Hoge Regering in Batavia sent a letter to Tayouan informing that 'The *snellen* will be profitable considering the painting and because they are of a reasonable fashion, as will all other new and rare porcelains like beermugs, bowls with ears, salt cellars, candlesticks, serving dishes and winejugs, following the accompanying models'.[931] From an answer sent from Tayouan to Batavia the following September we learn that European models to be copied were specially made in wood. It reads: 'The merchants have given us the undertaking (having been promised that we shall pay them for the fine wares almost as much again) to bring as a sample very fine wares like large dishes and bowls and other assortments and in order to get good fashions and to decorate the same with all kinds of Chinese paintings, I have had a turner and 2 or 3 painters working for more than 2 months to turn and paint jugs, wash-basins, cooling-tubs, dishes, mugs, salt cellars, mustard and waterpots, also various cups of a good fashion, so that we trust that the next shipment will bring rare pieces, but they complain very much that of the extraordinary fine and large wares hardly an eight or a tenth part remains whole and straight during firing, so that large pieces will be extraordinarily expensive'.[932] Wooden models are again mentioned in a letter sent by Governor Putnams to the Amsterdam Chamber, which states that he had given the Chinese merchants models of turned wood and painted will all kinds of Chinese figures which they would get copied.[933]

Extant pieces in public and private collections around the world provide material evidence of the various shapes modelled directly after European models made to order in Jingdezhen for the Dutch market. These European shapes, made in both the old but still popular *Kraak* porcelain and a new style of blue-and-white porcelain, the so-called Transtional, suggest that private individuals and VOC servants wanted to replace silver or pewter objects used daily at the dinner table in the Dutch Republic with identical ones but made in the much desired novel material, porcelain. However, their influence in the porcelain made to order for the Dutch market, as the Portuguese and Spanish experienced earlier, was limited. Even when the Chinese potters made shapes based or copied exactly from European models and created new decorative designs incorporating European motifs in response to this new European demand, the painted decoration was, with few exceptions, kept purely Chinese.

Only a few *Kraak* porcelain pieces modelled directly after European models have been recorded so far. These include five standing salts, a small covered spice box or sugar caster, and a beer mug made to order for the Dutch.[934] The salts, all of hollow hexagonal shape with a stepped spreading rim and base standing on six lion mask and paw feet, in the Gemeentelijk Museum in Kampen (Fig. 3.4.2.1.1),[935] the Victoria and Albert Museum,[936] and two private collections in the United States[937] and Brazil,[938] are of particular interest. The overall shape is known from Dutch,[939] German[940] and English[941] silver salts of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries (Fig. 3.4.2.1.2). Salts of hexagonal shape are also known in contemporary French and Dutch tin-glazed earthenware.[942] Almost certainly, an earthenware, pewter or wooden model was given to the Chinese merchants to be copied, rather than an expensive silver model, which would have not been returned from Jingdezhen, as China was then craving for silver.[943] The potters copied faithfully the shape but decorated it in purely Chinese style. Salt was a commodity of great value throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Elaborate gold or silver salts, often far larger in size than the small quantity of salt they contained, were placed on the dining table reflecting the social standing of the salt.[944] The Dutch not only used salt in their own

Fig. 3.4.2.1.1 *Kraak* hexagonal-shaped salt
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), *c.*1600
Height: 14.7cm
Kampen Town Museum, The Netherlands

Fig. 3.4.2.1.2 Engraved silver salt
Anonymous silversmith
Although presently this salt is considered a fake, it would have been based on a metal original of similar shape
Reproduced from Frederiks, vol. 2, 1958, p. 53, no. 17

Fig. 3.4.2.1.3 *Two peaches, a watch, a roemer filled with wine, a salt cellar, books and chestnuts on a draped table*
Oil on panel, 35cm x 58.7cm
Peter Claesz. (*c.*1597–1669), signed and dated 1627
© Christie's London

Fig. 3.4.2.1.4 *The Age of Fifty*
Engraving by Nicolaes de Bruyn (1571–1656), published in Rotterdam by Assuerus van Londerseel (1572–1635), *c.*1600
Dimensions: 24.9cm x 20.2 cm
Museum Boijmans van Beurningen, Rotterdam (acc. no. BdH 13049 (PK))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.5 *Kraak* spice box or sugar caster
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 12.7cm; diameter: 7.6cm
Private Collection, United States

Fig. 3.4.2.1.6 *Vivat Orange*
Oil on canvas, 63cm x 49cm
Jan Davidz. de Heem (1606–1684), signed and dated 1658
Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum, Apeldoorn

of silver cruets were commonly made for use during the Catholic Mass service, one to contain wine of the Eucarist and the other water.

917 Krahl, 2009, p. 331.

918 I am greatly indebted to Nuno Vasallo e Silva, Deputy-Director Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, for information on this silver jug typology and for granting me permission to illustrate this example. Published in Nuno Vassallo e Silva, *Ourivesaria Portuguesa de Aparato Séculos XV e XVI – 15th and 16th Century Portuguese Ceremonial Silver*, Lisbon, 2012, pp. 76–77.

919 This example is one of four Wanli porcelain pieces with silver-gilt figure mounts associated with William Cecil, Lord Burghley, which are now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, discussed earlier.

920 The Florentine artist Jacopo da Empoli (1551–1640) depicts an ewer with a figure handle together with other sumptuous silver-gilt and silver pieces in his painting *Honesty of Saint Eligius*, dated 1614. Published in in Vassallo e Silva, 2012, pp. 118–119.

921 The jars of square section are found in the Fundação Medeiros e Almeida in Lisbon and a private collection in Brazil; those with six-lobed bodies are in the same collection in Brazil and the British Museum (illustrated here). For images and a discussion on these jars, see Pinto de Matos, 1998, pp. 160–161, no. 14; Krahl and Harrison-Hall, 1994, pp. 24–25, no. 6; Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 376, no. 12:61; Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 24–27, no. 2; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 184–189, nos. 72 and 73.

922 See, for instance, a Portuguese silver spout dating to *c.*1525 in the Museu de Arte Sacra, Funchal published in Vasallo e Silva, 2012, p. 123. Winged cherubs are also depicted on a contemporary water fountain carved in stone in a church in Lisbon, which is published in Pavilhão de Santa Fé, *Fons Vitae*, exhibition catalogue, 1998, p. 97, pl. 43. Others are engraved on the body of a silver-gilt flower vase of Aragonese or Castilian origin made in the third quarter of the century, which also has figure handles. Published in Oman, 1968, pl. 138, fig. 215.

923 Krahl and Harrison-Hall, 1994, p. 24, no. 6; and Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 376.

924 Examples from the shipwreck can be found in the National Museum of the Philippines and the Museo Naval in Madrid. Published in Tan, 2007, p. 152, fig. 150.

925 Jars of this shape appear to have been first made in Iran in the eleventh century, as suggested by the fragments of an example from Amul, now in the Art Institute of Chicago, published in Gregory J. Higby and Elaine C. Stroud (eds.), *History of Drug Containers and Their Labels*, Madison, 1999, p. 5. The shape spread in popularity throughout the Near East, and was adopted in Syria from the end of the following century. Archival evidence shows that such jars, used to store medicinal substances or perfumes, were often exported with their contents to Europe. They are mentioned in French, Spanish and Italian inventories of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Europeans copied these imported jars in majolica and used them to store costly spices, medicines and sweetmeats both in the apothecary and home. Archaeological finds from the 1625 VOC shipwreck *Batavia* includes a minimum of 32 majolica *albarelli* jars, which do not show evidence of having had labels denoting their contents.

926 María Antonia Casanovas, 'Ceramics in Domestic Life in Spain', in Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (eds.), *Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, Albuquerque, 2003, p. 53.

927 Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 176–177; Museo Naval, *Piezas Arquelógicas de la nao San Diego en el Museo Naval de Madrid*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 13, 17 and 20 ; and Crick, 2000, pp. 23 and 30, fig. 2.

diet, but also for packing herring and preserving other meats and foods.[945] The high value of salt, and at the same time that of silver, is attested by the small heaps of salt held in a wide variety of silver salts, of round, triangular or hexagonal shape, on laid tables depicted in Dutch still life paintings.[946] Visual evidence of the use of silver hexagonal salts in the early seventeenth century is provided by a portrait painting by Frans Hals entitled Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Militia dated 1616,[947] the painting of a laid table by the Haarlem artist Pieter Claesz (*c.*1597–1660), signed and dated 1627 (Fig. 3.4.2.1.3),[948] and a portrait painting by the Amsterdam artist and architect Thomas Hendricksz de Keyser (1596/7–1667) entitled Portrait of a Young Silversmith, dated 1630.[949] The engraved hexagonal salt depicted in the latter painting appears to be supported on six ball feet and features a small concave bowl on its top to hold the salt. These paintings show that Dutch silver hexagonal salts not always had their flat stepped base supported on ball feet, as was originally the example made by an anonymous silversmith illustrated in Fig. 3.4.2.1.2.[950] Thus the lion mask and paw feet of the porcelain salts discussed here may have been an invention of the Jingdezhen potters. Although the latter silver salt is considered to be a fake, it would have been based on a metal original of similar shape, and thus serves to illustrate this hexagonal model with a concave receptacle on the top for the salt.[951] It is not known whether the *Kraak* salts originally had a porcelain saucer or bowl specially made for this purpose.

In current literature, these porcelain salts are described as having been ordered privately and made in about 1600, during the Wanli reign. It is still unclear who ordered them. Visual sources demonstrate that by this time hexagonal salts were used at the dinner table of rich merchants in the Southern Netherlands, as seen in an engraving published by Assuerus van Londerseel (1572–1635) in *c.*1600 after Nicolaes de Bruyn (1571–1656), a native of Antwerp who worked in the city until 1617 (Fig. 3.4.2.1.4). This engraving, together with 16 porcelain salts listed in the inventory of Philip II's possessions drawn up between 1598 and 1607, the 'two porcelain salts' sent by Philip III to Isabella Clara in 1603, and the '2 porcelain salt cellars' listed in the 1619 inventory of Breda Castle, raise a few questions: What shape were the porcelain salts listed in the aforementioned inventories? Were they made after European silver or earthenware models, or were simply Chinese shapes adapted to this particular use? More importantly, could porcelain salts of the hexagonal shape discussed here have been made to order for Iberian merchants rather than Dutch merchants at the turn of the sixteenth century? Future research might shed light to these questions.

A *Kraak* porcelain box of cylindrical form with a domed cover perforated with small holes and bud finial that appears to be a unique example of its type was made in the Chongzhen reign (Fig. 3.4.2.1.5). This box has been described as a spice box. However, the 'cruets of chinna' sent by Lady Brillianna Harvey as a gift in 1638 mentioned earlier, which according to Glanville and Pierson refer to sugar casters, suggest that this particular shape may have also served for this purpose. The shape was most probably copied from a pewter, earthenware or wooden model, like the salts discussed above, which in turn copied a Dutch silver model. Visual evidence is found in an identical silver box depicted alongside a *Kraak* dish in a still life painting by the Utrecht artist Jan Davidz. de Heem (1606–1684) dated 1658, now in the Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum in Apeldoorn (Fig. 3.4.2.1.6).[952]

Of particular interest are two Chongzhen beer mugs of identical shape made after a stoneware or tin-glazed earthenware model in the Groninger Museum (Fig. 3.4.2.1.7).[953] Perhaps they are of the type described as 'new and rare porcelains like

Fig. 3.4.2.1.7 *Kraak* and Transitional style blue-and-white beer mugs
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 17cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. nos. 1986–0416 and 1982–0002)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.8 *Kraak* jug (handle missing)
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Tianqi/Chongzhen reign (1621–1644)
Height: 27.2cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1989-0329)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.9 Stoneware jug
Germany, c.1600–1625
Height: 20cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no. F 572 (KN&V)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.10 Transitional style blue-and-white salt
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 15.5cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1988-0041)

928 Published in Tan, 2007, p. 153, no. 151. A flowerpot of similar shape is found in the National Museum in Jakarta. Mentioned in Crick, 2000, p. 30.
929 Viallé, 1992, p. 10; and Jörg, 1999, p. 31.
930 Mentioned in Jörg, 1993, p. 186.
931 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 11.
932 VOC 1116. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 13.
933 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 10.
934 There is a small jug made after a European shape with *Kraak* style panelled decoration, but no model of this particular shape dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries was found during the research for this study. Jugs of related shape can be found in Dutch pewter or tin-glazed earthenware dating to the eighteenth century or later. The whereabouts of this jug is unknown, thus it was not possible to study it at first hand to determine if it is indeed *Kraak* porcelain. For an image of the jug, see Effie B. Allison, 'Chinese Ceramics carried by The Dutch East India Company', *Arts of Asia*, vol. 7, no. 6, November-December 1977, p. 86 (top left-hand side image). The jug is mentioned in Canepa, 2008/2, p. 26.
935 Jörg, 2002/2003, pp. 20–21, fig. 2.
936 Published in Kerr and Mengoni, 2011, p. 21, pl. 14.
937 Mentioned in Jörg, 2002/2003, p. 20.
938 Published in Pinto de Matos, 2011, pp. 194–195, no. 75.
939 Published in J. W. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver. Wrought Plate of North and South-Holland from the Renaissance until the end of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 2, The Hague, 1958, p. 53, no. 176; and Ann Jensen Adams, 'Two Forms of Knowledge: Invention and Production in Thomas de Keyser's Portrait of a Young Silversmith, Sijmon Valckenaer', in Amy Golahny, Mia. M. Mochizuki and L. Vergara (eds.), *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, Amsterdam, 2006, p. 33, fig. 3 (in the text this image is referred to as fig. 2). I am grateful to Dr. Jet Pijzel-Dommise, Geementemuseum, for bringing this salt to my attention.
940 The shape of a pair of German parcel-gilt salts made by Peter van Ixem, Frankenthal, formerly in the Rothschild-Rosebery Collection, dating to the early seventeenth century, is closely related to that of the porcelain salts discussed here. This pair was sold at auction in Sotheby's London, Mentmore sale, on 11 February 1999, lot 50.
941 About ninety English salts of all sorts of shapes, dating from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, are known to have survived. I am greatly indebted to Philippa Glanville for providing me with information regarding English salts. English salts with four sides or of round shape were more common in the sixteenth century. I am grateful to Malcolm Barret and David Beasley, The Goldmisths' Company in London, for providing me with information and an image of a silver-gilt salt of hexagonal shape with domed cover, with London Hallmark for 1550 and the mark of W over a crescent. Published in Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, London, New York, Sydney and Toronto, 1971, p. 230, no. 441.
942 Examples of related hexagonal form with open sides bearing the crescents of King Henry II of France (r. 1547–1559) made in lead-glazed earthenware at Saint-Porchaire or Paris region between 1540 and 1560 can be found in the Musée Louvre in Paris and the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum no. 1189–1864). The Louvre examples are published in *Une Orfevrerie de Terr. Bernard Palissy et la céramique de Saint-Porchaire*, exhibition catalogue, Musée national de la Renaissance, Chateau d'Ecouen, 1997, cats. 25 and 26. For a Dutch hexagonal salt made in Delft in the first half of the seventeenth century, and another made in the mid-seventeenth century decorated with an imitation of Chinese decorative motifs, see Johannes Rein ter Molen, *Zout op*

beermugs', in the letter sent from Batavia to Tayouan on 3 July 1635.[954] Thus far they are the only extant examples that provide material evidence of porcelain of the *Kraak* type being decorated with the typical *Kraak* panelled style or with the new so-called Transitional style consisting of a continuous Chinese narrative scene.[955] It is likely that these beer mugs were both made at the Shibaqiao kiln in Jingdezhen, where shards of both *Kraak* porcelain and the so-called Transitional porcelain have been excavated (Appendix 2).[956] An apparently unique blue-and-white porcelain jug (handle missing) made in rather coarse *Kraak* porcelain dating to the Tianqi/Chongzhen reign, also in the Groninger Museum, can be related by stylistic comparison to the aforementioned beer mugs (Fig. 3.4.2.1.8).[957] This jug, most probably made after a Dutch pewter or tin-glazed earthenware model that in turn copied a German stoneware jug of the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.4.2.1.9), is decorated with *Kraak* style panels on the neck and body, but those on the body alternately enclose flowers in a pond and landscape scenes with Chinese figures in the so-called Transtional style. This jug without spout may be of the type that the VOC servants in Batavia complained in the 1635 letter to Tayouan, saying that 'The *kannekens met pijpen* [jugs with spouts] and without spouts are too coarse, and without proportion'.[958] Jugs without spouts appear again in a memorandum sent by the Gentlemen Seventeen in Amsterdam to Batavia on 12 April 1638, which specified the assortments of porcelain that were most in demand in the Dutch Republic. They are listed as '200 large *cruijcken* [pitchers] or wine jugs with one ear without spouts like the largest kind of jugs received from Tayouan in 1637'.[959]

In this reign, the Jingdezhen potters also made to order for the Dutch pieces of porcelain after European shapes decorated solely in the so-called Transitional style. These included salts, tankards, beer mugs, beakers, mustard pots and candlesticks. Only two extant porcelain salts are known, and both are of triangular shape. These salts are found in the Groninger Museum (Fig. 3.4.2.1.10) and the Peabody Essex Museum.[960] The shape of the Groninger example is a direct copy of a Dutch silver or pewter salt model, as evidenced by the example depicted in a still life painting by J. Ferdenandez.[961] Just as ordering other porcelains in European shape, salts too, were made after models of turned wood provided by the Dutch. Such models were first given by the VOC to Chinese merchants in 1635. Wooden models were given again in 1638. That year, the Gentlemen Seventeen sent the memorandum to Batavia mentioned above, specifying the quantity consumed annually if they conformed to the samples, which listed '200 salt cellars like the accompanying wooden sample, one half a little raised, ribbed like the large panels on the border of the double-sized butterdishes No 1 and the other half not ribbed plain'.[962] Orders for salts were placed by the VOC again in 1639 and 1643, but only 323 salts were shipped to the Dutch Republic.[963] It is unclear if the aforementioned porcelain salts were part of these VOC shipments or if they were ordered privately.[964]

Tankards are first mentioned in the letter sent in July 1635 from Batavia to Tayouan discussed earlier. It is clear that the Hoge Regering in Batavia felt that tankards would be well received in the Dutch Republic.[965] They appear again, listed as *snellekens*, in the invoice for the goods shipped in the *Noordwyck* from Formosa to Batavia in October of that same year.[966] A memorial dated September 1636, lists '735 small flasks, wine-jugs and snelletjes, new assortment 269¾ reals' among a large quantity of porcelain shipped from Formosa by the *Gallias*, *Texel* and *Noordwyck* to Batavia and from there to the Dutch Republic.[967] Until now two models of tankards

Fig. 3.4.2.1.12 *The Housemaid*
Oil on canvas, 141cm x 167cm
Cornelis Jacobsz (1571–1643), c.1600–1643
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no. 161 (OK))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.11 Transitional style
blue-and-white tankard
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 20cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1951-0321)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.13 Salt-glazed stoneware tankard
(*Schnelle*)
Germany, Cologne
Sixteenth century, c.1560–1570
Height: 33.7cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York
(acc. no. 54.147.52)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.14 *Peace*
Engraving, 20.4cm x 28.5cm
David Vinckboons published by Boëtius Adamsz.
Bolswert in Antwerp in 1610
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no. BdH 16775 (PK))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.15 *Still Life with Gold Plate and Silverware*
Oil on oak, 70cm x 117cm
Frans Ryckhals (1609–1647), dated 1640
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (inv. no. 265)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.16 Transitional style blue-and-white tankard
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 20.2cm
Museum De 5000 Morgen, Hoogeveen

Fig. 3.4.2.1.17 Shard of a Transitional style blue-and-white tankard
Shibaqiao kiln, Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

Fig. 3.4.2.1.18 Shard of a Transitional style blue-and-white tankard
Shibaqiao kiln, Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

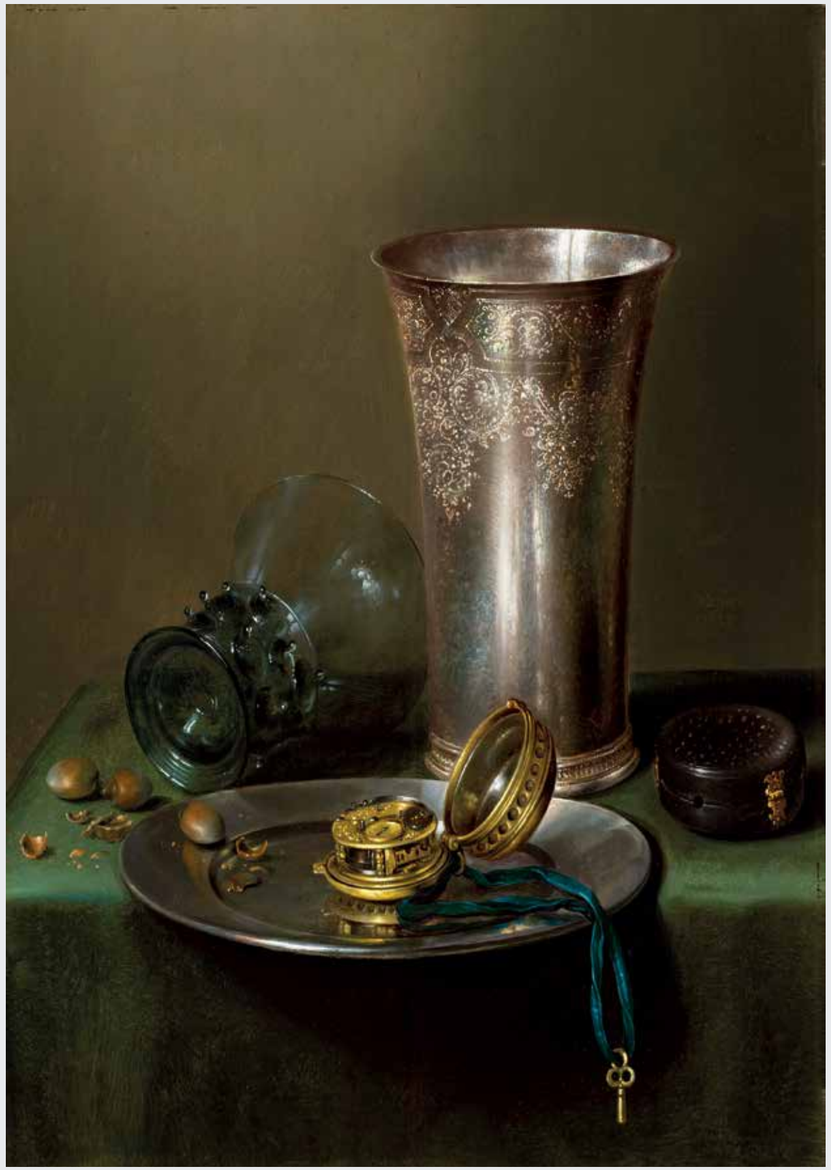
Fig. 3.4.2.1.19 *Breakfast Still Life* (detail of Fig. 3.4.1.1.25)
Oil on canvas, 118.4cm x 97.5cm
Willem Claesz Heda (1594–1680/82), dated 1638
© Hamburger Kunsthalle / bpk, Hamburg

Fig. 3.4.2.1.20 Transitional style blue-and-white beaker
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644), c.1635–1644
Height: 18.4cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 2634A)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.21 Pewter beaker
Tinsmith Jan Leendertsz. Pot
Height: 16.5cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no OM 131 (KN&V))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.22 *Still Life with a Silver Beaker and a Watch on a Pewter Plate*
Willem Claesz. Heda (1594–1680/82), signed and dated 1638
Oil on panel, 40cm x 29.5cm
Bijl-Van Urk, Alkmaar

Fig. 3.4.2.1.23 Silver beaker
Groningen silversmith Frans Muntinck (active 1596-?), hallmarked for 1609–1610
Height: 19.7cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 2007-0217)



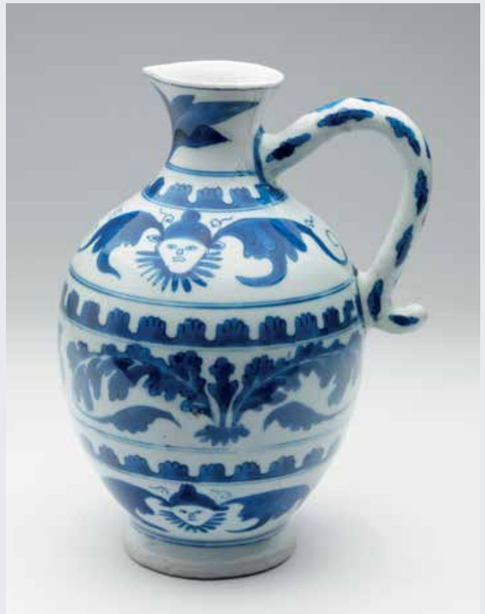


Fig. 3.4.2.1.24 Transitional style
blue-and-white wine pitcher
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height: 22cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no. A 2218 (KN&V))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.25 Lead-glazed
earthenware pitcher
Germany, *c.*1600
Height: 13.8cm
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(acc. no. F 1591 (KN&V))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.26 Transitional style
blue-and-white mustard pot with lid
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Height without mounts: 12cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1967-0065)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.27 Tin mustard pot with lid
Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic,
*c.*1575–1625
Height: 13.8 cm
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen,Rotterdam
(acc. no. OM 155 (KN&V))

Fig. 3.4.2.1.29 Merchandise for the Asian market recovered in 1877 from the ruins of the Bohouden Huys (the secure house) on the Russian Artic Island of Nove Zembla, abandoned in 1597 by Willem Barentsz
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 3.4.2.1.28 Transitional style blue-and-white candlestick
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644), *c.*1635–1644
Height: 22.5cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1989-0102)

are known in porcelain, and both are heavily potted. One is a tall, tapering cylindrical tankard (Fig. 3.4.2.1.11) made after a Dutch pewter or tin-glazed earthenware model (Fig. 3.4.2.1.12), which in turn copied a German salt-glazed stoneware *Schnelle* (Fig. 3.4.2.1.13). Pewter or ceramic tankards of this shape were common household objects in the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century, used both by men and women, as shown in the painting *The Housemaid* by the Delft artist Cornelis Jacobsz (1571–1643) of *c.*1600–1643 and by a print entitled *Peace* by the Amsterdam artist David Vinckboons published in 1610 (Figs. 3.4.1.1.12 and 3.4.2.1.14). This type of porcelain tankard, like the original German model, has a loop handle with a small hole in the top to fit a silver or pewter lid, which opens by a hinged mechanism. This is clearly seen in an example depicted in a still-life painting by the Middelburg artist Frans Ryckhals (1609–1647), dated 1640 (Fig. 3.4.2.1.15).[968] Tankards of this shape, usually decorated with a continuous narrative scene in the so-called Transitional style, must have been made to order in large quantities, as numerous examples are known around the world. The other model of about the same size has a tapering or straight cylindrical body and a loop handle with a curved, pointed terminal and a small loop at the top to attach a porcelain, silver or pewter lid (Fig. 3.4.2.1.16).[969] Such tankards were made to order at the Shibaqiao kiln site in Jingdezhen, where two shards were excavated (Figs. 3.4.2.1.17 and 3.4.2.1.18) (Appendix 2).[970] Visual sources attest to the presence of this latter type of tankard in the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century. An example, apparently with a porcelain lid mounted in silver-gilt, decorated with three horizontal rows of stylized tulips, carnations and other flowers all floating in empty space (the plain white background) appears depicted in the painting by Willem Claesz. Heda, dated 1638, illustrated earlier (Fig. 3.4.1.1.25). An extant blue-and-white tall, cylindrical beaker with an everted rim in the Groninger Museum (Fig. 3.4.2.1.20)[971] was most probably made after a pewter model provided

tafel: De geschiedenis van het zoutvat, exhibition catalogue, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1976, p. 55, no. 52 and p. 56, no. 54; respectively.

943 I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, for pointing this out to me.

944 Clayton, 1971, p. 220.

945 Until about 1500, salt was produced from domestic sources. The Dutch then began importing raw sea salt and rock salt first from Germany and France, and later from Spain, Portugal and finally from the new World. Mentioned in Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, p. 164.

946 Mentioned in Ibid., pp. 160 and 171. Pieter Claesz used the same silver hexagonal salt in several of his still life compositions. The fact that other artists, like Floris van Schooten, also incorporated silver hexagonal salts in their still life paintings attest to the popularity of this shape. See, Vroom, 1945, p. 42, fig. 28, and p. 100, fig. 80; respectively. For a discussion on a silver salt of triangular form made in Amsterdam in 1618, see Reinier Baarsen, 'Een Amsterdams zilveren zoutvat uit 1618', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, No. 37 (1989), pp. 51–72.

947 Published in Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art. The Dutch Republic 1585–1718*, New Haven and London, 2007, pp. 146–147, fig. 108, and p. 181, fig. 130 (detail). Interestingly, all the tableware used at the dinner table appears to be made of silver or pewter.

948 This painting was previously attributed to Balthasar van der Ast, in L.J. Bol, *The Bosschaert Dynasty*, Leigh-on-Sea, 1960, p. 86, no. 121, pl. 47b. It was sold at auction in Christie's London, sale 7887, 7 December 2010, lot 21. I am grateful to Georgine van der Lugt, Old Masters & Early British Paintings Department, Christie's London, for granting me permission to include an image of this painting in this doctoral dissertation. Peter Claesz incorporated the same silver hexagonal salt in other still life paintings. See, for example, the painting published in Vroom, 1945, p. 42, no. 28.

949 This painting, formerly in the possession of the

Fig. 3.4.2.1.30 Transitional style blue-and-white wall-tile
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Dimensions: 13.5cm x 13cm x 1.4cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1982-0100)

Fig. 3.4.2.1.31 Delft blue-and-white wall-tile
Dutch Republic, *c.*1630–1650
Dimensions: 13cm x 13cm
Guest & Gray, London (ref. J42A)

Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, was sold at auction in Christie's, sale 6682, 14 June 2002, lot 593. For a discussion on this painting and the identity of the young man portrayed, see Jensen Adams, 2006, pp. 29–46

950 According to Frederiks this salt originally stood on six ball feet, which were replaced at a later date by three lions bearing heraldic shields (13.7cm high). The engraved decoration follows the style of the De Bry family and of the Amsterdam silversmith Abraham van der Hecken (active 1608-after 1634). Frederiks, vol. 2, 1958, p. 53, no. 176; and Jensen Adams, 2006, p. 31. It is important to note, however, that the pair of German salts discussed above is supported on claw ball feet.

951 Published in Theodorus van Kessel, Adam van Vianen: *modelles artificiels de divers vaisseaux d'argent, et autres oeuvres capricieuzes*, The Hague, 1892, pl. 44; and Jensen Adams, 2006, p. 33, fig. 3. I am grateful to Jan van Campen, Rijksmuseum, for bringing to my attention that presently this silver salt is considered a fake.

952 This painting, formerly in the Colland Collection, is published in Berger Hochstrasser, 2007, p. 78. I am greatly indebted to the curator of the Palace Het Loo for granting me permission to illustrate the painting. The sprigs of orange blossom and the olives depicted in this painting are said to have a propaganda significance borne out of the inscription Vivat Oraenge, as Jan Davidz. de Heem made it during the first Stadholderless period (1650–1672). I am grateful to Johnny van Haeften, specialist in seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish

by Dutch merchants, such as an example made by Jan Leendertsz. Pot in *c.*1600–1650 in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam (Fig. 3.4.2.1.21). Pewter beakers of this shape in turn copied a Dutch silver model originally intended for use in a domestic context in the Dutch Republic. Such silver beakers appear depicted on Dutch still life paintings, as seen in a slightly earlier painting by Willem Claesz. Heda dated 1633 (Fig. 3.4.2.1.22). After the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century silver beakers of this shape were also used to serve the consecrated communion wine in the Reformed churches in both the Dutch Republic and the Dutch colonies in the New World, such as the example that formerly served at the Reformed church of Pieterburen in Groningen province (Fig. 3.4.2.1.23).[972] The Jingdezhen potters copied faithfully the pewter shape, but decorated it with a Chinese narrative scene in the so-called Transitional style. Beakers are first mentioned in the memorandum sent in April 1638 from Amsterdam to Batavia discussed earlier. The fact that they are listed as '200 large as well as small beakers like the ones sent last, all without covers and a little finer' indicates that beakers had been imported earlier into the Dutch Republic.[973] Beakers are mentioned again in the order placed by the VOC in 1639, which states that 'On the beakers and the flowerjugs which Your Honour sent, the blue paint has been laid on decently and well. The paintings on the porcelains are highly paid for by the curious Europeans, as you will observe from the samples'.[974]

From a letter sent from Batavia to Tayouan in May 1641, we learn that 'All other porcelains like bottles, *snellen*, beakers, etc should be sent sparingly, or be omitted altogether'. As noted by Viallé, by this time the demand for tall pieces of porcelain was already declining in the Dutch Republic.[975] The Jingdezhen potters used the same type of loop handle with curved pointed finial in blue-and-white wine pitchers decorated in the so-called Transitional style (Fig. 3.4.2.1.24), which were probably made after German lead-glazed earthenware jugs of *c.*1600 (Fig. 3.4.2.1.25). The decoration, similarly arranged in rows, but depicting whimsical winged cherubs alternating with curling leaves scrolling symmetrically from a central bud, is also based on European models. The 'wine-jugs' listed in the September 1636 memorial mentioned above may have referred to this shape of jug, and if so would have been part of the same order as the *snelletjes*.

As mentioned earlier, models of mustard pots made of turned wood were first given to Chinese merchants in 1635, and again in 1638. Mustard pots dating to the Chongzhen reign have been recorded in two related shapes, both made in the so-called Transitional porcelain. One type was made with a globular body standing on a splayed foot, a loop handle, and a domed lid with a hollow finial in the top (Fig. 3.4.2.1.26), copying faithfully Dutch tin or pewter models (Fig. 3.4.2.1.27).[976] As mentioned earlier, two shards of this type of mustard pot were excavated at the WIC fortress of Fort Orange built in 1624. The other type differed in that it was made with a baluster body that could be plain or ribbed, and an elongated handle.[977] The hollow finial at the top served to hold a long-handled spoon, just like in the metal original.[978] Extant porcelain mustard pots of globular shape are usually decorated with continuous Chinese narrative or landscape scenes, or more rarely with phoenix roundels alternating with stylized tulip and other flowers.[979] Those of baluster shape are decorated with a new design scheme consisting of sparse branches of flower sprays or a scholar's table and a vase, against a plain white background.[980] Both shapes usually had metal mounts added in Europe with a hinged system that allowed the lid to open and close, as seen in the globular example with a continuous scene depicted in the

Fig. 3.4.2.2.1 Transitional style blue-and-white vase
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
*c.*1635-1640
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. AK-RAK-1989-14-B)

Figs. 3.4.2.2.2a, b and c *Verzameling van een meenigte tulipaanen, naar het leven geteekend met hunne naamen, en swaarte der bollen, zoo als die publicq verkogt zijn, te Haarlem in den jaare A. 1637, door P. Cos, bloemist te Haarlem*
Tulip Book of P. Cos, published in 1637
Wageningen UR Library, Special Collections
(R362B03 Bot. ill.)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.4 Polychrome tin-glazed earthenware wall-tile
Dutch Republic, *c.*1630
Dimensions: 13.2cm x 13.2cm
Private collection, The Netherlands

Fig. 3.4.2.2.3 Polychrome tin-glazed earthenware wall-tiles
Dutch Republic, *c.*1600–1650
Dimensions: 27cm x 27cm x 3.4cm
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen
Rotterdam (acc. no. A 6100 (KN&V))

still life painting by Frans Ryckhals illustrated earlier (Fig. 3.4.2.1.15).[981] Ten mustard pots of these two shapes were recovered from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643): 4 globular, 2 baluster and 4 baluster and ribbed.[982]

Wooden models of candlesticks were also provided in 1635 and 1638. This latter year, the VOC ordered '200 candlesticks like the accompanying sample of turned wood, one half like the abovementioned butterdishes No 1 and the mustard pot of ribbed wood, and the other half inside'.[983] A few shapes of heavily potted porcelain candlesticks made during the Tianqi and Chongzhen reigns have been recorded.[984] Of particular interest are those with a high-bell foot surmounted by a broad drip pan and a tall hollow stem made in the so-called Transitional porcelain (Fig. 3.4.2.1.28).[985] The shape is after a silver[986] or pewter model that was commonly used in the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century,[987] as evidenced by the examples of various sizes found among the merchandise intended for the Asian market recovered in 1877 from the ruins of the Behouden Huys (the secure house) on the Russian Artic island of Nova Zembla, which was abandoned in 1597 by the failed third expedition of the Dutch navigator and cartographer Willem Barentsz (1549–1597) and Jacob van Heemskerck to find a northeast passage to China (Fig. 3.4.2.1.29).[988] Porcelain candlesticks of this shape may be decorated with a continuous Chinese narrative scene round the foot and stylized tulip and other flowers on the stem and candleholder, or all over with the new design of sparse branches of flowers and leaves.[989] Although the latter decoration relates closely to that seen on baluster ribbed mustard pots from the *Hatcher junk* (*c.*1643), no candlesticks were recovered from the shipwreck.

There is one other porcelain shape made to order for the Dutch in the Chongzhen reign that is of particular interest to this study. It is the square wall-tile (Fig. 3.4.2.1.30), which copied tin-glazed earthenware tiles with blue decoration made in the Dutch Republic from about 1620 onwards (Fig. 3.4.2.1.31). Such square wall-tiles, decorated with flowers or scenes from daily life, were commonly used as architectural elements in the chimneys, corridors, staircases, kitchens and lintels of houses. The Jingdezhen potters, who were accustomed to make square tiles with underglaze blue decoration for the Chinese domestic market, copied faithfully the proportions (about 13cm x 13cm) and thickness of the Dutch wall-tile model.[990] The porcelain painters, however, created a hybrid design combining both European and Chinese motifs. The overall blue-and-white design is clearly taken from the Dutch model, with a *fleur-de-lis* to each corner, but the single European figure depicted at the centre is replaced by the figure of an Asian warrior, probably Chinese. Blue-and-white porcelain tiles made for the domestic market can also show a single figure at the centre, such as a scholar or a Daoist philosopher.[991] It is unclear whether this change fulfilled a specific request made by Dutch merchants to make the porcelain wall-tiles more exotic and slightly different from those made in tin-glazed earthenware or if it was a creative licence taken by the porcelain decorators. It is likely that this type of porcelain wall-tile was ordered for use in building projects undertaken at Batavia in 1638 and 1648, as the city grew rapidly due to the expanding activities of the VOC.[992]

European Motifs [3.4.2.2]

It appears that the Dutch, unlike the Portuguese and Spanish, had no desire to have family coat of arms or emblems as decorative motifs on the porcelain made to order for them at Jingdezhen in the 1630s and early 1640s. VOC documents, however, show that the Company repeatedly tried to influence the production at Jingdezhen in main

Old Master Paintings in London, for providing me with information and the present location of this painting.

953 No extant model of this exact shape dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century was found during the research for this study. German stoneware examples of similar shape, dating to *c.*1650–1700, can be found in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (inv. nos. BK-NM-2003 and BK-KOG-573).

954 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 11.

955 Published in Jörg, 2002/03, p. 22, fig. 6.

956 Huang, 2009-2010, pp. 95–96.

957 First published in Jörg, 1990, p. 62, fig. 11.

958 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 10 and 11.

959 VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 15 and 18.

960 As seen here, the Groninger salt has solid sides, while that in the Peabody Essex has open sides. For a discussion on the Groninger salt, see Jörg, 2002/03, p. 22, fig. 7; and Jörg, 2003, p. 42, no. 18. For the Peabody Essex salt, see Sargent, 2012, pp. 76–77, no. 16. Two further Wanli salts have been mentioned in current literature, but these are small cups fitted with gilt brass set with pearls, turquoises and precious stones. These cups, housed at Rosenborg Palace, are mentioned in Jørgen Hein and Peter Kristiansen, *Rosenborg Castle. A Guide to the Danish Royal Collections*, Copenhagen, 1999, p. 17, no. 234. I am grateful to Peter Kristiansen for providing me with images of the cups for research purposes.

961 Pubished in Vroom, 1945, p. 180, no. 167. Silver triangular salts of related shape are also known, as evidenced in the example dating to the mid-seventeenth century in a private collection, which has a triangular top with a circular receptacle for the salt supported by three columns, a triangular base, all standing on three shell feet. Published in Frederiks, 1954, p. 75, no. 233.

962 VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 19.

963 Mentioned in Jörg, 2002/03, p. 22.

964 Mentioned in Ibid.

965 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 11.

966 Volker, 1954, p. 38.

967 Ibid., p. 39.

968 Surviving tankards of this shape with silver mounts can, for instance, be found in the Museum Flehite in Amersfoort, the Hamburg Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Published in D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chine de Commande*, Lochem, 1989, p. 72, fig. 50; D.F Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan*

Figs. 3.4.2.2.5a and b *Kraak* bowl
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
Diameter: 35.5cm; height: 15.2cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1978-0138)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.6 Painting on leather depicting the VOC Forts Provintia and Zeelandia
Taiwan, late seventeenth century
Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (inv. no. 37597)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.7 Shard of a *Kraak* bowl excavated at Fort Zeelandia, Tayouan
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)
© Lu Tai-kang

in Europäischen Fassungen, Braunscweig, 1980, p. 219, fig. 95; and Ashmolean Museum, 1981, p. 33, nos. 46 and 47; respectively.

969 I am greatly indebted to Johann Bisschop, Director of Museum Gemeente Hoogeveen, for granting me permission to include an image of the tankard in this doctoral dissertation. Only a few porcelain tankards of this particular shape and decoration have been recorded so far.

970 Mentioned in Huang, 2009–2010, p. 96. I am greatly indebted to May Huang for granting me permission to study and photograph these shards during a research trip to Jingdezhen in 2010.

971 Published in Jörg, 1993, p. 185, pl. 2.

972 Mentioned in Roderic H. Blackburn, 'Transforming Old World Dutch Culture in a New World Environment: Processes of Material Adaptation', in Blackburn and Kelley, 1987, pp. 97–98, fig. 3.

973 VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 19.

974 VOC 863. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 22.

975 VOC 865. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 23.

976 This shape of mustard pot was also made in contemporary Dutch tin-glazed earthenware. See an example from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam, illustrated in Ostkamp, 2011, p. 30, fig. 53.

977 Mustard pots of this particular shape are found in the Groninger Museum and the Butler Family Collection in England. Published in Viallé, 1992, p. 31 (lid missing); and Butler and Wang, 2006, pp. 320–321, no. 120, respectively.

978 See, for instance, the tin mustard pot with the handle of a spoon passed through the hollow finial illustrated in Ostkamp, 2011, p. 30, fig. 52.

979 For a mustard pot from the Butler Family Collection decorated with a continuous scene depicting three figures sitting in a garden, see Sir Michael Butler, Margaret Medley and Stephen Little, *Seventeenth Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1990, pp. 88–89, no. 45. For another example decorated with a river landscape mounted in Dutch silver in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see Kerr and Mengoni, 2011, p. 85, pl. 115.

980 See the mustard pot which bears a 1643 cyclical date sold at Sotheby's London, 18 May 1971, lot 222, published in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 28, pl. 16.

981 See, for example, the aforementioned mustard pot from the Butler Family Collection, and another mounted example published in Richard S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and their Forerunners*, exhibition catalogue, The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1981, p. 103, pl. 48.

982 Two globular and two baluster ribbed mustard

aspects such as the quality of the porcelain material, glaze and cobalt blue, as well as shape and decoration. As will be shown, the VOC ordered porcelain with specific decorative patterns provided by the Company servants and requested changes of existing Chinese porcelain shapes that had been shipped earlier to the Dutch Republic. Once again we see that the VOC's main concern was to please its clientele of wealthy burghers and merchants in the homeland and at the same time to make porcelain a profitable trade good for the Company.

In September 1634, for example, Tayouan complained to Batavia about the Chinese bringing porcelain with 'some new paintings, but still none of our patterns given to them two years ago'.[993] In July of the following year, Batavia sent a letter to Tayouan clearly stating the preference and demand of porcelain with Chinese decorative patterns that were considered distinctively exotic in the Dutch Republic. It reads: 'Of large, fine bowls, of which 30 were received in three tubs by the Bredamme costing one real a piece, you can send 600 pieces or more yearly and the roundness and fineness should be recommended seriously to the Chinese, also that all the large *copwerck* [cups], jugs, pots, bottles, *langhalsen* [longnecks], *clockcopkens* [bell-cups] etc should be painted curiously and skillfully, with Chinese persons on foot and on horseback, water, landscapes, pleasure-houses, their boats, birds and animals, all is well liked in Europe. Dutch paintings, flower or leafwork, like the longnecked bottles now arrived with the junk Battavia, should be excused entirely, will not make half its price, because the Dutch paintings on porcelain are not considered strange nor rare'.[994] In all probability the 'Dutch paintings, flower or leafwork' refer to the tulip-like flowers with stiff leaves commonly seen on the neck of porcelain bottles, vases and ewers decorated in the so-called Transitional style (Fig. 3.4.2.2.1).[995] The fact that the 'flower or leafwork' motifs are described as Dutch suggests that VOC servants had given to the Chinese merchants Dutch drawings, prints or wall-tiles depicting these popular flowers that came to the Dutch Republic from Turkey, which were meticulously recorded in albums or pamphlets of tulips, carnations and other flowers as a result of the 'Tulipmania' that rose from a highly speculative and lucrative trade in tulip bulbs on the stock market in the late 1630s, such as the nursery catalogue containing gouaches, drawings and watercolours entitled Tulip Book by P. Cos published in Haarlem in 1637 (Figs. 3.4.2.2.2a, b and c).[996] One such album or pamphlet may have served as model for the symmetrical stylized tulip-like flowers depicted in the porcelain. They could also have been copied from tin-glazed earthenware wall-tiles, which were popular in the Dutch Republic exactly at that time, such as the polychrome examples in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (Fig. 3.4.2.2.3)[997] dating to *c.*1600–1650, and a single example in a private collection in The Netherlands dating to *c.*1630 (Fig. 3.4.2.2.4).[998] The 'Dutch paintings', as Jörg has pointed out, must refer to the landscape scenes with large-scale Chinese figures and Western-style houses with divided windows along a river that are seen, together with stylized tulips, carnations and other flowers, on some large *Kraak* bowls and dishes of the Chongzhen reign (Figs. 3.4.2.2.5a and b). The aforementioned porcelain clearly illustrates the response of the Chinese painters to new European demands. They created new design compositions combining the typical *Kraak* panelled border with narrative scenes depicting both Chinese and European motifs, and stylized flowers in the so-called Transitional style.[999] Dutch influence in this group of porcelain pieces is proven by the depiction of an almost identical gable house in a scene with the VOC Forts Provintia and Zeelandia on a painting on leather housed in the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin (Fig. 3.4.2.2.6).[1000] The gable house

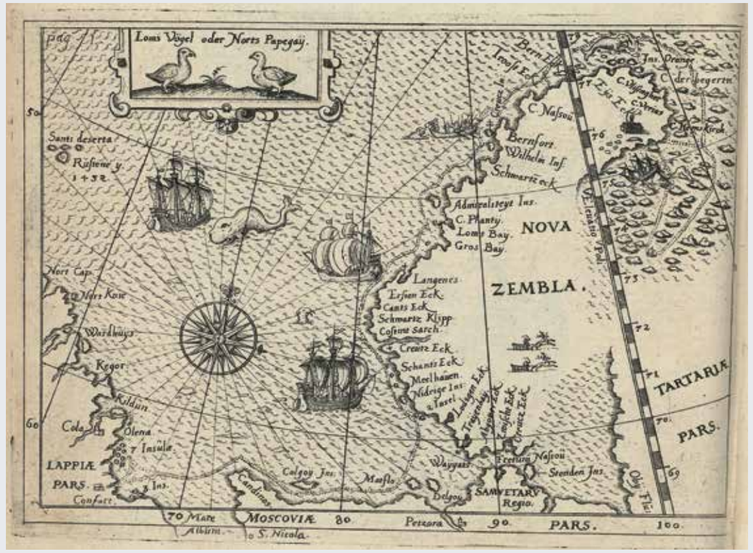


Fig. 3.4.2.2.9 Dutch nautical map of Nova Zembla, 1594
Anonymous, published by Levinus Hulsius, Christoff Lochner, 1598
Dimensions: 10.5cm x 14.5cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. NG-1979-564-2)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.8 *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white saucer dish
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
Diameter: 47cm
Groninger Museum, Groningen
(inv. no. 1983-0189)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.11 *Zhangzhou* saucer dish with overglaze enamel decoration
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign (1573–1644)
Diameter: 36.9cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. PDF A.771)

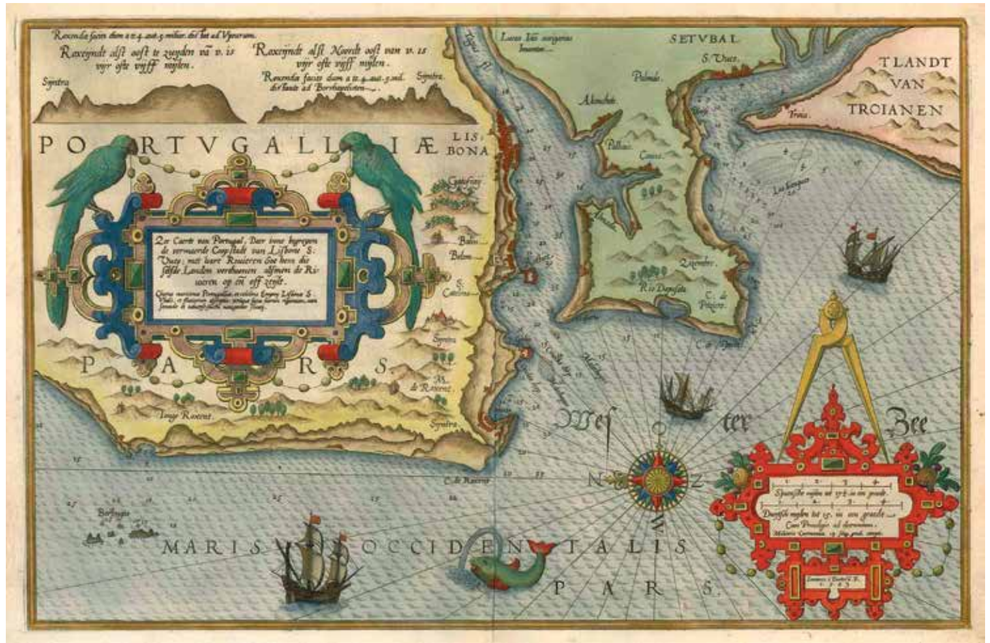


Fig. 3.4.2.2.10 Chart from the nautical atlas entitled *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*, first published by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (1533/34–1606), 1584
University Library Utrecht

pots are published in Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 58, pl. 76 (top row), and p. 71, pl. 110 (bottom row); respectively. Also see Appendix A, p. 168. A baluster ribbed example from the *Hatcher junk* is now in the Groninger Museum, inv. no. 1984–250. Published in Viallé, 1992, p. 31.

983 VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 11 and 19.

984 Examples are published in Ostkamp, 2011, p. 29, figs. 48–50.

985 Published in Christiaan Jörg et al., *Umi o watatta tojiki ten, Ceramic Crossed Overseas: Jingdezhen, Imari and Delft from the Collection of the Groninger Museum, Sogo Museum of Art, Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum, Tokyo Daimaru Museum of Art, Nara Sogo Museum of Art, Kobe Daimaru Museum of Art*, Mainichi Newspapers, Japan, 1999–2000, cat. No. 12. A pair of candlesticks of this shape with the candleholder missing and mounted in silver was in the Julian Thompson study collection sold at auction in Sotheby's London, 14 May 2014, lot 185.

986 For a silver candlestick, one of a pair, of related shape bearing a mark Amsterdam L (1642) in a private collection (17.5cm high), see Frederiks, 1958, p. 64, no. 208.

987 A few English pewter candlesticks of related high-bell shape dating to *c.*1600–1620 are known. An

motif was most probably taken from a printed source provided by VOC servants. As noted elsewhere, the landscape arrangement in three horizontal planes may have derived from contemporary Chinese landscape paintings, as suggested by a handscroll entitled 'River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn day' by the late Ming artist Dong Qichang (1555–1636) in the Cleveland Museum of Art.[1001] Bowls of the type discussed here, as well as large dishes decorated with stylized flowers in the so-called Transitional style, were manufactured at both the Shibaqiao and Lianhualing kilns in Jingdezhen (Appendix 2).[1002] Two shards excavated from Fort Zeelandia, founded in 1624 at Tayouan, provide material evidence of the VOC's trade of such porcelain bowls and dishes via this distribution factory for both East Asia and Europe (Fig. 3.4.2.2.7).[1003]

In this same letter of July 1634, Batavia complains that 'The bell-cups with ears will please, but the ears are proportionately too small, should be made somewhat larger and more in proportion. The new sort of *pierings* or tableplates should be finer and painted more nicely, they look too much like the earthenware that is made in Holland'.[1004] In all probability the 'bell-cups with ears' were like those recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (*c.*1625), and those on board the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia*

y Pura Concepción when it wrecked en route to Spain sixteen years later, in 1641 (Fig. 3.1.2.16).[1005] This letter of 1634, together with the material, textual and visual evidence discussed earlier, indicates a date of *c.*1630–1635 for the *Wanli shipwreck*. From the answer Tayouan sent to Batavia in September 1635 it is clear that the VOC employees were not pleased with the porcelain table plates brought back by the Chinese merchants, as it states 'The table plates were not made with wide and flat enough borders like the sample provided'.[1006] Nor they were made with a 'smooth and glazed base, without an edge or rim, suitable to move over the cloth on the table' as requested in the Batavia letter of July.[1007] For the latter it seems they accepted the explanation given by the Chinese saying that it 'cannot be omitted, because all the porcelains that are fired must have a rim on the bottom to separate them, otherwise they will fire on to each other'.[1008]

In May 1639, Batavia sent an order and samples to Tayouan, which emphasized again the orders given in July 1635 and March 1637 not only rejecting the 'Dutch painting, flower and leafwork' but also requesting good porcelain material, glaze and cobalt blue decoration.[1009] It reads: 'Hand these samples to the Chinese, let them know that we desire finer ones, that close attention should be paid to the painting and especially that all Dutch flower work should be omitted, that the blue should not be too pale or too dark, as the memorandum shows emphatically, and when you contract for these porcelains for the Chinese, do not commit yourself to the former prices, which [former porcelain] indeed is not rare, but clumsy and thick work as seen in the samples, and with which Holland thus remains flooded and does not give reasonable profits, but satisfy them and pay to the order and the quality of the wares'.[1010]

To conclude this section of European influence on porcelain it is important to discuss a group of large and heavily potted saucer dishes decorated in underglaze cobalt blue or in overglaze red, turquoise and black enamels which were made in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century at the private kilns in the nearby areas of Zhangzhou in Fujian province (Appendix 2). They are decorated with a central medallion enclosing a marine rose with thin lines radiating outwards, two European ships with two masts and two tiers of sails, a Chinese coastline with houses and mountains, and a giant leaping fish (probably referring to the dangers of open sea voyages) (Fig. 3.4.2.2.8). In the past, as noted elsewhere, dishes of this type were attributed to the city of Lisbon because the Lisbon arms depict Portuguese ships sailing on calm or rough seas. No documentary evidence, however, was found to support this theory.[1011] The central scene, combining European and Chinese motifs, has been the subject of much discussion. It has been a common opinion among scholars that the scene was inspired by a European nautical map, which in the early days of maritime cartography usually illustrated coastlines with landmarks, islets, ships and marine roses. This research study found an anonymous Dutch nautical map of Nova Zembla, published in 1598, depicting a closely related scene with a central marine rose, ships with two masts and two tiers of sails, and a large fish, which suggested that the source of this scene may have been Dutch rather than Iberian (Fig. 3.4.2.2.9). Recent research by Suebsman has shown that the central scene and the cartouches repeated twice on the border that appear to represent a European armorial flanked by two long-tailed parrots were most likely based on a sea chart of the coast of Portugal from a nautical atlas entitled *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*, first published by the former Dutch Captain from Enkhuizen, Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (1533/34–1606), in 1584 (Fig. 3.4.2.2.10).[1012] The find of this sea chart is of particular importance for this research study. This group

example from the Little Collection was sold at auction in Christie's London, sale 7523, 1 May 2007, lot 132. For more information on British bell candlesticks, see *Journal of the Pewter Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2 Autumn, 1985.

988 These artifacts are now housed in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. They were included in the catalogue J. Braat e.a. (red.), *Behouden uit het Behouden Huys. Catalogus van de voorwerpen van de Barentsexpeditie (1596) gevonden op Nova Zembla. De Rijksmuseumcollectie, aangevuld met Russische en noorse vondsten*, Amsterdam, 1998. I am grateful to Jan de Hond, History Department Rijksmuseum, for this information. For a brief discussion on this expedition, see Marten Jan Bok, 'European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company', in DaCosta Kaufmann and North, 2014, pp. 177–178.

989 For an example of this latter type, see David S. Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader. The Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain illustrated from the Hodroff Collection*, London, 1994, p. 217, no. 253.

990 Blue-and-white porcelain tiles of square shape made at Jingdezhen for the domestic market in the late Ming dynasty were usually of larger size, ranging from about 20 to 22 cm, and had an unglazed stepped edge with cut-off corners. For two examples in the British Museum, dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, see Harrison-Hall, 2001, pp. 325–326, nos. 11:132 and 11:133.

991 For examples, see Ibid.

992 For this opinion, see Jörg, 2002–2003, p. 22; and Ostkamp, 2011, p. 29.

993 VOC 1116. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 9.

994 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 10–11.

995 It is important to note that stylized tulips, carnations and other flowers with stiff leaves appear on the rim panelled borders of a group of Chongzhen *Kraak* dishes and bowls, usually of large size, such as the bowl illustrated here as Fig. 3.4.2.2.5a and b. They also appear on bottle vases, such as the example in the Topkapi Saray and the shards of another excavated from the same strata as the tankard shards at the Shibaqiao kiln site in Jingdezhen discussed earlier. See Krahl and Ayers, 1986, Vol. II, p. 811, no. 1629; and Huang, 2009-2010, p. 95, fig. 7; respectively. Although, as discussed elsewhere, these stylized flower motifs closely resemble the flowers shown on Iznik pottery and Ottoman textiles of the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, it is likely that the flower motifs depicted on the porcelain were taken from printed sources or wall-tiles provided by the Dutch. For an Ottoman silk *kemma* border in the Sadberk Hanim Müzesi in Istanbul published alongside a *Kraak* dish of this type, see Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 38–39, figs. 16 and 18.

996 Tulip bulbs were sold at very high prices. In 1637, bulbs were sold faster than they could grow and this resulted in speculation. Many pamphlets were published ridiculing the craziness of this speculative trade. The Wageningen UR Library holds 32 of such 'Tulipmania' pamphlets. For information and other images from the nursery catalogue illustrated here, see http://bit.ly/WDaurG. Accessed October 2014. For a recent and comprehensive discussion on the 'Tulipmania', see Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honour, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, Chicago, 2007.

997 The Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen also houses a set of tin-glazed earthenware wall-tiles depicting stylized tulip flowers dating to c.1640, Acc. No. A 5030 (KN&V). Published in D. C. Mees, *Kunstnijverheid en tegels 1600–1800 – Applied arts and tiles 1600–1800*, Rotterdam, 1997, p. 307. Also see the set of wall-tiles decorated in blue and colours depicting single tulips and other flowers framed at either side by baluster borders and a *fluer-de-lis* at each corner in the Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. C.534:4–1923. A wall-tile from this set is published in Wu, 2014, p. 186, fig. 7.34.

998 I am grateful to my PhD supervisor Prof. Dr. Christiaan Jörg for bringing to my attention this wall-tile and a similar example (damaged) in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (acc. no. A 7184). For an image of the latter wall-tile, see Mees, 1997, p. 331 (top image).

999 Anne Gerritsen, 'Invloed, imitatie en materiële kunst van de 17e en 18e eeuw', *Aziatische Kunst*, Jaargang 43, Nr. ¾, October 2013, pp. 33–35, fig. 12.

1000 Jörg, 1993, p. 188, note 13. The painting on leather was published earlier in Leonard Blussé, *Tribuut aan China: Vier eeuwn Netherlands-Chinese betrekkingen*, Amsterdam, 1989, p. 70.

1001 Published in Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century, Landscapes, Scholar's Motifs and Narratives*, exhibition catalogue, China Institute Gallery, New York, 1995, p. 35, fig. 1; and Canepa, 2008/2, pp. 40–41, fig. 21.

1002 Porcelain shards excavated from both Shibaqiao and Lianhualing kilns were studied by the author during a research trip to Jingdezhen in 2010. A large fragment of a bowl and a shard of a dish of this type excavated at Lianhualing, is published in Canepa, 2008/2, p. 22, fig. 5. For images of the interior and exterior of a fragment of a bowl of this type excavated from the site, see Cao and Luo, 2006, p. 20, figs. 33 and 34.

1003 The shard of the bowl is illustrated, together with *Kraak* porcelain shards, by Takashi Sakai in the paper *Taiwan and Southeast Asian Arts, Vol. 9, Trade in the 17th century-2*. The shard of the dish illustrated here is published in Lu, 2012, p. 245, fig. 22. I am grateful to Lu Tai-kang for allowing me to include an image of this shard in this doctoral dissertation.

1004 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 11.

1005 For a discussion on these bell-cups with ears, see section 3.1.2 of this Chapter, fig. 3.1.2.16.

1006 VOC 1116. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 13.

1007 VOC 857. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 11.

1008 VOC 1116. Cited in Viallé, 1992, p. 13.

1009 VOC 857 and VOC 316. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 10–11, and p. 14; respectively.

1010 VOC 863. Cited in Viallé, 1992, pp. 21–22.

1011 Discussed in Canepa, 2006, pp. 27–28, figs. 14–16, and pp. 138–143; and Canepa, 2010, pp. 63–64, figs. 3 and 4. Also see, Ströber, 2013, pp. 144–145, no. 45.

1012 Daniel Suebsman, 'Porzellan au seiner Norddeutschen Privatsammlung', in Annete Kanzenbach and Daniel Suebsman (eds.), *Made in China. Porzellan und Teekultur im Nordwesten im 18. Jahrhundent. Ein Kapitel Handelsgeschichte*, exhibition catalogue, Ostfriesisches Landesmuseum, Emden, 2015, pp. 95–96, cat. 4. I am grateful to Daniel Suebman for granting me permission to include an image of the sea chart in this doctoral dissertation.

1013 For the transliteration of the characters, see Scott and Kerr, 1994, p. 40, no. 86. These characters have also been translated as 'from far and near it's a pleasure that you come' and 'Make happy those who are near and those who are far will come'. See, Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 323, no. 11:125; and Suebsman, 2015, p. 95; respectively.

1014 For another example in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo, see Yuba Tadanori, *Chinese Ceramics in the Idemitsu Collection*, Tokyo, 1987, cat. No. 879. One other in the Seikado Bunko Art Museum is published in Seikado Bunko Art Museum, *Swatow Wares from the Seikado Collection*, Tokyo, 1997, p. 35, no. 27. Mentioned in Canepa, 2006, p. 141.

1015 Mentioned in Sargent, 2012, p. 166, and p. 173, note 13.

1016 Ibid., p. 166; and Suebsman, 2015, p. 95.

of *Zhangzhou* saucer dishes has now become a unique and fascinating example of porcelain made with European motifs reflecting both Portuguese and Dutch influence, which relate to European sea trade routes, as well as Chinese motifs. The source of the decoration is of Dutch origin, but depicts a sea chart of the coast of Portugal, which according to Suebsman may have served as a guide to the sea route to Zhangzhou. A few saucer dishes with overglaze enamel decoration include four opposing roundels round the rim, each enclosing a Chinese character that read *jinyue yuanlai* (pleased to have arrived whether from far or near),[1013] a proverb from the Analects of Confucius, such as the example from the Percival David Collection, now in the British Museum (Fig. 3.4.2.2.11).[1014] A blue-and-white saucer dish in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig includes on the central scene the characters *tianxia diyi*, which translates as 'the best under heaven'.[1015] These dishes, as noted by Sargent and Suebsman, appear to have served not only as sea charts and bringers of good luck, but also as self-promotion from the kilns of Zhangzhou where these dishes were made.[1016] From the VOC documents and extant pieces of porcelain with European shapes and/or motifs discussed above it is possible to conclude that the Dutch influence on porcelain made to order at Jingdezhen in the early seventeenth century was much more prominent than that exerted by the Portuguese and Spanish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though still limited. The Dutch succeeded in having European shapes copied almost exactly as the models provided for use in daily life actvities, especially eating and drinking at the dinner table. Their first orders of porcelain with specific European motifs, however, were not delivered. Later when the Jingdezhen potters finally made the desired porcelain with European motifs, the VOC continued to receive porcelain with Dutch paintings and flowers for some years despite their repeated instructions to omit it from orders because customers in the homeland did not regard it as exotic and thus did not want it. It appears that Dutch printed sources also influenced the decoration of a group of dishes in the somewhat cruder porcelain made by the Zhangzhou potters in southern China. The process of ordering porcelain made after European shapes or motifs provided, as shown by the VOC documents discussed above, was both complex and lenghtly. Dutch merchants always depended on the Chinese junk traders to place an order, who first had to understand the specific requirements made by their new European customers, in order to communicate them to the porcelain potters and decorators of these important manufacturing centres of export porcelain, which were not only located far from the port cities, but also from each other. Although this indirect trade in porcelain proved to be dissapointing at times for the Dutch, as the special orders were sometimes not entirely fulfilled to their expectations, we have a wide variety of surviving pieces that clearly reflect the Dutch desire to incorporate the imported porcelain with exotic decorations into their daily life not only in the Dutch Republic but also in the Dutch colonies in both Asia and the New World, but in shapes that suited their own culture.

Discussion [3.5]

New and important information found through the concurrent study of textual sources concerning the trade in porcelain by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries relates to its use in ornamental displays adopted for interior decoration in Western Europe. It has been shown that the custom of displaying a large quantity of porcelain in a separate architectural space or room specially created for that purpose began much earlier than previously thought, and that it first occurred in Portugal in the early 1560s, and then in England in the early 1600s. This new information is important because it puts an end to the long-lasting general assumption that such ornamental displays of porcelain first appeared in the Dutch Republic and then spread throughout Europe.

Thus far the earliest reference to this custom of displaying porcelain is found in the 1563 unpublished post-mortem inventory of Teodósio I, 5th Duke of Braganza, the most important nobleman after the King of Portugal. The inventory lists more than 100 pieces of porcelain displayed alongside glass objects in the dowager Duchess's 'House of glass and porcelain' at the ducal palace of Vila Viçosa in central Portugal. The next reference is found in another unpublished inventory taken in 1605 of the furnishings of Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, South West England, which belonged to Sir Mathew Arundell. In the 'possylen house' are listed 154 pieces of porcelain displayed alongside earthenware, brass, marble, wicker and Venetian glass objects. It is clear from the designations given by the individuals who drew up these inventories that these architectural spaces were used specifically to display porcelain. In addition, these inventories indicate that in both Portugal and England porcelain was displayed alongside imported glass objects. It is not until the following decade that this custom of displaying porcelain is recorded in the Southern Netherlands. The inventory of Breda Castle taken in 1619 after the death of Eleanora of Bourbon-Condé, wife of Prince Philip William of Orange, lists 199 pieces of porcelain displayed in the 'Princess' Cabinet', which was located next to her bedchamber. It was almost thirteen years later, in 1632, that the custom of displaying porcelain in a separate room was adopted in the Dutch Republic. That year, Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, the wife of the third Stadholder of the States General, created a 'groote porceleyn-cabinet', and around 1632–1634 a gallery, to display porcelain along with other curiosities at Noordeinde Palace. What has become apparent is that members of the high-ranking noble families, whether in Portugal, England or the Dutch Republic, exclusively enjoyed the privilege of acquiring and displaying a large quantity of porcelain pieces in separate architectural spaces or rooms, which undoubtedly reflected their interest in imported Asian goods, sophisticated taste, vast wealth and social standing at the time. Although there is a serious lack of detailed knowledge on the use of such porcelain displays, and specifically the exact quantity and types of porcelain, and way in which they were displayed, we can now confidently say that this custom began much earlier that previously acknowledged, and definitely not in the Dutch Republic. The forthcoming publication of the research project 'All his worldly possessions. The estate of the 5th Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio I' may bring to light further information on the earliest architectural space created to display porcelain thus far documented.

This study has also shown that the custom of displaying a number of porcelain pieces alongside small objects of various materials in credenzas, cupboards, cabinets or other furniture of that sort placed against the walls of a private room was adopted in Western Europe as early as the late 1580s. Interestingly, this way of displaying porcelain appears to have first occurred in Italy, but not in the residence of an Italian nobleman. It was in the stately house of the Portuguese New Christian merchant banker, António da Fonseca, in Rome. The 1588 inventory compiled a few months before his death lists 526 porcelain pieces displayed alongside majolica and Portuguese earthenware objects in wooden credenzas. The display of a large number of porcelain pieces in specially made built-in cupboards or cabinets appear to have been simultaneously adopted in the Southern Netherlands and in Spain in the late 1610s. The *Sense of Sight*, one of five paintings of the cabinet of curiosities of the Archduke Albert of Austria and his wife Isabella Clara, dating to 1617–1618, depicts a large number of porcelain pieces displayed on a table, a cabinet and a sideboard; and the 1619 inventory of the home of the VI Duke of Béjar, Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor, lists porcelain and other ceramic objects displayed together on an 'architrave' and 'on top of a larder'. Here, again, we lack detailed information on how exactly the porcelain and other objects mentioned in the inventories were displayed, and we do not know if these were formal arrangements or not. The *Sense of Sight* painting suggests that the pieces of porcelain were not purposely arranged in groups. Thus, if one takes into consideration Dutch textual and visual sources depicting interiors discussed and illustrated earlier, one can conclude that it was only the custom of displaying porcelain arranged in groups (sometimes symmetrically) on wooden shelves, on the lintel above the doors or on top of cupboards that was first adopted in the Dutch Republic for interior decoration in the 1630s.

Conclusions [3.6]

From the information provided by the primary and secondary sources, and the marine and terrestial archaeological finds discussed in this Chapter it is possible to conclude that the Iberians, the Dutch and English regularly imported Chinese trade porcelain into Western Europe and the New World, the Iberians since the sixteenth century, the Dutch and English since the early seventeenth century. They purchased several porcelain types that were similar, but in the early seventeenth century already a difference in shape and decorations can be distinguished in the assortments of the Dutch, compared to those of the others.

The majority of the porcelain imported was blue-and-white from the private kilns of Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province. Initially, traditional sixteenth century trade porcelain was shipped, but from about 1573 it mostly consisted of a new type known as *Kraak*. This porcelain rapidly became the standard trade ware until the early 1630s. Marine archaeological finds confirm textual sources that since then the porcelain imported into Western Europe and the New World included both *Kraak* and the porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style. The finds have also shown that until the turn of the sixteenth century the imports consisted mostly of porcelain of open forms, such as dishes, plates and bowls. The decorative schemes of certain types of this blue-and-white trade porcelain, such as plates with the phoenix in profile, must have been very popular as they continued to be made at Jingdezhen and imported into both Western Europe and the New World for several decades. Porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels, solely or in combination with underglaze cobalt blue, was imported in small quantities. This included porcelain of the *Kinrande* type with gold leaf decoration, as well as *wucai* (five colour) porcelain. Textual sources suggest that blue-and-white porcelain with gold leaf decoration was also imported. Archaeological finds indicate that a small quantity of the thicker and somewhat coarser porcelain from the private kilns of Zhangzhou in the southern province of Fujian was regularly imported, too, from the late sixteenth century onwards. Finds have also demonstrated that the fine white-glazed porcelain known as *Blanc de chine* from the private kilns of Dehua in Fujian began to be imported into both the New World and Western Europe at least as early as the late 1630s.

The similarities of the porcelain imported by the Iberians and by the Dutch and English are not surprising. The Portuguese purchased porcelain that was brought by Chinese junk traders first to Shangchuan and other clandestine trading posts, and later to Macao; the Spanish purchased from the Chinese traders (and also from Portuguese merchants) that brought porcelain to Manila and for a short period also to Formosa. The Dutch and English acquired porcelain, as they did with silk, through privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, as well as Chinese junks, or by purchasing it from Chinese traders that came to their trading posts in Bantam, Patani and Batavia. The differences that can be observed had their roots, just as with silk, in the distribution, consumer reception and use of the various types of porcelain imported into the home countries in Western Europe and the colonies in the New World, and were related to their individual political, mercantile and religious policies. As the studies by Gasch-Tomás and Krahe have recently demonstrated, they are mostly found, rather unexpectedly, between the Iberian societies of Portugal and Spain, and the Spanish colonial societies of the New World. In Portugal, the large quantities of porcelain imported were highly valued by the royalty and high-ranking nobility. By the early 1560s, as shown in the previous pages, the nobility had incorporated porcelain into their daily life not only by displaying pieces in private and public spaces of their households but also by using it as tableware. It is in fact in Portugal that the custom of displaying porcelain in a separate architectural space or room specially created for that purpose has been first recorded. Members of the Lisbon royal court played an important role in spreading a taste for porcelain as they supplied relatives residing at other European courts, and also provided the clergy, as well as courtiers and servants, with porcelain and other Asian goods. It has been shown that in particular the clergy valued porcelain for both religious and practical uses not only in Lisbon, but also in other cities. Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that by the turn of the sixteenth century porcelain was widely distributed throughout Portugal. In contrast, only a small quantity of porcelain appears to have been imported into Spain, via Lisbon or the viceroyalty of New Spain, where it was intended almost exclusively for the royal court, clergy, high-ranking nobility and wealthy merchants of Seville. Considerable quantities of porcelain, however, are documented as having been imported into the Southern Netherlands by the early seventeenth century, where the custom of displaying porcelain has been recorded as early as the late 1610s. In the New World, the large quantities of porcelain imported in the late sixteenth century into New Spain, and for a period also into Peru, were widely distributed throughout the Spanish viceroyalties and thus came to be incorporated into the daily life not only of the Spanish elite, Creoles and clergy but also of the indigenous population, if only in small quantities.

Something similar occurred in the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic, where the enormous quantities of porcelain imported by the VOC or as private trade in the early decades of the seventeenth century appear to have been widely distributed. Textual, archaeological and visual sources have shown that porcelain was highly appreciated by the Stadholders, VOC servants and wealthy merchants, who

incorporated it into their daily life by using porcelain not only as tableware, but also in formal arrangements for interior decoration. By the early 1610s even urban middle class residents displayed porcelain in different ways in their interiors, for instance on hanging cupboards, on top of the lintel above the door or arranged symmetrically on top of a cabinet. However, it was only in 1632 that the custom of displaying porcelain and other curiosities in a separate room is recorded as having been adopted at one of the Stadholder's residences.

Although only a small amount of porcelain was imported into England at the time, mostly as private trade via the Dutch Republic or through privateering, it seems clear that it was highly appreciated. Initially, porcelain was considered a valuable curiosity and thus was sometimes fitted with silver-gilt mounts made by renowned English silversmiths, or was collected by prominent men and women who displayed it along with other exotic imported objects in a *Kunstkammer* fashion for a selected audience. It was shown that in England, by 1605, porcelain was being displayed in a separate architectural space, specially designed for that purpose, similar to what had occurred in Portugal about forty years earlier. Porcelain remained for decades the privilege of the royalty, nobility and wealthy merchants, but then it gradually became more available to different social groups.

From the analysis of a selected group of extant porcelains it has been possible to conclude that the European influence on the porcelain made to order at the private kilns of Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was quite limited. This is not surprising, as porcelain would have been always ordered via the Chinese junk traders who acted as middleman for the Europeans. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to exert influence on porcelain made at Jingdezhen. The pieces they ordered during the Zhengde and early Jiajing reigns were produced as ordinary trade porcelain, sometimes after Middle Eastern shapes. They combined traditional Chinese motifs showing Buddhist, Daoist or Confucian connotations, with motifs related to the Portuguese Crown, nobility and the Church, or taken from the artistic repertoire of Renaissance Europe. It was during the Jiajing reign that the Jingdezhen potters adapted more to the taste and requirements of the Portuguese and began to make some new shapes that reflected European influence. Orders of porcelain, especially decorated with coat of arms of the nobility, and religious emblems or monograms increased considerably from the Wanli reign onwards. Some orders were still produced as traditional trade porcelain of the previous reigns, only adapting the decoration to the European demands, but the majority was made in the new mass-produced *Kraak* porcelain. The Chinese junk traders were most probably provided with printed or drawn designs and inscriptions which the Portuguese desired to be copied onto the porcelain. The multiple errors in the execution, however, reflect both the indirect nature of such orders and the porcelain decorators' unfamiliarity with such foreign motifs. Interestingly, only two *Kraak* pieces made to order with armorials of the nobility of other European countries, i.e. Spain and Germany, have so far been recorded. Thus far Dutch and English examples are absent. Besides, the rapid development of *Kraak* porcelain in Jingdezhen resulted in orders of porcelain made in shapes modelled directly after European models for use in both secular and religious contexts.

Either the Portuguese or Spanish also exerted some influence on the porcelain made at the southern kilns of Zhangzhou. At least two European shapes, both different from those ordered at Jingdezhen, were made to order in the late sixteenth century. Although they imitated the models provided as close as possible, the decoration was made in the free and painterly style characteristic of the production of these kilns.

It has become clear that the influence exerted on the Jingdezhen potters by the Dutch, who are documented as having first ordered porcelain after European models in 1634,[1017] was much more prominent than that of the Iberians, though still limited. Although the Jingdezhen potters copied almost exactly the wooden, earthenware or pewter models provided by the VOC, they did not always fulfill the Dutch requests concerning the decoration of the porcelain. The first VOC orders of porcelain with specific European motifs were not delivered; and later were delivered despite repeated instructions given by the Dutch to omit those motifs. It appears that the European influence on the Zhangzhou kilns was not limited to the Iberians, as Dutch printed sources seem to have influenced the decoration of a group of dishes made by the potters there. These relate to European sea trade routes, reflecting both Portuguese and Dutch influence. It has also become clear that porcelains from the Zhangzhou kilns were far more widely traded and valued by the Europeans than previously thought.

The Dutch, unlike the Portuguese, were not interested in having European coat of arms or monograms depicted on the porcelain made to order for them at the time.[1018] Instead, the Dutch desired to have porcelain for use in their daily life, especially for eating and drinking at the dinner table, as well as for use as decorative and showy elements in their households, both in the Dutch Republic and in their colonies in Asia and the New World. Chinese motifs were much liked and were considered exotic, but preferably on shapes that suited their own material culture. Thus, contrary to what occurred with the Iberians, the Dutch influence on porcelain consisted mostly of new shapes, rather than motifs. No evidence of any influence exerted by the English in the porcelain made to order during this period was found during the research for this study.

The extant porcelain pieces discussed in section 3.4 of this Chapter provide tangible evidence of the complex but fascinating cultural interactions and material exchanges that occurred between the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch merchants and the Chinese junk merchants, who served as intermediaries for the porcelain potters and painters at the kilns of Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

1017 As noted by Viallé, the Governor-General Jacques Specx in Batavia sent a letter to Hans Putmans in Tayouan on 27 June of that year, in 1634, requesting porcelain in European shapes. It reads: 'Your Honour should procure rare porcelains like *piringhs* with flat borders like the Dutch pewter tableplates, jugs, mugs, …'. From the response sent from Tayouan to Batavia on 28 September of that same year we learn that 'patterns' had been given to the Chinese junk traders to be copied more than two years earlier. VOC 1111 and VOC 1116, respectively. Viallé, 1992, pp. 8-9. However, it is important to remember that the earliest textual evidence of porcelain made after European models provided by the Dutch, as discussed in section 3.4.2 of this Chapter, dates to July 1635.

1018 Dutch interest in ordering such porcelains appears to have begun sometime after the mid-seventeenth century, when the production at the Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou kilns had come to a halt due to the Qing ban on foreign exports, imposed between 1645 and 1660. Thus the Dutch had to turn to Japan to make porcelain to order for them. Porcelain decorated in underglaze cobalt blue with the monogram of the VOC or with subsidiary monograms such as NVOC, some of them within a *Kraak* style panelled border, were made at the Arita kilns for Company use in the second half of the seventeenth century. For two examples dating to *c.*1660–1680, see Ayers, Impey and Mallet, 1990, p. 94, nos. 32–33. The Dutch also ordered plates, dishes and shields made of Japanese lacquered wood decorated with armorials in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[Chapter IV]

Trade in Japanese Lacquer to Western Europe and the New World

c.1580–1644

As Hidaka has recently noted, the Japanese lacquer traded by the Europeans, unlike the Chinese silk and porcelain discussed in the previous Chapters, appears to have been almost all made to order and mostly after European or Indo-Portuguese shapes.[1] Therefore the structure of this Chapter differs from that of the two previous Chapters. It relies on primary and secondary sources, which contain scattered information relating to the varied types and quantities of lacquer produced in Japan specifically for export to Western Europe and the New World via the trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific sea trade routes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[2]

Japan was renowned throughout Asia for its high quality lacquer, considered by some technically superior than that produced in China and Korea. This was probably due to the fact that Japanese lacquer, called ***urushi***, was decorated using a technique developed by local craftsmen known as ***makie*** (sprinkled picture),[3] which consisted in drawing the decorative motifs with ***urushi*** lacquer in colours that contrasted with the polished lacquered surface, and when the ***urushi*** was still wet and adhesive it was sprinkled with fine gold or silver particles, which technique was well established by the twelve century. Lacquer, however, was a material unknown in Europe before the Portuguese arrival in Asia at the turn of the fourteenth century.[4] Japanese lacquer,[5] as will be shown in the following pages, appears to have been first brought to Europe via the Portuguese trans-Atlantic trade route in the late sixteenth century. Textual evidence of the trade in lacquer by the Iberians is exceedingly rare. Treatises, dictionaries, accounts and letters written by Jesuit missionaries that lived in Japan at the time are of particular importance, as they provide some personal comments praising the beauty and high quality of the ***urushi*** lacquer produced for the domestic market and give us an insight on its manufacturing processes and uses in Japan. Moreover, they demonstrate that lacquers were highly appreciated by them and thus were sent as diplomatic gifts to the King of Spain/Portugal and the Pope with the first Japanese embassy that went to Europe in the late sixteenth century. Textual evidence of the trade by the European trading companies, the VOC and EIC, is more abundant, but still scant. Excerpts from ships registers, probate inventories, accounts and letters written by Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and English merchants, and clerics, provide information regarding the material qualities, decorative techniques and schemes, and sometimes even the purchase price, of the various types of lacquer made to order for the Christian missionaries, Iberians, VOC and EIC servants, as well as private individuals, imported into Western Europe and the New World as merchandise, private consignments or sent as gifts. Moreover, they give an idea of the commercial networks through which the imported lacquers circulated, and the way in which they were acquired, used and appreciated within these different societies. Visual sources, including paintings and prints, serve to illustrate the models for the European shapes and/or motifs copied by the lacquer craftsmen, as well as to compare the lacquer production for the Japanese domestic market which influenced the decorative style of the hybrid lacquers made to order for the Europeans during the Momoyama and early Edo periods.

A number of extant lacquer objects housed in monasteries and convents, as well as in public and private collections in Japan and the rest of the world, provide tangible evidence of the lacquers made to order for the European market during this period, for both religious and secular use. These lacquer objects are clearly hybrid as they combine local (or Asian) raw materials, construction methods and decorative techniques mostly with shapes of objects brought by the Europeans from Renaissance Europe. They are also combined with shapes and/or decorative styles of objects brought from settlements established earlier in Asia where local workshops produced furniture and smaller objects made to order for them for use locally or to be imported into Europe, as well as with European motifs. These pieces also help us visualize the differences between the lacquers made to order for the Iberian market, for both religious and secular use, during the early period of trade in the late sixteenth century, with those made for the Dutch and English markets in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Although out of the scope of this doctoral dissertation, a brief discussion of a small number of extant pieces decorated in lacquer of very high quality with European figures, most probably made for the Japanese domestic market rather than for export, in section 4.1.3 of this Chapter, will serve to illustrate the profound influence that the continuous presence of the Portuguese and their culture exerted on the Japanese daily life and the arts made during the Momoyama and early Edo period for the warrior elite and wealthy merchant class.

1 Kaori Hidaka, 'Maritime trade in Asia and the circulation of lacquerware', in Shayne Rivers, Rupert Faulkner and Boris Pretzel (eds.), *East Asian Lacquer. Material Culture, Science and Conservation*, London, 2011, p. 7.

2 The trade in Japanese lacquer made for export to Europe was previously discussed by the author in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *After the Barbarians. An Exceptional Group of Namban Works of Art*, exhibition catalogue, London and Lisbon, 2003; Teresa Canepa, 'Namban Works of Art for the Japanese, Portuguese and Dutch markets', in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *After the Barbarians II. Namban Works of Art for the Japanese, Portuguese and Dutch Markets*, London and Lisbon, 2008, pp. 15–29; and Teresa Canepa, 'Namban Lacquer for the Christian Missionaries', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Vols. 18/19, June/December 2009 (published December 2011), pp. 253–290.

3 Miyeko Murase, *Bridge of Dreams. The Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art*, New York, 2000, p. 222; and Hidaka, 2011, p. 5.

4 Julia Hutt, 'Asia in Europe: Lacquer for the West', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 236.

5 Unless otherwise specified, the Japanese lacquer made for the European market will be referred to as lacquer throughout this doctoral dissertation.

European influence on Japanese Lacquer [4.1]

Lacquer made to order for the Iberian market [4.1.1]

Lacquer for the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries [4.1.1.1]

When the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552), accompanied by a Japanese convert called Anjiro and two Jesuit companions, arrived at the port of Kagoshima in the southern part of Kyūshū Island in August 1549, he brought with him engravings, paintings and statuettes of the Virgin Mary and Jesus for assistance in preaching and catechizing.[6] Christianity spread rapidly among the elite and commoners across the country, which at that time was in civil war (*sengoku*) under divided rule by local feudal warlords.[7] In 1567, the Christian *daimyō* Omura Sumitada (1533–1587) wrote to the Jesuit Cosme de Torres (1510–1570) offering the port of Nagasaki as a centre of Portuguese trade and Christian activity.[8] By 1582, the Italian Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Visitor of the Society of Jesus to the Asian missions, concluded that there were 150,000 Christians in Japan.[9] Three years later, Japan was consecrated as an exclusive area for the Jesuits of the Portuguese *Padroao* by the brief *Ex pastoralis officio* issued by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585). However, the Jesuit mission in Japan was struggling despite being sponsored by the Portuguese Crown. The Jesuits were isolated from Europe and the Portuguese settlements in Macao, Malacca and Goa, and thus required a regular supply of a variety of religious objects for their devotional practices and evangelical work.[10]

From an unfinished manuscript by the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues (1561–1633), entitled *História da Igreja do Japão*, we learn that he was captivated by the exotic nature, beauty and intrinsic qualities of lacquer objects, especially its hardness and lustre. The detailed description of the lacquer manufacturing process by João Rodrigues, who was *procurador* of Nagasaki from 1598 to 1610, reveals that he considered it to be an artistic activity that had something in common with the art of painting. It reads: 'Throughout the whole kingdom they practise an art which has something in common with painting; this is the art of varnishing, which we call over here urushar from the word urushi, the varnish made from the gum of a certain tree. They tap the trunk of this tree at a certain time of the year a draw off an excellent gum, which is used as varnish; this tree is also found in China, the Caucasus, Cambodia and Siam. But of all these nations the Japanese stand supreme in this art, for they are so skilful that they can make a varnished object look as if it were made of smooth glittering gold. The art is practised throughout the entire kingdom because their tableware, such as bowls, and tables and trays from which they eat, as well as tables, ornaments and other vessels are all varnished. The varnish is so hard and well applied that water, however hot it may be, falling on these dishes and bowls does not do any damage, just as if the bowls were made of glazed earthenware. They also varnish the scabbards of katana and daggers, the handles of lances and the sheaths of their blades, and a multitude of other things, and for this reason it is the most universal art of the kingdom because it is used practically in everything. It has a certain affinity to the art of painting because among these craftsmen there are some who gild in a special way the finest examples of this kind in the whole world. Using pure gold powder they paint various objects in which they set flowers made of gold and silver leaf and mother-of-pearl. There is nothing more splendid than such things, but they are so costly that only lords and wealthy people can afford them. There is, it is true, a cheaper kind of this work which more or less looks the same, but it is vastly different as regards workmanship, gloss and price; the gentry of the kingdom make much use of this second type. Some escritoires and dishes of this kind were taken to Europe, but they were very inferior to the best sort of this second kind. There are also fakes, which can easily deceive someone who does not know much about it. Although the Chinese have a large variety of gilded things and use a great deal of varnish, they highly admire and value the gilt and varnish work of Japan, for however skilful they may be they cannot equal the Japanese in this art. The tree from which this varnish is taken bears a fruit that the Japanese boil to obtain a kind of wax from which they make their candles and there is great abundance of this in the kingdom'.[11] Father João Rodrigues was also captivated by the skills of craftsmen who made the wooden objects that were subsequently covered with lacquer, as he states 'they are such masters of their art, in all kinds of woodcraft, joining, adjusting, … and join and fit the wood or boards in such a way that in the manufacture of a chest, or box that it seems to have been crafted without joints, as though it was made from a single block of wood or board'.[12] It is clear from these excerpts that the close relations between the *daimyō* and Father João Rodrigues, the *Tçuzu*,[13] who had an excellent comprehension of the Japanese language and culture and served as trade representative of the *shogūn* Toyotomi Hideyoshi and later of the *shogūn* Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) until he left Japan in 1610,[14] gave him the opportunity to view not only the finest quality of lacquer, but also of the wooden objects produced at the time.

The earliest extant lacquer objects displaying European influence, as Kawamura has noted, appear to have been first made to order in the early Momoyama period (1573–1615) for Jesuit missionaries residing in Japan to be used for Christian devotional practices and evangelical work, rather than for export to Western Europe.[15]

6 Bailey, 1999, p. 6.

7 For a brief account on Francis Xavier's arrival and missionary work in Japan, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'São Francisco de Xavier e o Japão', in Tobu Museum of Art, *St. Francis Xavier - His Life and Times*, exhibition catalogue, Tokyo, 1999, pp. 37-39. For more information on the Jesuit missionary strategies and the conversion of the Japanese ruling elite, see Madalena Ribeiro, 'The Christian Nobility of Kyūshū. A Perusal of Jesuit Sources', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 13, December 2006, pp. 45–64.

8 Charles R. Boxer, *Fidalgos no Extremo Oriente. Factos e Lendas de Macau Antigo*, Macao, 1990, p. 52.

9 By the beginning of the seventeenth century there were about 320,000 Christian converts. For this opinion, see Kiichi Matsuda, *Kirishitan Shijitsu to Bijitsu*, Tokyo, 1969, p. 54. An estimate of 750,000 Christians, however, has been given in Boxer, 1951, p. 187.

10 The demand for religious objects is clearly stated in a letter written in 1566 by the Jesuit Luís Fróis, where he mentions that local Christians 'persistently ask for blessed rosaries, relics, a bead of St. Thomas wood, veronicas, images and other related things to have at home'. *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Jesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia, desde el año de 1549, hasta el de 1571*. Alcalá: Iuan Iñiguez de Iequerica, 1575, 248v. Cited in Moura Carvalho, 2013, p. 40.

11 *História da Igreja do Japão… iniciada em 1575*, Macao, 1622, vol. II, pp. 21–23. Cited in Oliver Impey and Christiaan Jörg, Japanese *Export Lacquer 1580–1850*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 234. The English translation of the excerpt given by Impey and Jörg is taken from Michael Cooper (ed.), *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, Ann Arbor, reprint 1995, pp. 258–259.

12 *Jesuítas na Ásia, Japão*, fl. 145 v. Cited in Leonor Leiria, 'The Art of Lacquering According to the Namban-jin written sources', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Vol. 3, December 2001, p. 13.

13 The term *Tçuzzo*, derived from the Japanese word *tsuji*, means 'translator'. Mentioned in Ibid., p. 61, note 41.

14 Alexandra Curvelo, 'Introduction', in Maria Manuela d'Oliveira Martins (ed.), *Encomendas Namban. Os Portugueses no Japão da Idade Moderna – Namban Commissions. The Portuguese in Modern Age Japan*, exhibition catalogue, Museu do Oriente, Lisbon, 2010, p. 17.

15 Yayoi Kawamura, 'Laca japonesa *urushi* de estilo *Namban* en España. Vias de su llegada y sus destinos', in Yayoi Kawamura (ed.), *Lacas Namban. Huellas de Japón en España. IV Centenario de la Embajada Keichō*, exhibition catalogue, Museo de Artes Decorativas, Madrid, 2013, p. 257.

Figs. 4.1.1.1.1a and b Pair of six-panel folding screens of Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons
Ink, colour, and gold on gilt paper
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Dimensions: 176.2cm x 377.2cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 1987.342.1, .2)

Lacquer craftsmen working in and around Miyako (present-day Kyoto), the imperial capital of Japan until 1615,[16] made a variety of liturgical objects for the Jesuits in this durable material, which were intended for use in personal devotion and Jesuit churches in Japan,[17] and most probably also for use in their missions in Asia, Europe and the New World.[18] A few descriptions of the interiors of Jesuit churches in Japan found thus far in textual sources indicate that they had a high altar and religious images (sculptures and paintings), altarpieces and all the necessary liturgical objects.[19] By 1583, the year the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Nicolao or Niccoló (*c.*1558–1626) arrived in Nagasaki, the Jesuit evangelical work had included the foundation of educational institutions, including a noviciate in Usuki, two Seminars in Arima and St. Paul's College in Funai.[20]

In order to fully understand the extent of the influence exerted by the missionaries on the liturgical objects made to order for them by the lacquer craftsmen it is imperative to consider not only the physical and aesthetic qualities of the extant pieces that display an evident European influence, but also the decorative style and manufacturing techniques of the lacquer that was made at workshops in Miyako for the Japanese domestic market at the time. Initially, all the liturgical objects made for the Jesuits were decorated in a new style developed by the local lacquer craftsmen, most probably to speed up the production process and to reduce the cost, which consisted in reducing or omitting the textile layers on the base or edges, and the use of relatively simple lacquer techniques. The exterior black lacquer ground of each object was decorated in *makie* (gold and/or silver powder) and with rather thick fragments of iridescent mother-of-pearl inlay (*raden*), sometimes cut in random shapes, depicting dense naturalistic compositions of Japanese flowering and fruiting plants, exotic birds, both real and mythical animals, and insects, all within a variety of geometric borders.[21] These liturgical lacquers belong to a group of artistic objects and paintings made to order in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, known as *Namban* art or *Nambanbijutsu*.[22]

In the Momoyama period, seasonal flowers and plants became the focus of painting compositions, reflecting the Japanese people's keen attentiveness to seasonal changes. A close examination of the images of nature depicted on *Namban* liturgical lacquers, as will be shown in the following pages, reveals that they were largely based on paintings created by the renowned painters of the Kanō school. Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590) was appointed official painter of two powerful feudal warlords, the *daimyō* Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and his successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), who commissioned him to produce paintings on decorative folding screens, or *byôbu* in Japanese, and sliding doors (*fusuma*) of monumental size to furnish their new castles and palaces, which served to display both their authority and magnificence. Kanō Eitoku made paintings richly embellished in bright colours on a gold background, first for Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle, constructed on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa in 1576, and later for Hideyoshi's castle in Osaka and the palace of Jurakudai in Miyako. Kanō Eitoku's sumptuous painting style became the established painting style of the period.[23] A pair of six-panel screens painted in ink, colours and gold on gilded paper with a composition of flowers in seasonal progression (from spring to winter) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, serves to illustrate the type of painting of the Kanō school that may have served as model for the early *Namban* liturgical lacquers (Figs. 4.1.1.1.1a and b).[24] Textual sources indicate that the Jesuits not only had the opportunity to admire the

16 Tokugawa was named *shogūn* in 1603, and the emperor moved the capital to Edo.

17 Initially, the Jesuits resided in houses that were lent to them, usually by the poor. Later they were given some Buddhist temples (*varelas*), which they transformed into churches. When the situation became more favourable, Christian churches were built with a quadrangular plan and with interiors laid out in a similar manner to traditional Japanese houses. A number of churches were built in Miyako. The first was built soon after the *daimyō* Oda Nobunaga assumed control of the city, but it was burned in a fire in 1573. In 1576, a second church, dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady was built; another was built by permission of Ieyasu in the Keicho era (1596–1615). One of these churches (with an unusual three-story construction) is depicted on a fan painting in the Kobe City Museum. It forms part of a series of sixty-one fans mounted in an album of famous sites in and around Miyako, which is thought to be by the artist Kanō Soshū (1551–1601). Another church with a traditional Japanese-style roof and an adjacent teahouse is depicted in a *Namban* screen (one of a pair) in the Sairenji temple in Anjō, Aichi prefecture. See Money L. Hickman (ed.), *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, exhibition catalogue, Dallas Museum of Art, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 151, no. 42; and Murase, 2003, pp. 256–57, no. 124, respectively.

18 The Jesuits arrived in the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1572, and until their expulsion by King Charles III (r. 1759–1788) in 1767, they played a crucial role in many aspects of life. The Jesuits focused on missionary work among the indigenous population in remote areas, far from the viceroyalty's capital of Mexico City, which had been untouched by the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian missionaries who had arrived earlier. They were also dedicated to the education of its own members of the Society and of other young men in the cities. For this opinion, see John W. O'Mailey, S.J. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, Toronto, 1999, p. 680.

19 For this opinion, see Sofia Diniz, 'Jesuit Buildings in China and Japan: A Comparative Study', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Vol. 3, December 2001, p. 116.

20 Mentioned in Alexandra Curvelo, 'Nagasaki. An European artistic city in early modern Japan, *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, Vol. 2, June 2001, p. 28.

21 Canepa, 2008/1, p. 22; and Canepa, 2011/2, p. 259.

22 The term *Nambanbijutsu* was first used by Japanese historians in the early twentieth century. Important publications on the history of *Namban* art include: Y. Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan, The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art*, vol. 19, trans. R. K. Jones, New York and Tokyo, 1972; Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., *Namban Bijutsu to Yōjūga [Namban Art and Western-Dtyle Painting], Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu [Japanese Art and Colour]*, vol. 20, Tokyo, 1970 (revised 1980). Mentioned in Alexandra Curvelo, 'I contesti dell'arte Namban', in Morena, 2012, p. 245–246, note 20 (pp. 512–513, note 20, English text).

23 Kyoto National Museum, *Special Exhibition: Kano Eitoku, Momoyama Painter Extraordinaire*, exhibition catalogue, Kyoto, 2007, pp. ii, v, vi and vii.

24 Published in Ibid., pp. 182–186, no. 54.

splendor of the screens that adorned the interiors of some of the newly built castles, but also received some as gifts. In 1581, Oda Nobunaga received Father Alessandro Valignano, accompanied by the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis, during his first visit to Miyako. Oda Nobunaga subsequently invited them to Azuchi Castle, and at the end of their month-long stay he gave a pair of folding screens to Father Alessandro Valignano, which were described as 'Made a year before … it was covered with gold, and depicted those things that were closest to [Nobunaga's] heart. He had ordered the greatest artist in Japan to produce them, depicting the town where the castle was situated, and its topography, with the lake, the mansions, the castle, streets, bridges, and all manner of things exactly as they appeared in reality. Much time was required to complete it. The attachement Nobunaga felt toward this painting only added to its great value. The emperor had wished to see it, and requested that Nobunaga present it to him, but Nobunaga declined'.[25] After visiting Azuchi, Father Luís Fróis wrote in his *History of Japan* that 'Inside the walls there are many beautiful and exquisite houses, all of them decorated with gold and so neat and well fashioned that they seem to reach the acme of human elegance. In the middle there is a donjon decorated with designs richly painted in gold and different colours. In a word, the whole edifice is beautiful, excellent and brilliant'.[26] It is unclear whether the Jesuits requested that the lacquers made to order for them were decorated with images of nature similar to those depicted in some of the screens and sliding doors made by Kanō Eitoku and other artists of the Kanō school, or if the lacquer craftsmen incorporated them into their artistic vocabulary to emulate their painting style that had become popular among the feudal warlords. The compositions of such paintings are somewhat crowded, but those seen on the *Namban* liturgical lacquers are very dense and usually cover the entire surface of the object, a *horror vacui* that is contrary to traditional Japanese aesthetics, and most probably the result of multiple influences from Chinese, Indian and Islamic art.[27]

The use of *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlays in Japanese lacquer can be traced back to at least the late tenth century,[28] but it was in the fifteenth century that the Kōami family of Miyako, under patronage of the Ashikaga *shōguns* and the court of the *shujō* (emperor), developed a sumptuous type of lacquer with inlays of metal foil and mother-of-pearl on a plain black lacquer ground.[29] An engraved inscription with the name Kōami and a date corresponding to the year 1596, appear on a lacquered door of Hideyoshi's shrine at Kōdaiji in Miyako, created by his widow as a mausoleum for her husband and herself.[30] The interior of the building known as Spirit House (*Mitamaya*), lavishly decorated in gold and silver *makie* on black lacquer, was allegedly constructed in 1606 from materials removed from Fushimi Castle, the final residence of Hideyoshi, built between 1594 and 1597 (Figs. 4.1.1.1.2a and b).[31] By the end of the sixteenth century, the Kōami and other lacquer workshops in Miyako were producing large quantities of lacquer with a simpler, less time-consuming technique, known as *Kodaiji makie*, depicting large-scale flowers and autumn grasses executed in flat applications of metallic dust (*hiramakie*) on a plain black lacquer background, and with details incised by needle drawing (*harigaki*).[32] *Kodaiji makie* decoration was applied on architectural interiors, personal objects, as well as on arms and armour, made for the domestic market. The naturalistic scenes of the liturgical lacquers made in the early Edo period, as will be shown later, began to change and were made in the so-called Transition style, which imitated the *Kodaiji makie* style in both manufacturing techniques and colour palette.

Opposite page left
Fig. 4.1.1.1.2a Shrine of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Inner Room of Otama-ya (sanctuary)
Exterior side of front doors
Kodaiji Temple, Miyako (present-day Kyoto)

Opposite page right
Fig. 4.1.1.1.2b Shrine of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Inner Room of Otama-ya (sanctuary)
Interior side of front doors
Kodaiji Temple, Miyako (present-day Kyoto)

25 Cited in Mathew P. Makelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto*, Honolulu, 2006, p. 165.
26 Cited in Cooper, 1995, pp. 134–135.
27 For this opinion, see Hutt, 2004, p. 237.
28 According to Hidaka, evidence suggests that *makie* decoration may have had its origins in China. By the mid-to-late Heian period (794–1185) new forms of lacquer emerged in indigenous Japanese styles. See, for example, a handbox decorated with a design of wheels in a stream dating to the eleventh century in the Tokyo National Museum, published in Kyoto National Museum (ed.), *Makie: The Beauty of Black and Gold Japanese Lacquer*, Kyoto, 1997, pp. 56–57, no. 22. Japanese lacquer decorated with *makie* and mother-of-pearl is recorded as having been given as gifts to the Chinese court and temples, as well as to the Korean court during the late tenth and eleven centuries. For more information, see Yoshino Tomio, 'Kôrai no raden ki' (Korean nacre inlay works of the Koryô period), *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 175 (May 1954), pp. 1-13. Mentioned in Watt and Brennan Ford, 1991, p. 9.
29 Murase, 2000, p. 222.
30 Murase, 2003, p. 13.
31 Tokugawa Ieyasu provided funding for its construction. For further information and images of the shrine, see Mizuno Katsuhiko, *Kodaiji Zen Temple*, Osaka, 2004, English text and figs. 50, 53, 54 and 56: and Kyoto National Museum, 1997, pp. 128–136. Mentioned in Canepa, 2008/1, p. 17. For further images of the interior, see Mizuno, 2004, figs. 44, 49–51, 53–54 and 56–58.
32 In the previous Muromachi period (1333–1573) the subjects of gold lacquer decoration had been taken primarily from classical literature. Murase, 2000, p. 222.

It is generally accepted that liturgical lacquers were first made in about 1580. According to a letter written in 1577 by Father Luis Fróis, however, Christian funerary objects were already being made by then in lacquered wood, including a coffin and a cross.[33] Their production must have ended sometime after 1614, when Tokugawa Ieyasu issued an edict that officially banned Christianity.[34] Tokugawa shogunate's fierce determination to destroy Christianity led to the persecution of missionaries and Japanese converts, the confiscation and destruction of religious symbols and the demolition or transformation of churches. A few extant liturgical lacquers, decorated in the so-called Transition style, demonstrate that despite the severity of this persecution, the Jesuits and missionaries of other religious orders (Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans) present in Japan at the time continued to order liturgical lacquers in the early Edo period up until about 1639, when the country was closed to all Europeans (*sakoku*)[35] with the exception of the Dutch, who were allowed to stay because they did not proselytize the Christian faith.[36]

Only a small number of liturgical lacquers made to order for the Jesuits and missionaries of other religious orders have survived to present day. The vast majority was probably destroyed in iconoclastic practices during the period of Christian persecution. Extant examples dating to the Momoyama period include pyxes or host boxes (*seiheibako*), folding lecterns or missal stands (*shokendai*) and portable oratories (*seigan*), which were made after European or Indo-Portuguese models brought by the missionaries and richly decorated in the lacquer style known as *Namban*. They usually bear a medallion enclosing the 'IHS' monogram of the Society of Jesus surrounded by a crown of thorns, or combined with the Jesuit symbols of the Passion (the cross and

33 Mentioned in Kawamura, 2013, p. 257.
34 The first anti-Christian edict, issued in 1587 by the *shogūn* Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), was not strictly enforced. In 1597, Hideyoshi proclaimed a more serious edict and ordered the execution of 26 Japanese Christians and Franciscan missionaries (twenty Japanese, four Spaniards, one Mexican and one Indian, who were later known as the 26 Martyrs of Nagasaki) for preaching Christianity.
35 Christianity was officially banned in 1637, following a Christian uprising by some Kyūshū peasants due to economic desperation and religious oppression, which ended in the massacre of 37,000 samurais and peasants (many of them Christian) by the shogunate at Shimabara Fort. A group of missionaries and converts devised ways of secretly continuing their Christian practices with astonishing devotion. They were called *Kakure Kirishitan* (*Kirishitan*, from the Portuguese word, *cristão*), which means concealed or hidden Christians. Under the threat of torture or social shame, a considerable number of converts eventually turned to Buddhism. Although *Kakure Kirishitan* were spread throughout the country, a great number were concentrated in the Nagasaki and Amakusa regions in Kyūshū. For more information on the *Kakure Kirishitan*, see Stephen Thurnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of Their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day*, Richmond, 1998.
36 The Dutch presence in Japan and their trade in lacquer will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of this Chapter.

ALCVNE LETTERE
DELLE COSE
DEL GIAPPONE.

Dell'anno 1579. insino
al 1581.

IN ROMA,
Appresso Francesco Zannetti.
M. D. LXXXIIII.

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Fig. 4.1.1.1.3 *Alcune Lettere delle cose del Giappone …, Roma, Appresso Francesco Zannetti,* 1584
Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (BH FLL 10397)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.4 *Namban* pyx (*seiheibako*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Height: 9cm (with lid); diameter: 11.2cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. 1969,0415.1)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.5 Silver pyx chased on the lid 'IHS'
Sixteenth century, *c.*1500–1525
Height: 2.6cm; diameter 7.6cm
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(acc. No. M.5-1936)

the three Crucifixion nails piercing the Sacred Heart) within a radiant sunburst, inlaid in mother-of-pearl or painted in *makie*. This latter 'IHS' medallion was commonly used on the title page of printed works concerned with the Christian doctrine, as well as on letters and reports of Jesuits who lived in Japan, such as *Alcune Lettere delle cose del Giappone*, published in Rome in 1584 (Fig. 4.1.1.1.3).[37]

A few extant pyxes or Host boxes (*seiheibako*) of tall, cylindrical shape with a tight-fitting flat lid that is about one third of the total height bearing the 'IHS' monogram are found in Japan and Europe (Fig. 4.1.1.1.4).[38] Although small cylindrical lacquer boxes were used in Japanese temples to store incense (*cobaco*),[39] it is likely that the pyxes discussed here were made to order after European silver and gold models intended to contain the consecrated Hosts used in the Liturgy of the Holy Eucharist during the Catholic Mass.[40] An early sixteenth century silver example engraved with the 'IHS' monogram on its hinged lid, though of shallow cylindrical shape, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Fig. 4.1.1.1.5).[41] Textual evidence of the Jesuits being directly involved in an order made in Miyako of pyxes of a particular shape, most likely the cylindrical shape of extant examples, is found in a letter sent from Nagasaki in February 1599 by the Portuguese Jesuit Diogo de Mesquita (1553–1614) to Claudio Aquaviva, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in Rome. It reads 'So far I have never shown Your Paternity any sign of gratitude for the many charities you did me whilst I was in that holy house, so I send your Paternity a painted missal lectern of the good ones there are in Miyako whence it came to me and a box with some hosts made of Japanese flour and in a shape made here recently by one of our Japan brothers because if they arrive intact they will be thankful to your Paternity, forgive the audacity'.[42] Extant pyxes are mostly decorated in the *Namban* style with dense designs of flowering plants, and more rarely with geometric designs.[43] A pyx in the Kanagawa Tōkei-ji Temple in Kamakura is decorated on its sides with twisting grape vines, perhaps evoking autumn, or more probably symbolizing the Eucharist. If so, this would be an example of lacquers ordered with motifs that had a profound

37 For another 'IHS' medallion depicted on the title page of a report published by Iean Bogart in 1589, entitled *Novveaux Advertissementz Des Choses Qvi Se Sont Passées En La Chine, Et Av Iapon, Et Dv retour des Princes Iaponois, qui l'an 1585. vindrent à Rome, & de leur arriuée aus Indes [sic]*, see Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe. A Descriptive Bibliography*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 144–145, pl. 69. Also published in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, p. 264, ill. 1.

38 For a discussion on surviving *Namban* pyxes, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 32–37, no. 2; Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 262–267, nos. 30 and 31; and Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 260–261, fig. 1.

39 Mentioned by Conceição Borges de Sousa, 'Pyx for Communion Hosts [seiheibako]', in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, p. 81.

40 In the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* published by the Jesuits in 1603, the manufacturing process used to make the wooden structure of pyxes was wood turning (*hikimono*), described as *'Fiqimono.* Work done on a lathe'. Biblioteca da Ajuda (hereafter cited as BA), Lisbon, cod. 46–VIII–35, fl. 175. *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaraçao em Portugues, feito por alguns Padres, e irmãos da Companhia de Iesu com a licença do Ordinario, e Superiores em Nagasaqui no Collegio de Iapam sa Companhia de Iesu.* Anno 1603. *Supplemento deste vocabulario.* Anno 1604 (copy from 1747 by João Álvares), Cited in Leonor Leiria, 'Namban Art. Packing and Transportation', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Vol. 5, December 2002, p. 14; and Canepa, 2011/2, p. 260, note 22.

41 Also compare a silver, partially gilded pyx made by the master goldsmith Willem Geverts in the Southern Netherlands in 1555–1556, housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum no. M.41–1952).

42 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: '… hasta agora nunce he mostrado a V.P. ninguna senal de gratitid polas muchas charida/des que me hizo El tiempo que Estuvo En essa Sancta casa, per tanto Embio a V.P. una estante/de Atar pintada delas boenas que hay En el Miyako de donde me vjne, y una buçeta/con algunas hostias echas y de Arina de Japón, y con una forma que poco ha labr[ado] aquí un nostro hermano Japón porque se

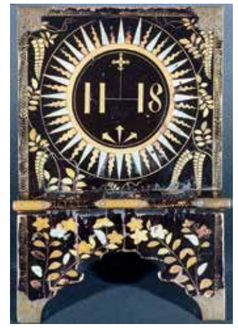

Fig. 4.1.1.1.6 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Length: 50.3cm; width: 30.8cm
Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid
Patrimonio Nacional (00613189)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.7 *Namban* lectern (shokendai)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Length: 49.5cm; width: 29cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

symbolic meaning in the Catholic liturgy. This latter pyx is the only known example kept secretly in Japan during the period of persecution.[44] Another example, formerly housed at Chiddingstone Castle in Kent, suggests that pyxes (or at least some of them) originally had an inner tray made of black lacquered wood.[45] The presence of lacquer pyxes in Goa in the early seventeenth century is documented by the 'host box from Japan' listed among the donations received by the Augustinian Brother Pedro dos Santos from 'Reverend Provincial Father Fray António Morais' for the Gorgistan mission in 1628.[46] *Namban* boxes of oval form bearing the 'IHS' monogram on the lid and related floral decoration may have been made to order for the Jesuits to hold the Holy Oils rather than the Holy Host.[47]

Folding lecterns or missal stands (*shokendai*) were most likely ordered by the Jesuits for use in the altars of churches in Japan to hold the Holy Bible or texts used during the Catholic Mass. The front panel was usually decorated with a large circular medallion enclosing the 'IHS' monogram, sometimes including leafy stems growing from the letter 'H' and the Sacred Heart as seen in some pyxes,[48] reserved on a ground with dense or loose compositions of flowering plants (Fig. 4.1.1.1.6) or geometric designs, executed solely in *makie* or with accents inlaid in mother-of-pearl all done in the *Namban* style (Fig. 4.4.1.1.7).[49] Lecterns were also decorated with the 'IHS' emblem within an oval medallion, sometimes combined with Japanese motifs, such as family crests or personal insignia (*mon*) used by *daimyō*, as seen in an example in the Church of Santiago el Real (a former Jesuit convent) in Medina del Campo, Spain (Fig. 4.1.1.1.8).[50] It is unclear whether lecterns decorated with *mons* would have been made to order for some of the *daimyō* who had converted to Christianity, or if they

llegaren incurruptas seron gratas a V.P. perdone el atrevime[n]to…'. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Jap.Sin 13–II, Carta de Diogo de Mesquita a Claudio Aquaviva, de Nagasaki, 20 de Fevereiro de 1599, fls. 294–294v. Cited in Curvelo, 2010, p. 23.

43 For an example decorated on the sides and lid with endless pearl (*shippōtsunagi*) and narrow chequer borders (*ichimatsu*) in the Namban Bunkakan Museum in Osaka, see Andrew J. Pekarik, 'Lacquer and Metalwork', in Money L. Hickman (ed.), *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, exhibition catalogue, Dallas Museum of Art, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 253, pl. 123.

44 For this opinion, see Meiko Nagashima, 'Japanese Lacquers Exported to Spanish America and Spain', in Pierce and Otsuka, 2009, p. 115. The pyx is illustrated in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 169, no. 385.

45 For an image of this example, now in a private collection, see Kyoto National Museum (ed.), *Maki-e/Maki-e: The Beauty of Black and Gold Japanese Lacquer*, exhibition catalogue, Kyoto, 1995, p. 107, no. 138.

46 These excerpts are taken from a document transcribed by Father A. Silva Rego in *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português no Oriente*, Vol. 12, Lisbon, 1958. Cited in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 32, note 65; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 234.

47 For this example in a private collection in Lisbon, showing traces of three interior divisions, see Europália 91 Portugal, 1991, p. 197, pl. 168.

48 See, for instance, the example in the Namban Bunkakan Museum illustrated in Hickman, 1996, p. 253, no. 123.

49 For a discussion on *Namban* lecterns with both floral and geometric designs, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 38–41, no. 3; Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 268–273, no. 32; and Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 262–265, figs. 2 and 3.

50 I am indebted to José Manuel Casado Paramio, Fundación Museo de las Ferias, for providing me with images and information on the *Namban* objects in the Church of Sta. María in Aguilar de Campos and the Church of Santiago el Real in Medina del Campo, both in Valladolid, Spain. During the Momoyama period, Japanese family crests (mon) were often incorporated into the decorative repertoire of *makie*, functioning simply as part of the design. In the Edo period, however, the use of family crests was strictly regulated for political reasons. For this opinion, see Barbara Brennan Ford, 'The Momoyama Flowering: Kōdai-ji and Namban Lacquer', in Watt and Brennan Ford, 1991, p. 166. The combination of motifs related to Christianity and a Japanese family crest also occurs on the lacquer wooden stock of a matchlock gun (*teppo*), dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, which may have been ordered for a member of the Arima family sometime before 1612, when the *daimyō* Arima Naozumi abandoned the Christian faith. For images and a discussion on this gun, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 254–261, no. 29.

51 The wooden structure of lecterns, as well as that of coffers, cabinets and chests, was constructed using joints (*shashimono*). These objects were described as '*Saximono*. Box, or container, or any similar object that trunk makers and some carpinters commonly manufacture'. The original text in Portuguese reads '*Saximono*. Boceta, ou caixa, ou qualquer obra semelhante que commummente fazem caixeiros, ou alguns carpinteiros'. BA, *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, fl. 433 v. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 14.

52 Compare, for instance, a late sixteenth century *rahl* made to hold a Qur'an with an Indian seventeenth century carved wood example in the Church of S. Roque. Published in Stuart Cary Welch, *India Art and Culture 1300–1900*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993, p. 284, cat. 189; and Nuno Vassallo e Silva (ed.), *No Caminho do Japão. Arte Oriental nas Colecções da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, 1993, pp. 54–55, pl. 11, respectively.

53 At the time it was common to refer to Japanese objects as 'from China'. This inventory is now housed in the Archivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Lisbon. Published in Ibid., pp. 84–85, no. 32

54 Cited in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 32, note 65; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 234.

55 Published in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 63.

56 Another Transition style lectern, decorated with a design of autumn foliage in gold with some of the leaves and flowers inlaid in mother-of-pearl, can be found in the Casa Colombo-Museu do Porto Santo in Porto Santo Island. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 175, nos. 409a and b.

57 For a discussion on extant *Namban* oratories, also called retables or travelling shrines, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 46–55, nos. 5 and 6; Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 246–253, no. 28; and Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 267–270, figs. 5 and 7. An Example of a triptych made in wood in Bruges, dating to c.1500, can be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum no. P.39–1937).

58 Compare, for instance, the seventeenth century examples found in Portugal in the Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga (inv. no. 1412) and Viana do Castelo (inv. no. 1043), illustrated in XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses e a Europa do Renascimento: A Arte na Rota de Oriente*, Lisboa, 1983, p. 276, no. 272 and p. 275, no. 270, respectively.

59 Peacocks in cages, or opening their tails, alongside other exotic birds appear depicted in various *Namban* folding screens, such as those in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (inv. no. 1640 Mov and 1641 Mov) and the Namban Bunkakan Museum in Osaka. Mentioned in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 81, note 38. The exotic birds brought from Brazil included macaws and

were only included as abstract decorative motifs. Future research on Japanese written sources might shed light on this question. The shape and method of construction of the folding lecterns[51] almost certainly derived from carved wooden models made in Goa or in Portuguese settlements in Southeast Asia (Fig. 4.1.1.1.9); but it is probable that the folding system, formed by two crossed boards, was in turn based on Islamic models.[52] The earliest textual evidence of a lectern made in Miyako being sent to Europe is found in the extract from a letter sent in 1599 by Father Diogo de Mesquita to the Superior General of the Jesuits in Rome cited above. This letter proves that by the late sixteenth century the Jesuits were not only sending lacquer objects made for the Japanese domestic market as diplomatic gifts to the royalty and clergy in Western Europe, but also lacquers made to order for them as gifts to important representatives of the Society of Jesus. Thus far the earliest known reference to the presence of lecterns in Portugal dates to 1620. An inventory of the Fundo Jesuítico taken that year, lists 'quatro estantes da China', which referred to a group of four *Namban* lecterns, of which only one survives today.[53] In the 1620s, lacquer lecterns were also found in Goa as indicated by 'a missal holder from Japan' listed among the donations collected in 1628 by the Augustinian Pedro dos Santos mentioned above.[54] Lecterns bearing the 'IHS' monogram were also decorated in the so-called Transition style, as demonstrated by an extant example in the Colégio da Companhia de Jesus in Coimbra, which is decorated in *makie* with the 'IHS' monogram and the Marian monogram (*Avé Maria*),[55] replacing the heart and crucifixion nails of the Passion, within a floral scroll.[56]

Oratories (*seigan*) of shallow rectangular form with a pair of hinged half-width doors closed by a latch and pediments of triangular, scalloped or arched shape bearing the 'IHS' monogram within a radiant halo, or reserved on a floral or geometric ground, were made after fifteenth or sixteenth century European portable triptychs, which in turn were influenced by Byzantine icons (Fig. 4.1.1.1.10a).[57] Their shape and proportions (ranging from 37 to about 69.5cm in height) related closely to the Indo-Portuguese oratories made in carved wood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[58] Their doors were usually decorated with dense naturalistic compositions of flowering trees, animals, birds and insects. As seen in this example, bird motifs occasionally included peacocks (Fig. 4.1.1.1.10b), one of the exotic birds brought to Japan by the Portuguese merchants as gifts from India and Brazil, which were much appreciated by the *daimyō* and *shogūn*.[59] The depiction of the peacocks relates closely to that shown on a six-panel folding screen, one of a pair, painted by Kanō Eutoku's younger brother, Kano Shōshū (1551–1601), in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art.[60] Oratories bearing the 'IHS' monogram were also decorated with naturalistic compositions within lobed cartouches on a black lacquer ground (Fig. 4.1.1.1.11). The oratories were ordered by the Jesuits to frame and protect a sacred oil painting, mostly representing the Madonna and Child, the Crucifixion, saints and apostles, produced on wood or copper by seminary painters of the Academy of St. Luke in Nagasaki.[61] Some extant oratories still preserve the removable lacquer frame intended to secure the sacred painting.[62] Visual sources attest to the use of oratories by the Jesuits residing in Japan. Oratories, most probably made of lacquer, are shown on the church altars depicted in *Namban* six-panel folding screens by the artist Kanō Naizen (1570–1616), such as the examples in the Kobe City Museum and the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC (Fig. 4.1.1.1.12).[63]

Namban style oratories were also made to order with pediments bearing Christian iconography, which would not have been immediately recognizable by the Tokugawa

Fig. 4.1.1.1.8 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Length: 35.5cm; width: 31.5cm
Church of Santiago el Real,
Medina del Campo

Fig. 4.1.1.1.9 Lacquered and gilded wood lectern
Goa or Southeast Asia
Sixteenth/seventeenth century
Length: 47cm; width: 27cm
Mário Roque Collection

Fig. 4.1.1.1.10a *Namban* oratory (*seigan*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Height: 69.5cm; width: 44cm; depth: 9cm
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Opposite page
Fig. 4.1.1.1.10b *Namban* oratory (*seigan*)
(detail)

Fig. 6.1.1.1.11 *Namban* oratory (*seigan*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Height: 65.1cm; width: 37.8cm; depth: 7.8cm
Museu do Oriente, Lisbon (inv. no. FO/0637)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.12 Six-panel folding screen, one of a pair (detail right-hand side screen)
Kanō Naizen (1570–1616)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Height: 154.5cm; width: 363.2cm (each screen)
Kobe City Museum, Kobe

Fig. 4.1.1.1.13 *Namban* oratory (*seigan*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Height: 45.4; width: 32; depth: 4.7cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts
(inv. no. AE85752)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.14 *Namban* oratory (*seigan*), pyx (*seiheibako*) and coffer
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Length oratory: 27.5cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. 1974,0513.6)

shogunate. Four extant oratories of this type have been recorded thus far. Two of them bear a Christian cross with fish-like arms,[64] and the other two bear a single or a pair of confronted doves, which symbolize the Holy Spirit (Fig. 4.1.1.1.13).[65] In addition there are a few oratories, lecterns and oval boxes most probably intended to hold the Holy Host or Holy Oils, which bear no Christian iconography at all. It seems reasonable to believe that the Jesuits ordered some of these liturgical lacquers after the anti-Christian edict of 1597, which caused the execution of missionaries for preaching Christianity.[66] Examples of such oratories are known with triangular, arched or scalloped pediments, mostly decorated in *Namban* style.[67] A few other Momoyama oratories, dating to *c.*1580-1620, are known with a slightly convex horizontal panel, instead of a pediment (Fig. 4.1.1.1.14).[68] The interior of the doors of two of these oratories, now housed in the Kyoto National Museum and the Tsukumi City Collection, are decorated with a design of twisting grape vines, as noted earlier probably symbolizing the Eucharist, which relate closely to that seen in the pyx bearing the 'IHS' monogram in the Kanagawa Tōkei-ji Temple discussed above.[69] At this point it is important to mention that the oratory in the Kyoto National Museum, and that in the Tsukumy City Collection, are believed to have originally been shipped to New Spain and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, respectively, via Manila.[70] A few oratories of shallow rectangular shape surmounted by a low, arched pediment bearing no Christian iconography were made in the early Edo period, probably in *c.*1630–1635, with a distinctive flat gold and silver *hiramakie* decoration which can be stylistically related to the *Kodaiji makie* decoration of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's shrine in Miyako discussed above.[71] Extant lecterns and oval boxes made to order bearing no Christian iconography are more rare. Lecterns of this type, made in the early seventeenth century, were decorated in the *Namban* or the so-called Transition style.[72] A *Namban* example in a private collection in Japan is decorated with geometric designs (Fig. 4.1.1.1.15),[73] while another in the Casa Colombo-Museu do Porto Santo in Madeira is decorated with a sparse design of

parrots. For this opinion, see Murase, 2003, p. 51.

60 For images of this six-panel screen, see Kyoto National Museum, 2007, pp. 198–200, no. 59.

61 The Italian Jesuit Giovanni Niccolao or Niccoló founded the Academy of St. Luke where he taught Japanese converts the Western style of painting and printmaking. It is beyond the scope of this doctoral dissertation to discuss the sacred paintings enclosed within the oratories. For more information and bibliographical references on this subject, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, p. 253.

62 Oratories with such frames include the examples in the church of Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Sardoal, the Ricardo Espírito Santo Foundation in Lisbon, the Museum Catherijneconvent in Utrecht, and the Nagoya City Museum. For images of these oratories, see Mendes Pinto, 1990, pp. 66–67 (also fold out pages); and Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 186-187, ill. 442 and 448.

63 Published in Kobe City Museum, *Namban Arts Selection*, Kobe, 1998, pp. 9 and 15, pl. 2 (detail); and Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, p. 16, fig. 1 and p. 251, ill. 1 (detail); respectively.

64 These examples, both with triangular pediments, are found in the Musée Guimet in Paris and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich. The Musée Guimet example, dating to *c.*1580–1620, was originally owned by a Spanish family related to a former Governor of the Philippines and thus may have arrived to Europe via the Spanish trade route through Manila and New Spain. The Völkerkunde example, dating to *c.*1600–1620, was part of the Wittelsbach family collection before 1789. Published and discussed in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 186, ill. 433 and p. 189, ill. 453, respectively. Also see Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 270–271.

65 Both examples date to *c.*1580–1620. They are found in the Museum Catherijneconvent in Utrecht and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem (illustrated here). The Catherijneconvent example varies slightly from the rectangular pediment examples, as it has a low, overhanging pediment and a base with a drawer. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 186, ill. 442 and p. 187, ills. 449a and 449b. Also see Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 270–271, fig. 6.

66 See notes 34 and 35.

67 *Namban* examples are published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 188, ills. 451a and b; p. 186, ill. 445; and p. 187, ill. 447. For another example, see Sezon Museum of Art and Shizuoka Prefecture Museum of Art, 1993, pp. 204–206, no. 184.

68 Other examples can be found in the Tokyo National Museum, Museu do Oriente, Kyoto National Museum, the Namban Culture Museum in Osaka, and Tsukumi City Collection in Oita Prefecture. Published in Murase, 2000, p. 232, fig. 43; João Calvão (ed.), *Presença Portuguesa na Ásia: testemunhos, memória, coleccionismo*, exhibition catalogue, Museu do Oriente, Lisbon, 2008, pp. 127–128, cat. 100; Tobu Museum of Art, 1999, p. 164, no. 196; Yamazaki Tsuyoshi, *Nihon no Bijyutsu No. 426 Umi wo Watatta Nihon Shikki I, 16–17th century,* Shibundo, 2001, p. 33, no. 41; and J. Okada, *Namban Kgei*, Tokyo, 1973, pls. 51 and 52; respectively. The latter example, which was discovered in Puerto Rico by Chisaburo Yamada, is also published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 188, ill. 452a and b. As discussed earlier, lacquer oratories usually enclose a removable sacred painting, but in the aforementioned examples in the Kyoto National Museum and Tsukumi City Collection, the sacred image is painted directly onto the black lacquered surface. For more information on these latter oratories and bibliographical references, see Canepa, 2011/2, p. 273, note 78.

69 See note 44.

70 For this opinion and further bibliography, see Nagashima, 2009, pp. 113 and 115.

71 See note 31. Thus far two oratories of this type have been recorded. One example, part of the Wittelsbach collection at the Staatliches Museum für Volkerkunde (inv. no. 26–N–31), has its original sacred painting removed and replaced by a fitted mirror. Published and discussed in Toshio Watanabe, 'Namban Lacquer Shrines: Some New Discoveries', in William Watson (ed.), *Lacquerwork in Asia and Beyond,* Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 11, Percival David Foundation, London, 1981, pp. 209–210, pls. 5, 6a and b. For images and a discussion on the other example, enclosing a tempera painting on vellum of Saint

autumn foliage in the so-called Transition style (Fig. 4.1.1.1.16), closely resembling the *Kodaiji makie* decoration of the interior sides of the front doors of Hideyoshi's sanctuary (Fig. 4.1.1.1.2b).[74] Two boxes of oval shape, both decorated with dense floral designs in *Namban* style, are believed to have been intended to hold the Holy Host or Holy Oils. One example housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, of almost identical proportions to that bearing the 'IHS' monogram discussed above, has an internal division.[75] The other, in a private collection in Japan, has the same width, but is slightly taller.[76]

The Jesuits also ordered lacquer objects that could have been used in both religious and secular contexts. This is not surprising because the religious and secular spheres of life of the Europeans were not separated at the time, neither in Japan nor in Western Europe or the New World.[77] These objects included writing boxes that combined a traditional Japanese shape and decorative lacquer techniques with the 'IHS' monogram. An example of low, square shape with a flat lid in the Namban Bunkakan in Osaka, dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, is finely decorated in gold and silver *nashiji*, *hiramakie* and *takamakie*. Its delicate and simple decoration is Japanese in style.[78] Finely decorated lacquer writing boxes, or *suzuribako*, were used in Japan to hold an inkstone, water dropper, brushes and other writing implements from as early as the twelve century.[79] A detailed description of such boxes and their use is found in Jesuit textual sources. A document published in *Jesuitas na Ásia* mentions that 'When a guest receives a letter or another business document which requires a quick reply he asks for appropriate apparatus to write with. In a place in the same room it is customary to have a beautiful box, enameled [decorated] with gold and silver roses on very richly adorned lacquer and it contained all the instruments necessary for writing … the box was divided into five partitions inside; in the central, larger one is the inkwell, in the other compartments there is a small gilt copper disk with water to fill the inkwell, there are quills to write with and ink and a small knife for cutting, rather than scissors,

Fig. 4.1.1.1.15 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Early seventeenth century
Height: 37cm
Private collection, Japan

Fig. 4.1.1.1.16 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Early Edo period (1615–1868)
Early seventeenth century
Height: 42.5cm; width: 26cm
Casa Colombo-Museu do Porto Santo,
Ilha Porto Santo

and a bodkin to close the letters, and everything else required, such as seals'.[80] It seems likely that the Jesuits would have ordered such writing boxes, which would have been much more expensive than one made in the *Namban* style, for their personal use or to give as gifts to powerful *daimyō*, who had converted to Christianity and supported their mission in Japan. There are also a few extant *Namban* low tables of rectangular shape (ranging from 36 to 50cm in height) without Christian iconography dating to the Momoyama period (Fig. 4.1.1.1.17).[81] The rectangular tops of these tables are decorated with cartouches of flowering plants and birds or animals. These sometimes include mythical animals, such as Chinese Buddhist Lions with curling manes, which resemble closely those depicted in a six-panel folding screen painted by Kanō Eitoku in the Sannomaru-Shozokan (The Museum of the Imperial Collections) in Tokyo.[82] These tables, as Impey and Jörg have noted, were most likely ordered by the Jesuits to be used as portable altars in Japan.[83] Although the shape and construction of their bases varies, they closely follow Iberian and Indo-Portuguese models.[84] Low tables such as these, with either two pairs of legs and stretchers that dismantle, or two pairs of legs joined by stretchers that fold inwards, would have been easily transportable by the Jesuits, who were constantly travelling from one congregation to another. Lacquer tables as well as lecterns and chalice boxes, appear to have been first recorded in August 1616, when the Jesuit Father Manuel Barreto (*c.*1563–1620) listed 'ten Japanese tables …five lacquered lecterns [?] … nine *urushi* chalice boxes …' among the goods he was leaving in Japan to his successor, Father Manuel Borges (?–1633). In addition, 'one hundred Japanese tables' are mentioned in the list of liturgical ornaments lent to the Seminar.[85] From these excerpts it is clear that a large number of tables were made for the Jesuits. The mention of 'nine *urushi* chalice boxes' by Father Manuel Barreto is interesting, as no lacquer objects that could be described as chalice boxes appear to

Fig. 4.1.1.1.17 *Namban* table
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Late sixteenth century
Height: 50.4cm; length: 113cm; width: 59.3cm
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Francis of Paola (1416–1507), see Vinhais and Welsh, 2009, pp. 164–69, no. 17.

72 One other such lectern will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter.

73 Published in Sezon Museum of Art, 1993, p. 208, no. 187; and Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 89–90, fig. 10. I am grateful to Katsura Yamaguchi, Christie's International Director, Japanese and Korean Art, for providing me with an image of this lectern and of a standing shrine or retable from this private collection.

74 Published in Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 42–45, no. 4; and Canepa, 2011/1, pp. 90–91, fig. 11.

75 Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 109, ill. 193.

76 Ibid., p. 109, ill. 194.

77 Mentioned in Curvelo, 2012, p. 246 (p. 512, English version).

78 Published in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 114, pl. 8.13.

79 Large boxes of rectangular shape, known as paper case (*ryōshi-bako*), were made in the Heian period (794–1185) to hold writing utensils and paper, as evidenced by the example depicted in a handscroll entitled *The Tale of Prince Genji*, dating to the eleventh or twelve century, illustrated in Masako Shōno-Sládek, *The Splendour of Urushi. The Lacquer Art Collection at the Museum of East Asian Art*, Cologne, 1994, p. 280, fig. 41. According to Earl, the evolution of writing box types reached a high point in the Muromachi period (1333–1573). Joe Earle (ed.), *The Toshiba Gallery: Japanese Art and Design*, London, 1986, p. 64.

80 Jesuitas na Ásia-Japão. B. A. ms. 49–IV–53, leaves 100 and 155. Cited in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 51.

81 For a detailed discussion on these tables, and the only extant full-size table of European proportions also dating to the Momoyama period in the National Museum in Warsaw (formerly in the Wilanów Castle, Poland), see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 78–83, no. 11; Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 195, ill. 467 a, b, c and d; and Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 284–288, no. 36. The Wilanów Castle table was included in the 1993 exhibition *Japan und Europa*, 1543–1929 in Berlin.

82 Published in Kyoto National Museum, 2007, pp. 230–233, no. 67.

83 The use of *Namban* tables as altars was first suggested by Oliver Impey in 2003. See Oliver Impey, 'Introduction', in Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 14 and 82. Their use as altars was again mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 196.

84 Portuguese tables of comparable shape dating to the seventeenth century are published in Teresa Pais and Armândio de Sousa, *Quinta das Cruzes – Museu*, Madeira, 1996, p. 37, no 59; and Fernanda Castro Freire, *50 dos Melhores Móveis Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1995, pp. 30–31. For a Spanish table in the Museo de Artes Decorativas in Madrid of similar date, see Alberto Cottino, *Mobiliário do século XVII – França, Espanha, Portugal*, Lisbon, 1989, p. 63. An Indo-Portuguese table in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga is published in Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Os Móveis e o seu Tempo. Mobiliário Português do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga Séculos XV–XIX*, Lisbon, 1985, p. 52, no. 35.

85 BA, cod. 49-V-5, fl. 196 a 206 v. *Memorial das couzas da Procuratura desta Prov.a, e o Padre M.el Barreto entregou, hindose pa Japão em Agosto de 1616 ao P.e M.el Borges seo successor na Procuratura*. This document, as noted by Curvelo, has not been published in its totality. In the extracts cited by Mendes Pinto, are listed '130 Japanese tables'. See Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 32, note 65. In the extracts cited by Curvelo, which are also cited here, are listed 'ten Japanese tables' and 'one hundred Japanese tables', which is only a total of 110 Japanese tables. Curvelo, 2001, pp. 32–33.

86 Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (hereafter cited as BNL), Res. Cod. 1986. *Relação dos bens de Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, 17° Vice-Rei da Índia, e entre os Governadores 25°, quinto do nome, terceiro do apelido e dos Condes quinto (…), 1628*. Cited as dating to 1627 in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 69. A transcription of the document made by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project 'A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX). Anatomia dos interiores' (PTDC/EAT-HAT/112229/2009), dates it to 1628. For more information, see http://www.casaruibarbosa.gov.br/acasasenhorial/index.php/fonts-documentais/inventarios. Accessed May 2015. It is important to note that Mendes Pinto mentions that the inventory listed daistables (presumably a type of table to be placed on a dais or platform) from Japan and large tables from Japan decorated in gold and mother-of-pearl, but these objects are not listed in the recent transcription made by Marrafa de Oliveira.

87 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: 'Das mais cousas levão tirados as q se mandão pera Roma a N.P. nas qaes não se ha de bolir em nhuna man.a [maneira], farão consulta com entrevir nella o P.e Gabriel Afonso procurador, pera ver se convem dar algu brinco de Japão da parte dos meninos a S. M.de y ao Cardeal, y ahi mesmo … verão o que convem dar a outros q hão de ajudar no despacho com sua mj.de de considerando o tpo [tempo] quando iho han de dar, pera q se dem a tôo …'. Archivum Storico Compagnia de Gesù (hereafter cited as ASCG), Japonica Sinica 22, fl. 51. Padre Alessandro Valignano, S.J., *Regimento e Instrução do q hadi fazir o Padre Nuno Rois q vay por Procurador à Roma*, 1583. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 51, note 6.

88 The Japanese envoys, Miguel Chijiwa, Mâncio Ito, Julião Nakaura and Martinho Hara, were sponsored by the three *daimyō* of Kyūshū: Arima Harunobu (Arima), Ōmura Sumitada (Ōmura) and Ōtomo Sorin (Bungo). Mentioned in Ibid., p. 50; and Curvelo, 2001, p. 27. For more information on the Tenshô Embassy and the gifts brought with them, see Y. Okamoto, 'Kyûshû sankô keno shisetsu no zôtôhin', in Y. Okamoto, *Momoyamajidai no Kirisutokyô Bunka*, Tokyo, 1948, pp. 155–206; R. Yûki, *Shinshiryô. Tennshô shônen shisetsu, Kirisitan Kenkyû*, no. 29, Tokyo, 1990; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 266–267 (pp. 52–53 English version).

have been recorded. This type of chalice box would most probably have been ordered to protect, perhaps when travelling, a copper or silver-gilt chalice used to serve the consecrated wine during the Catholic Mass. This suggests that there might have been a number of other liturgical lacquers made to order for the Jesuits that have not yet been identified. An inventory taken in 1628 of the belongings of Viceroy Don Francisco da Gama in Goa, listing 'small boxes from Japan' and 'circular boxes from Japan', indicates that small circular boxes were also made to order for Portuguese individuals, which were intended for secular use.[86]

The involvement of the Jesuits in the cultural and artistic exchanges that first occurred between Japan and Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century is undeniable. The Jesuits, who were well aware of the high quality and artistic value of Japanese lacquer objects, referring to them as '*brincos* do Japão', were responsible for both introducing Japanese lacquer and spreading a taste for it among the royalty, clergy and nobility in Renaissance Europe. From the instructions given by Father Alessandro Valignano to Father Nuno Rodrigues, when organizing the first official Japanese mission to Europe in 1583, known as the *Tenshô* Embassy, we learn that lacquer objects were not only sent by the Jesuits as diplomatic gifts to the King of Spain/Portugal and the Pope in Rome, but also to other individuals. He wrote: 'Amongst the things that they are taken, are those items that are being sent to Rome to the Pope, which should not be tampered with in any way. Father Gabriel Afonso procurador, will seek information as to whether it is convenient to take some *brincos* from Japan on behalf of the boys to offer to His Majesty and to the Cardinal, and will also … see what would be convenient to give to the others who will help in this matter, keeping in mind the occasion when they will be offered, so that everyone is given something…'.[87] In November 1584, Philip II received the gifts offered by the four young Japanese envoys representing the Christian clans of Kyūshū, who had travelled to Europe via Macao, Malacca and India.[88] Father Luís Fróis in his *Tratado dos Embaixadores Iapões que forão a Roma no anno de 1582* describes the gifts as 'pieces from Japan, one desk made of cane with its drawers, beautifully arranged, one vase for washing hands made of wood very well gilded with ground gold, which is put underneath the varnish; one delicate basket which contained many items, and His Majesty was astonished to see so many pieces stored in such a small space, especially a small liquor flask that was very well lacquered. The basket was the most talked about thing, and it was shown to all the Dukes and Grandees present, all of whom praised their invention, painting and artifice; and one long rectangular box for letters from Japan, well worked and gilded. His Majesty … remarked, looking again and again, that the work was quite different from that made in China'.[89] According to Hidaka, the lacquer pieces were a basin or *aquamanile* (*suiban*), a set of food storage boxes stacked up in a basket (*sagejū*) and a long document box (*fubaco*).[90] These lacquer objects, as Kawamura has noted, appear to have been made for the Japanese domestic market, rather than for export. One cannot fail to wonder if the long document box would have been similar to the box that contained the letter sent by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the Viceroy of India in 1591, after receiving the Embassy upon its return from Europe, which was described by Father Luís Froís as '…a kind of box, that in Japan is used only for letters, and this box is a marvelous and very rich piece, that without doubt if anyone in all of Europe saw it, they would admire the delicacy and perfection of that object; because it is entirely covered inside, and outside, by a kind of varnish, that in Japan is called *urushi*; sprinkled with gold ground as fine as sand; it is a very laborious masterpiece,

and is decorated with flowers and roses of thin sheets of silver, and gold, that are inlaid in that *urushi*'.[91] The lacquer 'desk made of cane with its drawers' given to Philip II, however, was probably made in the Ryûkyû Islands, or in Southeast Asia.[92] As Impey and Jörg have remarked, Philip II's comments suggest that he was not familiar with Japanese lacquer, but he knew well Chinese lacquer.[93] The instructions given by Father Alessandro Valignano to Father Nuno Rodrigues in 1583 indicate that folding screens[94] were also brought to Europe by the Embassy, and that specific measures were taken to avoid damage of the valuable lacquer objects during their transportation in the long sea journeys to Europe. The folding screens most probably included the pair given by Oda Nobunaga to Father Allessandro Valignano when he visited Azuchi Castle. According to Cabañas Moreno, two pairs of folding screens were taken for Philip II, and another two pairs for Pope Gregory XIII.[95] The folding screens, for instance, were packed in wooden boxes: 'if possible, the folding screens should be taken inside the big box that I bought in Cochin for this purpose, because it seems that under the deck or in the hold, we have bought space for this purpose and they should be stored in a place where the rain does not enter or where they can get wet by water'.[96] Father Alessandro Valignano instructed that 'the boxes and other things that are taken to Portugal should be all marked with our emblem so that they can be recognized in Portugal'.[97] Some of the small lacquer pieces, as mentioned in the excerpt from Father Luís Froís, were packed in baskets.[98]

Recent research by Kawamura indicates that the posthumous inventory taken between 1598 and 1607 of Philip II's possessions prior to their dispersal lists 21 pieces of lacquer that were decorated in the *Namban* style. These pieces, described as being decorated with black lacquer and gold depicting scenes with grasses, birds and animals, consisted of two 'round boxes of tray with lid', another similar round box, one 'round box as wafer box', thirteen large trays, three other trays, and a table.[99] There are also listed two lacquer cabinets of square shape with 'two doors like a shrine' lacquered in black, which may have been among the gifts sent by the *shogūn* Tototomi Hideyoshi to the Viceroy of India with Father Alessandro Valignano in 1591, and subsequently sent to Philip II in 1594.[100]

Documentary and material evidence indicates that liturgical lacquers with or without Christian iconography were also made to order for other religious orders present in Japan at the time, or even for private individuals. It is known that until 1624, a small trade was conducted between the Japanese and Spanish merchants, who were based in the Philippines. A few Spanish ships, while sailing from Manila to New Spain, entered Japanese ports. In 1592, despite the first anti-Christian edict of 1587, several Spanish Franciscan friars were sent from Manila to Japan as ambassadors. The Franciscans were allowed to stay as missionaries and began to build churches and hospitals in Miyako and Osaka. Their arrival meant the end of the evangelization monopoly of the Jesuits in Japan, who were sponsored by the Portuguese Crown. This together with the fact that the Franciscans were under the patronage of the Spanish Crown (united with the Crown of Portugal since 1580) aggravated their mutual antagonism, which in turn caused suspicion to the Japanese rulers.[101] The shipwreck of the Spanish galleon *San Felipe* off the coast of Japan in 1596 was decisive in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's policy against the Christian faith.[102] Friars from two other Mendicant Orders, the Augustinians and Dominicans, soon followed the Franciscans. The first Augustinian friars reached Japan in 1602. In May 1606, a report from the Council of the Indias in Valladolid recommended that members of religious Orders from the

89 J.A. Abranches Pinto, Y. Okamoto and H. Bernard, S.J., *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592. Première partie: Le Traité du Père Frois, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs*, Sophia University, no. 6, Tokyo, 1942, p. 88. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 285.

90 Kaori Hidaka, *Ikoku no Hyôshô*, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 37, 68–69; and Hidaka Kaori, 'Ikoku e okurareta shikki. Tenshô ken'ô shisetsu no miyagemono', *Koruritsu Rikishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyû Hôkeku*, no. 140, Sakura, 2008, pp. 97–116. Mentioned in Kawamura, 2013, p. 267 (p. 53, English version).

91 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: '… uma feição de caxa, q serve em Japão somente para cartas, a qual he mui rica, e de tão maravilhoza obra, q sem duvida em todas as partes de Europa q a virem se hão de admirar da delicadeza, e primor daquella obra; porq he toda cuberta por dentro, e for a de hũa maneira de verniz, que em Japão se chama uruxi; semeada de ouro moido á maneira de area, q he obra de muito custo, e lavrada cõ aquelle uraxi'. Father Luís Froís, Apparatos para a Historia Ecclesiastica do Bispado de Japam do anno de 1588 (1589–1594), *Jesuítas na Ásia*, B.A., cod. 49–IV–57, fl. 187 v. – 188 f. Cited in Leiria, 2002, pp. 55–56.

92 For this opinion, see Ibid.

93 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 285.

94 Japanese folding screens are beyond the scope of this study.

95 Cabañas Moreno, however, notes that the list of objects brought by the Japanese Embassy included 'Thirty boxes with folding screens in fine gold, each box with two folding screens', some of which were probably intended for sale. Pilar Cabañas Moreno, 'Huellas del Arte Japonés en Nueva España: Biombos, Enconchados y Maques', in Kawamura, 2013, p. 298 (p. 86, English version).

96 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: 'hos biombos se for possivel se levarão metidos no caixão grande q pera ysso deixey comprador in Cochim, porq parece q onde bayxo da cuberta ou na parte da solda q compramos aucra comodidade pera ysso e pondoos em lugar onde não possão sover [chover] ne sere molhados de agoa'. Valignano, 1583. ASCG, Japonica Sinica 22, fl. 51. Cited in Leiria, 2002, pp. 52–53.

97 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: '… e as caixas e mais cousas q leva pera Portugal os façã mutrar [marcar] todas com nossa marca peraq se possão conhecer em Portugal…'. Valignano, 1583. ASCG, Japonica Sinica 22, fl. 51. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 53.

98 An extant rattan case bearing a coat of arms and an inscription with the owner's name will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter.

99 According to Kawamura, these pieces correspond to the inventory numbers 4496, 4497, 4499, 4508, 4509, 4510, 4511 and 4538. Kawamura, 2013, pp. 267 and 293, note 23 (pp. 54 and 80, note 23, English version). The inventory, as noted by Kawamura, lists many other objects described as lacquered or '*laqueados*' from *'la China', 'la India', 'las Indias' or 'la India de Portugal'*.

100 These pieces, corresponding to the inventory numbers 4.900 and 4.901, are discussed in Maria Paz Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España. Siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1993; Maria Paz Aguiló Alonso, 'El interés por lo exótico. Precisiones acerca del coleccionismo de arte namban en el siglo XVI', in Centro de Estudios Históricos, Actas de las IX Jornadas de Arte, *El arte en las cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 151–168; and Yayoi Kawamura, 'Discurso de la recepción de la Dra. Kawamura sobre 'Laca japonesa en la época Namban: Sevilla abierta a Oriente a través del mar'', *Temas de Estética y Arte*, no. XXXIX, Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría, Sevilla, 2011, pp. 75–94. Mentioned in Kawamura, 2013, p. 268 (p. 55, English version).

101 Javier Villalba Fernández, 'Las primeras visitas de los viajeros del Lejano Occidente a Japón', in Kawamura, 2013, p. 15.

102 Mentioned in Father Adriano di St. Thecla, *Opusculum de Sectis apud Sinenses et Tunkinenses. A Small Treatise on the Sects among the Chinese and Tokinese. A Study of Religion in China and North Vietnam in the Eighteenth Century*, Ithaca, 2002, p. 224, note 44. On December of that year, Hideyoshi issued an edict in which he stated 'I will that there be no more preaching of this law hereafter'. Cited in Jurgis Elisonas, 'Christianity and the Daimyo', in John Whitley Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 364.

103 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XIV: 1606–1609, pp. 226–227.

104 See, for instance, a pair of six-panel screens attributed to Kano Naizen (1570–1616), made in *c.*1600, in a private collection, illustrated in Weston, 2013, pp. 92–93, nos. 1a and b.

105 I am greatly indebted to Father Lázaro Sastre for providing me with an image of the lectern and for granting me permission to include it in this doctoral dissertation. Although the lectern was formerly housed in the Carmelite community of San José de Medina de Rioseco (dismantled in 2006), it is believed to have belonged to the nearby Dominican convent of San Pedro Mártir in Toledo, until 1836 when the friars were expelled under the Mendizábal disentailment laws (1836). For a discussion and images of this lectern, see Eloisa Wattenberg, *Medina de Rioseco Ciudad, Catálogo monumental de la provincial de Valladolid, vol. XVIII*, Valladolid, 2003, p. 158, fig 721; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 408–409, no. 29.

Fig. 4.1.1.1.18 Six-panel folding screen, one of a pair (detail right-hand side screen)
Kanô Naizen (1570–1616)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Height: 154.5cm; width: 363.2cm (each screen)
Kobe City Museum, Kobe

Philippines should be allowed to go to preach in Japan via Manila, but in Japanese ships rather than Spanish ships.[103] The Augustinians built the Church of the Holy Spirit in Nagasaki, and soon after more churches. In 1636, the Dominican friars from the Philippines organized a missionary expedition to Japan, but were arrested and condemned to death by the tribunal of Nagasaki. Visual sources attest to the presence of friars from these Mendicant Orders in Japan. They appear depicted, alongside Jesuits, in a number on *Namban* folding screens (Fig. 4.1.1.1.18).[104]

Only a few extant examples of liturgical lacquers made to order for the Mendicant Orders who were present in Japan, or believed to be associated with such an Order, have been recorded thus far. These pieces are all found in Spain. An apparently unique lectern decorated in the *Namban* style with *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlays, dating to *c.*1580–1614, now in the Dominican convent of San Esteban in Salamanca, was undoubtedly made for the Dominican friars (Fig. 4.1.1.1.19).[105] As Kawamura has noted, the oval medallion of its front panel instead of bearing the Jesuit monogram, bears the monogram of the Order of Saint Dominic within a rosary crowned with a cross, which represents the province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario with its headquarters established in the Philippines at the end of the sixteenth century.[106] Another lectern decorated in the *Namban* style with a large-scale floral design, but bearing no Christian iconography was formerly in the convent of Santa María Magdalena, Medina del Campo (Fig. 4.1.1.1.20).[107] It is likely that this lectern was made to order at the end of the Momoyama period, or sometime after the 1614 edict officially banning

Fig. 4.1.1.1.19 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Height: 35cm; width: 31cm
Museo San Esteban PP Dominicos, Salamanca

Fig. 4.1.1.1.20 *Namban* lectern (*shokendai*)
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Dimensions: 31.5cm x 50cm
Convent of Santa Maria Magdalena,
Medina del Campo, Valladolid

Christianity. According to Casado Paramio, the lectern may have been taken or sent as a gift to this convent of Augustinian nuns by one of the chaplains from the Philippine Augustinian Order.[108] There is also a small oratory that instead of a sacred painting has a Sicilian silver crucifix inlaid with coral attached to the back panel in the Monasterio de las Trinitarias Descalzas in Madrid, which was most likely given to the monastery by the benefactress María de Villena y Melo, or by a family member of Juana Manuel de Portugal.[109]

Six liturgical lacquers made to order in the *Namban* style during the Momoyama and early Edo periods are of particular interest to this study. All appear to be unique examples of their types. These include a small hanging oratory of shallow almost square shape, dating to the late sixteenth century, now in a private collection in Oporto, which has an opening at the top for inserting a religious oil painting and a sliding panel that opens to the right.[110] A hexagonal domed tabernacle in the Peabody Essex Museum, constructed with a panelled base and six angled plinths on which stand pairs of pillars, all supporting a hexagonal dome surmounted by a tall finial, appears to have been made after an Indo-Portuguese model (Fig. 4.1.1.1.21).[111] The shape of this type of tabernacle, dating to *c.*1580–1615, may have in turn derived from that of silver tabernacles of large size made by Iberian silversmiths in the early sixteenth century, which served to hold the monstrance containing the Holy Host carried in procession on Corpus Christi day.[112] A comparable example similarly made in the manner of a hexagonal temple by Juan de Orna in Burgos in 1526, called a *custodia* in Spanish, can be found in Santo Domingo de Silos in Barcelona.[113] This suggests that the lacquer tabernacle could have been intended to hold a monstrance containing the Holy Host, or perhaps a sacred statuette. A standing shrine or retable of deep rectangular form with a tall triangular pediment in a private collection in Japan has an unusual

106 Ibid., pp. 408–409.

107 It was founded in 1552 by Rodrigo de Dueñas, a rich merchant and important finance minister of Charles I (r. 1519–1556), and his wife D. Catalina Cuadrado, as an Augustine Foundation to cater for young people in difficulties and to supply basic education for the children of poor families. The lectern, now in the Museo de Arte Oriental of Valladolid, is published in José Manuel Casado Paramio, 'Atril Namban', in Vv. Aa., *Clausuras: el patrimonio de los conventos de la provincial de Valladolid. 1 Medina del Campo*, Valladolid, 1999, pp. 116–117; José Manuel Casado Paramio, 'Atril Namban', in Alfredo J. Morales Martínez (ed.), *Filipinas, puerta de Oriente: de Legazpi a Malaspina*, exhibition catalogue, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior-Lunwerg, Madrid and Barcelona, 2003, p. 249, no. 123; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 282–283, ill. 48.

108 Casado Paramio, 2003, p. 249.

109 The monastery was founded in 1602 by San Juan Bautista de la Concepción (1561–1613), under the patronage of Sancho de la Cerda y Portugal, I Marquis de la Laguna de Camero-Viejo (?–1575) and his second wife María de Villena y Melo, who was a Lady of the House of Braganza. Sancho de la Cerda y Portugal was the son of Juan II de la Cerda y Silva, 4th Duke of Medinaceli (1556–1564) and Juana Manuel de Portugal (1520–1568), daughter of Sancho I de Noronha Portugal, 2nd Count of Faro. The crucifix may have been acquired during the time Sancho's father was Viceroy of Sicily (1556–1564). The oratory is published in Yayoi Kawamura, 'Obras de laca del arte namban en los Monasterios de la Encarnación y de las Trinitarias de Madrid', *Reales Sitios*, vol. XXXVIII, No. 147, 2001, p. 6. For a discussion of the crucifix, see J. M. Cruz Valdovinos, *Platería europea en España, 1300–1700*, Madrid, 1997, pp. 292–293.

110 The metal suspension ring at the top was intended both for hanging the oratory and securing the painting. A comb-case with a mirror in black lacquered wood inlaid in mother-of-pearl showing

Fig. 4.1.1.1.21 *Namban* tabernacle
Momoyama period (1573–1615), *c.*1600
Height: 60.1cm; width: 29.8cm
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Massachusetts (inv. no. E76704)

Opposite page left
Fig. 4.1.1.1.22 *Namban* standing shrine or retable
Momoyama/early Edo period, *c.*1600–1630
Height: 67.5cm; width: 27.5cm; depth: 13cm
Private collection, Japan

Opposite page right
Fig. 4.1.1.1.23 Indo-Portuguese oratory or shrine
Seventeenth century
Museo de Arte e Arqueologia, Viana do Castelo
(inv. no. MAAVC 1043)

Right
Fig. 4.1.1.1.24 Lacquered oratory or shrine
Probably Indo-Portuguese
Sixteenth/seventeenth century
Height: 43.3cm; width: 24.8cm; depth: 12.8cm
Real Monasterio de la Encarnacion, Madrid
Patrimonio Nacional (00620040)

combination of *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay in the *Namban* style lacquer with carved Indo-Portuguese decoration (Fig. 4.1.1.1.22).[114] This hybrid liturgical shrine, dating to *c.*1600–1630, would most probably have served to hold a sacred statuette. The relief carved decoration of the interior frame, frieze, base and cornices is almost identical to that seen on a seventeenth century Indo-Portuguese oratory made in teak, lacquer and mother-of-pearl housed in the Museu de Arte e Arqueologia in Viana do Castelo, which bears the emblem of the Order of Saint Dominic on the interior of the doors (Fig. 4.1.1.1.23).[115] It seems likely that the carved decoration was a later addition made at one of the workshops working under Portuguese patronage in India. Moreover, the gold oval sunburst painted on the black lacquered back panel may also be of Indo-Portuguese influence or manufacture, as sunbursts were frequently carved or painted on seventeenth century Indo-Portuguese oratories, serving as background for a sacred statuette or crucifix.[116] It is important to note that an oratory in the Real Monasterio de la Encarnación in Madrid was formerly believed to be another hybrid liturgical lacquer combining *Namban* and carved Indo-Portuguese decoration of *c.*1620–1630, but Kawamura has recently noted that it is probably Indo-Portuguese with lacquer and mother-of-pearl decoration that could have been made both in India or the Ryûkyû islands (Fig. 4.1.1.1.24).[117]

The fact that some unique liturgical lacquers are found in convents of Mendicant Orders provides further evidence of special orders made for them. Such and example is a large crucifix decorated with *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay in *Namban* style with an ivory figure of Jesus Christ made in Manila, which is housed in the convent of San Esteban in Salamanca, Spain (Fig. 4.1.1.1.25).[118] The supposed Hispano-Philippine origin of the ivory Christ suggest that the crucifix was ordered by a Dominican friar who was at some point in Japan, who could have brought the ivory figure with him to Japan or taken the crucifix to Manila where it was added. It would then have arrived at the convent via the Spanish trade route through New Spain. One cannot fail to wonder if the 'Eight crosses from Japan' listed in the 1628 inventory of the belongings of Viceroy Francisco da Gama mentioned earlier would have been like the extant *Namban* lacquer crucifix discussed here.[119] There is also a Host receptacle decorated in *Namban* style of deep, almost square shape with a triangular pediment bearing a Christian cross inlaid in mother-of-pearl, and a hinged front door that opens to the side, in the Santiago Apóstol parish church in Gáldar, Gran Canaria (Fig. 4.1.1.1.26).[120] It is probable that the simple temple-like shape of this Host receptacle derives from a European or Indo-Portuguese model. According to an inscription on a silver lamp, also used for the Eucharist, this Host receptacle was given to the parish by doña María de Quintana, a benefactress who sent it with other objects made of silver from New Spain in 1626.[121] This example further demonstrates that liturgical lacquers circulated via the Spanish trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes to Spain. The *Namban* style crucifix and Host receptacle discussed above would have had an evident Christian association in Japan and thus were probably made prior to the 1614 edict banning Christianity.

Perhaps the most unusual liturgical lacquer recorded thus far is a Host receptacle in the Franciscan convent of San Juan de la Penitencia (better known as Las Juanas) in Alcalá de Henares in Madrid, dating to *c.*1580–1630, which has a hybrid form that is neither European nor Japanese (Fig. 4.1.1.1.27).[122] Recent research by Kawamura has shown that it was originally a cabinet of rectangular form with a fall front door, which had later additions of a crown-like support for a cross at the top, four small cubic candlestick holders at the corners, and a protruding candlestick holder on either side of the base, to be adapted to serve as a Host receptacle of the Baroque style.[123] The interior was originally fitted with four rows of small drawers, which were removed and their traces on the sides, top and back (the original back lacquer panel was replaced by a wood panel painted in black) were then covered with silk lining. Kawamura has

a related system is found in the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. A similar type of sliding system to the one seen on this oratory, although in smaller scale, is recorded in a backgammon board in which a small compartment with a sliding panel, possibly to hold dice, is placed at either side of the wooden frame. For a discussion on these comparative pieces and images of this oratory, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 56–59, no. 7 and pp. 72–77, no. 10. Also see Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 278–279, fig. 12.

111 Published in Impey and Jörg, p. 194, ill. 466; and Canepa, 2011/2, p. 282, fig. 14. Compare, for instance, an ebony and ivory Indo-Portuguese oratory of related form, dating to the seventeenth century, published in Soares da Cunha, 1998, p. 322, no. 88.

112 For a discussion on silver custodias made by Spanish silversmiths in the early sixteenth century, see Juan F. Riano, *The Industrial Arts of Spain*, London, 1890, pp. 26–28.

113 Published in Oman, 1968, pl. 59, fig. 101.

114 See note 58. Discussed and illustrated in Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 285–287, fig. 17.

115 I am grateful to Salomé Abreu, conservator of the Museu de Arte y Arqueologia in Viana do Castelo, for providing me with an image of this oratory. Published in Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 285 and 287, fig. 18.

116 See, for instance, an Indo-Portuguese oratory in the Museu de Évora. Sunbursts of this type continued to appear in the eighteenth century, as seen in another example formerly in the collection of Commander Ernesto Vilhena. Published in Soares da Cunha, 1998, pp. 322–325, no. 89 and p. 324. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/2, p. 287.

117 In the past several scholars, including Kawamura and the present author, considered this oratory as a *Namban* example. For this revised attribution, see Kawamura, 2013, pp. 257–258, pl. 18 and pp. 291–292, note 8.

118 For a recent discussion on this crucifix and further bibliographical references, see Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 281 and 283, fig. 15; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 414–415, no. 31.

119 See note 86. The crosses appear listed on the transcription of Francisco da Gama's inventory made by Marrafa de Oliveira for the project 'A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX). The transcription also lists '..an empty writing cabinet from Japan', which most probably referred to a *Namban* writing cabinet. The original texts in Portuguese read: 'Oito cruzes de Japão', and '… hum escritorio de Japão vazio'.

120 The tall, protruding base of the Host receptacle is a later addition. I am grateful to Fernando Rodriguez Suarez for providing me with images and information on this Host receptacle. For more information refer to Maria de los Reyes Hernández Socorro, *Arte Hispanoamericano en las Canarias Orientales, siglos XVI–XIX*, Gran Canaria, 2000, pp. 184–86; Yayoi Kawamura, 'Reflexion on namban lacquers in Spain: collection and use', *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2009), p. 105; Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 283–285, fig. 16; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 416–417, no. 32.

121 The inscription in Spanish reads: 'ESTA LÁMPARA DA DOÑA MARYA DE QVINTANA A LA YGLESYA DE LA PARROQVIA DE SANTIAGO DE LA VYLLA DE GVALDAR [sic] AÑO DE MYLL Y 626'. It appears documented for the first time during the pastoral visit that Bishop Cristóbal de la Cámara y Murga made to Gáldar on 31st December 1628, as a 'caja da china'. Years later, on 22 September 1639, Luis Ruiz de Alarcón wrote that it had been donated by María de Quintana. This information was added in 1655 by canon Marcos Verde de Aguilar to the 1638 inventory: 'Un Sagrario nuevo que puso en dicha Iglesia el Sr. Canónigo, grande y otro de carey en la sacristía'. In the inventory of 18th September 1658 it is mentioned as a 'sagrario pequeño de carey'. In those of 1821 and 1830, it is described as being used as a 'Sagrario de carey para el Jueves Santo'. After this Holy day (that commemorates the last Supper of Jesus Christ with the Apostles and falls on the Thursday before Easter) it is kept in the sacristy for the rest of the year. Cited in Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 284–285, note 110.

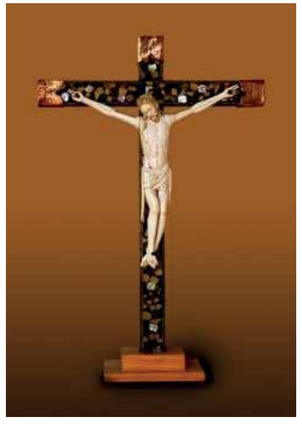


Fig. 4.1.1.1.25 *Namban* crucifix
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Height: 73cm; width: 52cm
Museo San Esteban PP Dominicos, Salamanca
(inv. no. SA.E.50)

Fig. 4.1.1.1.27 *Namban* cabinet, converted into a Holy Host receptacle
Momoyama/early Edo period, c.1580–1630
Original cabinet: height: 33.3cm; width: 44.4cm; depth: 30.2cm
Convent of San Juan de la Penitencia, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid

noted that the fine lacquer layers of the original back panel and drawers were split and then pasted onto the new wooden additions, and that this extensive and meticulous alteration work, as well as the addition of three silver lock-plates enriched with red, blue and green semiprecious stones, may have been made in New Spain, sometime after the mid-seventeenth century. There is no documentary evidence concerning the arrival of this liturgical lacquer to the convent.

Friars of these Mendicant Orders also participated in establishing diplomatic relations between the rulers of Japan and Europe, as well as those representing the Spanish Crown in New Spain. In 1613, the Spanish Franciscan Luis Sotelo (1574–1624) was appointed ambassador for another Japanese delegation, known as the *Keichô* Embassy, which was sent via New Spain to the royal court in Madrid and the Vatican. Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571–1621), a *samurai* from the fief of Sendai, was sent to Europe by his feudal warlord, Date Masamune (1567–1636), who organized the diplomatic mission. In January 1615, Philip II received the Japanese delegation in Madrid. In November of that same year, they were granted an audience with Pope Paul V in Rome. The main goals of the mission were to request Franciscan missionaries to be sent to a region of Japan controlled by the Date clan and to finalize a treaty that would have established direct Japanese trade relations with New Spain.[124] Textual sources attest to the presence of Japanese lacquered objects in the King's residence in Madrid, the Alcázar, in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In a description of the New Room or Mirror Room made by the Italian antiquarian Cassiano del Pozzo 1588–1657) during his visit in 1626, at the time Philip IV was reigning, he states that 'In the same room, before entering, there was one of those paintings from Japan that is folded one [panel] against the other in the manner of their books, which, standing on their feet, serve to divide rooms and to screen doors. They are called '*biombos*'. They are made with long panels, one attached to the other, and unfold together. It was

122 Recently published as a Host receptacle in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 185, no. 441; and Canepa, 2011/2, pp. 279–281, fig. 13.

123 For this opinion and further bibliographical references, see Kawamura, 2013, pp. 382–387, no. 20. *Namban* cabinets of this shape will be discussed in the following section of this Chapter.

124 For more information on this mission, see Javier Villalba Fernández, 'Japón, Date Masamune y la embajada Keichô', in Kawamura, 2013, pp. 47–92 (pp. 9–12, English version).

Fig. 4.1.1.1.26 *Namban* host receptacle
Momoyama period (1573–1615)
Height: 35.5cm; width: 25.5cm; depth: 24cm
Santiago Apóstol Parish Church, Gáldar, Gran Canaria

constructed from the aforesaid standing paintings [and made] a small room, which takes up little space when it is in use. They can be carried conveniently, they make a very charming show of painting, and they can quickly form a room in whatever shape is desired'.[125] The object described as 'paintings from Japan that is folded' is in all probability a folding screen, perhaps one of the two pairs brought by the first Japanese embassy to Philip II in 1582. Although such folding screens, which appear to have been imported in considerable quantities to New Spain,[126] are beyond the scope of this study, they are important in demonstrating the continuous use of Japanese lacquer objects, even if only in small quantities, by the royal court of Madrid.[127]

To sum up, the Jesuits played a very important role in the cultural and artistic exhanges that occurred between Japan, Western Europe and the New World in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Jesuits, as textual sources have shown, were well aware of the high quality and artistic value of lacquer objects made in the Momoyama period for the domestic market, and this led them to send pieces of Japanese lacquer as gifts and thus spread a taste for it among the royalty, clergy and nobility of Renaissance Europe in the late sixteenth century. Isolated from Europe, Macao, Malacca and Goa, and with the rapid spread of Christianity, the Jesuits of the Japan mission required a regular supply of religious objects for their devotional practices and evangelical work. This necessity, and the opportunity they had to observe the fine lacquer manufacturing techniques as well as the sumptuous lacquer paintings made by reknown artists of the Kāno family for the interiors of the newly built castles of some of powerful feudal warlords, prompted the Jesuits to order liturgical lacquers to their specific requirements from local lacquer craftsmen working in, and around Miyako, which were intended for use in personal devotion and Jesuit churches in Japan, and most probably also in their missions in Asia, Europe and the New World. The lacquer craftsmen ingeniously adapted their traditional lacquer manufacturing

125 Cassiano del Pozzo, untitled journal of Cardinal Frncesco Barberini's legation to Spain in 1626, Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. Lat. 5689, unpaginated. Transcribed by S.N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, Princeton, 1986, p. 188. Cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 122.

126 For a discussion on the folding screens imported into New Spain as early as 1607 and their influence in the local production of folding screens, see Sofia Sanabrais, 'The Biombo or Folding Screen in Colonial Mexico', in Pierce and Otsuka, 2009, pp. 69–106.

127 For a discussion on the Japanese folding screens taken by the first Japanese Embassy and their influence in the decorative arts of New Spain, see Cabañas Moreno, 2013, pp. 297–319 (pp. 85–106, English version).

techniques, which had been influenced by objects imported from China and Korea, and developed a new style of *urushi* lacquer for export, known as *Namban*, most likely to speed up the production process and to lower the cost, which consisted in reducing or totally omitting the textile layers on the base or edges, and the use of relatively simple lacquer techniques.

The Jesuit textual sources and extant liturgical lacquers discussed above demonstrate that the lacquer craftsmen made a wide variety of hybrid objects for the Jesuits, which combined a European or Indo-Portuguese shape, and the 'IHS' monogram of the Society of Jesus or other motifs embedded with Christian symbolism, with a new *urushi* lacquer style depicting dense compositions of Japanese flowering or fruiting plants, birds, animals (both real and mythical) in gold and silver *makie* most probably based on paintings made by the Kanō school, but with a *horror vacui* and lavish use of mother-of-pearl inlay (*raden*) which were alien to Japanese aesthetics. In addition, the Jesuits ordered laquer objects that could have been used both in religious and secular contexts, some with the 'IHS' monogram. These included objects such as writing boxes that combined a traditional Japanese shape and finest lacquer techniques with the 'IHS' monogram. Such fine and expensive liturgical lacquers would most probably have been intended for personal use or to give as gifts to powerful *daimyō*, who had converted to Christianity and supported their mission in Japan. It also included low, rectangular tables that were most probably used as portable altars in Japan. It seems reasonable to believe that the extant liturgical lacquers with Christian iconography that would not have been immediately recognizable by the Tokugawa shogunate, or no Christian iconography at all, began to be made to order for the Jesuits after the anti-Christian edict of 1597, which caused the execution of missionaries for preaching Christianity.

The lacquer decoration of the liturgical lacquers made to order with the 'IHS' monogram in the early Edo period, as shown earlier, was also executed in the so-called Transition style with an even simpler, less time-consuming technique depicting large-scale flowers and autumn grasses in flat gold and silver *hiramakie* on a plain black lacquer ground, and details incised by needle drawing (*harigaki*), which imitated the *Kodaiji makie* style introduced by the workshops of the Kōami family of Miyako for the domestic market in the late sixteenth century. The liturgical lacquer objects decorated in the hybrid *Namban* or the so-called Transition styles discussed above, and a considerable number of others that are still found today in churches, monasteries and convents in both Portugal and Spain,[128] demonstrate that the majority of the liturgical lacquers were made for the Jesuits. This is not surprising as they were not only the first Christian missionaries to arrive in Japan, but also those who being sponsored by the Portuguese Crown were able to remain there for a longer period of time. Jesuit textual sources and these extant objects attest to the direct involvement of the Jesuits in such liturgical lacquer orders, unlike those made to order for them in Chinese porcelain at the same time discussed in Chapter III, which reflect the indirect nature of orders placed through Chinese junk traders who acted as middleman between the Jesuits and porcelain potters.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century a small number of liturgical lacquers were also made to order for friars of the Agustinian and Dominican Mendicant Orders, or even for private individuals, who may never have actually served in Japan, to be sent as gifts to these religious institutions or to members of the nobility in the Iberian Peninsula and/or New Spain. Only a few extant liturgical lacquers made to order for the Mendicant Orders, or believed to be associated with such and order, have been recorded thus far. These pieces are all in monasteries and convents in Spain. The most important example, providing tangible evidence of an order made for the Dominicans, is a lectern bearing the monogram of the Order of Saint Dominic decorated in *Namban* style and dating to the Momoyama period. Friars of these Mendicant Orders, as shown above, also helped in further establishing diplomatic relations between Japan and the rulers and clergy of Western Europe, as well as those representing the Spanish Crown in New Spain, in the early seventeenth century. A Franciscan friar, for instance, was appointed ambassador of the second Japanese delegation to Europe, which was sent via New Spain to the royal court of Madrid and the Vatican.

The extant liturgical lacquers decorated in the so-called Transition style with the 'IHS' monogram still found in monasteries or convents in Portugal and Spain demonstrate that despite the severity of the Christian persecution, the Jesuits and missionaries of the Mendicant Orders (Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans) present in Japan at the time continued to order liturgical lacquers in the early Edo period up until about 1639, when the country was closed to all Europeans (*sakoku*). It is not possible to ascertain exactly how all these liturgical lacquers arrived at their destinations in the Iberian Peninsula and New World. It is clear, however, that they circulated via the Portuguese trans-Atlantic trade route through Macao and Goa, or via the Spanish trans-Pacific trade route through Manila to Acapulco, and subsequently the trans-Atlantic trade route through Veracruz to Seville. Other extant liturgical lacquers housed in public and private collections around the world suggest that a number of such lacquers were taken from Japan by Christian missionaries as well as by Japanese converts who sought refuge abroad.

Lacquer for the Portuguese and Spanish markets [4.1.1.2]

It is well known that Portuguese merchants brought with them a variety of European models of portable furniture to the Far East. By the time of their arrival in Japan in 1543, the Portuguese were already familiar with the mother-of-pearl objects from the coastal region of Gujarat in western India,[129] as well as with lacquer objects from China, which had been imported in small quantities to the Iberian Peninsula, since the early sixteenth century.[130] The Portuguese merchants, whose commercial activities in Hirado and later Nagasaki supported the Jesuit mission, noticed that Japanese lacquer for export was of superior quality and thus began to order lacquer objects intended for the Portuguese secular market, which would have been useful for private use in a European context or in their settlements in Asia that had hot and humid climates. Some of the portable furniture they took to Japan served as models to the lacquer craftsmen, particularly those working in and around Miyako, who made new types of furniture and utilitarian objects using both local materials and decorative techniques.[131] The exact date when such lacquers were first made proves difficult to ascertain. It is likely that they were being made by the early Momoyama period, possibly shortly after *c.*1580 when liturgical lacquers are believed to have been first made, and that production continued until the expulsion of the Portuguese and Christian missionaries from Japan in 1639, in the early Edo period. Initially all these pieces of portable furniture and utilitarian objects were decorated in the *Namban* style created by the lacquer craftsmen for the liturgical lacquers made for the Jesuits, with had a rich mixture of Japanese and European and/or Indo-Portuguese influences. By the early Edo period, as occurred with the liturgical lacquers discussed in the previous section of

128 A number of other liturgical lacquers in religious institutions in Portugal are discussed in Mendes Pinto, 1990; and d'Oliveira Martins, 2010. Others in religious institutions in Spain are discussed in Kawamura, 2013.

129 By the early sixteenth century, Gujarat was the centre of production of mother-of-pearl objects, either inlaid entirely with pieces of mother-of-pearl or with black lac (generally known as black mastic or Gujarat lac) and mother-of-pearl overlaid decoration, for both the local and export markets, including Turkey, the Middle East and Europe. For a discussion on the objects made in Gujarat for the Portuguese market and two examples of black mastic and mother-of-pearl objects, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2009, pp. 54–75, nos. 3 and 4.

130 The lacquer mentioned in Portuguese and Spanish written sources of the early to mid-sixteenth century, including inventories and letters, was most likely Chinese or Indo-Portuguese. Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 11 and 284. As Moura Carvalho has noted the furniture brought to Japan by the Black Ship depicted in *Namban* folding screens appears to be all of Chinese origin. Moura Carvalho, 2013, p. 39.

131 The region of Miyako, as Curvelo has noted, appears to have been one of the main production centres of lacquer made to order for the Portuguese. Curvelo, 2010, p. 23.

Figs. 4.1.1.2.1a and b *Namban* coffer
Momoyama/early Edo period
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Height: 85.2cm; width: 116.5cm; depth: 45cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. FE.33-1983)

Fig. 4.1.1.2.2 Group of mother-of-pearl objects
Gujarat
Early seventeenth century
British Museum, London
(museum nos. OA+2643, 1–2; OA+2644; OA+2642)

this Chapter, lacquer pieces were also being decorated in the so-called Transition style. These lacquers came to be much admired in Portugal and the rest of Europe and thus lead to an enormous number of orders for secular use. Some of these lacquers, as will be shown, were also adapted for religious use.

Although documentary evidence of specific lacquer orders made in Japan remains scarce, there are numerous extant lacquer pieces in convents and monasteries in Spain and Portugal, as well as in public and private collections around the world, which provide material evidence of the varied typologies of portable furniture and utilitarian objects ordered by the Portuguese and Spanish at the time. The shapes of the furniture, as will be shown in the following pages, were mostly based on those of pieces made to order for the Portuguese at various workshops in India, in turn copying European models from Germany, Italy and Spain, which circulated throughout Europe.

A clear example of such hybrid influences is seen in some of the *Namban* lacquer coffers of rectangular form with a half-cylindrical lid hinged at the back, fitted with metal carrying handles on the sides, which appear to have been among the earliest furniture made to order for the Portuguese in the Momoyama period (Figs. 4.1.1.2.1a and b).[132] The shape copied faithfully a domed chest, one of the most important pieces of furniture in Renaissance Europe, commonly used to store clothing. Renaissance domed chests, like those made in Italy (*cassone*), were richly decorated with carvings and intarsia, often combined with ivory, mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell.[133] Jesuit textual sources attest to the presence of European coffers in Japan in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. A letter written in Miyako by Father Luís Fróis to Father Belchior de Figueiredo in July 1569, inform us that the poweful *daimyō* Oda Nobunaga had so much clothing and objects from Europe and India that 'some twelve or fifteen trunks like those of the kingdom [Portugal], [were] full'.[134] In a treatise written that same year, Father Luís Fróis compares European and Japanese chests, saying that 'Our houses [are furnished] with leather trunks and Frandes [Flanders] coffers or cedar wood trunks; those from Japan having black baskets made from cow hide …'.[135] The use of chests by the Jesuits residing in Japan is attested by the 'seven small lacquered chests, three bought by Father Barreto himself, having the other two given to him by Father Baltasar Correia' listed among the belongings left by Father Manuel Barreto to his successor Father Manuel Borges, in 1616.[136]

132 For a discussion on all types of coffers with domed lids with solid ends, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 304–331, nos. 40–45.

133 See, for instance, the examples published in Franz Windisch-Graetz, *Möbel Europas, Renaissance – Manierismus*, Munich, 1983, pp. 180 and 188, pl. 6, figs. 25–27.

134 Cited in William Watson (ed.), *The Great Japan Exhibition. Art of the Edo Period 1600–1868*, exhibition catalogue, The Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1981, p. 242; and Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 78, note 36.

135 *Treatise in which is contained a very succinct and brief account of some of the contradictions and differences of customs between the people of Europe and this province of Japan. 1585.* Cited in Ibid.

136 See note 85. Cited in Curvelo, 2001, p. 32.

Lacquer craftsmen made domed coffers with slight variations on the shape (such as the addition of front drawers in the base, of raised wooden bands across on the half-cylindrical lid, or of a broad base protruding on all sides) in a variety of sizes.[137] At first the *Namban* style lacquer decoration, regardless of the size of the coffer, was divided into rectangular panels (ranging from one to up to five) enclosing a dense design of birds and/or animals among flowering and fruiting plants, each divided and framed by geometric borders.[138] From the beginning of the seventeenth century, coffers were also decorated with bird or animal scenes within diamond or multi-lobed cartouches reserved on grounds of geometric designs inlaid in mother-of-pearl, of tiny particles of mother-of-pearl (*aogai*), or of a material of animal origin: painted/pasted fish skin from ray or shark (*samegawa* or *samekawa*), in addition to *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay. In Japan, pasted skin of rays and sharks had been used in a variety of decorative objects from at least the Nara period (710–794).[139] Jesuit reports attest to the use of fish skin on lacquer objects in the early seventeenth century.[140] At this point it is important to note that the majority of extant *Namban* coffers with this decoration do not have pasted fish skin. Instead, they have the 'sprinkling denticle' technique that appears to have been developed by the local lacquer craftsmen to best suit the decoration of objects made to order in large quantities for the Portuguese.[141] More rarely coffers of relatively large size were decorated with rectangular panels covered entirely in the 'sprinkle denticle' technique,[142] or with an all-over design of small scales of mother-of-pearl forming an overlapping lappet motif, each secured by a gilt-copper rivet and separated by narrow strips of black and gold *hiramakie* lacquer, all framed by broad geometric borders, as seen in this example dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[143] This latter style of decoration, as noted by Jaffer, was undoubtedly copied by the local lacquer craftsmen from the coffers or other smaller objects brought by the Portuguese from Gujarat, where workshops produced objects in a meticulous technique of mother-of-pearl inlay for the local market as well as for export to the Middle East, the east coast of Africa and Western Europe (Fig. 4.1.1.2.2).[144] The interior of the coffers of this shape was covered in black lacquer, and the interior of the lid was sometimes decorated in gold and brown *makie* with Japanese figures or birds surrounded by a dense design of scrolling *kudsu* (*kusu*) vine, as seen in the Victoria and Albert example illustrated in Fig. 4.1.1.2.1b. This example serves to illustrate the strong influence exerted by the Portuguese merchants in some of the lacquer objects made to order for them, most likely through direct involvement in such orders, which combine elements of three very different and distant cultures: a shape brought by the Portuguese from Europe and a decorative style brought from their settlements in India, with a decorative style created in Japan to suit European demand.[145]

Textual sources attest to the presence of domed chests and other objects made of lacquer in Portugal in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. In 1564, Catherine of Austria purchased 'five black lacquer tables; three square lacquer writing desks, each with a large drawer in the middle for paper; two domed lacquer chests, one larger that the other; 178 folding fans…'.[146] The folding fans, as shown by Jordan Gschwend, were Japanese.[147] Thus, as noted by Impey and Jörg, it is possible that these lacquer pieces, or at least some of them, were also Japanese.[148] A large *Namban* domed coffer, dating to the Momoyama period, kept in the Reliquary room of the Monastery of las Descalzas Reales in Madrid is among the earliest extant pieces of Japanese lacquer recorded in Europe. It is believed that the coffer was given to the monastery by the

137 See, for instance, a coffer in the Peabody Essex Museum with front drawers published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 150, no. 333. For examples with raised wooden bands on the lid and a protruding base, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 310–315, no. 42.

138 Extant coffers with a single panel can be found in the Museum Schloss Fasanerie in Fulda, the Náprstek Museum in Prague, and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 150, no. 333; Filip Suchomel and Marcela Sucomelová, *A Surface Created for Decoration. Japanese Lacquer Art from the 16th to the 19th Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery in Prague, Prague, 2002, pp. 58–59, no. 1; and Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 79. Other examples with a varying number of rectangular panels are in the Kyoto National Museum, the Gifu City Museum of History, and the Florence and Herbert Irving Collection. Published in Kyoto National Museum, 1995, p. 113, no. 146; Gifu City History Museum, *Namban*, exhibition catalogue, Gifu, 2003, p. 78, no. IV-10; and Murase, 2003, p. 294, no. 137. Mentioned in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, p. 309.

139 Examples dating to the Nara period include the hilt of a Chinese sword in the Shōsōin repository, and the sheath of a knife, which was dedicated to the Hōryū-ji Temple. For this opinion, see Kanako Morinaka, 'Samé Nuri techniques in the Seventeenth Century. Lost techniques of Japanese lacquer art', unpublished English article, 2004. Mentioned in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, p. 197, and note 2.

140 The *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* describes ray or shark skin as '*Same*. A certain kind of fish such as ray or dogfish. Item. The skin of this fish, that serves to cover the hilts of *catanas* [swords], or the scabbard'. It also describes the use of fish skin as '*Mazame*. Skin of sea fish, that is used for scabbards of *catanas*, or *vaquizaxis*'. The original texts in Portuguese read 'Same. Hum certo peixe como raya, ou lixa. Item A pelle deste peixe, que serve de cobrir os punhos da *catana*, ou bainha' and '*Mazame*. Pelle de hũ peixe do mar, que serve pera bainhas de catanas, ou vaquizaxis'. BA, *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, fls. 423f. and 424v; and fl. 295v; respectively. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 21.

141 This technique consisted of extracting the tiny dermal denticles of numerous ray skins, by soaking them until the soft parts became rotten, and subsequently washing and passing the denticles through a sieve to be separated into several sizes. Finally thousands, or in some cases even hundreds of thousands, of the tiny denticles were sprinkled and adhered onto the surface of the object imitating the skin of the shark or ray before the lacquer (*urushi*) was painted. For a detailed discussion on this subject and *Namban* cabinets decorated with this technique, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 194–199, no. 16.

142 For an example of large size, see Ibid., pp. 326–331, no. 45. Another example, but of considerable smaller size, is published in Europália/89, *Japon. Art Namban. 'Les Portugais au Japon'*, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1989, p. 149, no. 64.

143 For a discussion on this type of lacquer coffer combining an all-over mother-of-pearl decoration with *makie* decoration in the *Namban* style, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 60–65, no. 8.

144 Amin Jaffer, 'Asia in Europe: Furniture for the West', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, pp. 253–254. For a coffer completely covered in almost identically shaped mother-of-pearl scales held by silver pins from Gujarat, housed in the Museu do Tesoro da Sé in Lisbon, see Felgueiras, 2001, p. 111, cat. 18. Mentioned in Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, p. 62.

145 For a fall-front cabinet showing this particular type of hybrid influences in the Kobe City Museum in Kobe, combining a European shape, with Gujarati style mother-of-pearl decoration on the exterior and *Namban* lacquer decoration on the interior, see Ibid., p. 253, pl. 19.2.

146 The document is published in Jordan Gschwend, 1998, p. 227.

147 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Exotic Renaissance Accessories. Japanese, Indian and Sinhalese Fans at the Courts of Portugal and Spain', *Apollo* 150 (November 1999), p. 28. However, in a more recent article Jordan Gschwend has stated that the fans were from the Ryūkyū islands (present-day Okinawa prefecture, Japan), which then was a separate kingdom. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Los primeros abanicos orientales de los Habsburgo', in Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2003, p. 270.

148 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 284.

149 In the last decades of the sixteenth century, Maria of Austria had sent Chinese porcelain and other Asian curiosities to her son, Emperor Rudolf II, in Prague. For a discussion on these gifts, see section 3.1.2 of Chapter III. The lacquer coffer, inv. no. 00612585, is discussed and published in Ana García Sanz, 'Relicarios de Oriente', in Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2003, pp. 132–133 and p. 138, cat. VII–5; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 110–113, no. 1. Another coffer inventoried this same year, 1616, will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of this Chapter.

150 The transcription of the original text in Spanish is 'La Majestad de la Emperatriz embio de Alemania, quarto relicarios con seis cabeças de diversos santos, y cuando vino de allà, traxo a este mismo convento una grande arca bordada de oro y perlas, dentro de la qual esta la cabeça, y el cuerpo santo de san Valerio Obispo de Treueris discipulo de san Pedro'. Juan de Carrillo, *Relacion Historica de la Real Fundacion del Monasterio de las Descalças de S. Clara de la villa de Madrid …*, Madrid, 1616, p. 50. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 286–287; and Kawamura, 2013, p. 112.

151 Trnek, 2001, p. 46.

152 For this opinion, see Trnek and Vassallo e Silva, 2001, p. 230.

153 The Counter-Reformatory cult of saints gave a renewed impetus to the production and veneration of the Holy vessels that would store, protect and sometimes also display the bodily relics associated with the intercession, the votive offering, the annual calendar and other ecclesiastical functions. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/2, p. 288, note 118.

154 For a discussion on these pieces and images of a 'reliquary' room, see Kawamura, 2009, pp. 92–105, nos. 2, 4, and 11–13.

155 According to research by Kawamura the relics were kept in the coffer from the moment Brother Mauro donated it in 1632 until 1680, when the large reliquary retable was finished. For more information on this donation, see Yayoi Kawamura, 'Arca japonesa del arte Namban en el Museo de Lorenzana', *Boletín del Museo Provincial de Lugo*, tomo IX, Lugo, 2000, pp. 81–85; and Kawamura, 2013, pp. 132–135, no. 9.

156 I am grateful to José Manuel Casado Paramio for providing me with images of this example. Mentioned in Canepa, 2011/2, p. 290, note 119.

157 Published in Paulo Valente, 'Cofre', in Artur Goulart de Melo Borges (coord.), *Arte Sacra na concelho de Arraiolos: Inventário Artístico da Arquidiocese de Évora*. Évora, Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, 2007, pp. 84–85.

158 For further information on this rattan case, see Martha Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers from the 17th Century in the National Museum of Denmark*, Copenhagen, 1959. Also published in Leiria, 2002, pp. 54–55, figs. 2 and 3; Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 150, nos. 235a and b; Canepa, 2008/1, p. 24, figs. 11 and 12.

159 Compare, for instance, the shape of an example in the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which has also a lid with no solid ends but of an angular instead of semi-circular form, illustrated in García Sanz, 2003, p. 137, no. VII.4.

160 For a discussion and examples of coffers of this shape, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 296–305, nos. 38 and 39.

Empress Maria of Austria (sister of Philip II), who, when returning to Spain from Germany after becoming the widow of her first cousin Emperor Maximilian II, settled in the monastery, which had been found by her sister Princess Joanna.[149] The coffer is most probably that mentioned in the book *Relacion historica de la Real fundacion de las Descalças de S. Clara de la villa de Madrid …* , published by the Franciscan Friar Juan de Carrillo in 1616. In Chapter XVIII, Carrillo states that 'Her Majesty the Empress [Maria] sent from Germany, four reliquaries with six heads of different saints and with them arrived a large chest embroidered [decorated] with gold and pearls [mother-of-pearl], inside of which are the head and body of St. Valerio, Bishop of Treueris [Treverís], disciple of saint Peter'.[150] If Carrillo's book is considered as a reliable documentary source, as noted by Kawamura, this coffer would date prior to 1582, the year the Empress Maria returned to Spain. It is possible that Empress Maria acquired the coffer that same year in Lisbon, where she purchased a number of curiosities for the *Kunstkammer* of her son, Emperor Rudolf II, in Prague.[151] Recent research, however, suggests that the coffer arrived to the monastery shortly before the Empress's death in 1603 and that it already contained the relics of Saint Valerio.[152] This is one of a considerable number of coffers, together with chests and cabinets, still preserved today in monasteries and convents in Spain and Portugal, which demonstrate that lacquer objects made to order for secular functions were also used for Christian devotional practices in the Iberian Peninsula. In Spain, other extant *Namban* lacquer coffers used to contain the relics or holy remains of saints in reliquary rooms,[153] can be found in the Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe in Cáceres, Monastery of Santa Paula in Seville, Convent of Corpus Christi in Murcia, Church of San Antolín in Medina del Campo, Convent of la Purísima Concepción in Toro, Church of Artajona in Navarra and the Diocesan Museum in Pamplona (formerly in the Church of Cortes).[154] A further coffer in the Museo de Arte Sacro of Vilanova de Lourenzá parish church in Lugo (a former Benedictine monastery), may had been given by Antonia María de Córdoba, Marchioness of El Villar de Granjero, to the Benedictine Brother Mauro Villaroel, who in turn donated it containing relics to the monastery in August 1632.[155] Another coffer, but not containing relics, is in the Milles de la Polvorosa Church in Zamora.[156] In Portugal, a coffer is in the Church of Nossa Senhora dos Mártires in Arraiolos.[157] Material evidence of a lacquer domed chest made to order for a private Portuguese or Spanish individual for secular use in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century is provided by an example now housed in the Itsuo Art Museum in Osaka, which still preserves its corresponding rattan case bearing a coat of arms and the inscription with the owner's name: 'DOÑA ANA ARZ [Alvarez?] GIRON' (Figs. 4.1.1.2.3a and b).[158]

The shape of *Namban* lacquer coffers with a semi-cylindrical lid that has no solid ends and a body following its curvature at each side, and a metal carrying handle on top of the lid, was not known in Japan before the arrival of the Portuguese (Fig. 4.1.1.1.14). This shape of coffer, known in Japan as fish sausage (*kamaboko-bako* or *kamabokogata*) because of the similarity in shape to the traditional fish sausage (*kamaboko*), may have been adapted from the Indo-Portuguese mother-of-pearl coffers made in Gujarat in the mid-sixteenth century.[159] Such coffers were made in various sizes, sometimes with a horizontal drawer at the bottom of the front panel or an interior tray with fitted boxes, and were probably used to hold personal valuables while travelling.[160] Jordan Gschwend and Pérez de Tudela have suggested that it was probably Ferdinand Cron (1559–1637), the agent of the Habsburg in Goa, who gave

Fig. 4.1.1.2.3a *Namban* coffer
Momoyama/early Edo period
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 33.5cm x 51cm x 24cm
Height: 33.5cm; width: 51cm; depth: 24cm
Itsuô Art Museum, Osaka

Fig. 4.1.1.2.3b Rattan case
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Height: 38.5cm; width: 60cm; depth: 32cm
Itsuô Art Museum, Osaka

as gifts the *Namban* lacquer coffer of this shape (*kamaboko*) and the chest still preserved today in the Reliquary room of the Monastery of the Encarnación in Madrid[161] to Queen Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), to thank her for the lucrative business of selling the licenses for two commercial expeditions to Japan, which had been given by Philip III to his wife in order to finance the construction of the monastery. Although there is not enough documentary evidence, textual sources suggest that Cron supplied Japanese lacquers to the royal courts of both Lisbon and Madrid.[162] The chest with a flat lid in the Monastery, which was financed by Queen Margaret of Austria and finished in 1616, may have been made to order as an altar and Eucharist coffer. This is suggested by the lacquer decoration of its front side, consisting of scrolling grape vines probably symbolizing the Eucharist,[163] which relates stylistically to that of the pyx in the Kanagawa Tōkei-ji Temple in Kamakura, and the two oratories now housed in the Kyoto National Museum and the Tsukumi City Collection, mentioned earlier, as well as of a cylindrical box with a flat lid in the Pallazo Pitti in Florence.[164]

Another example of hybrid influences is the lacquer cabinet made after a European writing desk, known as *escritório* in Portuguese and *vargueno* in Spanish, which is of wide rectangular form or of small cubic form with small drawers of varying sizes concealed behind a fall front door with a lock, with a metal carrying handle on top of the lid or on the sides (Fig. 4.1.1.2.4).[165] The cabinets of wide rectangular form appear to have been the most commonly produced, showing great differences in height, width, and door and drawer arrangement.[166] It is not known whether the Portuguese provided the lacquer craftsmen with a European or Indo-Portuguese model, such as the example veneered with various woods and inlaid with ivory dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 4.1.1.2.5). Some of the cabinets, made without the fall front door, had a central drawer of architectural form like that on many examples with fall front doors, which resembled that of cabinets made in Flanders (present-day Belgium) in the sixteenth century.[167] Others, such as the extant example now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, have three rows of drawers, the upper row with one full width drawer, and the other two with three smaller drawers each. This cabinet, dating to *c.*1580–1600, is one of the earliest pieces of lacquer recorded in Europe. It is believed that the cabinet may have been listed in the inventory of the *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague in 1607.[168] An apparently unique cabinet of relatively small rectangular shape without a fall-front, but made soley with a row of three horizontal drawers, is of particular interest to this study because its *Namban* style decoration includes an inscription written in Portuguese. The top of this cabinet, now in a private collection in Japan, is decorated in *makie* with two rows of three almost square-shaped sections, each containing two letters, which are thought to read: NOSA PENA FOGUE [Writing flies as Quickly as thought]. The odd placement of the pairs of letters within the six sections making the sentence difficult to read may indicate that the lacquer craftsmen would have not been able to understand the Portuguese text, most probably provided by the individual who ordered the cabinet in printed form, and thus made a mistake when copying it. The inscription suggests that the cabinet was intended to keep writing implements, and perhaps also paper.[169]

Cubic cabinets with a front door hinged to open downwards, typically fitted with nine drawers, occupied only a small space on the table where writing was performed,[170] or were placed on a carved stand that was specially made for it at the time it arrived at its destination. These cabinets were mostly decorated in the *Namban* style with dense

161 Published in García Sanz, 2003, p. 139, pls. VII.8 and VII.7, respectively.
162 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Exotica Habsburgica. La Casa de Austria y las Collecciones Exóticas en el Renacimiento Temprano', in Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2003, pp. 32–34. I am grateful to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend for this information.
163 For this opinion, see Kawamura, 2013, p. 272.
164 Published and discussed in Francesco Morena (ed.), *Di Linea e di Colore. Il Giappone, le sue arti e l'incontro con l'occidente – Line and Colour. Japanese Arts and the European Connection*, exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 2012, pp. 356–357, no. II.52.
165 For a discussion and three examples of these cabinets and further bibliographical references, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 212–225, nos. 20-22.
166 Most cabinets have a fall front door, but a few examples of wide rectangular form with either a single or a pair of side opening doors are known. For examples of these latter types in the Museu do Oriente in Lisbon and the Tranekæer Castle on the Danish island of Langeland, see Alexadra Curvelo, in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, pp. 107–108, no. 24; and Boyer, 1959, pls. XXX and XXXI, nos. 26, 26a and 26b; respectively.
167 Mentioned in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 81. For examples of this type in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga and the Museum do Oriente, both in Lisbon, see Ibid., p. 80 and Curvelo, 'Contador-Cabinet', in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, pp. 112–114, no. 26.
168 Trnek and Vassallo e Silva, 2001, p. 228, cat. 106. Discussed in Impey and Jörg, pp. 79 and 120–123, ill. 225.
169 Published in Ibid., p. 123, ill. 227.
170 Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 87.

Fig. 4.1.1.2.4 *Namban* cabinet
Momoyama/early Edo period
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Height: 57cm; width: 85.5cm; depth: 44cm
British Museum, London
(museum no. 1977,0406.1)

Fig. 4.1.1.2.5 Fall-front cabinet
Gujarat or Sind
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Height: 25cm; width: 39cm; depth: 28cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 569–1890)

Fig. 4.1.1.2.6 *Namban* cabinet (*ventó*)
Momoyama/early Edo period, *c.*1600–1630
Height: 34cm; width: 30cm; depth: 45.5cm
Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem
(inv. no. OMII-3057)

designs of flowering and fruiting plants, animals and/or birds in *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay, sometimes within large cartouches (usually of ovoid or lozenge forms) reserved on geometric patterns.[171] Cabinets were also made of deep rectangular form with a door hinged at the side, fitted with drawers on the interior and with a metal carrying handle on top, which were called by the Portuguese *ventó* or *bentó* because it had similar features to the Japanese *bento* box, which were usually decorated on the exterior with large lozenge or lobed-shaped cartouches of flowering plants and birds reserved on geometric grounds (Fig. 4.1.1.2.6).[172] From the beginning of the seventeenth century such cabinets (*ventó*), like the coffers discussed above, were also decorated with bird and/or animal scenes framed within cartouches reserved on panels of the 'sprinkle denticle' technique,[173] or were covered entirely in this technique, which imitates ray skin.[174] *Namban* chests of rectangular shape with flat lids hinged to open upwards, fitted with side metal carrying handles, were made after Indo-Portuguese writing chests or boxes made in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[175] These chests, made in both small and large size, were typically fitted with one, two or four drawers at the base of the front side.[176] Some of them were made with cushion-shaped lids and no drawers.[177] All the easily portable cabinets and chests of relatively small size discussed above were most probably used by the Portuguese to hold documents, jewels or other small objects of value. António Bocarro, writing in 1635, describes the lacquer goods taken from Japan to Goa as 'much giltwork, which comes from Japan and which is much better than that from China … and many small items like circular boxes and writing cabinets of chorão [lacquer], all extremely fine'.[178]

Spanish written sources suggest that a number of lacquer cabinets, described as *escritoires* and/or writing desks, were sent to Spain as gifts from male and female

171 For images and a discussion on this type of cabinet, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 212–215, no. 20.

172 This type of cabinet was recorded in the *Hōyaku Nippo jisho* (Modern Japanese Translation of a Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary), dating to about 1603, with the Japanese term *ventó* or *bentó* (from bento). For a discussion and examples of these cabinets, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 188–199, nos. 15 and 16.

173 For examples of this type, see Sakai City Museum, *Namban-Shikki – Cultural Exchange between East and West through Lacquer Craft*, exhibition catalogue, Osaka, 1983, p. 48, no. 47; and Gifu City History Museum, 2003, p. 81, no. IV–17.

174 An example is discussed and illustrated in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 194–199, no. 16.

175 Compare, for instance, an Indo-Portuguese lacquered wood writing box dating to the sixteenth century illustrated in Pedro de Moura Carvalho, 'A group of early lacquered furniture for the Portuguese market and its probable origin in the Bay of Bengal and Coromandel Coast', in Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *The World of Lacquer, 2000 Years of History*, exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, 2001, p. 148, no. 72. Two further examples are published in Bernardo Ferrão, *Mobiliário Português. Dos Primórdios ao Maneirismo, Índia e Japão*, vol. III, Oporto, 1990, p. 161, nos. 420–421. For an example dating to the seventeenth century, formerly in the convent of S. José in Évora, see Mendes Pinto, 1985, p. 50, no. 28.

176 For a discussion and an example of a *Namban* chest, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 242–245, no. 27.

177 An example in a private collection in Portugal is published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 144, no. 301.

178 António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas e de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoados do estado da Índia Oriental*, 1635, ms B.P.A.D, Évora – cod. CXV/2–1. Cited in Mendes Pinto, 1990, p. 32.

Fig. 4.1.1.2.7 *Namban* bed
Momoyama/early Edo period, *c.*1600–1650
Dimensions: 157cm x 195cm x 122cm
Private Collection, Portugal

members of the elites and clergy living in the Philippines and New Spain in the early seventeenth century. In 1615, for example, Martin de la Cueva, *regidor* in Manila, sent to his sister Doña Maria de la Cueva in Úbeda, a consignment of 2 Japanese *escritoires*.[179] Three years later, Don Alonso Fajardo, Governor of the Philippines between 1618 and 1624, sent several *escritories*, writing desks and beds from Japan to Seville.[180] That same year, in 1618, the Count of Santiago sent from New Spain to his wife who lived in Spain, a consignment that included 2 folding screens, 2 writing desks from Japan, and 1 chest from Japan, as well as several pieces of woven and raw silks from China.[181] It was also that year, that the Marchioness of Guadalcázar, vicereine of New Spain, sent to her sister in Madrid a consignment that included an *escritoire* and a chest from Japan, and several little boxes.[182] In 1619, the Jesuit Martin de Orujas from New Spain sent 3 *escritoires* from Japan (alongside 9 pieces of satin) as a gift to Father Jacobo Tirino in Antwerp.[183] The mention of beds from Japan sent as gifts in 1618 by Governor Alfonso Fajardo from the Philippines to Seville is of particular interest to this study. We learn from Jesuit textual sources that folding beds were brought to Japan at least as early as 1563. In a letter written by Father Luís Fróis at the port of Hirado in November of that year, he states that 'Approximately one month after we had been in this port Dom Bartolomeu [the recently converted Omura Sumitada] arrived to see the priest and the Portuguese. We immediately went with the captain to visit him and gave him some seahorse beads I had brought from India with a holy bead set in gold, which he greatly appreciated and placed round his neck … Dom Pedro [Captain-General Dom Péro da Guerra] had given us a present that we took to him because for them it is a new thing, we went to his house, brother João Fernadez and myself and he thanked us very much for what we took which was a gold folding bed and a silk

179 AGI, Contratación, 1831, pp. 131–132. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 63.

180 AGI, Contratación, 1849, pp. 204–208. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 56.

181 AGI, Contratación, 1852A, pp. 505–508. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 57.

182 AGI, Contratación, 1847, pp. 112–117. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 73.

183 AGI, Contratación, 1853, pp. 181–185. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

Fig. 4.1.1.2.8 *Namban* writing box
Momoyama/early Edo period, *c.*1600–1630
Height: 9.2cm; width: 24.5cm; depth: 15.8cm
Erzog Anton Ulrigh-Museum, Braunschweig
(inv. no. Chi 913)

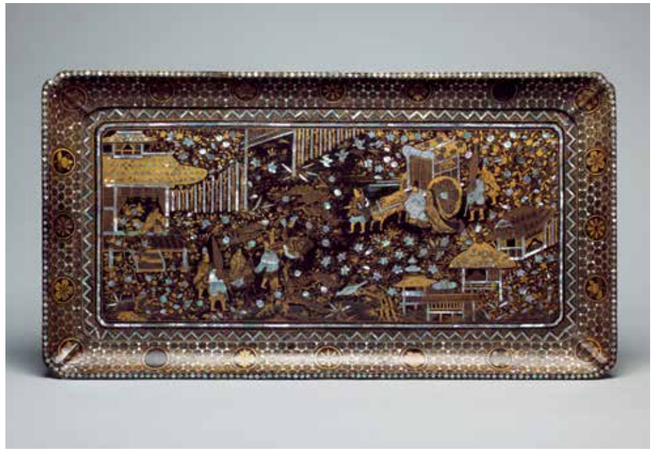


Fig. 4.1.1.2.9 *Namban* tray
Momoyama period (1573–1615), *c.*1600
Height: 41cm; width: 76.5cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(acc. no. 2002.2)

mattress and a rich bedspread and a velvet pillow and other smaller ones, a fine Borneo mat and another four or five good pieces that the same dom Pedro gave him'.[184] The gold folding bed mentioned in the letter, as noted by Curvelo, was probably of Asian origin. In 1596, the Dutchman van Linschoten noted that at Goa were sold 'all sorts of Bedsteads, Stooles and such like stuffe, very cunningly covered over with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire'.[185] This extract suggests that the folding bed taken to Japan may have been made in India, in lacquered wood rather than in gold. Beds lacquered in gold, however, were also made in Canton.[186] Thus far only one lacquered bed frame has been recorded, which is likely to have been made in Japan in the early Edo period, probably in the first half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 4.1.1.2.7). This bed frame, which was taken from Goa to Portugal in the late nineteenth century and is now in a private collection, is incomplete. The canopy supports at the feet, some pieces of the headboard, and all the boards supporting the mattress, are missing. This bed frame is another example that serves to illustrate the hybrid objects made to order in Japanese lacquer. As Curvelo has noted, it combines a shape that is probably Indo-Portuguese,[187] a wood core of unknown source, and lacquer from Thailand (*Melanorrhoea usitata*) with Japanese lacquer techniques and decorative motifs.[188] Its decoration, consisting mostly of floral and geometric motifs executed in gold and silver *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay, relates closely to that of pieces of *Namban* lacquer made to order for the Portuguese. It also includes Japanese family crests or personal insignia (*mons*) on the upper part of the bed head, as it occurred in the lectern bearing the 'IHS' emblem in the Church of Santiago el Real in Medina del Campo discussed above (Fig. 4.1.1.1.8). It is unclear whether such lacquer bed frames would have been intended for the personal use of individuals residing in the Portuguese settlements in Macao, Malacca or India, or in Portugal.[189] Evidence of Portuguese acquiring lacquer bed frames in the early decades of the seventeenth century, though apparently only in small numbers, is found in Dutch textual sources. The Dagregister of Batavia of 11 October 1636, only three years before

184 BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, cod. 49–IV–50, fl. 537. *Copia de huma do Jappão do Padre Luis Frois pera os Padres E Irmãos da Companhia de Jhus da india e Europa de 14 de Novembro de 1563*. Cited in Alexandra Curvelo, 'Bed', in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, p. 156.

185 This extract is published in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or, Purchas His Pilgrimes. Containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travels by Englishmen and Others*, Vol. 10, Cambridge, 1905, p. 249.

186 The cargoes from Macao to India in *c.*1600 included 'a great quantity of gilded beds, tables, and writing-boxes … Some of the gilded beds are generally sold for 300 or 400 cruzados'. Boxer, 1963, p. 182. Father Gaspar da Cruz described the bed richly inlaid in ivory that he bought in Canton as 'There are also many bedsteads very pleasant and very rich, all close round about, of wood finely wrought. I being in Cantam, there was a very rich one made wrought with invory, and of a sweet wood which they call Cayolaque and of sandalwood, that was priced at four hundred crowns'. Boxer, 2004, p. 125.

187 For two extant beds dating to the early seventeenth century bearing some resemblance in shape to the example discussed here, see J. F. da Silva Nascimento, *Leitos e Camilhas Portugueses. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Lisbon, 1950, pls. XXVI and XXV, fig. 9. For an extant bed dating to the sixteenth century made in teak with similar configuration of the feet, see Pedro Dias, *O Contador das Cenas Familiares. O quotidiano dos portugueses de Quinhentos na Índia na decoração de um móvel indo-português*, Oporto, 2002. Mentioned in Curvelo, 2010, p. 158.

188 For a discussion and images of this bed frame, now partially assembled with wood pieces replacing some of the original parts, see Ibid., pp. 155–161, no. 40; and Curvelo, 2013, pp. 75–76, fig. 5, and p. 134, pl. 49.

189 Curvelo, however, has suggested that this type of bed was probably intended for the Luso-Asian market. Curvelo, 2010, p. 158.

the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, reports that the cargo of the Portuguese ship, the *Santa Maria*, captured by the Dutch off Ceylon included 24 spears with lacquered shafts (*verlackte pieken*) and one lacquered frame for a bed (*katel*).[190]

In the early seventeenth century, the Portuguese also commissioned a wide variety of *Namban* lacquer objects of smaller size to serve different purposes in daily life in Europe or in their Asian settlements. These included writing boxes of shallow rectangular shape with a removable lid, fitted with either one or two short front drawers, and/or a side drawer and two removable boxes to hold an inkwell and a sander. An example with a single front drawer, and traces of having had a tray that extended the full width of the writing box fitted behind the removable containers (now missing), is found in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig (Fig. 4.1.1.2.8).[191] Considering the description of Japanese writing boxes published in *Jesuitas na Ásia* cited earlier, it seems likely that the shape of the *Namban* writing boxes derived from a model made to order for the Portuguese in a workshop in India. Indo-Portuguese writing boxes, made in teak and ebony inlaid in mother-of-pearl, had similar interior compartments to hold and inkwell and a sander,[192] or a small drawer fitted to the side of a front drawer that occupied the entire width of the box.[193]

Utilitarian pieces also included trays of rectangular shape. Only a few extant rectangular trays decorated in the *Namban* style are known, including an example with indented corners in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 4.1.1.2.9) and another with lobes sides in the Namban Bunkakan Museum in Osaka.[194] Father João Rodrigues described in his *História da Igreja do Japão* the use of trays in Japan for ceremonial gift exchanges as '… These trays would go with the present without being returned to the person who offered the gift, being utilized just that one time, a practice that is undoubtedly refined and pure, and praiseworthy in its own way'.[195] He continued to explain the use of lacquer trays as '… When, sometimes, the gifts are offered in trays lacquered with the very fine varnish obtained from a tree, of which no copies exist, these are returned to the person who brought it …'.[196] It seems likely

190 H. T. Colenbrander, *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passeerende dear ter plaetse als over geheel Netherlandts-India, Anno 1636*, The Hague, 1899, pp. 58–59. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 235.

191 Another example with a short central drawer on the front, and another slightly wider and three times longer on the side of the box, fitted on the interior with two removable square boxes to contain an inkwell and a sander, now in a private collection in Portugal, is discussed in Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 204–207, no. 18.

192 Compare, for instance, the examples published in Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, *Portuguese expansion overseas and the art of ivory*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, 1991, p. 195, nos. 571 and 572.

193 See, the examples published in Ibid., p. 195, no. 574.

194 Published in Museé Cernuschi, 1980, no. 25.

195 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: '… estas bandejas irião com o prezente sem se tornar a quem os offerece servindo só aquella vez, couza por certo de muita policia, e urbanidade, e digna de ser louvada a seu modo …'. Father João Rodrigues, SJ, *História da Igreja do Japão, 1549–1570, Jesuítas na Ásia*, BA, cod. 49–IV–53, fl. 87v. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 62.

196 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: '… quando alguas vezes se offerecem em bandejas acharoadas com verniz de arvore muy fino onde não hà copia das outras, estas se tornão a dar ao que trouxe …'. *Jesuítas na Ásia*, BA, cod. 49–IV–53, fl. 87v. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 63.

that rectangular lacquer trays with slight differences in their shape and *Namban* style decoration were primarily made to order as exotic gifts to be sent to Western Europe, perhaps as a way of following the protocol rules of Japan.[197] Visual sources attest to the use of lacquer trays by the Portuguese and their attendants in Japan to carry imported gifts for important people or as portable tables in a domestic context. A pair of *Namban* folding screens, housed in the Museu Nacional de Arte Artiga, serves to illustrate these latter functions.[198]

Textual sources concerning the trade of Japanese lacquer made to order for Portuguese and Spanish merchants to Western Europe and the New World are exceedingly scarce. The following excerpts from accounts, reports and letters written by Jesuit missionaries, and European merchants who were present in Japan, or in other European settlements in Asia, provide some further information on the commercial networks through which the lacquer objects circulated, and the ways in which they were transported, either via the Portuguese trans-Atlantic or Spanish trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

From an entry of the diary of the Englishman Richard Cocks, dated 31 January 1616, we learn that Jacques Specx had informed him that Hasegawa Gonroku had warned the Dutch and the English that 'they should take heed they did not meddell with the greate ship of Amacon, for that the Emperour had much adventure in her'.[199] As noted by Impey and Jörg, this excerpt proves that at this time the shogunate was not only supporting the trade carried out by the Portuguese in Japan, but also was investing in it.

Jesuit textual sources, as shown earlier, provide information concerning the methods of packing the various types of lacquer objects for shipping from Nagasaki to Lisbon via Goa, a sea journey that took about two years. The lacquers, with their *makie* decoration and mother-of-pearl inlay, could have easily deteriorated during their transportation, as they were exposed not only to the salty sea water and shocks inherent to sea travel but also to climatic changes (humidity and temperature).[200] Individual or groups of lacquer objects were packed in wooden boxes or chests made of hard woods from India, or in baskets or rattan cases, such as the example in the Itsuō Art Museum discussed above (Fig. 4.1.1.2.3b).[201] As noted earlier, the instructions given by Father Allesandro Valignano in 1583 inform us that folding screens were packed in large boxes, and the excerpt from Father Luís Froís indicates that many pieces of lacquer were packed inside a basket. A manuscript written by the Danish Captain Claus Ritter, who commanded a trade ship from 1639 to 1644, proves that the practice of packing small lacquer objects inside chests, whether made of Japanese lacquered wood or of plain hard woods from India, continued into the early seventeenth century. Ritter refers to chests used to pack lacquers as 'These chests were probably Japanese ones, as such were regularly used at the time as packing cases for Oriental goods to be sent to Europe, such as textiles, spices and small lacquered objects'.[202] The Japanese also used oilpaper to wrap the lacquered or wooden boxes and chests to protect the lacquer and other objects packed inside from humidity. In the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, published by the Jesuits in 1603, this oilpaper is described as 'Yutan. oiled paper, or something else that they place on top of the goods, or box, etc., so that it is not treated badly or damaged'.[203] The various types of packing cases, as stated in Father Valignano's instructions, were marked with religious emblems, coat of arms, or labels belonging to the owners in order to avoid confusion during the unloading of the cargo at the final port of destination.[204] In the bills of lading and cargo manifests

197 For further information, see Ibid., pp. 60–64.
198 This pair of screens, inv. nos. 1638 and 1639, are discussed and illustrated in Alexandra Curvelo, 'Namban folding screens: Between knowledge and power', in Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud (eds.), *Empires éloignés. L'Europe at le Japon (XVIe–XIXe siècle)*, Paris, 2010, p. 214, fig. 2.
199 Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615–1622,* 1883, vol. I, p. 70. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 237.
200 Leiria, 2002, pp. 49 and 51.
201 Ibid., p. 52.
202 Cited in Boyer, 1959, pp. 92–93; and Leiria, 2002, p. 60.
203 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: 'Yutan. Papel azeitado, ou qualquier outra coisa que botam por cima do fato, ou caixa etc. p.a Que não se trate mal ou dane'. BA, *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, fl. 650v. Cited in Leiria, 2002, p. 55.
204 Mentioned in Ibid., 2002, p. 53.

of Portuguese ships that made the return voyage from India, the lacquer furniture and other objects would have been listed, alongside porcelain, fans, amber and jewellery, under the designation *miudezas* (trifles).[205]

In July 1609, three years after the Council of the Indies recommended that missionaries from the Philippines were allowed to go to Japan via Manila, Philip III issued a law in Segovia which stated that 'The trade, commerce and navigation from the Philippines to Japan shall be made by the citizens of the former islands, and the Japanese shall not be allowed to go to the islands'.[206] António de Morga in his *Sucesos de las Filipinas* published in Mexico that year (1609) inform us that lacquer objects were brought from Nagasaki to Manila by both Japanese and Portuguese ships. The goods included 'very smart screens painted in oil, and gilt, fine and well fitted up; all sorts of cutlery … small writing boxes, boxes and caskets of wood, varnished [lacquered] and of curious workmanship, other baubles pretty to look at'. He continues to say that the 'greater part of these goods are used in the country, and some serve for cargoes to New Spain. The price is chiefly paid in reals, though they are not so set upon them as the Chinese, as they have silver in Japan'.[207] It was that same year that Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco (1564–1636), former Governor-General of the Philippines, in his *Relación y noticias de el reino de Japón*, mentioned that 'paintings, biobos [folding screens], escritos [cabinets], and other items that I have formally taken back with me are unusual merchandise, a fact that explains why I insist on the necessity of opening trade [between Japan and New Spain]'.[208] It is clear from this excerpt that Vivero y Velasco recognized the possibility of a profitable trade in lacquer from Japan to New Spain.

From a letter written from Bantam in December 1612 by Pieter Segers, Chief Merchant (*Opperkoopman*) of the VOC in Japan, to the Gentlemen Seventeen we learn that some Spanish merchants were trading in lacquer objects in considerable quantities. He states that 'The twenty three cases of lacquer sent with this fleet is, to my pleasure, very well made, according to the instructions sent by your Hon. Gentlemen Masters. It was made on favourable terms for a Castilian who went bankrupt and came thus into our hands. It can be washed in warm water without coming off'.[209] The comment on the lacquer being washed in warm water, as noted by Impey and Jörg, suggests that the lacquer objects may have been tableware rather than furniture pieces. In September of the following year, in 1613, the English Captain John Saris wrote to the EIC in London informing that he 'tooke boate from Edo to Oringe Gaue [Uruga, Tokyo harbour] to pervse the harbour and to haue bargained with Mr. Addams … also to looke vpone cetane wares of Meaco, which he had there of the Spanyards to sell, wheareof we bought for the Company, viz. 1 Case of Trunkes, two greate Scritoryes, Eight Beobs [folding screens], two smalle scritoryes and a Trimming box'.[210] From a letter written from Hirado by Richard Cocks to the EIC in London in February 1616, we learn that 'For varnisht (or makare) worke, yt is heare curiously made, of all sorts, contors, tronks, cups & other fations whatsoever; but deare, & much carid into New Spain contynewally per way of Manillia'.[211] Spanish textual sources indicate that Japanese furniture, presumably made of lacquer, was shipped from Manila as private consignments or as gifts to relatives living in New Spain or Spain from as early as the late 1610s. In 1618, as noted by Gasch-Tomás, the vicereine of New Spain, Marchioness of Guadalcázar, sent to her sister Doña Maria de Córdoba in Spain, a consignment that included a Japanese *escritoire* and a Japanese chest.[212] That same year, the Count of Santiago sent his wife in Spain, several pieces of Chinese silk as well

205 Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 16.
206 *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. Ix, tit. Xxxxv, 'Concerning the navigation and commerce of the Filipinas Islands, China, Nueva España, and Perú'. Law II. Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XVII: 1609–1616, p. 53.
207 The English translation of the original text in Spanish cited here is taken from Morga, 2009, p. 341.
208 Naojiro Murakami, *Don Rodorigo Nihon Kenbunroku; Bisukaino Kingintou Tanken Houkoku (Don Rodrigo de Vivero's Relación del Japón; Sebastián Vizcaino's Account of the Search for the Gold and Silver Islands)*, Ikokusousho, Yushodoschosten, 1966. The English translation cited here is taken from Nagashima, 2009, p. 112.
209 Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 242.
210 Satow, 1967, p. 79. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 236.
211 Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613–1623*, London, 1991, p. 382. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 237.
212 AGI, Contratación, 1847, pp. 112–117. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 73.
213 AGI, Contratación, 1852 A, pp. 505–508. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 209.

as two folding screens, two writing desks from Japan, and one chest from Japan.[213] In 1636, Doña Ana María de Birués, the wife of the commercial agent Ascanio Guazzoni, shipped from Manila an order valued in 1,000 pesos to the rich merchant Santi Federighi, which included an *escritoire* from Japan.[214] An account book of the wholesale shop of Gaspar de Castro in Mexico City lists folding screens, *escritoires* and beds among the goods he purchased from merchants from Acapulco, including Santi Federighi, that presumably were to be sold between 1630 and 1639.[215] The booty taken by the Dutch privateer and captain Piet Heyn of the WIC when he seized the Spanish Treasure fleet anchored at Matanzas Bay (east of Havana) in September 1628, while en route from New Spain to Spain, is said to have included two small comptoirs, and 'a Japanese tabletop plus table legs all lacquered', which would most probably have been a folding table.[216] These textual sources provide evidence of the Spanish trade in lacquer furniture, folding screens, and most possibly also in tableware objects, which were imported into New Spain, and subsequently re-exported to Spain. An inventory of the belongings of the Marquise of Masibradi, taken in 1656, lists 'seven small red trays from Japan; a small casket from Japan; a round box of mother of pearl and gold from Japan; another box from Japan; a small box from Japan; two trays and a small wicker box, all from Japan'.[217] This inventory, although dating to twelve years after the period concerning this study, serves as an example to show that by the mid-seventeenth century lacquer objects imported from Japan into Spain were not only available to the royalty but also to the high-ranking nobility.

Dutch textual sources inform us that the Portuguese merchants were still purchasing in Nagasaki a wide variety of lacquer objects in 1630, during the early Edo period. In September of that year, a staff member of the VOC factory in Hirado named Coenraedt Cramer, who visited Nagasaki as secretary of a mission headed by Willem Jansz, noted in his journal that the Portuguese purchased 'all kinds of lacquerwork, Japanese beobies or screens, porcelain dishes, small boxes and all kinds of similar curiosities'.[218] By the end of 1637, however, a document written in Macao stated that the trade with Japan was 'in a very perilous condition and in danger of ceasing, and that of Manila in a like condition'.[219] Two years later, in 1639, the trade activities of the Portuguese and Spanish merchants as well as the missionary work and trade activities of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries came to an end, when they were all expelled from Japan and the country entered the period of *sakoku*.

From the textual sources and extant pieces of lacquer discussed above it is possible to conclude that a variety of lacquer portable furniture and utilitarian objects were made to order in considerable quantities for the Portuguese in lacquer workshops in and around Miyako after models they brought with them from both Europe and their settlements in India, which in turn copied European models from Germany, Italy and Spain. Furniture pieces included coffers, chests and writing cabinets of various shapes and sizes, and beds. Utilitarian objects of smaller size included writing boxes and trays. These furniture and utilitarian objects would have been useful for private use in a European context or in their settlements in Asia, which had hot and humid climates. It is likely that they were first made in the early Momoyama period, shortly after liturgical lacquers began to be made to order for the Jesuits. The furniture and utilitarian objects made to order for the Portuguese displayed various degrees of such hybrid influences. Initially, they combined a European or Indo-Portuguese shape with the *Namban* style decoration developed by the lacquer crafsmen to suit the Jesuit orders. By the early seventeenth century, the decoration also included a traditional Japanese

214 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 5056–050. Consulado. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 71.

215 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 0898–025. Consulado. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 79.

216 S.P. L'Honoré Naber, *Documenten uit het Archief van den Luitenant-Admiraal Piet Heyn*, Werken Historisch Genootschap, 3rd series, no. 53, Utrecht, 1928, pp. 132 and 134. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 236.

217 The transcription of the orginal text in Spanish reads: 'siete bandejillas del Japón coloradas; un cofrecillo del Japón; una cajita redonda del Japón de nácar y oro; otra cajeta del Japón; una cajita del Japón; dos bandejas y una cajilla de mimbre, todo del Japón'. AHPM, 6952, fol. 489. Inventario de Bienes de la Marquesa de Masibradi, 1656. Cited in Amaya Morera, *El Escaparate, un mueble para una dinastía*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Madrid, 2010, p. 274, note 460; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 156.

218 Cited in C.R. Boxer, 'Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan. Three Hundred Years Ago (1630–1639)', *The Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London*, XXXI, 1934, p. 40; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 234.

219 The document, dated 30 December 1637, is signed by Domingos Dias Espinhel, Liuz Pais Pacheco, Matheus Ferreira de Provença, Antonio da Silveira Aranha, Estevaõ Pires, and Francisco de Aranjo de Barros. Richard Carnac Temple (ed.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia 1608–1667*, Vol. III, Travels in England, India, China, Etc. 1634–1638, Cambridge, 1919, Part II, Appendix 2, p. 501. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 235.

lacquer technique that involved the use of a material of animal origin, painted/pasted ray skin (*samegawa* or *samekawa*), in addition to *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay. Material evidence indicates that the majority of such objects were made using the 'sprinkling denticle' technique. At about the same time, some of the furniture began to be decorated with an all-over design of small scales of mother-of-pearl forming an overlapping lappet motif, secured by metal rivets, which was undoubtedly copied from coffers or other objects brought by the Portuguese from Gujarat in India, again in addition to *makie*. The *makie* decoration of the furniture and smaller objects made for the Portuguese appears to have rarely included European motifs. An apparently unique cabinet proves that the European motifs, such as a Portuguese inscription, were ocassionally painted on the lacquers. It seems that the naturalistic scenes of Japanese flowering plants, birds and/or animals as well as Japanese traditional motifs, such as the family crests or insignia (*mons*), were much appreciated by the Portuguese as being examples of the exotic Orient.

As noted earlier, textual sources that document the Portuguese and Spanish trade in Japanese lacquer to Western Europe and the New World are exceedingly scarce. From accounts, reports and letters written by Jesuits and European merchants who were present in Japan, or in other settlements in Asia, we have an idea of the commercial networks through which these lacquer objects circulated and the ways in which they were transported, either via the Portuguese trans-Atlantic or Spanish trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They inform us that in order to protect the lacquer objects from damage when shipping from Nagasaki to Lisbon, the Portuguese packed individual or groups of objects in wooden boxes or chests made of hardwoods from India, or in baskets or rattan cases. These were then wrapped in oilpaper by the Japanese to protect the lacquer objects from humidity. We know that both Portuguese and Japanese ships were bringing lacquer objects from Nagasaki to Manila by the first decade of the seventeenth century. Thus it is likely that the same packing methods were used to transport the lacquer objects to be sold to the Spanish merchants there, who in turn would have shipped them to New Spain, some of them to be re-exported to Seville in Spain.

It is possible that lacquer furniture from Japan reached the royal court of Lisbon as early as the mid 1560s. By the late sixteenth century such lacquer furniture would have been available for purchase in Lisbon, and subsequently taken by members of the nobility to Spain. Some of the furniture pieces, such as coffers, chests and cabinets, were adapted for religious use, and served as reliquaries in monasteries and convents of both Portugal and Spain. Furniture cabinets, described as *escritoires* and/or writing desks, were sent to Spain as gifts from male and female members of the elites and clergy living in the Philippines and New Spain in the early decades of the seventeenth century. From the early 1610s, to the late 1620s, textual sources indicate that Spanish merchants were trading in lacquer objects in considerable quantities, which included tableware as well as furniture and screens. By this time lacquer furniture and objects of smaller size were available not only to the royalty but also to the high-ranking nobility. The Portuguese were still purchasing a variety of lacquer objects in the early 1630s. By 1637, however, the trade in lacquer carried out by both the Portuguese and Spanish was in danger of ceasing. Their trade activities ended two years later, in 1639, when they were expelled alongside the missionaries from Japan and the country was closed to all Europeans (*sakoku*) with the exception of the Dutch, who were allowed to stay because they did not proselytize the Christian faith.

Lacquer for the Dutch and English Markets [4.1.2]

In 1609, nine years after arriving by chance in Kyūshū, the Dutch obtained permission from the *shogūn* at Edo to trade in Japan. Although trade with the Japanese developed slowly after establishing the VOC factory in Hirado, the Dutch merchants recognized the potential of Japanese lacquer, mainly made in Miyako, as a profitable trade good to be imported into Europe. They thought that the material qualities and exotic designs of the lacquer would appeal to the new class of rich merchants and burghers of the Dutch Republic, and that these rare and expensive imported objects would serve to enhance the social status of the owner.[220] As Impey and Jörg have noted, the fact that wares imitating Oriental lacquer were being made in the Dutch Republic prior to the arrival of the first shipment of Japanese lacquer imported by the VOC, proves that there was both an interest and a ready market for lacquer.[221] All instructions and orders for lacquer sent by the Gentlemen Seventeen from the Dutch Republic, as we saw earlier with the orders for Chinese silk and porcelain, arrived via Batavia. The Opperhoofd in Hirado, and later in Deshima, reported to the Governor-General and his Council in Batavia. The Dagregisters, commercial papers and letters of the VOC factory in Japan, most of which are preserved in the *Nederlandse Factorij Japan* archive, give us a fairly accurate idea of the lacquer trade, particularly the methods of ordering, purchasing and shipping the lacquer goods to the Dutch Republic via Batavia.

The earliest textual evidence of the importation of Japanese lacquer by the VOC into the Dutch Republic dates to 1610. From a report sent that year by Jacques L'Hermite the Younger, the VOC representative in Bantam, to the Gentlemen Seventeen, we learn that the Dutch were familiar with lacquer from both China and Japan. This is clear in an excerpt from the report, in which he states that 'the lacquerware from China is usually of very poor quality and therefore it is not very useful to send it; it is also very expensive. I have seen some lacquer in the ship that came from Japan, the *Leeuw met Pijlen*, which is very beautiful and of good quality and from that country one can easily obtain and also have made those items that one might wish to trade'.[222] Undoubtedly, Jacques L'Hermite knew about the lacquers that were being made to order for the Iberian market from the last decades of the sixteenth century, and thus thought to take advantage of ordering objects to the specific requirements of the VOC customers in the Dutch Republic.

As mentioned earlier, a letter sent in December 1612 by Pieter Segers to the Gentlemen Seventeen, indicates that VOC servants also purchased lacquer that had been made to order for the Iberians.[223] The 23 cases of lacquer purchased from a Spanish merchant were shipped from Bantam on the *Vlissingen*, a ship of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC, which arrived in Middleburg at the beginning of October 1613, where the lacquer cargo was valued at fl. 500.[224] In March of the following year, the Gentlemen Seventeen resolved to sell the lacquer in three different sales that took place in May and June. Although the sales in Middleburg were disappointing, most probably for the high sale price, some of the lacquer was sold in Amsterdam.[225]

A letter sent in January 1613 by Hendrik Brouwer, who had replaced Jacques Specx as Ooperhoofd in Hirado, to the Governor-General in Bantam, confirms that at least a small quantity of the lacquer objects made to order in Miyako for VOC servants, as well as for the Spanish as suggested by Segers's comment on washing, consisted of tableware. Brouwer writes 'I have delivered to Captain Dirck Mertensz. A small case with Japanese lacquerware for Your Honour, in which are packed three small chests each costing 25 maes or *schellingen*, also six half-sized *camelscoppen* [cups], six butter dishes and six saucers, which I ordered in Meaco for six maes or *schellingen* each; they total, including two maes for the case in which they were packed, one hundred and eighty-five maes, in guilders 55–10–11 … This stuff is very expensive, but it is exceptionally beautiful and the process of making it is very protracted, as I have seen from experience. One can put water in it without being damaged. Such saucers and cups have never been made in Japan. When it suits you I should like to hear that Your Honour will show them to the Honourable Gentlemen Masters to see if their Honours would like to order a batch. Which I hope will happen in due course in spite of the price because of the beauty of work, which would be to my honour. For now, I am not sending any more because I am afraid that they will be too dear and I have also not been able to get more ready, for each piece takes more than a month to finish'.[226] Interestingly, the lacquer pieces mentioned by Brouwer are of the same shapes as pieces of Chinese porcelain listed in the VOC documents discussed in Chapter III. It seems that although Brouwer was excited by the beauty of this apparently new type of lacquer tableware, he was not certain if there would be a regular supply of such lacquer in Japan because of its lengthy process of production, and moreover, if there would be a demand for it in the Dutch Republic due of its high cost.[227]

By this time, the States-General of the Dutch Republic had already begun presenting consignments of lacquer as diplomatic gifts to rulers of other European countries.[228] That year, in 1613, a gift of 'Indian lacquer' that might have included some lacquer from Japan was presented to Elizabeth, daughter of James I, who had recently married Fredrik V, Elector of the Pfalz (d. 1632), during her visit to Amsterdam. The gift comprised 'an exceedingly large rich furniture for a cabinet of china-worke, blacke and golde, containing a bedstead, a cupboard, a table, two great chests, one lesser chest, five small chests, two voyders [trays], twenty-four dishes, twenty-four lesser dishes, twelve fruit dishes and six saucers, all being valued at Lb 10.000'.[229] The 'bedstead', as shown earlier, could have been made in Japanese or Chinese lacquer. In June 1616, the States-General presented a lacquer coffer from Japan as gift to the King of Sweden, Adolf Gustav II (1594–1632). Anthonius Goeteeris, treasurer of the Dutch Embassy, sent to Castle Tre Kronor with several gifts for the King on behalf of the States-General, describes the coffer given as 'After the meal Their Honours presented on behalf of the States-General to His Majesty and delivered to him … a Japanese chest of lacquer, inlaid with mother-of-pearl … which was kindly received by His Majesty and was brought into his Cabinet'.[230] This coffer, one of the earliest documented pieces of Japanese lacquer to arrive in Europe, is now housed in Gripsholm Castle near Stockholm (Fig. 4.1.2.1).[231] It is a large coffer with a domed lid decorated in the *Namban* style with naturalistic scenes depicting bird and animals amongst flowering plants within cartouches reserved on geometric grounds of randomly cut mother-of-pearl and square latticework. Impey and Jörg have pointed out that the fact that both Batavia and Amsterdam had stocks of unsold lacquer that year may have motivated the States-General to give such an expensive piece of lacquer as a diplomatic gift.[232]

In November 1614, the Gentlemen Seventeen had sent instructions to Jacques Specx not to order more lacquer because it was too expensive and did not sell quickly in the Dutch Republic.[233] By the time these instructions reached Hirado in August 1616, Specx not only had ordered and shipped more lacquer to the Dutch Republic, but also had placed additional orders. From a letter sent by Woutersen from Osaka in

220 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 27.
221 In 1609, William Kick obtained an eight-year patent to make all kinds of lacquer work in Amsterdam in the 'manner as the pieces brought here from the Indies'. Ten years later, in 1619, Kick applied for a new patent stating that he had 'invented some years ago the art to lacquer and gild all kinds of objects in the Chinese manner'. G. Doorman, *Octrooien voor uitvindingen in de Nederlanden uit de 16e–18e eeuw*, The Hague, 1940, pp. 118 and 141. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 341.
222 W. P. Groeneveld, *De Nederlanders in China. De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601–1624)*, The Hague, 1898, p. 52. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 27–28.
223 Cited in Ibid., p. 242.
224 Ibid., p. 243.
225 Ibid.
226 VOC 1056. Letter-book received from Batavia 1614. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 243.
227 Ibid.
228 The VOC also made diplomatic gifts of lacquered objects in the East in the early seventeenth century. These included gifts presented to Sultan Ahmed Khan of Turkey in 1612; to the Persian court in 1623, to the Sultan of Johore in 1636, to the Queen of Cambodia the following year, and to the King of Golconda in 1639. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 28.
229 Boyer, 1959, p. 33. Some of the pieces listed, like the dishes and the bedstead, were probably imitation lacquer made by Willem Kick. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 28.
230 Anthonius Goeteeris, *Journael der Legatie gedaen inde jaren 1615 ende 1616 … afghesonden aan de … coninghen van Sweden en Denemarcken …*, The Hague, 1619, p. 126. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 323.
231 Published in Ibid., p. 28, ill. 14; p. 147, ill. 317 and p. 321, ill. 623.
232 Ibid., p. 245.
233 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 242.

Fig. 4.1.2.1 *Namban* coffer, 'The Gripsholm Coffer'
Momoyama/early Edo period, c.1600–1615
Height: 64cm; width: 131cm; depth: 55cm
Gripsholm Castle, Stockholm

November 1615, we learn that although precise instructions for each order of lacquer were given in a contract, sometimes the Japanese lacquerers did not fully comply with them. It reads: 'The small comptoir that Luisdonno made is not as specified in your Memorandum for the ordered lacquerware, for in it you specify that the middle drawer-front should be arched and the other drawers should be panelled, and that the outside also be panelled. But in his signed contract for the lacquerware it is as annexed, for he says that the fashion first shown to you was thus, and because the five remaining pieces of the type have been already blackened, I have struck an agreement with him that I shall take 2 of this fashion and 3 as you demanded in the Memorandum'.[234] The reasons behind the VOC instructions to discontinue shipments of lacquer have been subject to some debate. Impey and Jörg, as well as Hutt, have suggested that the dense decoration of the lacquer made in the *Namban* style for export at the time did not appeal to Dutch tastes, and thus the customers in the Dutch Republic were not willing to pay high prices for it.[235] Viallé, however, argues that VOC records indicate that the 1614 orders were issued because the Gentlemen Seventeen considered that 'the lacquerwares and other Japanese wares' were 'of no use' and that they could not 'be sold with any profits'.[236] It seems likely that the difficulty to sale the lacquer had more to do with its high sale price rather than with its decoration, which would have been considered without a doubt rich and exotic.

The lacquer shipments sent to Batavia in 1616 included a new type of furniture, tables. Tables of at least three sizes were shipped that year. In February Woutersen sent a large group of lacquer objects to Specx, which included '1 large table' for the cost of T. 23, and '4 ditto of the 2nd kind at T. 14 each'. Two months later, in April, Woutersen sent '2 tables of the 2nd kind at T.14 each', and '4 ditto of the third kind at 75 *maes* each'. The lacquer sent by Woutersen from Kyoto in September included '4 of the largest tables at T.23 each', and '1 of the smallest ditto at T. 7:5:'. [237] A shipment

234 Cited in Ibid., p. 243.
235 Ibid., p. 28; and Hutt, 2004, p. 239.
236 Cynthia Viallé, 'From Namban shikki to Kōmō shikki: Japanese export lacquer, trade and taste', in Couro and Lachaud, 2010, p. 233.
237 *Netherlandse Factorij Japan* (hereafter NFJ) 276. Letter-book Deshima 1614–16. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 244.

sent by Specx to Batavia in October included '3 large lacquered and gilded tables on raised feet, at T. 24 each', '3 ditto middle size, at T. 15 each', and '3 ditto small, at T. 8 each'.[238] In November, Woutersen sent more lacquer from Kyoto to Specx, including '1 table of the largest type T.23'.[239] One cannot fail to wonder if the '4 of the largest tables' and '1 table of the largest type', sent in September and November respectively, were like the only full-sized table of European proportions known thus far, which was formerly in Wilanów Palace in present-day Warsaw. If so, it would have been a *Namban* style table that dismantled into nine major sections.[240] Considering the dimensions of other extant *Namban* lacquer tables dating to the Momoyama period, it seems safely to assume that the tables of smaller sizes listed in these shipments were all low tables with their heights ranging from 36 to 50cm, such as the example illustrated in Fig. 4.1.1.1.17. Coincidentally, the earliest documentary evidence of the presence of tables among the belongings of Jesuits in Japan dates to this same year, 1616.

VOC instructions not to order more lacquer were repeated in 1618, and again in 1619. The Dutch were forbidden from trading in Hirado for five years as a consequence of the so-called Taiwan Incident of 1628.[241] The VOC trade in lacquer prior to the embargo was carried out on only a small scale, and the same can be assumed regarding the private Dutch trade.[242] Textual evidence of private trade in lacquer at the time is scant. The earliest reference to a private order dates to 1626. It is found in a letter sent from Miyako in September of that year by Coenraad Cramer, a Dutch merchant sent as envoy to the *shogūn*, to Cornelis van Neyenrode, who was Opperhoofd of the Hirado factory from 1623 to 1633. In this letter, Coenraad Cramer states that the goods ordered by Van Neyenrode were being procured.[243] A letter sent some weeks later by Van Neyenrode to the senior envoy Isaacq Bogaert in Miyako, suggests that the goods ordered included lacquer, as he requests that Bogaert should ask the lacquerer if his goods were ready, and if they were, the lacquerer should be paid.[244] In October, Cramer wrote again to Van Neyenrode, informing him that Bogaert ordered various goods including 200 taels' worth of lacquer before he died during the trip.[245] The next reference, dating to 1631, proves that private Dutch orders were still being fulfilled despite the trade embargo. In November of this year, Van Neyenrode sent a letter to the governor of Formosa, Hans Putmans, informing that the lacquer that he (Putmans) ordered through Commander Willem Jansz, the VOC enjoy to the *shogūn* court with the intent to solve the Taiwan incident, was almost finished.[246] Further evidence of lacquer traded privately at the time is provided by an inventory of the possessions of Van Neyenrode, taken shortly before his death in 1631. This inventory is of particular importance, as noted by Viallé, because it shows that even though Van Neyenrode served as Opperhoofd of the Hirado factory for ten yeas, he owned only a few pieces of lacquer. The pieces included a writing desk, five small coffers, some boxes, four cups, two chests, one cabinet and a table.[247] It can be argued, however, that the reason for Van Neyenrode not acquiring much lacquer when he was at Hirado may have related to his personal taste. In any case, the inventory informs us that he owned both lacquer furniture and tableware.

A letter written in 1633, the year that the embargo on all Dutch official trade was lifted, by Steven Barendts, one of the private outfitters of the ship *Warmound*, to his associates in Batavia indicates that about 350 taels' worth of lacquer were on board the ship when she departed from Hirado that year.[248] Viallé has noted that this lacquer must have been purchased ready-made and could not have been ordered. The letter of 1631 mentioned above, however, informing Putmans that the lacquer he ordered was

238 Letter-book received from Batavia 1617, VOC 1063. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.
239 NFJ 276. Letter-book Deshima 1614–16. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.
240 This table, inv. no. 986 Wil, was included in the exhibition *Japan und Europa, 1543–1929* held in Berlin in 1993. For a discussion and images of this table, see Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 195, ills. 467a, b, c and d.
241 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 245.
242 Viallé, 2011, p. 26.
243 Sweers Collection 5. F. 235. Miyako, 28 September 1626. Letter from Cramer to Van Neyenrode in Hirado. The Sweers Collection, a private archive, is kept in the Nationaal Archief (hereafter cited as NA) in The Hague. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, pp. 27 and p. 29, note 3.
244 NFJ 482. Archive of the Dutch factory in Japan (hereafter NFJ) 482. Hirado, 17 October 1626. Letter from Van Neyenrode to Bogaert in Miyako. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 27.
245 Sweers Collection 5. F. 235. Miyako, 10 October 1626. Letter from Cramer to Van Neyenrode in Hirado. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 27.
246 NFJ 482. Hirado, 19 November 1631. Letter from Van Neyenrode to Putmans in Tayouan. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 27.
247 VOC 1110. ff. 386–91. Hirado, 19 January 1633. Inventory of the goods belonging to Cornelis Van Neyenrode. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 27.
248 VOC 1110. f. 374. Hirado, 14 February 1633. Letter from Barendts to the outfitters of the Warmond. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 27.

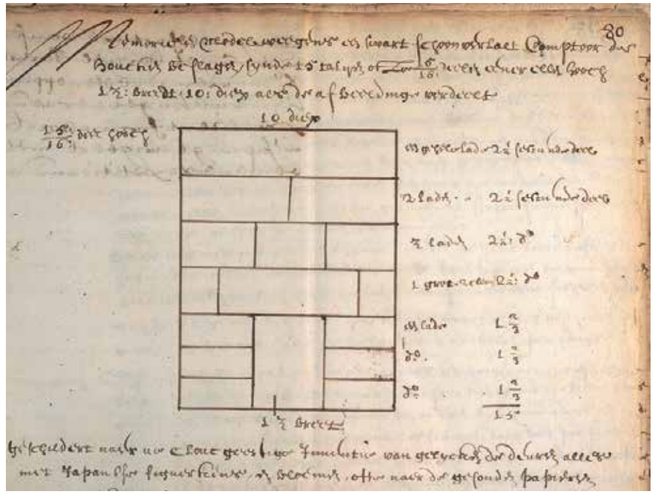


Fig. 4.1.2.2 Drawing of a comptoir with the division of drawers, part of a letter from Hendrik Hagenaer to François Caron, dated 26 March 1639
VOC 1132, Letterbook from Batavia 1640, fol. 80
VOC Archive, General State Archives, The Hague

almost finished, proves that at least part of the lacquer loaded on the ship could have been ordered privately.

The VOC had a renewed interest in lacquer and began placing orders on a larger scale at this time. In 1634, Batavia sent the first official order of lacquer after the Taiwan incident, requesting nest of coffers and comptoirs of all kinds, priced between 3000 and 4000 taels. This letter specifies that no compartmented boxes for bottles, most probably like the extant example in the Kyoto National Museum that will be discussed in the following pages, or tableware should be ordered, as there was no demand for these in the Dutch Republic.[249] About 127 pieces of lacquer were shipped in November of that year from Hirado to Batavia on the *Grol*, including one of a number of nests of coffers covered in ray skin.[250] In June of the following year, Batavia ordered more lacquer specifying that it should be the 'same as last year'.[251] In the month of November, a large shipment was sent from Hirado on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, consisting mostly of coffers, nests of coffers, *kisten* (chests) and *cantooren* (comptoirs), some of them described as being covered in ray skin and with lacquered ovals.[252] More of such pieces were sent in December on the *Wassenaer*, but this time also including some *kisten* with rayskin only and '8 comptoirs with side doors covered in ray skin and lacquerwork throughout'.[253] It seems likely that these pieces were decorated with the 'sprinkle denticle' technique rather than with pasted ray skin, like those made to order for the Portuguese discussed earlier.

One of the largest shipments of lacquer was sent to Batavia on the *Wassenaer* in November 1636. It consisted of some 603 coffers, nests of coffers, *cantooren* and *kisten*, with a total cost of T. 4356.[254] Cost prices did not vary according to lacquer or ray skin decoration, but only by size. In June of the following year, and again in June of 1638, Batavia instructed Hirado to cancel further lacquer orders, because there was still some in stock. That year, Hirado was instructed not to send any lacquer for the

249 NFL 277. Letter-book Deshima 1633–39. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.
250 NFJ 762. Shipping lists Deshima 1633–34. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.
251 Ibid., p. 246.
252 NFJ 763. Shipping lists Deshima 1635–37. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.
253 NFJ 763. Shipping lists Deshima 1635–37. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.
254 NFJ 763. Shipping lists Deshima 1635–37. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.

Fig. 4.1.2.3 *Namban* basin
Momoyama/early Edo period, c.1600–1620
Diameter: 49.3cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. W.13–1957)

Dutch Republic until further instructions.[255] Thus it is possible that the lacquer chests presented as gifts, together with Chinese porcelain, by the Gentlemen Seventeen to Maria de Médicis, Queen Mother of France, a few days after she visited the East India House of the VOC in Amsterdam in September 1638, were originally part of the large lacquer shipment sent to Batavia in 1636. According to Kasper van Bearle, they were 'the most magnificent chests from Japan, decorated and coloured in a lovely manner, of lacquer, gold, and mother-of-pearl'.[256] An order of lacquer was sent from Batavia in June of the following year, in 1639, requesting *comptoiren*, *kisten* and coffers with their interiors lacquered in black, red and green, a third of each, for the Dutch Republic.[257] In 1640, Batavia informed Hirado that no more lacquer with red and green interiors should be sent because it was not in demand in the Dutch Republic. Two years later, however, Batavia sent a letter to Deshima requesting square *kisten*, some comptoirs and *cantooren*, as before, a third with green interiors, a third with red, and a third with black, with a total value of 3500 to 4000 taels.[258] The letter specifies that 1500 taels was to be spent on 'extraordinarily rare and costly' pieces, with the lacquer ground to be mixed with gold and silver (*nashiji*).[259] This order was repeated in 1643, but it is specified that no nests of coffers were to be ordered and that tables were not wanted in the Dutch Republic, as it had been informed earlier in June 1639.[260]

A letter written on 26 March 1639 by Hendrick Hagenaer in the Dutch Republic to François Caron (1600–1673), a French Huguenot who served the VOC in Japan from 1633, and was Opperhoofd in Hirado from that year (1639) to 1641, is of particular importance to this study. This letter provides both textual and visual evidence of an order of lacquer made by a private Dutch individual, through a VOC servant in Japan, at the time. In the letter, Hendrick Hagenaer not only requests François Caron to order for him an unusually taller *contoor* (comptoir) with two doors, but also includes a drawing with the specific arrangement of drawers he wanted to have on the interior of the comptoir (Fig. 4.1.2.2).[261] After the letter was intercepted in Batavia, as noted by Impey and Jörg, François Caron responded to the reprimand that arose from his involvement in such a private order saying that it was too trivial to bother about and that he deserved some recompense for all the pains he had taken in earlier years.[262]

From a letter sent from Japan to Batavia in October 1643 we learn that lacquer craftsmen from Osaka, Miyako and Nagasaki went to Deshima to complain that all the orders made by the Dutch the previous year had been placed with only one lacquer worker, and they insisted that the work should be distributed more evenly among themselves. The lacquer worker was Mackina Sinsemondonne, who most probably made lacquer of high quality and responded well to specific orders in terms of shape, decoration and time of production.[263] The 278 pieces of lacquer shipped via Fort Zeelandia, the VOC fortress in Dayuan (present-day Anping in south Taiwan), to Batavia on the *Orangienboom* that same month, included nests of coffers and compoirs, half of them lacquered in gold with figures and the other half covered in ray skin with lacquered ovals. Eight comptoirs, described as *extraordinarij schoon* (extraordinarily beautiful), the large ones with a high cost price of 63 taels and the small of 27 taels, each. Batavia placed an order 'as before' the following year. The shipping list of October 1644 of the ill-fated *Swaen*, includes 388 pieces of lacquer. These included some coffers in nests, comptoirs and *kisten* of red lacquer, *comptoiren* with green, red

255 Lacquer, however, continued to be shipped to Siam and other destinations in south Asia. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.
256 The transcription of the original text in Dutch reads: 'Vereerden Hare majesteit in alle nedrigheid eenige fraeyingheden van porcelainen, en Kostelijcke Japonsche kisten, kunstig met lack, goud, en parlemoer ingeleit'. In the French version of Van Baerle's book, however, the *kisten* (chests) are described as 'coffres' (coffers). Cited in Viallé, 2010/1, p. 189, note 4. The porcelain gift is briefly discussed in section 3.2.1 of Chapter III, and note 410.
257 VOC 863. Letter to Hirado, Copy-book of letters sent by Batavia 1639. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.
258 VOC 866. Letter to Deshima, Copy-book of letters sent by Batavia 1642. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 247.
259 Cited in Ibid., p. 247.
260 NFJ 280. Letter-book Deshima 1642–43. Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 247 and 246, respectively.
261 VOC 1132. Letter-book received from Batavia 1640, fol. 80. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 246–247, ill. 555.
262 Ibid., p. 247.
263 NFJ 280. Letter-book Deshima 1642–43. Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 247.

Fig. 4.1.2.4 *Namban* tankard
Momoyama/early Edo period, c.1600–1620
Height: 18.5cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (museum no. FE.23-1982)

or black interiors, one third of each. The red lacquered comptoirs had two doors. Some of the comptoirs, coffers and *kisten* are again described as *extraordinarij schoon* and very expensive.[264]

A small number of extant lacquer objects, some of them unique, housed in public and private collections around the world demonstrate that a number of new lacquer shapes were made to order for Dutch and English merchants after European models in the early decades of the seventeenth century. A variety of utilitarian lacquer objects suited for European daily life and pastimes, including ewer and basin sets, tankards, comb cases, and backgammon boards are mentioned in documents of both the VOC and the EIC, despite the fact that the presence of the English in Japan lasted only ten years, from 1613 to 1623. English textual sources indicate that although the EIC established a factory close to the VOC factory in Hirado, the Company made only one official purchase of lacquer. VOC documents also mention boxes for collars and shaving bowls. The extant lacquer pieces discussed in the following pages together with textual sources of both the VOC and EIC serve to visualize the types of lacquer objects that were made to order for these European trading companies and for private trade. In 1617, the Englishman William Adams writing from Sakai to Richard Wickman in Hirado informed him that he had '… bin at Meaco [Miyako] and talked w'th the makeman who hath promysed that in short tym [time] hee will a-dooun [have done]. He hath 50 men that woourketh [worked] night and day, that, so far as I see, hee douth his indevor [endeavor] …'.[265] It is clear from this excerpt that the lacquer workshops in Miyako were of relatively large scale and that the lacquer craftsmen worked hard to fulfill the orders made for the English and other European merchants.

264 NFJ 768. Shipping lists Deshima 1644. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 247.
265 Farrington, 1991, p. 648. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 238.

Lacquer basins of considerable large size with raised rings around narrow wells and raised central mounds, such as the example decorated in *Namban* style in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dating to *c.*1600–1620, were most probably made after a pewter model which in turn copied a European silver or gold basin that together with an ewer formed part of a set used for washing the hands after dinner (Fig. 4.1.2.3).[266] Visual sources attest to the use of such sumptuous sets in Western Europe in the early seventeenth century. For example, see the silver gilt set depicted in the painting *Allegory of Fire* by the Antwerp artist Adriaen van Utecht, dated 1636, illustrated in Chapter III (Fig. 3.1.3.7). Pewter basins of varying large size were commonly used throughout Europe at the time.[267] The raised central mound, like that of the metal prototypes, would have served to steady the foot of the matching ewer. We do not know the exact shape and decoration of such lacquer ewers, as no example appears to be recorded. The pieces listed as '1 *waterlampet met de schotel* (water ewer with its saucer)' among the shipment of lacquer sent by Woutersen from Miyako to Specx in November 1616, may have referred to an ewer and basin set.[268] Basins with ewers were mentioned frequently in documents of the EIC factory in Japan. In a letter written from Hirado by William Eaton in December 1617, he informs Sir Thomas Smythe in London that he '… sent the last yeare by the Thomas for your Worshipe one cattan in a case & 2 basins and yewers, the one of make work, the other of blake varnish, & 24 smale frute dishes of make work, being put into 2 boxes, w'ch I sent to your good ladey'.[269] In November 1616, the head of the English factory Richard Cocks, wrote in his diary 'I received a bason [basin] and ure [ewer] from our *makey* man at Miaco; cost 4ta. 5m. 0co'.[270] In January 1618, Richard Cocks wrote in his dairy 'I made up the *maky* ware for my Lady Smith this day, for her contor rec. in the *Adviz*, rated at 40 mark str., is 106:6:7 and packed it up in 5 parcelles in chists, viz.: …No. 5, divers matters, viz.: …03 basons and spout pots, greate 1050, 03 ditto lesser sort, cost 0750'.[271] Sir Thomas Dale writing from Batavia in March 1619 informed his brother or brother-in-law in London that he had 'sent hom in the ship [the Little James], … one voyder, one trencher knife, two broad bassons & 2 ewers sutable unto them [en suite], one hand bassoon, & one spout-pot ewer, & one cabinet, to my wife; all thes are of Japan worke'.[272] It is clear from these excerpts that EIC servants in Japan sent lacquer basins and ewers on various occasions as gifts to relatives or as consignments to private consignments to private individuals in England, such as the wife of the Governor of the Company.

Tankards are also listed a few times in VOC and EIC textual sources. The only lacquer tankard that appears to have survived is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 4.1.2.4).[273] This tankard, also dating to *c.*1600–1620, is decorated in *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay with a dense design of flowering and fruiting branches arranged vertically in the *Namban* style. The shape of the tankard, with a tall, tapering cylindrical body, spreading foot, loop handle with a curved terminal and stepped lid with a ball finial, faithfully copies a Dutch pewter or tin-glazed earthenware model commonly used in the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century, such as the models discussed in Chapter III (Figs. 3.4.2.1.12 and 3.4.2.1.14).[274] Lacquer beer beakers appear to have been first made to order for the Dutch in 1615. In November of that year, Woutersen who travelled between Miyako and Osaka, sent to Jacques Specx a number of lacquer pieces, including '20 bierbeeckers (beer beakers) at 15 *maes* for 5 pieces'.[275] The invoice of the ship Rotterdam, for the Rotterdam Chamber, dated 1 January 1616, states that among the lacquer brought by the VOC ship *Oud Zeeland* from Japan included '148 bierbekers at 5 maes each'.[276] In February of that year,

266 Discussed and published in Ibid., pp. 162–163, ill. 373; and Canepa, 2008/1, p. 27, fig. 16. For two further examples in the Tokyo National Museum and the Gifu City History Museum, see Sakai City Museum, 1983, p. 51, no. 51; and Gifu City History Museum, 2003, p. 36, no. II–24, respectively.
267 For two examples, measuring 51.5cm and 44.5cm in diameter, see J.F.H.H. Beekhuizen, *De schoonheid van het oude Tin*, Amsterdam, 1998, pp. 124–125, figs. 184–185, respectively.
268 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.
269 Farrington, 1991, p. 648. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 239.
270 Thompson, 1883, vol. I, p. 208. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 238.
271 Thompson, 1883, vol. II, p. 9. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 238–239; and Canepa, 2008/1, p. 27.
272 Farrington, 1991, p. 752. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 240.
273 Published in Ibid., p. 197, ill. 473; and Canepa, 2008/1, p. 27, fig. 17.
274 By the late sixteenth century, mugs with hinged lids, generally called tankards, had become common in England and in German-speaking countries. Compare, for instance, the form of a silver-gilt example made in London, hallmarked 1602–1603, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum no. LOAN: GILBERT, 534–2008).
275 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 243.
276 VOC 1063. Letter-book received from Batavia 1617. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 244.

Left
Fig. 4.1.2.5 *Namban* comb case or toilet box
Momoyama/early Edo period, *c.*1600–1620
Height: 17cm
National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen
(inv. no. EAc 139)

Right
Fig. 4.1.2.6 Moulded leather comb case with lid
Italy
Fifteenth century
Height: 12cm; width: 12cm; depth: 3cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 15–1891)

Woutersen sent to Specks another shipment of lacquer that included '1 *bos bierbeeckers* of 5 pieces'.[277] The beer beakers, sent along with other lacquer by Specks to Bantam on the VOC ship *Enckhuysen* just a few days later, are described in the invoice as nests of five, fitting into each other.[278] This indicates, as noted by Impey and Jörg, that the beer beakers did not have handles and were probably of tall, cylindrical shape with and everted rim made after European pewter and silver models, such as the Dutch examples illustrated in Figs. 3.4.2.1.21 and 3.4.2.1.23.[279] Lacquer tankards are first mentioned in an entry of the diary of Richard Cocks dated 14 July 1617, which reads: 'I rec. a letter from Magazemon Dono, our host in Miaco, with a box of 20 ordenary fans, for a present, in it. Also an other from the *maky* dono, with 3 boxes or chistes *maky* ware, which were opened, viz.: In one chist, 20 tankards…'. In December of this same year, he wrote 'I sent Jno. Derickson Lamb [Jan Dirckz. Lam], the Dutch general, a present, viz.: …1 tankard *maky* work, 4 beakers *maky* work'.[280] The lacquer acquired by Richard Cocks for 'my Lady Smith' in January 1618, to be subsequently shipped via Bantam to England, also included '02 tankareds, cost 0160' and '20 beakers, cost 0600'. These excerpts indicate that both lacquer tankards and beakers were ordered by the English, some to be sent as gifts to the VOC representatives or sent among private consignments of lacquer to individuals in England. Interestingly, the shape of this extant *Namban* lacquer tankard with a loop handle with curved terminal closely resembles that of one of the models of porcelain tankards made to order for the Dutch after a European model at the Jingdezhen kilns in China in the late 1630s (Fig. 3.4.2.1.16). Related handles were previously used on mother-of-pearl ewers made to order for the Portuguese in Gujarat in the mid-sixteenth century (Fig. 4.1.1.2.2).

Another lacquer example of this date that appears to be unique is a comb case or toilet box of rectangular form with a removable lid and a concealed side drawer at the base, decorated with fruiting branches in the *Namban* style. The comb case

277 NFJ 276. Letter-book Deshima 1614–16. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 244.
278 Mentioned in Ibid.
279 Ibid., p. 206.
280 Cited in Ayers, Impey and Mallet, 1990, p. 76; Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 238–239; and Canepa, 2008/1, p. 27.

was inventoried in the Royal Danish *Kunstkammer* in 1690, and is now housed at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen (Fig. 4.1.2.5).[281] A comb case or toilet box like this example, intended to protect a hair comb and a removable framed mirror, would have been a valuable object to attend personal hygiene and comfort while at home or travelling.[282] The shape of the comb case, having a removable lid that was originally secured with a string running on a channel at either long side of the rectangular body, was most probably made after comb cases that were usually moulded and stitched in leather used throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Fig. 4.1.2.6).[283] The earliest reference of the shipment of lacquer comb cases appears to be that of the invoice listing the lacquer sent by Jacques Specks to Bantam on the VOC ship *Enckhuysen*, on 28 February 1616, which included 4 lacquered *camdoosen* (boxes for combs).[284] Another reference is found in an entry written by Richard Cocks in his diary, dated 15 October 1617, in which he states 'I paid Maky Dono, for 20 comb cases, 6 *taies* bars'.[285] This diary entry informs us that Richard Cocks, as he had done earlier in the month of July, ordered lacquer pieces made after European shapes in sets of twenty. The following year, in 1618, Richard Cocks placed a very large order of comb cases. A diary entry of 15 December states that the lacquer 'Maky Dono' was to deliver within five months, included '100 comb cases, at 5 ½ mas. peece'.[286]

The vertical arrangement of the flowering and fruiting branches of the *Namban* tankard and comb case discussed above relates closely to that seen on a small number of extant lacquer bottles of tall square section with rounded, sloping shoulders and narrow cylindrical necks, known as *tokkuri*, decorated in the *Namban* style (Fig. 4.1.2.7).[287] It was previously suggested that the body of the bottles was made in both wood and metal,[288] but all the extant examples appear to be made of lacquered wood. The sides are decorated with flowering trees framed by scrolling vines in *makie* or a border of sprinkled particles of mother-of-pearl inlay (*aogai*). Storage boxes of rectangular shape with a flat lid were made to order in lacquer to store and transport a set of six of these bottles. A storage box that appears to be a unique example of this type decorated with naturalistic compositions of flowering trees, birds and animals in the *Namban* style, still containing six bottles, is now housed in the Kyoto National Museum (Fig. 4.1.2.8).[289] The bottles, as well as the storage box, have been dated to the Momoyama or early Edo periods, *c.*1580–1620. This dating seems to be associated with the fact that the square-sectioned shape resembles closely that of porcelain bottles first made to order for the Portuguese after European glass prototypes at the kilns of Jingdezhen in China in the late sixteenth century discussed in Chapter III (Fig. 3.4.1.2.5).[290] The earliest textual evidence of orders of lacquer bottles and storage boxes, however, dates to 1616. In July of that year, Richard Wickham writing from Osaka informs Richard Cocks at Hirado that 'I have r'c'd of the maky dono, sent me per Coe Jno unto Osacay, your 2 cases of bottles w'ch Mr Eaton bespake, alsoe 10 bekers or drinking cupps w'ch he made for mee, for as the 100 that Mr Eaton bespoke he hath not done one of them. Nevertheless, yf they like you, take them …'.[291] In a letter written on 17 September of that same year from Sakai, Richard Wickham informs John Osterwick at Hirado that the lacquer he was sending included '2 cases of bottles, 24 gopas & 24 spones, 3 saltseles & ten bekers; all w'ch I pray dd Capt' Cock [Ricard Cocks] at this coming downe'.[292] Among the lacquer acquired by Richard Cocks in 1618 for 'Lady Smith' was a chest 'No. 2 containing 1 case botelles, cost 10 0 0'.[293] These excerpts suggest that bottles were made to order for the EIC servants in sets of an unknown number (most probably six) alongside boxes in which they were stored. Thus it can be argued

281 Published in Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbaek (eds.), *Ethnographic Objects in The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800*, Copenhagen, 1980, pp. 228–230, cat. Eac 139; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 158–159, ill. 361.
282 Double-edged hair combs made in a variety of materials, including ivory, boxwood and tortoiseshell, seem to have been fashionable personal accessories for both men and women from about 1400 well into the seventeenth century. In the early years of the century, flat mirrors were scarce and expensive, and were mostly made of speculum, a highly polished alloy often called steel, rather than glass. These were small and usually in the form of hand-held looking glass. Jill Turnbull and Alexander Shepherd, *The Scottish Glassmaking Industry, 1610–1750: The Serve the Whole Nation with Glass*, Edinburgh, 2001, p. 51.
283 The leather example illustrated here, probably made for an ivory comb, has two integral loops at either side for a cord or thong.
284 VOC 1063. Letter-book received from Batavia 1617. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 244.
285 Thompson, 1883, vol. I, p. 323. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 238.
286 Thompson, 1883, vol. II, p. 103. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 240.
287 For a discussion on these bottles and images of a pair of these bottles (including the bottle illustrated here), unusually decorated with the edges of the shoulders and sides with randomly shaped fragments of mother-of-pearl instead of the scrolling vine (*karakusa*) seen on the Bunkakan examples, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 200–203, no. 17.
288 For this opinion, see Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 102.
289 The box containing the six bottles and the set of six bottles in the Kyoto National Museum, formerly in a private collection in Crewkerne, Dorset, are published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 100–101, ills. 158a and b. The box with the bottles was also published in Canepa, 2008/1, p. 23, fig. 9. A pair of bottles with flaring copper mounts at the neck similarly decorated to those in the Kyoto National Museum can be found in the Namban Bunkakan in Osaka. Published in Sakai City Museum, 1983, p. 50, no. 49.
290 For a discussion on these bottles and the European glass prototypes, see section 3.4.1.2 of Chapter III.
291 Farrington, 1991, p. 440. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 237.
292 Farrington, 1991, pp. 479–480. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 238.
293 Thompson, 1883, p. 9. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 239.

Opposite page
Fig. 4.1.2.7 *Namban* bottle (*tokkuri*)
Momoyama/early Edo period
Height: 30.6cm; width: 11.8cm
Private Collection, Portugal
© Jorge Welsh, London-Lisbon

Fig. 4.1.2.8 *Namban* storage box containing six bottles
Momoyama/early Edo period
Height: 33.5cm; width: 41.5cm; depth: 28.8cm
Kyoto National Museum, Kyoto

Fig. 4.1.2.10 Games board
Oak with marquetry of ebony, coloured woods and ivory inlay
Spain (probably Granada)
Sixteenth century, c.1525–1575
Length: 56.3cm; width: 34cm; height: 13cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 154–1900)

Fig. 4.1.2.9 Transition style backgammon board
Early Edo period, c.1630-1650
Length: 44.2cm; width: 42.7cm;
height: 9cm (closed)
Private Collection, Portugal
© Jorge Welsh, London-Lisbon

Opposite page
Figs. 4.1.2.11a and b Games board
Wood veneered with ebony, and bone inlay
Germany (probably Augsburg)
Late sixteenth century, c.1580–1600
Length: 41.5cm; width: 42cm; height: 6.6cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 567–1899)

Fig. 4.1.2.12 *The Cardsharps*
Oil on canvas
Michelangelo Merisi Carvaggio (1571–1610), c.1595
Dimensions: 94.2cm x 130.9cm
Kimbell Art Museum, Texas (inv. no. AP 1987.06)

Figs. 4.1.2.13a and b *Namban* box with domed lid
Momoyama/early Edo period
Late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Diameter: 50cm; height: 20cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts
(inv. no. TD2001.2.1)

that the dating of this type of bottle and storage box could be early seventeenth century rather than late sixteenth century, probably *c.*1615–1620.

Thus far only a few lacquer backgammon boards have been recorded (Fig. 4.1.2.9). Two of these examples are decorated in the *Namban* style. Their shape consists of two hinged rectangular sections, that when open form a playing surface for backgammon framed by raised borders, and when closed form a shallow portable box. The lacquer craftsmen most probably copied the shape from a European wooden box made specifically for playing games (usually with a board for chess on one side and backgammon on the other) that was taken to Japan, such as those made in Venice and southern Spain with the external and internal surfaces inlaid with luxury materials in the sixteenth century, which in turn derived from Islamic models (Fig. 4.1.2.10).[294] Decorative game boards were popular among the royalty and high-ranking nobility of Renaissance Europe and frequently served as diplomatic gifts, despite religious strictures imposed against game playing and gambling.[295] The *Namban* backgammon boards, dating to *c.*1600–1630, are decorated on the exterior with various motifs of distinguishable Japanese character. One example in the Namban Bunkakan in Osaka depicts Japanese fans on a floral ground,[296] while the other in the Katsumi Yamagata Collection in Tokyo or the Kanenosuke Itō, Hiogo Prefecture, depicts landscape scenes depicting Japanese figures.[297] As noted by Impey and Jörg, it is possible that Richard Cocks was referring to this latter type of backgammon board when he wrote in his diary of September 1621 that he paid the '*maky* man' for '6 peare playing tables with men, at 7 *tais* peare'.[298] Backgammon boards are rarely mentioned in VOC records. A reference is found in the shipping list of a large consignment of lacquer sent on 13 November 1635 from Hirado to Batavia, on the VOC ship *New Amsterdam*, which

294 Published in M. Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts of Spain*, London, 2010, p. 89. Although the game of backgammon originated in Asia, it spread westwards through Persia (present-day Iran) and Turkey to Europe. See, for instance, the 1537 carved wood backgammon board made for King Ferdinand I by Hans Kels the Younger in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Published in J. C. Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520–1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty*, Princeton, 1994,, pp. 342–345, fig. 305.

295 Sixteenth century inventories attest to the significance of chess and backgammon sets among the royalty and high-ranking nobility. Playing board games was a popular pastime, considered serious as well as entertaining, which allowed men and women to compete against each other on the semi-public sphere of the court. For more information on this subject, see Dagmar Eichberger, 'Playing Games, Men, Women and Beasts on the Backgammon Board for King Ferdinand I and Queen Anna of Bohemia and Hungary', in Dagmar Eichberger, Anne-Marie Legaré and Wim Hüsken (eds), *Women at the Burgurdian Court: Presence and Influence*, Brepols, 2010, pp. 123–139. Also see, Laurie Winters, *A Renaissance Treasure. The Flagg Collection of European Decorative Arts and Sculpture*, New York, 1999, pp. 94–96.

296 Published in XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura, 1983, p. 203, pl. 165; Ferrão, 1990, Vol. III, p. 295, pl. 524; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 98, ill. 150. For an illustration of the backgammon board open, see Musée Cernuschi, 1980, pl. 35.

297 Martha Boyer published in 1957 this backgammon board as belonging to the Kanenosuke Itō, Hiogo Prefecture, while Yoshitomo Okamoto published it in 1972 as belonging to the Katsumi Yamagata Collection in Tokyo. See Boyer, 1957, and Okamoto, 1972.

298 Thompson, 1883, vol. II, p. 192. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 240.

299 NFJ 835. Account-book Deshima 1635. Cited as '10 Stx Verker Borden' in Oliver Impey, 'Japanese Export Lacquer of the 17th Century', in Watson, 1981, p. 137. The citation used here is taken from Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246.

300 Discussed and illustrated in Vinhais and Welsh, 2003, pp. 72–77, no. 10; Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 97–98, ill. 151; and d'Oliverira Martins, 2010, pp. 142–145, no. 37.

301 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 98, ill. 153.

302 Published in G.R. Diesinger, *Ostasiatische Lackarbeiten sowie Arbeiten aus Europa, Thailand und Indien*, Braunschweig, 1990, no. 239; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 98, ill. 152.

303 Cited in Ibid., 2005, p. 243.

304 NFJ 276. Letter-Book Deshima 1614–16. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 244.

305 NFJ 835. Account-Book Deshima 1635. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 246. Material evidence of orders of shaving basins continuing into the following century is provided by a few extant examples of circular or oval form decorated in the so-called Pictorial style, dating to the early eighteenth century. Examples of round shaving basins can be found in the Peabody Essex Museum and the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm; and a pair of oval examples is in the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakura. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 192, ills. 458–460.

306 VOC 1063. Letter-book received from Batavia 1617. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 245.

307 Published in Ibid., 2005, pp. 110–111, ill. 198; and Canepa, 2008/1, p. 22, fig. 8.

mentions ten '*verkeerborden* [gaming boards]'.[299] Backgammon boards were also decorated in the later, so-called Transition and Pictorial styles. All extant examples decorated in these styles are of square shape, and thus may have been made after a European squared-shaped model such as the veneered games boards made in Italy or southern Germany (Figs. 4.1.2.11a and b). Visual sources attest to the popularity of such wooden square-shaped backgammon boards in Europe in the late sixteenth century. One appears depicted in the oil painting *The Cardsharps* by the Italian artist Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, dating to *c.*1595 (Fig. 4.1.2.12). The shape of all the lacquer backgammon boards, whether decorated in *Namban*, Transition or Pictorial styles, differs from the European models in that the exterior sides are not meant to serve as a games board and thus have a flat surface (omitting a raised border) decorated with various motifs. It is not known whether this was a request made by the English and/or Dutch, or if it was a liberty taken by the lacquer craftsmen to embellish the exterior with lacquer techniques and decorative motifs of hybrid Japanese-European origin used in other lacquer objects made to order for the Europeans. The backgammon board illustrated here appears to be a unique example decorated in the so-called Transition style, dating to *c.*1630–1650. Its exterior is decorated with two flying geese in *makie* on a plain black lacquered ground, while its interior playing surface is alternately painted with red lacquer and sprinkled particles of mother-of-pearl inlay (*aogai*).[300] Two backgammon boards decorated in the so-called Pictorial style with an even simpler or plain decoration are known. One example, dating to *c.*1640–1670, is decorated on the exterior with two boys flying a kite in *takamakie* and on the interior with the playing surface with triangles of inlaid plain wood alternating with others that include mother-of-pearl inlay.[301] The other, dating to *c.*1640–1660, in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Brunswick, has a plain lacquered exterior and an interior playing board with alternating gold and striped gold-and-black triangles, within a wide border finely painted with landscapes, animals and birds in raised gold lacquer and chrysanthemum insignia (*mons*) on the corners.[302]

It appears that VOC servants were responsible for ordering shaving bowls and boxes for collars. Shaving bowls appear listed in VOC documents as early as 1615. That year, Woutersen sent to Specx a shipment of lacquer that included shaving bowls of two sizes, listed as '2 *scheerbeckens* [shaving bowls] at 15 *maes* each' and '2 ditto somewhat smaller at 12 ½ *maes* each'.[303] In February of the following year, Woutersen sent more lacquer to Specx. This time the shipment included '4 large *scheerbeckens* at T.3 each' and '4 ditto smaller at T. 2½ each'.[304] Although no example decorated in the *Namban* style appears to have survived, it is likely that the lacquer craftsmen copied the shape of pewter or earthenware models taken to Japan. Shaving bowls continued to be ordered by the VOC after 1634. In November 1635, for instance, 10 shaving bowls were among the large consignment of lacquer shipped from Hirado on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*.[305] Boxes for collars appear to have been first shipped to Batavia in 1616. In October of that year, Specx sent a consignment of lacquer on the ship *Oude Sonne*, via Bantam, which included '2 round, lacquered and gilded raised *lobbedoosen* [boxes for collars], the space for the neck inside filled with small boxes fitting into each other, at T. 13 each'.[306] The description of the collar boxes, being round and raised, seems to somewhat match an extant box of cylindrical shape and exceptionally large size with a shallow domed lid decorated in the *Namban* style with a dense design of flowering plants in *makie* and mother-of-pearl inlay, which is in the Peabody Essex Museum (Figs. 4.1.2.13a and b).[307] This cylindrical box, as well as a few other extant *Namban*

Left
Fig. 4.1.2.14 Transition-style chair
Early Edo period, *c.*1630–1650
Height: 67cm; width: 36cm
Current whereabouts unknown

Fig. 4.1.2.15 Engraved plate with designs for nine chairs
Crispijn van de Passe the Younger (1593–1670), *Oficina Arcularia in Qua sunt ad spectantia diversa Eximia exempla ex varijs autoribus collecta*, Amsterdam, 1642
Dimensions: 30.9cm x 21cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 20357:1)

Right
Figs. 4.1.2.16a and b Dutch rosewood and ebony chair
Early seventeenth century, *c.*1620–1650
Height: 72.5cm; width: 37.5cm
Buil & Brandsma, Amsterdam

Figs. 4.1.2.17a and b Document box, the 'Van Diemen Box'
Early Edo period, *c.*1636–1639
Height: 16cm; width: 48.3cm; depth: 36.7cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. W.49-1916)

examples of similar large size but of shallow, cylindrical shape with a flat base, may have been used to store a ruff collar or a wide-brimmed hat.[308]

In the early Edo period, the Dutch also had folding chairs with lacquer decoration made to order for them after models they brought to Japan. An apparently unique extant example, formerly in a private collection in Japan, has an X-frame, curved legs of square cross-section and two rows of arcaded rails joined by balusters in the back (Fig. 4.1.2.14).[309] The shape copies that of small folding chairs made in rosewood and ebony which were carried by women to the church in the Dutch Republic in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, such as an example in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[310] The popularity of this type of church chair at the time is attested by an example depicted in an engraved plate with designs for nine chairs published by Crispijn van de Passe the Younger (1593–1670) in his *Oficina Arcularia in Qua sunt ad spectantia diversa Eximia exempla ex varijs autoribus collecta* in Amsterdam, in 1642 (Fig. 4.1.2.15).[311] The arcaded rails in the back, as well as the front and back stretchers of such Dutch church chairs were decorated with low relief carving of floral motifs, and they usually had floral carved finials at the top of the back legs and twist-turned balusters. A Dutch church chair like the example found during this research study with finials carved in the shape of lions and small ball knobs inserted between balusters in the back, may have served as model for the lacquer chair discussed here (Figs. 4.1.2.16a and b).[312] The lacquer craftsmen would have transformed the lion finials into Buddhist Lions and turned them around to look backwards. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that the model taken to Japan could have been a church chair of similar shape made for the Dutch in southern India, which in turn copied the Dutch model.[313] Small folding chairs were used in the Calvinist churches of southern India, and were hung up on the wall after use.[314] Thus, the Japanese lacquer chair, dating to *c.*1630–1650, combines a Dutch shape with fine *makie* decoration and mother-of-pearl inlay, which consists of cash and scrolling foliage patterns, and long-tailed birds in flight, on the sides and front of the legs, which are not usually found in *Namban* or the so-called Transition style lacquers. The arcaded rails, however, are decorated with scrolling foliage and typical *Namban* scrolls, and the cresting on the top-rail has eight chrysanthemum *mon*. This chair was most probably a private order.

In February of 1640, François Caron, the Opperhoofd in Hirado, sent on the VOC ship *Castricum* to Batavia via Formosa 'one costly *camerstoel*, lacquered, for His Honour the Governor-General', valued at 100 taels.[315] In October of that same year,

308 Two examples can be found in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (*hiramakie* and mother-of-pearl inlay) and the Kynžvart Castle in the Czech Republic (inv. no. KY 9930). Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 110, ills. 196 and 197, respectively. The use of these boxes to hold a hat, as noted by Morena, is suggested by the fact that the earliest reference of the box in the Palazzo Pitti is found in the inventory of the estate of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (1617–1675). Francesco Morena, 'Scatola', in Morena, 2012, pp. 356–357, no. II.52 (p. 558, English version).

309 Published and discussed in Namiko Takeuchi, 'Two Examples of Japanese Lacquer Chairs', in Michael Kühlenthal (ed.), *East Asian and European Lacquer Techniques, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege*, 112, Munich, 2000, pp. 57–60; Jan Veenendaal, 'Furniture in Batavia', in Titus Eliëns (ed.), *Domestic Interiors at the Cape and in Batavia 1602–1795*, Zwolle, 2002, p. 27, fig. 10; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 141 and 143, ill. 292.

310 The Rijksmuseum example, and one other formerly in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, are published in Jan Veenendaal, *Furniture from Indonesia, Shri Lanka and India during the Dutch period*, Delft, 1985, p. 73, pls. 67 and 68; respectively. The Rijksmuseum chair is also published in Veenendaal, 2002, p. 27, fig. 9. It is important to note that the Gemeentemuseum chair later proved to be mostly a replacement, made in the nineteenth century, which must have been based on a seventeenth century original. I am grateful to my supervison Prof. Dr. Christiaan Jörg for bringing these chairs and publication to my attention, and to Jet Pijzel-Dommisse, curator of Decorative Arts at the Gemeentemuseum, for the information on the church chair formerly in the museum collection.

311 I am indebted to Jan Veenendaal, specialist on furniture and the applied arts made for the VOC and WIC, for bringing this engraved plate to my attention.

312 I am grateful to Rob Bruil, Bruil and Brandsma Works of Art, Amsterdam, for granting me permission to include images of the chair in this doctoral dissertation.

313 Veenendaal, 2002, p. 27.

314 Ibid., pp. 27–28.

315 The transcription of the original text in Dutch reads: '1 costelijcke camerstoel die verlakt is voor den edelen Hr. Gouverneur Generael'. NFJ 839, Account-book Deshima. 1639. Cited in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 44. The English translation is taken from Viallé, 2010/1, p. 192.

François Caron sent on the VOC ship *Breda* to Batavia a table made after a Dutch model of exceptional quality. The table is described in a letter written on 30 November 1640 by the Governor-General Van Diemen to the Gentlemen Seventeen, saying that he was sending on the VOC ship *Salamander* 'an extraordinarily beautiful lacquered table, Dutch fashion, and a *sekreet kelderken* [close-stool], very rare and no less costly, most suitable as gifts and to gain favors; the decoration in the lacquer being finely filed gold and silver, the table costing two hundred seventy-two taels in Japan and the *kelderken* one hundred taels at fifty-seven stivers per tael, marked with the sign of the General Company VOC'.[316] Viallé has shown that the *camerstoel* and the *sekreet kelderken* shipped by François Caron were the same piece, a close-stool, and that the mark of the VOC was on the packing crate rather than on the lacquer pieces.[317] This lacquer table may have been one of the three tables presented together with nests of large lacquer coffers and cabinets, as well as Chinese silk and porcelain, as gifts by the Gentlemen Seventeen to Henrietta Maria of France, Queen consort of Charles I of England, her daughter Princess Maria Henrietta and Amalia van Solms in November 1642.[318] The close-stool, as Viallé has noted, was most likely the one presented as gift to Queen Henrietta Maria in that same occasion.[319]

A small number of extant pieces of exceptional quality decorated with expensive and elaborate lacquer techniques depicting scenes from Japanese literature in combination with inscribed European names or monograms attest to orders made by private Dutch individuals in the 1630s and early 1640s. Unlike the majority of lacquer pieces made to order for the Europeans discussed thus far, a number of these pieces of outstanding quality were made for the Dutch in traditional Japanese shapes. One of the earliest known examples of this type is a rectangular box, known as the 'Van Diemen box', now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figs. 6.1.2.17a and b).[320] In the shape of a Japanese document box (*bunko*) with a suspended inner tray, its exterior decoration is finely executed in relief with gold and silver *hiramakie* and *takamakie* on a black ground depicting scenes from the *Genji Monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*), the early eleventh century classic of Japanese literature. The inside of the lid bears the misspelled inscription 'MARIA, UAN, DIEMEN' inlaid in thick gold foil (*kimpaku*) on a black ground. Thus it has been assumed that the box was made between 1636 and 1639 for Maria van Diemen, wife of Antonio van Diemen, who served as Governor-General in Batavia from 1635 until his death in 1645.[321] This box relates closely to a dismantled box of this date and similar high quality, known as the 'Buys Box', now housed in the Elton Hall Collection in Elton, Peterborough.[322] The interior of the lid of the latter box is inscribed 'PIETERNELLAE BUYS' in thick gold.[323] Pieternella Buijs (also known as Pietronella or Petronella Buys)[324] was the wife of Philips Lucasz, who was Director-General in Batavia from 1635, and Van Diemen's right-hand man until his death in 1640.[325] There is also a smaller rectangular box with a lacquer decoration of slightly lesser quality dating to *c.*1635–1640, now in the Weston Collection in the United States, which bears the initials FC or CF in thick silver on the inside of its lid. The initials may be those of François Caron.[326] Thus it is possible, as noted by Impey and Jörg, that François Caron ordered the box for himself.[327]

In the past it was suggested that the aforementioned lacquer boxes presented to the wives of the two highest ranking officials of the VOC serving in Asia at the time may have been gifts from an unknown Japanese official or a VOC servant in Japan.[328] Although Van Diemen received lacquer as gifts from Japanese officials in 1636 and again in 1640,[329] it seems unlikely that a Japanese official would have ordered lacquer objects inscribed with the names of these women because this did not accord with protocol.[330] More recently, two VOC servants that also traded privately in Japan have been suggested as possible commissioners of these lacquer pieces to be given as gifts. François Caron is one of them, but it is unlikely that he ordered the boxes to the wives of his superiors after having been reprimanded for sending a number of packages to private individuals in Formosa and Batavia. The other is Philips Lucasz, who could have ordered the boxes through François Caron after his return to Batavia as Director-General in September 1635. The fact that a VOC document dated August 1641 mentions that 'two balustrades which the late Director-General Philips Lucasz had ordered for the Princess [of Orange] in Japan', that the VOC directors agreed to present the balustrades to Amalia van Solms, and that the Amsterdam Chamber was authorized to take care of the presentation, indicates that Lucasz would have had the opportunity to order the boxes inscribed with the names of his wife and of the powerful wife of his superior, in addition to the balustrades.[331]

In October 1639, a lacquered balustrade had been shipped from Hirado to Batavia via Formosa.[332] In November of the following year, Batavia wrote to the VOC directors informing that they were sending them the 'balustrade which the Princess of Orange had ordered through the late Director-General Philips Lucasz' aboard the *Salamander*, which arrived in Amsterdam in August 1641.[333] Another balustrade had been shipped from Hirado earlier that month aboard the *Witte Olifant* for 'the deceased director Philips Lucasz. in a large crate bound with straw mats and ropes'.[334] Considering that the value of the latter balustrade was a little over 90 *taels*, and that of the other shipped ten days later was 822 *taels*, it must have been only a section of a larger balustrade.[335] There was no place to install this costly lacquered balustrade at the time of its arrival in the Dutch Republic, but it was eventually placed in Amalia's state bedchamber at Huis ten Bosch, her summer residence near The Hague, which began to be built in 1645.[336] In an inventory of Huis ten Bosch, taken in 1654, is listed 'An elegant Indian balustrade with two doors, consisting of six parts, mostly of eight pilasters each; in between a somewhat larger part supported by six iron posts, guilded and painted as the aforementioned balustrade'.[337] A sale catalogue of the belongings of the royal household auctioned at Huis ten Bosch Palace in July 1797 lists 'a costly Chinese lacquered fence inlaid with pearlshell, length 28 feet, height 2.5 feet, with its plinth', which was unsold.[338] It is unclear when or how a model for the princely balustrade, most likely made out of wood, intended to keep visitors at distance, was sent to Japan.[339] Nevertheless, the pilasters and possibly some of the top rail that formed part of Amalia's balustrade, now incorporated into several pieces of furniture, show that the balustrade was made up of tall, turned, tapered pilasters finely decorated with pictorial cartouches enclosed by *nashiji* and geometric borders, and that the top rail was inlaid with small pieces of mother-of-pearl, as described in the aforementioned sale catalogue.[340]

Textual sources demonstrate that the Orange court already had an interest in Japanese lacquer by the early 1630s. The 1632 inventories of the palaces of Frederick Henry and Amalia van Solms in The Hague, Noordeinde and the Stadholders's Quarter discussed earlier in Chapter III, list in the closets of both the prince and princess, objects decorated in red lacquer as well as in the *Namban* style.[341] It seems possible that the idea of having Japanese export lacquer coffers, cabinets and boxes, along with mother-of-pearl objects, dismantled and then mounted the pieces on the walls of a small closet at Huis ten Bosch, presumably in accordance with a design by Pieter Post,

316 VOC 1133. 60v–61r. Incoming letter-book from Batavia 1640. Cited in Impey and Jörg, p. 44; and Viallé, 2010/1, p. 193.
317 Ibid., pp. 193 and 200.
318 The Chinese silk and porcelain presented as gifts to these three ladies are discussed in Chapters II and III, respectively.
319 For more information on the lacquer presented, see Viallé, 2010/1, pp. 190–194, and Appendix, pp. 205, 207 and 208.
320 The box was formerly in the collections of Madame de Pompadour in France and William Beckford in England. Discussed and illustrated in Joe Earle, 'Genji meets Yang Guifei: A Group of Japanese Export Lacquers', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 47, 1982–1983, pp. 25–27; Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 36–37, ills. 17 a, b, c and d; and pp. 85, 89–90, ills. 132a and b; and Julia Hutt, 'Document box known as the Van Diemen Box', in Morena, 2012, pp. 344–346, ill. 45, and English text pp. 552–554.
321 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 35; and Cynthia Viallé, 'Two boxes and two balustrades: private orders for fine Japanese export lacquer', in Rivers, Faulkner and Pretzel, 2011, p. 26.
322 The box and its suspending tray were dismantled in 1803 by orders of William Beckford (1760–1844), who had the parts set into two *secrétaries*. Discussed and illustrated in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 35–37, ills. 18 a and b; and pp. 85–90, ills. 133a, b, c and d.
323 The names 'ANTON: VERNATTY' and 'WILL: DRINKWATER' were added later in gold paint rather than gold inlay. Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 37.
324 Viallé, 2011, p. 26.
325 Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 37; and Viallé, 2011, p. 26.
326 Discussed and illustrated in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 37, ills. 19a, b and c; and p. 93.
327 Ibid., p. 37.
328 Earle, 1982–1983, p. 67; Earle, 1986, pp. 7–8; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 85.
329 The 'Daikan' or 'superintendent' of Nagasaki sent him first a lacquered chest and then a large lacquered comptoir in these years. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 37.
330 Hutt, 2011, p. 553.
331 VOC 101. f. 381. Amsterdam, 24 August 1641. Resolutions. Two years earlier, in 1639, the VOC directors had written to Batavia informing that it had come to their attention that Amalia van Solms had asked Lucasz to obtain certain goods for her. VOC 316. f. 282. Amsterdam, 10 September 1639. Letter from Heren XVII to Batavia. It is likely that this request was made during his stay in the Dutch Republic between June 1634 and May 1635. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 28.
332 NFJ 839. Hirado, 29 October 1639. Journal. Mentioned in Viallé, 2011, p. 28.
333 VOC 1133. ff. 60-61. Batavia, 30 November 1640. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 41.
334 Cited in Ibid.
335 VOC 1133. ff. 60–61. Batavia, 30 November 1640; and NFJ 840. Hirado, 20 November 1640. Journal. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 41; and Viallé, 2011, p. 28.
336 Fock, 1997, p. 78.
337 The balustrade was first discussed in T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De woonvertrekken in Amalia's Huis in het Bosch', *Oud Holland*, vol. 84, 1969, pp. 48–49. For the inventory, see Drossaers and Scheurleer, 1974, p. 261, cat. 672 and p. 265, cat. 807. Mentioned in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 41.
338 Cited in Ibid., p. 44.
339 The model may have copied the balustrade, consisting of a railing with gilt balusters, placed around the bedstead in Amalia's state bedchamber in the Stadholder's Quarters.
340 Three pieces of furniture are known to include parts of the balustrade. Five are fitted to a French side-cabinet, four to a French fall-front *secrétaire* and to others to an upright piano by John Broadwood & Sons, London, both supplied to Lady Hertford in 1829 for the Blue Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam House, Leeds. Discussed and illustrated in Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 94–95, p. 92, ills. 141–143, and pp. 98 and 101, ills. 154a, b and c; 155 and 156a, b and c.
341 Fock, 1997, p. 83.

Fig. 4.1.2.18a Transition style chest,
the 'Mazarin Chest'
Early Edo period, c.1640
Height: 59cm; width: 101.5cm; depth: 63.9cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 412:1, 2-1882)

Fig. 4.1.2.18b Transition style chest,
the 'Mazarin Chest'
(silver rivets detail)

Figs. 4.1.2.18c Transition style chest,
the 'Mazarin Chest'
(silver metal foil and mother-of-pearl inlay detail)

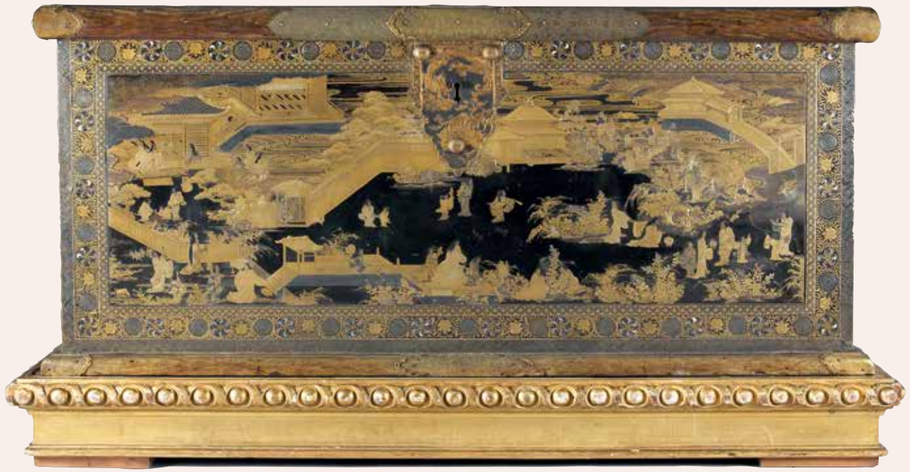


Fig. 4.1.2.19a Transition style chest, formerly the 'Lawrence Chest'
Early Edo period, *c.*1640
Height: 66cm; width: 142cm; depth: 71cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(museum no. AK-RAK-2013-3)

Fig. 4.1.2.19b Transition style chest, formerly the 'Lawrence Chest'
(detail)

Fig. 4.1.2.20 Boulle-work cabinet with Transition style lacquer panels
Lacquer panels: Early Edo period, *c.*1640
Height: 92.2cm; width: 86.3cm; depth: 49.5cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. 1084-1882)

was from Amalia herself. This lacquer closet is the earliest example known in Europe of the use of Oriental lacquer as a form of interior decoration.[342]

Lacquer pieces of extraordinary high quality decorated in the so-called Transition style were also made to order after European shapes at about this time. A large rectangular chest with a flat lid with an extremely refined lacquer decoration known as the 'Mazarin Chest' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figs. 4.1.2.18a, b and c) and another of larger size previously known as the 'Lawrence Chest' and now housed in the Rijksmuseum (Figs. 4.1.2.19a and b),[343] belong to the so-called 'superlative group' of lacquers, which were made to order between the early 1630s and early 1640s.[344] Both combine the shape of a European chest that was made to order earlier for the Iberian market in the *Namban* style,[345] with a wide range of very complex and expensive lacquer decorative techniques, including *hiramakie*, *takamakie* and the use of small silver rivets (*ginbyō*) (Figs. 4.1.2.18b and 4.1.2.19b), and silver metal foil and mother-of-pearl inlay (Fig. 4.1.2.18c) on a black lacquer ground. Their decoration is wholly Japanese, with rectangular panels and oval complex cartouches incorporating mythical beasts depicting scenes taken from the *Tale of Genji* and the *Eight Views of Ōmi (Ōmi hakkei)*, all within various geometrical borders.[346] Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), who ruled France as first minister of the regent Anne of Austria, purchased this chest together with the example of slightly smaller size in Amsterdam in 1658. Research by Hutt has shown that a third chest of this shape and comparable lacquer quality, but inferior in terms of workmanship to that of the Mazarin chests in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Rijksmuseum, was also made. This chest was dismantled, and then its panels and geometrical borders were cut to form part of two cabinets made in French boulle-work marquetry in the early nineteenth century.[347] One of these cabinets, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, serves to illustrate the close similarities of its front lacquer panel to that of the Rijksmusem chest (Fig. 4.1.2.20). An entry in the VOC archives dated 15 October 1643, as noted by Hutt, mentions '4 extraordinary large square chests, all lacquer, with gold [lacquer] ground at 144 taels each', which in total would have been the large sum of 576 *taels*.[348] Considering the fact that four chests are listed, although described as square rather than rectangular, and the very high purchase price of each one, it seems likely that the VOC document referred to the three chests discussed above. As Hutt has pointed out, the lesser quality of workmanship of the chest that was dismantled raises some questions. Was it made at a slightly later date? Was it the last one of the group of four to be made, and thus the lacquerer had to take some shortcuts to fulfill the order in time to be shipped with the others? Future research might shed light on these questions. It has been suggested that the chests were made in the lacquer workshop of the Kōami family of Miyako, who as mentioned earlier began producing *Kodaiji makie* in the late sixteenth century, under the headship of the tenth generation master Kōami Chōju (1599–1561). The fact that there was a seven-year gap between orders of wedding sets received by the Kōami workshop for the Japanese elite, between 1637 and 1644, as argued by Hutt, shows that it would have been possible to make the four chests as a special order for the Dutch.[349]

Recent research by Lacambre has shown that the high quality Transition style lacquer close-stool inventoried as a *chaise d'affaire* at the Petit Trianon in the Château de Versailles once formed part of the magnificent collection of Cardinal Jules Mazarin. Considering the stylistic similarities of the lacquer decoration of the Versailles close stool, especially the geometrical borders, with the Mazarin chests in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Rijksmuseum, it seems possible that Cardinal Mazarin had acquired the close stool in Amsterdam together with the lacquer chests in 1658.[350] One other close stool, as noted by Lacambre, was confiscated from the Château de Chantilly, which housed the collection of Prince de Condé.[351] No documentary evidence has been found thus far indicating that the close stool given as gift by the Gentlemen Seventeen to Queen Henrietta Maria in 1642 could have ended up in France.

Extant examples of high quality lacquer, though not of the extraordinary high quality of the Mazarin chests discussed above, made to order for the Dutch after a European shape include chests of small size with a cornice around the slightly domed lid, dating to *c.*1630–1640 (Figs. 4.1.2.21a and b). An example in the Victoria and Albert Museum is finely decorated in gold and silver *hiramakie* and *takamakie*, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, gold, gold foil and *kirikane* on a black lacquer ground, also depicting scenes from the *Tale of Genji*.[352] The decorative borders of the base of the chest resemble those of the small box bearing the initials CF or FC discussed above. This type of chest may have been made to order as a marriage casket, as its shape resembles closely the *knottekistjes* commonly used in the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century, which were usually made of richly engraved silver, and symbolized a proposal of marriage (Fig. 4.1.2.22).[353] In addition, Dutch merchants in Japan not only placed special orders for lacquer but also purchased high quality lacquer made for the domestic market from their Japanese lacquer suppliers, and European merchants in other parts of Asia purchased domestic lacquer originally exported from Japan by Chinese merchants.[354]

To sum up, the VOC documents discussed above indicate that lacquer from Japan was initially believed to be a profitable trade good to be imported to the Dutch Republic, but the sales proved to be disappointing. Although there was a ready market for lacquer, their customers were not willing to pay such high sell prices for the imported lacquer. Despite the repeated instructions sent to stop purchasing lacquer

342 Ibid., p. 84.
343 This chest came to light at a public auction in France in June 2013. For a brief discussion and further images of the chest, see Jan van Campen and Menno Fitski, 'Nieuwe Aanwinst: De Mazarin Kist in het Rijksmuseum', *Aziatische Kunst*, Jargang 43, Nr. 3/4, October 2013, pp. 81–84, figs. 1–4.
344 For a recent discussion and images of the 'Mazarin chest' and the chest formerly known as the 'Lawrence Chest', now in the Rijksmuseum, see Julia Hutt, 'How many 'Mazarin Chests' were there?', in Rivers, Faulkner and Pretzel, 2011, pp. 10–25, figs. 1–5, 18 and 24.
345 For examples of comparable shape, but made with front drawers at the base, see Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 143–144, ills. 298 and 299.
346 Hutt, 2011, pp. 11 and 22.
347 The front and sides of this chest were used to make a boulle-work cabinet, known as the 'Vitel Cabinet', now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and another boulle-work cabinet sold at auction in 2007 in Sotheby's Paris. For a discussion and images of these cabinets and the stylistic comparison of their lacquer panels with the two Mazarin chests, see Hutt, 2011, pp. 10–25.
348 The transcription of the original text in Dutch reads: '4 stx groote viercante kisten extrordinarie van geheel lackwerk met gemalen gout à T144 yder'. NA, de Nederlandse factorij in Japan inv. no. 767, Nagasaki, 15 October 1643. Cited in Hutt, 2011, p. 23.
349 Ibid.
350 Geneviève Lacambre, 'Les non-dits du japonisme. Des chaisses d'affaire aux estampes érotiques', in Patricia Plaud-Dilhuit (dir.), *Territoires du japonisme*, Rennes, 2014, p. 43. For images of the Versailles close-stool, inv. no. T 552, see Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 93, ill. 144; and Viallé, 2010/1, pp. 220–221, figs. 9–10.
351 Lacambre, 2014, pp. 42–43.
352 For further images and information, see Julia Hutt, 'A Japanese lacquer chest in the V&A; A seventeenth-century wedding casket for the Dutch market', *Apollo*, Vol. CXL VII, No. 433, March 1988, pp. 3–9; Julia Hutt, 'A Japanese export lacquer chest in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Some further observations', *Apollo*, Vol. CXLIX, No. 445, March 1999, pp. 22–24; and Impey and Jörg, 2005, pp. 92–93, ill. 140. A comparable example was sold at auction at Christie's South Kensington, sale 8822, 15 May 2013, lot 281.
353 Examples of silver marriage caskets of almost identical shape are published in J. W. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver. Wrought Plate of North and South-Holland from Renaissance until the end of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 3, The Hague, 1960, p. 74, no. 225, pls. 184 and 187. Three further examples are published in Mees, 1997, p. 80.
354 Kaori Hidaka, 'Maritime trade in Asia and the circulation of lacquerware', in Rivers, Faulkner and Pretzel, 2011, pp. 7–8.

Figs. 4.1.2.21a and b Transition style chest
Early Edo period, *c.*1630–1640
Height: 8cm; width: 15.3cm; depth: 7.2cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(museum no. FE.63-1997)

for the Dutch Republic because it was too expensive and did not sell quickly, VOC servants in Japan not only had ordered a small quantity of lacquer objects for them, but also purchased lacquer that had been made for the Iberians, as well as for the domestic market. By the early 1610s, the States-General was presenting lacquer consignments as diplomatic gifts to rulers of other European countries, perhaps as a way of using the large stocks of unsold lacquer that the VOC had in both Batavia and Amsterdam. Various types of furniture and small utilitarian objects were made to order for the VOC at this time. Tables, for example, appear to have been made in at least three sizes. Those of the two smaller sizes may have been of low, rectangular shape like the extant examples decorated in *Namban* style, while the largest size may have been a full-sized table of European proportions, such as the only recorded example dating to the Momoyama period. Chests and cabinets were also made. Although specific instructions were given in a contract for each specific order, the lacquer craftsmen sometimes did not fully comply with them. Private trade was also carried out at the time, but on a small scale.

Although the Dutch were forbidden from trading in Hirado as a consequence of the so-called Taiwan incident, some VOC and private orders were still fulfilled during the trade embargo, including both furniture and tableware. When the embargo was lifted in 1633, the VOC had a renewed interest in lacquer and began to place orders on a large scale, especially of coffers, chests and comptoirs, some of them decorated with ray skin, most probably made with the 'sprinkle denticle' technique. Cost prices did not vary according to the decoration, *makie* or ray skin, but only by size. No compartmented boxes for bottles or tableware, however, were to be ordered because there was no demand for such lacquers in the Dutch Republic. In June 1638, Hirado was once again instructed not to send any lacquer to the Dutch Republic until further instructions. Orders for some furniture with green, red or black interiors were made again in 1642. The following year, the instructions stated that no nests of coffers were to be ordered and that tables were wanted in the Dutch Republic, as had been informed earlier in 1639. It is clear that the Dutch had a preference for some specific lacquer craftsmen, for those working in Osaka, Miyako and Nagasaki complained in

Fig. 4.1.2.22 Dutch silver marriage casket or 'knottekistje'
Frisian
Seventeenth century
Width: 7.6cm
© Christie's Amsterdam

1643 that the work was given to only one and insisted in that it should be distributed more evenly among themselves.

The extant lacquer objects discussed above have demonstrated that a number of new shapes were made to order for the Dutch and English merchants, despite the fact that the latter stayed only for ten years in Japan, in the early decades of the seventeenth century. A variety of utilitarian objects are mentioned in both VOC and EIC documents suited for European daily life and pastimes. These objects were mostly modelled directly after European models that must have been provided, including ewer and basin sets, tankards, comb cases, square-shaped bottles and backgammon boards. VOC documents also mention boxes of collars and shaving bowls, but only few extant examples of these shapes appear to have been preserved. These were hybrid objects combining a European shape and the relatively simple decorative technique of *Namban* lacquer that had been developed to suit the demand of the Jesuits and later the Iberians. The lacquer tankards can be considered as precursors of those made to order for the Dutch in porcelain at the kilns of Jingdezhen in China discussed in in section 3.4.2.1 of Chapter III. New lacquer furniture shapes appear to have been introduced by private Dutch merchants, including folding chairs that copied faithfully a Dutch church chair model. The Dutch influence on such early pieces of furniture, as with the smaller objects used daily or in pastimes, was limited.

VOC servants and private Dutch merchants began to order objects of very high quality decorated in expensive and elaborate lacquer techniques in the 1630s and early 1640s. The Dutch influence on these pieces is clearly more obvious. Some of the objects combined Japanese shapes and scenes taken from Japanese literature with the names or monograms of the wifes of the two highest ranking officials of the VOC serving in Asia, as well as of some of the VOC servants in Japan. Other objects, such as the balustrades ordered for the wife of the third Stadholder of the States General in the Dutch Republic, were made after European models but decorated in the so-called Transition style that imitated the *Kodaiji makie* style of lacquer made for the domestic market. This type of balustrade was intended for use in the interior decoration of their residences. The inventories of their palaces in The Hague, Noordeinde and the Stadholder's Quarter list in the closets of both the prince and pricess, objects in red lacquer as well as *Namban* lacquer. Lacquer pieces of extraordinary high quality decorated in the so-called Transition style were also made to order after European shapes at about this time. Two extant chests of this high quality, and two cabinets made in French boulle-work marketry with panels from one other chest of comparable quality that was dismantled and cut, belong to the so-called 'superlative group' of lacquers. The fine and complex lacquer techniques and decorative motifs, however, are wholly Japanese depicting scenes taken from Japanese literature. These chests, together with one other chest presumably of the same high quality, appear to have been ordered by the VOC in 1643. It is believed that these chests were made at the lacquer workshop of the Kōami family of Miyako. Such high quality and expensive pieces of lacquer would most probably have been intended to give as gifts.

Fig. 4.1.3.1 Tiered lacquer box (*jubako*)
Momoyama/early Edo period
Height: 27cm; width: 24; depth: 22cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(inv. no. 68 cx)

Lacquer for the Japanese domestic market [4.1.3]

To finalize the discussion of the European influence on Japanese lacquer it is imperative to mention briefly a variety of *Namban* objects decorated in lacquer of very high quality with European figures, which were made during the period of Portuguese presence in Japan, from 1542/1543 to 1639, most probably for the Japanese domestic market rather than for export to Western Europe or the New World. The strange physical features of the Portuguese merchants and officials, and their attendants (sailors, African slaves, Indians and Malays), dressed with their voluminous breeches (*bombaxa*), doublets, cloaks, collars, ruffs and tall hats, who came to Japan every year in the Black Ship (*kurofune*), called the *Namban-jin* in Japan, were so fascinating to the Japanese craftsmen that they were portrayed with a high degree of detail on various objects, mostly made in traditional Japanese shapes, all finely decorated in lacquer. These include wooden objects, such as saddles (*kura*),[355] food boxes (*jubaco*), writing boxes (*suzuribako*),[356] letter boxes (*fumibako*),[357] chairs[358] and powder flasks;[359] as well as metal objects, such as stirrups (*abumi*).[360]

Although these lacquer objects fall out of the scope of this study, they deserve some attention because they provide further material evidence of the profound influence that the continuous presence of the Portuguese and their culture exerted on the Japanese daily life and the arts made during the Momoyama and early Edo period for the warrior elite and wealthy merchant class. A tiered food box (*jubako*) dating to the first quarter of the seventeenth century in the Museu Nacional de Arte

355 For a discussion and images of an example, which forms part of a matching set of horse trappings, see Canepa, 'Matching set of horse trappings, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 92–103, no. 1.

356 For a discussion and an image of an example in the Fundação Abel e João de Lacerda – Museu do Caramulo (inv. FAL 372), see Alexandra Curvelo, 'Writing Box [*suzuribako*]', in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, pp. 187–188, no. 49.

357 Examples can be found in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, the Tokyo National Museum and the Kobe City Museum. For an image of the latter example, see Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 81, ill. 123.

358 A chair of X-frame construction after a Chinese model decorated in *makie* with Portuguese figures, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, is found in the Zuikō-ji Temple in Kyoto. This chair closely resembles those imported from China into Japan by the Portuguese, which often appear depicted in *Namban* folding screens. Published in Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 80, ill. 121.

359 For images of an example decorated on its interior with *Namban-jin* figures in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, see Mendes Pinto, 1990, pp. 49–50.

360 Metal stirrups depicting Portuguese and *Namban-jin* figures were also decorated in brass and silver inlay (*nunome zōgan*). For a discussion and images of these pieces, Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/1, pp. 124–133, nos. 6 and 7.

Fig. 4.1.3.2 *Icones Habitus Getusque Indorium AC Lusitano Veventium*
Jan Hyugen van Linschoten (1563–1611), 1604
Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam (inv. no. 46332-46362)

361 The *samurai*, as noted by Curvelo, was a warrior class that consisted of warrior vassals of a military chief (*daimyō* or *shōgun*). Curvelo, 2012, p. 245 (p. 512, English text).

362 The taste for the exotic among the *daimyō* is clearly reflected in a Jesuit report of 1594, which notes that Hideyoshi 'has a great liking for Portuguese clothing, and the members of his retinue, in emulation, are often attired in the Portuguese style. The same is true even of those *daimyōs* who are not Christian. They wear rosaries of driftwood on their breasts, hang a crucifix from the shoulder or waist, and sometimes even hold a handkerchief. Some … have memorized the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and recite them as they walk in the streets. This is not done in ridicule of the Christians, but simply to show off their familiarity with the latest fashions'. Cited in Okamoto, 1972, p. 77; and Rupert Faulkner, 'Personal Encounters: Europeans in East Asia', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 186. Also see a detail from a pair of six-panel folding screens in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection (inv. nos. B60D77+ and B60D78+) depicting two Japanese wearing *Namban-jin* clothes, published in Ibid., p. 187, pl. 14.9.

363 Published and discussed in Maria da Conceição Borges de Sousa, 'Caixa para Alimentos [jukakō] – 'Tiered Food Box [jukakō]', in d'Oliveira Martins, 2010, pp. 189–191, no. 50; and Maria da Conceição Borges de Sousa, 'Portavivande', in Morena, 2012, pp. 280–281, no. II.6 (p. 527, English text).

364 Published in Canepa, 2008/1, p. 26, fig. 14.

365 The transcription of the original text in Portuguese reads: 'hum Jubaco de sinco sobrados'. Cited in Curvelo, 2001, p. 32.

Antiga in Lisbon not only serves as an example to illustrate such influence, but also attests to the curiosity and taste for the exotic that aroused among the *shōgun*, *daimyō* and *bushi* or *samurai*[361] throughout Japan with the annual arrival of the *Namban-jin*, the Portuguese and their multitude of foreign attendants, to Nagasaki from what was then an unknown world (Fig. 4.1.3.1).[362] This food box is also a hybrid lacquer as it combines a traditional Japanese shape and decorative techniques, including *makie*, *takamakie* and *kirikane*, with European motifs. Its decoration is configured by two groups of Portuguese merchants and their attendants, each realistically depicted in large-scale on the sides disregarding its four overlaid trays, and of one other group on the lid. The group with seven people is particularly interesting as it depicts a Portuguese figure, possibly a Captain-major, walking beneath a parasol held by an attendant, and watching a Japanese boy who is ahead of them. The gestures and appearance of the figures depicted on the food box, as Borges de Sousa has noted, appear to indicate that the Japanese lacquer craftsmen had direct contact with these foreigners and thus would have been able to observe carefully their distinct facial features (big noses and large bulging eyes), the exotic clothes they wore and their daily customs.[363] One has to consider the possibility, however, that in fact, the representation of such figures may have been based on a European printed source, such as a print from Jan van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, first published in Amsterdam in 1596 (Fig. 4.1.3.2).[364] Jesuit sources, as discussed earlier, show that the Jesuits living in Japan acquired this type of food boxes. One wonders if the five-tiered food box listed as 'a five store jûbako' among the goods left by Father Manuel Barreto to his successor in 1616, would have been a lacquer example decorated with European figures.[365]

Discussion [4.2]

The present study of textual sources concerning the trade in Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and of extant porcelain and lacquer objects from public and private collections around the world, has brought to light an interesting and important historical fact that had been previously overlooked. This historical fact relates to the influence the Europeans exerted in the goods made to order for them in both Japan and China. It has been shown that Japanese lacquer objects were made to order in European shapes for the Dutch and English trading companies earlier than in Chinese porcelain. This was a totally unexpected find, and something of a revelation, which could only occur because the research was not restricted to the study of only porcelain or lacquer. However, it also raised some concrete questions relating to the material qualities of the goods made to order, and the way in which the European demand and Japanese/Chinese production/supply was conducted at a personal level.

In order to fully understand this historical fact it is important to remember that exactly the opposite occurred in the case of the Portuguese and Spanish. The earliest extant Japanese lacquer objects modelled directly after European shapes appear to have been made in Miyako (present-day Kyoto) for the Jesuits in about 1580, and shortly after for the Portuguese and Spanish. Porcelain in European shapes, as shown in section 3.4.1 of Chapter III, was first made to order at the Jingdezhen kilns in China for the Portuguese about forty years earlier, in the early 1540s.

Textual sources concerning the trade in lacquer by both the VOC and EIC and extant lacquer objects demonstrate that a number of new shapes suited for European daily life and pastimes were first made to order for the Dutch and English trading companies in Japan in the early 1610s. The apparently unique extant lacquer tankard decorated in *Namban* style made after a Dutch pewter or tin-glazed earthenware model, dating to *c.*1600–1620 (Fig. 4.1.2.4), together with the lacquer tankards first mentioned in an EIC document dated July 1617, and the beer beakers first mentioned in a VOC document dated November 1615, can be considered as precursors of the tankards and beer beakers that began to be made to order for the Dutch in porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style at the Jingdezhen kilns in the mid-1630s (Figs. 3.4.2.1.11 and 3.4.2.1.20). At this point it is important to note that this study did not find evidence of any influence exerted by the English in porcelain made to order during this period. One cannot fail to wonder why the English ordered lacquer in European shapes, but not porcelain in European shapes, despite the fact that their presence in Japan lasted only ten years, from 1613 to 1623. A few possible reasons come to mind. The English, and perhaps also the Dutch, may have considered that the material qualities of Japanese lacquer were better than those of Chinese porcelain. They may also have thought that there would be a regular demand for such expensive imported lacquer if made in European shapes, which would have served to enhance the social status of the owner, whether in England or the Dutch Republic. English and Dutch textual sources have shown that some of the lacquer tankards and beer beakers ordered by EIC servants were sent as gifts to VOC representatives or as private consignments of lacquer to individuals in England; and that although lacquer was too expensive and did not sell quickly in the Dutch Republic, the States-General presented lacquer objects as diplomatic gifts to rulers of other European countries, perhaps as a way of using the large stocks of unsold lacquer that the VOC had in both Batavia and Amsterdam.

However, it is also possible that the main reason why the Dutch first ordered small utilitarian objects in European shapes in lacquer rather than in porcelain was more practical and related to the ways in which the VOC and private Dutch merchants conducted trade with Japan and China. The Dutch first arrived to Japan in 1601, but it was only in 1609 that they opened a VOC factory in Hirado. The following year, Jacques L'Hermite the Younger, the VOC representative in Bantam, sent a report to the Gentlemen Seventeen, stating 'I have seen some lacquer in the ship that came from Japan … which is very beautiful and of good quality and from that country one can easily obtain and also have made those items that one might wish to trade'. It is clear from this excerpt that the Dutch, who undoubtedly knew about the lacquers that were made in European shapes for the Jesuits, Portuguese and Spanish since the 1580s, thought to take advantage of ordering objects to the specific requirements of the VOC customers in the Dutch Republic. The presence of the Dutch in Japan and their direct contact with the lacquer craftsmen facilitated the placing of such orders, the supply of European models, and the control of the production. In sharp contrast to the situation in Japan, the Dutch had been unable to establish a permanent VOC trading post in China or in a nearby location like the Portuguese had done in Macao and the Spanish in Manila. Thus the Dutch were forced to acquire porcelain through the Chinese junk traders that came to trade with them at Bantam, and then at Batavia. As was shown in the preceding pages, the VOC only began to order porcelain in European shapes or with specific decorative motifs after they established a trading post on Tayouan in 1624. The following year, the VOC servants in Batavia supplied Tayouan with models to be copied by Chinese potters in Jingdezhen. However, the earliest textual evidence of porcelain having been made in European shapes dates to 1635. These new, so-called Transitional porcelains in European shapes, made by the Chinese potters after models provided by the VOC, had to be painted in Chinese style and not with European motifs (apart from the specific 'Dutch paintings, flower or leafwork', which did not last long). Thus, a nice contrast was created between a familiar shape and the exotic Chinese designs, which apparently pleased the Dutch customers and was profitable for the VOC. It is interesting to note that almost at the same time the VOC began to request Japanese lacquer in a different, more Japanese and pictorial style. Here, too, a similar dichotomy was achieved, because the comptoirs, chests, boxes, garnitures and other European-shaped objects ordered soon were all decorated in this new Japanese pictorial style. European-style decorations on Japanese lacquer were only introduced much later, when the fashion had changed once again.

Conclusions [4.3]

From the scattered information provided by the primary and secondary sources, and the extant lacquer pieces, discussed in this Chapter is possible to make several conclusions. Firstly, it is shown that the Jesuit missionaries helped to spread a taste for Japanese lacquer among the royalty, clergy and nobility of Renaissance Europe. They appear to have been the first Europeans to order lacquer objects from local craftsmen working in and around Miyako for use in personal devotion and Jesuit churches in Japan, and most probably also in their missions in Asia, Europe and the New World. This led to the development of a new style of *urushi* lacquer, known as *Namban*. From about 1580, the lacquer craftsmen made a wide variety of hybrid objects combining a European or Indo-Portuguese shape, and the 'IHS' monogram of the Society of Jesus or other motifs embedded with Christian symbolism, with dense naturalistic compositions of Japanese flowering plants, birds and/or animals most probably based on paintings made by the renowned Kanō school, but with a *horror vacui* and lavish use of mother-of-pearl inlay that was totally alien to Japanese aesthetics. In addition, they made objects combining a traditional Japanese shape and lacquer techniques with the 'IHS' monogram, most probably intended for the Jesuits personal use or as gifts to powerful *daimyō* who had converted to Christianity. Liturgical lacquers with Christian iconography that would not have been immediately recognizable by the Tokugawa shogunate, or no Christian iconography at all, most probably began to be made to order after the anti-Christian edict of 1597. Liturgical lacquers made with the 'IHS' monogram in the early Edo period were also decorated in the so-called Transition style, which imitated the *Kodaiji makie* style introduced by the workshops of the Kōami family for the domestic market. Initially, liturgical lacquers were exclusively made for the Jesuits, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century small numbers were also made for friars of the Mendicant Orders, or even for private individuals, present in Japan at the time to be sent as gifts to the Iberian Peninsula and/or New Spain. These included pieces bearing the monogram of the Order of Saint Dominic decorated in *Namban* style. Textual sources indicate that friars of these Mendicant Orders helped in further establishing diplomatic relations between Japan, Western Europe and New Spain. A few extant liturgical lacquers decorated in the later, so-called Transition style, including those bearing the 'IHS' monogram, demonstrate that despite the severity of the Christian persecution, the Jesuits and friars of the Mendicant Orders continued ordering liturgical lacquers in the early Edo period up until about 1639, when they were expelled and the country was closed to all Europeans (*sakoku*).

The Portuguese merchants ordered a variety of lacquer portable furniture and utilitarian objects in considerable quantities after models they brought with them from both Europe and their settlements in India, which would have been useful for private use in a European context or in their settlements in Asia. These objects, probably first made in the early Momoyama period, were decorated in the *Namban* style newly developed by the lacquer craftsmen to suit the Jesuit liturgical orders. Later, in the early seventeenth century, the decoration also included the traditional Japanese 'sprinkling denticle' lacquer technique imitating ray skin, or an all-over design of small scales of mother-of-pearl, which was undoubtedly copied from objects brought by the Portuguese from Gujarat in western India, in addition to *makie*. The exotic naturalistic scenes of Japanese flowering plants, birds and/or animals as well as Japanese traditional motifs, such as the family crests or insignia (*mons*), appear to have been much appreciated by the Portuguese, as the furniture and smaller objects made for them rarely included European motifs. Japanese lacquer furniture may have reached the royal court of Lisbon as early as the mid-1560s. By the late sixteenth century lacquer furniture would have been available for purchase in Lisbon. Members of the high-ranking nobility acquired pieces in Lisbon and then took them to Spain. Some furniture pieces, such as coffers, chests and cabinets, were adapted for religious use, and served as reliquaries in monasteries and convents of both Portugal and Spain.

The similarities of the lacquer imported by the Iberians is not surprising, as Japanese and Portuguese ships went to Manila with cargoes of lacquer and other trade goods for sale. By the early 1610s, Spanish merchants traded in lacquer objects in considerable quantities, which may have been tableware rather than furniture. Accounts, reports and letters written by Jesuits and European merchants who were present in Japan, or in other settlements in Asia, prove that lacquer objects reached the Iberian Peninsula via both the Portuguese trans-Atlantic, and Spanish trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes. Pieces such as *escritoires* and/or writing desks were sent to Spain as gifts from male and female members of the elites and clergy living in the Philippines and New Spain in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In the late 1620s, during the early Edo period, the Spanish were importing into Spain lacquer furniture, folding screens, and most probably also tableware, which would have been available not only to the royalty but also to the high-ranking nobility. By 1637, the trade in lacquer carried out by both the Portuguese and Spanish was in danger of ceasing. Two years later, in 1639, their trading activities ceased abruptly when they were expelled, alongside the Christian missionaries, and Japan was closed to all Europeans with the exception of the Dutch, who were allowed to stay because they did not proselytize the Christian faith.

VOC written sources provide a fairly good idea of the trade in lacquer, shipments to the Dutch Republic and purchase price of lacquer in Japan. Initially, it was believed

that lacquer was a profitable trade good to be imported into the Dutch Republic. The sales, however, proved disappointing because their customers were not willing to pay such high sell prices for the imported lacquer. Repeated instructions were sent to the VOC servants in Japan to stop purchasing lacquer for the Dutch Republic. Due to the time-lapse in communication, the VOC servants not only continued to order lacquer objects, but also purchased lacquer made for the Iberians, as well as for the domestic market. The States-General began to send lacquer as diplomatic gifts to rulers of other European countries in the early 1610s, perhaps to make use of large stocks of unsold lacquer that the VOC had in both Batavia and Amsterdam. Private trade was also carried out, but on a small scale. Although the Dutch were forbidden from trading in Hirado for five years as a consequence of the so-called Taiwan incident of 1628, some private orders of furniture and tableware were still fulfilled during this period. The VOC developed a renewed interest in lacquer at the time and began to place orders on a large scale after the embargo was lifted in 1633. Five years later, in 1638, Hirado was once again instructed not to send any lacquer to the Dutch Republic until further instructions but orders for furniture with green, red or black interiors and for other objects were made again in 1642.

A number of new lacquer shapes were made to order for the Dutch and English trading companies in the early 1610s, despite the fact that the latter stayed in Japan only from 1613 to 1623. These included a variety of utilitarian objects suited for European daily life and pastimes, which were made directly after European models. These were hybrid objects combining a European shape and the new style of lacquer known as *Namban* that had been developed to suit the demand of the Jesuits and later the Iberians, depicting Japanese naturalistic scenes largely based on paintings by artists of the Kāno school. As shown in the previous pages, both VOC and EIC textual sources demonstrate that these utilitarian lacquer objects were made to order in European shapes for the Dutch and English almost two decades earlier than in Chinese porcelain. Tankards are first mentioned in an EIC document of 1617, beer beakers are first mentioned in a VOC document of 1615, while an extant *Namban* lacquer tankard provides tangible evidence of such orders. They can be considered as precursors of similar objects made to order for the Dutch in porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style at the kilns of Jingdezhen in the mid-1630s. New lacquer furniture shapes appear to have been introduced by private Dutch merchants. These include folding chairs made in *c.*1630–1650 after a Dutch church chair model. The influence exerted on the lacquer craftsmen by the Dutch in the making of such early pieces of furniture, and the smaller objects used daily or in pastimes, was still limited. Although specific instructions were given in a contract for each specific order, it is clear that the lacquer craftsmen not always fully complied with them.

This changed between the early 1630s and early 1640s, when VOC servants and private Dutch merchants ordered objects of very high quality decorated in expensive and elaborate traditional Japanese lacquer techniques. The Dutch influence on these lacquer pieces is more obvious, not only in the variety of shapes, but also in the preference of the northern European customers for pictorial Japanese exotic decorations. Objects combined Japanese shapes and scenes taken from Japanese literature with Dutch names or monograms, or were made after European models decorated in the so-called Transition style that imitated the *Kodaiji makie* made for the domestic market. For instance, the balustrades, the objects in red lacquer and the *Namban* lacquer listed in the inventories of the Dutch Stadholder's palaces in The Hague attest to the taste for lacquer that developed amongst the elite of the Dutch Republic, who could have afforded such expensive imported lacquer. Lacquer made to order after European shapes at this time also included pieces of extraordinary high quality decorated in the Transition style with a wide range of very complex and expensive lacquer techniques. A small number of pieces, among them the Mazarin chest in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Rijksmuseum chest, all of extraordinary quality, appear to have been ordered by the VOC in 1643. In all probability such high quality and expensive pieces of lacquer, probably made at the lacquer workshop of the Kōami family of Miyako, would have been intended to give as gifts. They give testimony to the Dutch preference for fine quality lacquer made for the domestic market decorated with exotic Japanese motifs rather than the lacquer decorated in the *Namban* style.

[Chapter V]

Conclusions

Conclusions

The great maritime voyages of exploration launched by the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain at the end of the fifteenth century led to the emergence of a global long-distance trade system between Europe, the New World, Africa and Asia via both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. This resulted in the trade of a variety of luxury manufactured goods from Asia, that were much sought after in Renaissance Europe, among them Chinese silk and porcelain. Lisbon became the most important commercial marketplace in Europe for Asian luxury goods, rivalling Seville, Antwerp, Venice and Genoa.

Portuguese trade relations with China began in the early sixteenth century. When trade relations were banned, the Portuguese continue to trade clandestinely at various places off the south China coast. By the mid-sixteenth century, Japan was linked to this global trade system. Portuguese merchants and missionaries of the Society of Jesus actively participated in the silk trade between Macao and Japan. Japanese lacquer objects were made to order for the Jesuits residing in Japan, and later for Portuguese merchants, who began to import them into Portugal. The Portuguese, based in Macao, had a monopoly in the Asian trade until the Spanish settled in the Philippines, founding Manila in 1571. The Spanish began a regular trans-Pacific trade with the vast Spanish colonial empire in the New World that encompassed the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the desire to participate in the highly profitable trade in East Asian spices and Asian manufactured goods drove the countries of northern Europe to search for a route to Asia, and this put them in direct competition with the Iberian trade monopoly. The trading companies formed in the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England to trade directly with Asia via the route round the Cape of Good Hope, would partly gain control of the Asian maritime trade in the seventeenth century. The European-Asian encounters and the historically unprecedented growth of direct intercontinental maritime trade between Europe, the New World and Asia prompted an economic interdependence between these distant regions of the world, and ultimately led to a continuous flow of cultural and artistic influences in all directions and a wider interest in non-Western cultures.

This research study has focused on the prolific early European trade and consumption of three Asian manufactured goods: Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer and has shown how the material cultures of late Ming China and Momoyama/early Edo Japan became inextricably linked with the West. A new approach was adopted for this multidisciplinary research. Multiple sources were consulted in search for documentary and material evidence. These included a wide variety of published primary and secondary sources, which contained information relating to the actual trade as well as to the varied types and quantities of these Asian manufactured goods brought by Europeans as merchandise, private consignments or gifts. These sources also provided information relating to the commercial networks through which these Asian goods circulated, and the way in which they were acquired, used and appreciated in the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English societies in Western Europe as well as in the multi-ethnic societies of the European colonies in the New World.

The study of the trade in Chinese silk proved to be the most challenging. The fact that silk does rarely survive in archaeological contexts and that extant silks of this period are exceedingly scarce made it difficult to compare the information provided by textual sources with surviving examples that would have served as tangible evidence of the trade in silks and its consumption in Western Europe and the colonies in the New World. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to give an idea of how the various silks traded may have looked like. In the case of the Dutch silk trade in the early seventeenth century, however, this approach proved largely unsuccessful. The fact that I am not able to read Dutch did not allow me to consult Dutch primary sources, but obviously this is an area that needs attention in future academic research.

Textual sources brought to light some new and surprising information concerning the use of porcelain in Western Europe in the sixteenth century. From the late sixteenth century onwards, this was mainly *Kraak* porcelain, a type specially made for export, which dominated the ceramic cargoes imported into both Western Europe and the New World. Portuguese and English textual sources have demonstrated that the custom of displaying a large quantity of porcelain in a separate architectural space or in a room specially created for that purpose began in Western Europe much earlier than previously thought, and not, as is generally assumed, in the Dutch Republic. In 1563, more than 100 pieces of porcelain were listed among the contents of the dowager Duchess's 'House of glass and porcelain' at Vila Viçosa in central Portugal while the 1605 inventory of the furnishings of Wardour Castle in Wiltshire lists 154 pieces of porcelain displayed in the 'possylen house'.

Another interesting find refers to the terminology employed in northwestern Europe to refer to *Kraak* porcelain. Two English inventories from Exeter, dating to 1596 and 1598, have provided the earliest written references known thus far of the use of the terms 'carracke' and 'carricke', i.e. *Kraak* porcelain. In Dutch sources, the earliest use of the terms referring to *Kraak* porcelain date to 1638 and it is clear that these terms were already commonly used in northern Europe around 1600. No references to such terms have yet been found in Portuguese or Spanish textual sources.

For the research study of the trade in porcelain, information from textual sources was combined with a vast quantity of material evidence provided by marine and terrestrial archaeological finds from Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English shipwrecks, survival campsites, colonial settlements in Asia, the New World and the Caribbean, and their respective mother countries in Western Europe; as well as finds from Chinese junks and kilns sites in China. In addition, research trips were undertaken by the author to study archaeological material recovered from kiln sites at Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou in China, and from shipwrecks in Mozambique, Bermuda and the Dominican Republic, which is still mostly unpublished. Although I am not an archaeologist, important new evidence came to light through the first hand study of the porcelain pieces and shards yielded from these shipwrecks. The Portuguese ship *Espadarte*, which sank in 1558 on the island of Mozambique, provided material evidence of large-scale porcelain shipments destined to Lisbon, about a year after the Portuguese established themselves in Macao. In addition, it showed that the Portuguese mostly acquired blue-and-white porcelain of open Chinese forms and decoration, ranging from high to rather low quality, that was readily available for trade at the time. The shipwrecks in the Caribbean provided material evidence of the Spanish trans-Atlantic trade in porcelain between the viceroyalty of New Spain and Spain, which was still largely unknown. The *San Pedro*, which sank off the island of Bermuda in 1595, while sailing from Cartagena (present-day Colombia) to Spain, demonstrated that by the end of the sixteenth century, when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, a small quantity of various types of fine and coarser blue-and-white porcelain reached Spain not only via Lisbon but also via Seville. The *San Antonio* and the *El Galgo*, which sank off Bermuda while en route to Spain in 1621 and 1639 respectively, both demonstrate that small quantities of blue-and-white porcelain continued to be imported into Spain during the first half of the seventeenth century, most probably as personal consignments or as private trade. The most important and exciting new evidence was provided by the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*, which sank on the north coast of present-day Dominican Republic in 1641 while en route from Veracruz to Seville. The wreck site yielded a few new types of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain that had not been recorded in earlier Spanish shipwrecks of either the trans-Pacific or trans-Atlantic trade routes. These included an unrecorded type of *Kraak* plate with a shallow central ring cut into the porcelain body, most probably intended to hold a cup; and tall, bell shaped blue-and-white cups with or without handles decorated in the so-called Transitional style. Visual sources attest that such cups were used in Spain for the consumption of hot chocolate and despite the fact that these cups do not fit perfectly into the central ring of the *Kraak* plates, it is possible that they would have been used together as early models of *mancerinas*. Another surprising find was a *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion incense stick holder, which proves that the Spanish began acquiring *Blanc de chine* porcelain about ten years earlier than previously thought. These finds have clearly shown that the field of marine and terrestrial archaeology must be part of any future academic research of the European trade in porcelain to Western Europe and/or the New World, which still has so many questions unanswered, particularly relating to trade in the sixteenth century.

Textual sources and porcelain material from marine and terrestrial archaeological excavations has also demonstrated that although the thicker and somewhat coarser porcelain from the private kilns of Zhangzhou was imported into Western Europe and the European colonies in the New World in lesser quantities in comparison with that of Jingdezhen during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was much more widely distributed, appreciated and used than previously acknowledged.

Visual sources, including paintings and prints, served to illustrate the consumption and different uses of porcelain among these societies, and whenever possible these were tentatively matched with extant porcelain pieces from public and private collections around the world. By combining the information provided by scattered textual, material and visual sources it has been possible to gain a better understanding of how the Chinese porcelain potters and painters, especially those at Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou, responded to the increasing European demand of porcelain, and how that changed over time with the shift of European maritime trade and power in Asia. It has become clear that research in primary sources continues to be important in this field, but it is imperative to complement it with these other sources of information.

Through the study of the trade in Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer to the Spanish colonies in the New World, incorporating both documentary and material evidence, it has been possible to gain a better understanding of the importance of this Spanish colonial market not only as a direct consumer of these Asian goods, but also as a distributor via the trans-Atlantic trade route to both the Caribbean and Spain. The fact that Chinese silks and porcelains, as well as some Japanese lacquers, were sent as private consignments or gifts to individuals of the secular and religious elites in Spain helped to satisfy the growing demand for such Asian manufactured goods in Spain, which appears to have increased by the second decade of the seventeenth century. It has become clear that the distribution, appreciation and use of these Asian goods among the multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru were all different than in Spain. The urge of the Peruvian merchants to participate in the profitable trade of these and other Asian goods and the insatiable demand for them led them to participate in illicit trade between the two viceroyalties. It became clear that in the New World, despite the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation, Chinese silks were inextricably linked to the individual's social identity, and thus were used for ostentatious public displays of their wealth and social stance, as well as in their households, not only in the viceroyalty's capitals, Mexico City and Lima, but also in other cities and remote settlements. By the late sixteenth century, silks were available for purchase to a multi-ethnic clientele from almost all colonial classes to be used in both secular and religious contexts.

The comparative study of the impact that the Portuguese and Spanish empires, and later the Dutch and English trading companies had on the export production in China and Japan, proved to be most rewarding. In order to address the cultural and artistic influences exerted by the Europeans a wide variety of textual sources were consulted in search for any references to special orders of particular types, shapes and/or decorations, as well as to changes in European tastes that were reflected in the silks, porcelains or lacquers made to order. The material and aesthetic qualities of a large number of extant silks, porcelains and lacquers housed in public and private collections around the world, and monasteries and convents in Portugal and Spain, were studied in search not only for tangible evidence of any European influence, but also to get a better understanding of the extent in which European shapes, motifs and colour palettes were adapted from models provided by European merchants; some models, until now unknown, were traced and are discussed. In this context, visual sources were very useful while archaeological finds of porcelain made to order provided

evidence of the markets for which they were intended to, as well as to how widely they were distributed.

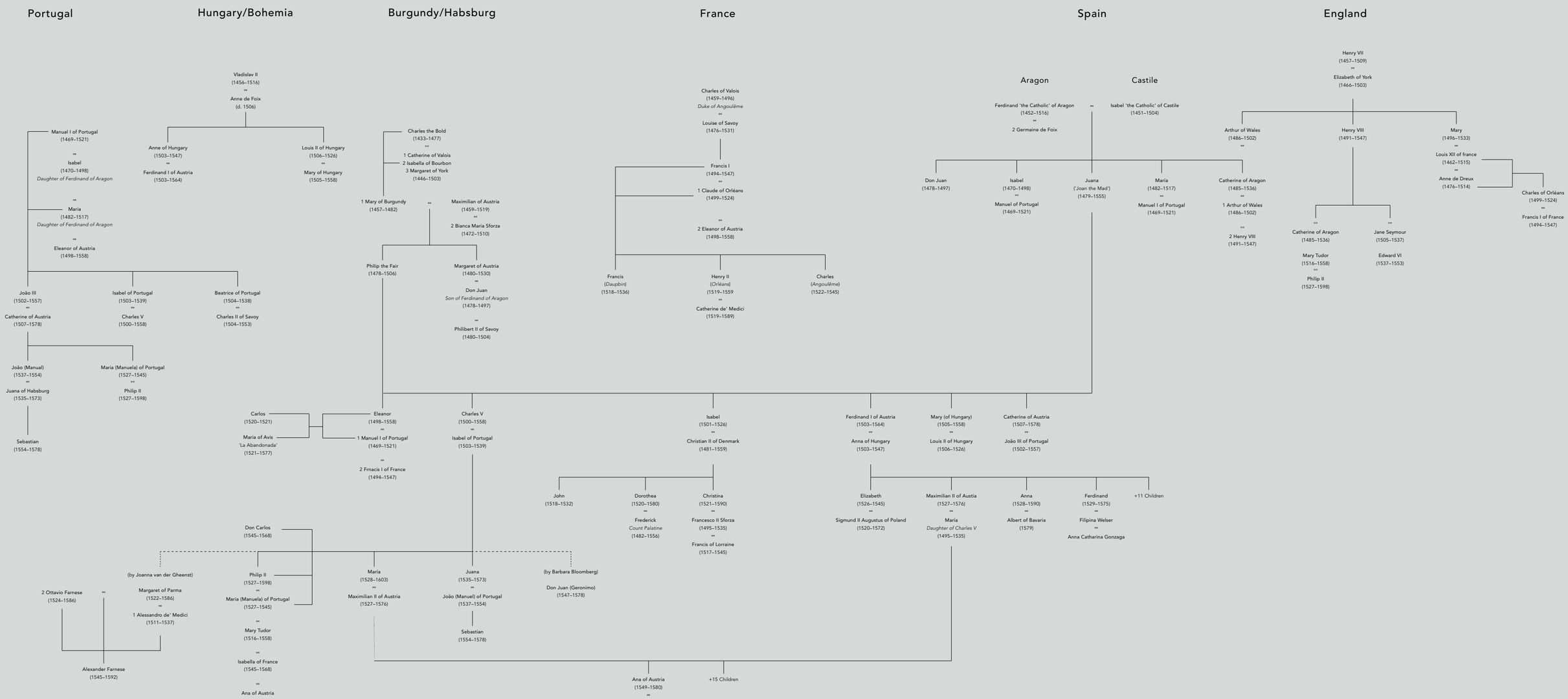
From the research study of the extant Chinese silks made to order it was possible to conclude that only the Iberians and Christian missionaries exerted influence on such orders, but their influence was quite limited. Orders were intended for both secular and religious use. Although the Chinese silk producers were most likely provided with a European textile or printed model for the woven or embroidered silk ordered, they always created a hybrid design, incorporating a single or more European motifs with many traditional Chinese motifs. They even rendered some European motifs in a manner that recalls certain floral or animal motifs of embroidered or woven silks made for the domestic market. The exact place of manufacture of the silks still remains unknown. Future research in Chinese textual sources and silks housed in both public and private collections in China may shed light on their place of origin. Beijing and Macao have been suggested as possible places, and if this could be proven, it would indicate that Western influence not only reached the silk producers that worked closely with Iberian customers, but also those in mainland China that were less likely to have contact with any Europeans. It appears that the Dutch and English were not interested in having silks made to order for them at the time.

From the analysis of a selected group of extant porcelains made to order at the private kilns of Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou a similar conclusion was reached. This is that the European influence was quite limited. This is not surprising as the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch would have always ordered the porcelain via the Chinese junk traders who acted as middleman for the Europeans. It has become clear that the influence exerted by the Dutch was much more prominent than that of the Iberians, though still limited. The Dutch, unlike the Portuguese, and in lesser extent the Spanish and Germans, were not interested in having coat of arms or monograms depicted on the porcelain made to order for them. Instead, they desired porcelain for use in their daily life activities made in European shapes that suited their own culture but decorated with Chinese motifs that would have been considered exotic. No evidence of any influence exerted by the English in the porcelain made to order at the time was found during this research study.

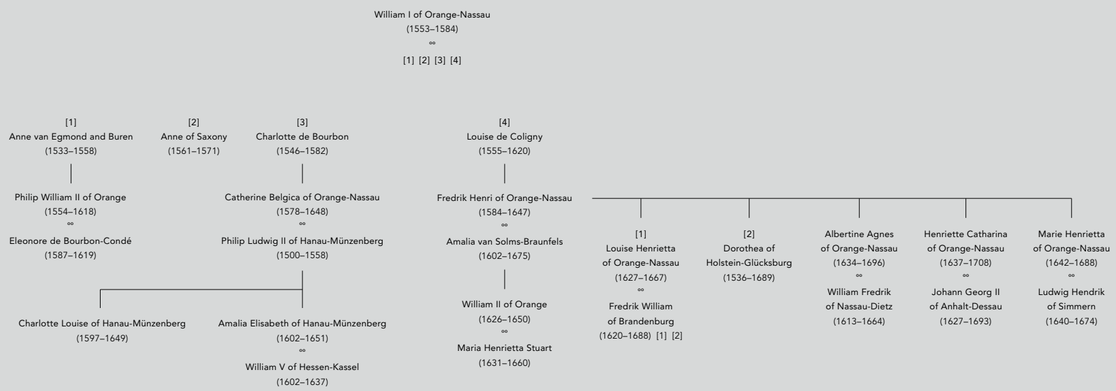
In Japan, the situation was very different. The overwhelming majority of the Japanese lacquer traded by the Europeans was made to order for them. It was first made for the Jesuits in about 1580, and then for missionaries of Mendicant Orders and the Iberian merchants present in Japan. From the early seventeenth century, lacquer orders began to be made for the Dutch and the English, even though the latter stayed in Japan only for ten years, from 1613 to 1623. The lacquer craftsmen made hybrid objects, first in the new style known as *Namban* created to suit the new European demand, and later in the so-called Transition style with a more restrained use of mother-of-pearl, and the Pictorial style. The majority of the lacquer objects made to order for the Jesuits, Augustinian and Dominican missionaries, and the Iberians for religious and secular use, were decorated in the *Namban* style. While those made to order for the Dutch were utilitarian objects, some in new shapes, they were initially made in the *Namban* style. By the 1630s the Dutch, unlike the Portuguese, began to order pieces made in European shapes but decorated with high quality and expensive traditional Japanese lacquer techniques, resulting in the so-called Transition and Pictorial styles which clearly reflect a preference of the northern European countries for exotic decorations, just as with the orders made to order for them in Chinese porcelain.

This study has provided new and unexpected documentary and material evidence of the trade by the Iberian Kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, and the trading companies formed in the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England in Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It has also provided a better understanding of the complex and fascinating intercultural exchanges that occurred between the East and West at the time. There are still questions to be answered, which have been stated throughout this study. This may inspire others to continue research in this field.

Houses of Avis-Beja – Habsburg genealogy
[Appendix 1]



House of Orange genealogy
[Appendix 1]



Map of late Ming kilns in China producing porcelain for the European market
[Appendix 2]

Chinese and European shipwrecks with late Ming porcelain
[Appendix 3]

Chinese

Date of shipwreck	Ship name/ designation	Size/type of ship	Port of departure/ destination	Site of shipwreck	Porcelain cargo
Early sixteenth century	*San Isidro*	Chinese *junk*		Off the coast of Zambales, Luzon island, the Philippines	Mostly *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
c.1573–1620	*Nan'ao No. 1*	Chinese *junk*		Off Yun'ao Town, Nan'ao County, Shantou City, Guangdong province	Over 10,000 pieces of porcelain. Mostly *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, and a small amount of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain, all probably dating to the Wanli reign
Late sixteenth/ early seventeenth century	*Wreck 2 of the Royal Captain Shoal*	Chinese *junk*		Off the island of Palawan	Mostly *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1600	*Beijiao No. 3*	Chinese *junk*		Off Xisha or Paracel islands, South China Sea, between Vietnam, South China and the Philippines	Mostly *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
c.1608	*Binh Thuan*	Chinese *junk*		East of Phan Thiet, Binh Thuan Province, southern Vietnam	Mostly *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, and *Zhangzhou* porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels
c.1643	*Hatcher junk*	Chinese *junk*		South China Sea	25,000 pieces of intact porcelain were recovered from the site, including 2,600 pieces of *Kraak* porcelain. The wreck site also yielded a large number of porcelains decorated in the so-called Transitional style, approximately 845 *Blanc de chine* pieces, 396 celadon porcelains and a smaller amount of *Zhangzhou* porcelain and monochrome wares

Portuguese

Date of shipwreck	Ship name/ designation	Size/type of ship	Port of departure/ destination	Site of shipwreck	Porcelain cargo
1552	*São João*	900-ton *Carreira da Índia* nau	Cochin/ Lisbon	North of Umtamvuna (present-day Port-Edward), Southern Natal, Eastern Cape	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, and one shard bearing a Jiajing reign mark (1522–1566). Some coarser blue-and-white porcelain made at private kilns of Jingdezhen or southern China
1554	*São Bento*	900-ton *Carreira da Índia* nau	Cochin/Lisbon	Msikaba, Eastern Cape	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, and one shard bearing a Jiajing reign mark (1522–1566). Some coarser blue-and-white porcelain made at private kilns of Jingdezhen or southern China
1558	*Espadarte*	900-ton *Carreira da Índia* nau	En route to Lisbon	Island of Mozambique	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, one shard bearing a Jiajing reign mark (1522-1566). Jingdezhen white-glazed porcelain, and porcelain with traces of overglaze enamels
1593	*Santo Alberto*	*Carreira da Índia* nau	Cochin/Lisbon	Sunrise-on-Sea, off the eastern coast of South Africa	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1606	*Nossa Senhora dos Mártires*	*Carreira da Índia* nau	Cochin/Lisbon	Fortress of São Julião da Barra in the mouth of the Tagus River, near Lisbon	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1608	*Santo Espiritu*	*Carreira da Índia* nau		South Africa	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1608	*IDM-003*, most probably the *Nossa Senhora da Consolação*	*Carreira da Índia* nau		Cabeceira reef, off the Island of Mozambique	*Kraak* porcelain
1615	*Nossa Senhora da Luz*	*Carreira da Índia* nau	Goa/Lisbon	Porto Pim, Faial, Azores, Portugal	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain
1622	*São João Baptista*	Large *Carreira da Índia* nau	Goa/Lisbon	Kenton-on-sea, Eastern Cape, South Africa	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain

*c.*1625 (*c.*1630–1635?)	*Wanli shipwreck*	About 80-ton, probably a *shalupa*, a *naveta* or an *urca*		East coast of Malaysia	37,000 pieces of porcelain, 80 per cent recovered as shards. Largest assemblage of *Kraak* porcelain found to date; also Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1630	*São Gonçalo*	Small nau, *Companhia da Índia* (Indian Company)	Goa/Lisbon	Plettenburg Bay, South Africa	*Kraak* porcelain, and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1643	*Santa Maria Madre de Deus*	*Carreira da Índia naveta*	Goa/Lisbon	South Africa	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain
1647	*Santíssimo Sacramento*	Large *Carreira da Índia* nau	Goa/Lisbon	Sardinia Bay, near Port Elizabeth, South Africa	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain
1647	*Nossa Senhora da Atalaia do Pinheiro*	*Carreira da Índia* nau	Goa/Lisbon	Near the Cefane river, East London, South Africa	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain

Spanish

Date of shipwreck	Ship name/ designation	Size/type of ship	Port of departure/ destination	Site of shipwreck	Porcelain cargo
1576	*San Felipe*	Large Manila Galleon	Manila/Acapulco	Off the coast of Baja, California	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, and *Kraak* porcelain; Jingdezhen *Kinrande* porcelain and porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1588	*The Trinidad Valencera*	Large Venetian merchant ship requisitioned for the Spanish Armada		Kinnagoe Bay, County Donegal, Northern Ireland	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1595	*San Agustín*	200-ton Manila Galleon	Manila/Acapulco	Northern California, north of San Francisco in Drake's Bay	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1595	*San Pedro*	Treasure Fleet	Cartagena/Cadiz	Off the Island of Bermuda	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1600	*San Diego*	300-ton Manila Galleon	Manila/Acapulco	Manila Bay, northeast of Fortune Island, Nasgbu, Btangas Province	34,000 artifacts recovered. Mostly *Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain and *wucai* (five colour) porcelain; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1601	*Santa Margarita*	Manila Galleon	Manila/Acapulco	Off Island of Rota, Northern Mariana Islands	Mostly *Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
Early seventeenth century	*Angra D*	About 400–500-ton ship, believed to be Spanish		Angra do Heroísmo Bay, Terceira, Azores,	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1621	*San Antonio*	300-ton Portuguese merchant ship sailing with the Treasure Fleet	Cartagena/Cadiz	West reefs of Bermuda Island	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain, and shards of a blue-and-white jar bearing a Wanli reign mark (1573–1620)
1622	*Santa Margarita*	Galleon, Tierra Firme Fleet	Havana/Seville	Florida Keys, west of the Island of Key West, Florida	*Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1638	*Nuestra Señora de La Concepción*	2,000-ton Manila Galleon	Manila/Acapulco	Off the southern coast of Saipan, Mariana Islands	Mostly *Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; porcelain decorated in the so-called Transitional style; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1639	*El Galgo*	Patache, Tierra Firme Fleet	Havana/Seville	Off the Island of Bermuda	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1641	*Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*	600-ton Galleon, New Spain Fleet	Veracruz/Seville	Silver Bank, off north coast of present-day Dominican Republic	Mostly *Kraak* and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; Jingdezhen porcelain decorated with overglaze enamels; and Dehua *Blanc de chine* porcelain

Dutch

Date of shipwreck	Ship name/ designation	Size/type of ship	Port of departure/ destination	Site of shipwreck	Porcelain cargo
1609	*Mauritius*	VOC ship, Amsterdam Chamber	Bantam/Amsterdam	Off Cap Lopez, southern coast of the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa	*Kraak* porcelain, and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; and *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1613	*Witte Leeuw*	VOC ship, Amsterdam Chamber		Off the island of St. Helena, South Atlantic Ocean	Mainly *Kraak* porcelain and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; and a small quantity of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain
1615	*Banda*		Bantam/Amsterdam	On a reef off the coast of the Island of Mauritius, Indian Ocean	*Kraak* porcelain and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1615	*Gelderland*		Bantam/Amsterdam		*Kraak* porcelain and other Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; Jingdezhen white-glazed porcelain with semi-pierced decoration (*linglong*)
1615	*Geünieërde Provincieën*		Bantam/Amsterdam	Off the beach of Albion, coast of Mauritius	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain; Jingdezhen white-glazed porcelain with semi-pierced decoration; and a small quantity of *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain

English

Date of shipwreck	Ship name/ designation	Size/type of ship	Port of departure/ destination	Site of shipwreck	Porcelain cargo
1609	*Sea Venture*	About 300-tons, flagship of a flotilla of six ships and two pinnances	Plymouth/ Jamestown	Off the Island of Bermuda	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain
1619	*Warwick*	VC ship	Plymouth/ Jamestown	Castle Harbour, Island of Bermuda	Jingdezhen ordinary trade blue-and-white porcelain

Samenvatting

In de zestiende en vroeg-zeventiende eeuw ontstonden krachtige mercantiele organisaties, zowel op het Iberische schiereiland als in Noord-West Europa. Zij zorgden voor de ontwikkeling van een systeem van lange-afstand handel op wereldschaal.

De maritieme ontdekkingsreizen aan het eind van de vijftiende eeuw, gestimuleerd door de koningen van Spanje en Portugal, leidden tot het vinden van een zeeroute naar de Indische Oceaan in 1488 en tot de ontdekking van de Nieuwe Wereld in 1492. Daardoor ontstonden directe handelsverbindingen tussen Europa, de Amerika's, Afrika en Azië, zowel via de Atlantische Oceaan als de Stille Zuidzee.

In het begin van de zeventiende eeuw eisten nieuwe handelscompagnieën in de Republiek der Nederlanden en in Engeland hun deel van de Aziatische handel op en kregen deels controle over de maritieme infrastructuur in de Aziatische wateren.

De Europees-Aziatische ontmoeting en de historisch ongekende groei van de inter-continentale handel veroorzaakte deels ook een onderlinge economische afhankelijkheid. Een ander gevolg was een constante stroom van culturele en artistieke invloeden tussen heel verschillende culturen en een ontwakende interesse in het Westen voor de samenlevingen van de niet-Europese partners.

Deze studie onderzoekt zowel voor West Europa als voor de Nieuwe Wereld de handel, het transport en de consumptie van drie Aziatische gebruiksgoederen, namelijk Chinese zijde en porselein, en Japans lakwerk in de periode 1500–1644. De materiële cultuur van Ming China, Momoyama/vroeg Edo Japan, West Europa en de Nieuwe Wereld werd door de handel in- en de vraag naar deze luxe-goederen beïnvloed. Grotendeels gebaseerd op zilver, bracht de handel in deze schaarse goederen rijkdom en voorspoed voor producenten en handelaren.

Tevens is dit een vergelijkende studie naar de invloed van enerzijds de Portugees/Spaanse handel, anderzijds de Nederlandse/Engelse handel op de produktie van bovengenoemde artikelen in China en Japan en hoe daarin rond 1600 veranderingen optraden. Interessant in dat verband zijn de orders van kooplieden en missionarissen voor zijde, porselein of lakwerk dat speciaal voor hen geproduceerd werd volgens specificaties wat betreft vorm en/of versiering. Dit 'commande' was bedoeld voor seculier en religieus gebruik zowel in de Europese vestigingen in Azië als ook in de thuislanden en in de koloniën in de Nieuwe Wereld. Aangetoond wordt dat door deze speciale bestellingen een grote variatie aan hybride objecten in China en Japan ontstond, waarin stijlkenmerken van twee, soms zelfs drie heel verschillende en ver uit elkaar gelegen artistieke tradities gecombineerd werden. Deze voorwerpen reflecteren dan ook bij uitstek de fascinerende en complexe culturele wisselwerkingen die toen tussen Oost en West plaats vonden.

Deze dissertatie steunt op een verscheidenheid aan materiaal, zowel ongepubliceerde primaire bronnen als gepubliceerde primaire en secondaire documentatie betreffende de handel in de genoemde Aziatische luxegoederen, de variatie daarin en de omvang van de handel. Onderzocht is of het normale handelswaar, opdrachten van derden of schenkingen betrof en uiteraard welke typen goederen via de Atlantische Oceaan of de Stille Zuidzee werden verscheept.

Wat betreft porselein werd als bron ook gebruik gemaakt van archeologisch materiaal dat beschikbaar kwam bij opgravingen in Europa en in de koloniale centra, maar vooral ook van vondsten uit Portugese, Spaanse, Nederlandse en Engelse scheepswrakken. Een verdere documentatie en completering werd verkregen door porselein dat uit Chinese scheepswrakken is opgedoken en door opgravingen in de productiecentra van export porselein in China. Waar mogelijk wordt dergelijk vondstmateriaal visueel ondersteund door schilderijen en prenten die het praktische en decoratieve gebruik van porselein in West Europa en de Nieuwe Wereld illustreren. Ook hier wordt duidelijk hoe rond 1600 de veranderende machtsverhoudingen tussen Portugal/Spanje enerzijds en de Republiek/Engeland anderzijds duidelijk invloed hadden op de handel in porselein. Er ontstonden nieuwe stijlen, vormen en versieringen, hoewel ambachtslieden in China en Japan op verschillende wijzen reageerden.

Dit proefschift is als volgt ingedeeld. In de inleiding wordt de vraagstelling en het doel van het onderzoek geformuleerd, worden de methoden van onderzoek aangeduid, de bronnen omschreven en wordt aangegeven wat de reikwijdte en de beperking van deze dissertatie is. Daarna volgen vijf hoofdstukken, de conclusie, drie appendices, de bibliografie en een index.

Hoofdstuk I biedt een algemene achtergrond om het historische en economische belang van de Europese deelname in de Aziatische maritieme handel in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw in een context te plaatsen.

De hoofdstukken II, III en IV zijn de kern van het proefschrift. Daarin wordt achtereenvolgens besproken wat oude en nieuw-ontdekte documentaire en materiële bronnen bijdragen aan onze kennis over de handel in Chinese zijde, in Chinees porselein en in Japans lakwerk, en wat de invloed van Europa op de vormgeving en decoratie daarvan was.

Elk hoofstuk heeft een eigen karakter en een eigen interne struktuur, afhankelijk van het onderwerp en de beschikbare informatie. Aan het eind van elk van deze hoofdstukken volgt een 'discussie', waarin dieper wordt ingegaan op de onderzoeksresultaten en op nieuwe informatie om te laten zien hoe specifieke onderdelen van het verrichtte onderzoek bij kunnen dragen tot een nieuwe visie en een verdieping van de huidige kennis.

Hoofdstuk V geeft de conclusies van het in de vorige hoofdstukken omschreven onderzoek.

Dan volgen drie appendices. In de eerste worden de genealogieën gegeven van het Huis Avis-Beja Habsburg en van het Huis van Oranje. De twee andere appendices zijn gerelateerd aan archeologisch onderzoek. Appendix twee geeft een kaart met de Chinese porseleincentra in de late Ming periode, namelijk Jingdezhen in Jiangxi en Dehua, Zhangzhou en andere ovens in Fujian en elders in Zuid China. In de derde appendix worden chronologisch alle tot dusver bekende Europese en Chinese scheepswrakken genoemd waarin laat-Ming export porselein is aangetroffen.

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2008 *Kraak Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and early 17th Centuries.*
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