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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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[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<sup>1</sup> 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 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 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Thus when porcelain made of

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise specified, Chinese porcelain will be referred to as porcelain throughout this doctoral dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Rose Kerr, 'Chinese Porcelain in Early European Collections', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Brigadier, 2002, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Kerr, 2004, p. 47; and Massing, 2009, p. 303.

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 treatises, 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.

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

## Trade to Portugal [3.1.1]

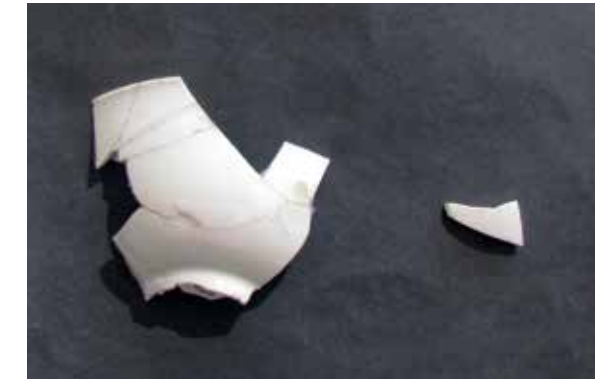
### Evidence of porcelain in Portugal before the settlement of Macao in 1557

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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'.<sup>8</sup> 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*,<sup>9</sup> registered a total of 692 pieces of porcelain and other exotic goods between February 1511 and April 1514.<sup>10</sup>

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 Salgado.<sup>11</sup> 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', *Arquivo histórico português*, 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 principessa 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

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'.<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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).<sup>14</sup> 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'.<sup>15</sup> 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'.<sup>16</sup> 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'.<sup>17</sup> 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 Quiansi [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'.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

Porcelain is not mentioned in the inventory of John III, who did not enjoy an affluent financial situation as did his father, Manuel I.<sup>20</sup> 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).<sup>21</sup> 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).<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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).<sup>24</sup> 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'.<sup>25</sup> 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).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> That same year, a number of porcelain containers arrived in Lisbon for Catherine, which were subsequently sent by the Queen to her apothecary Joana Gonçalves 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'.<sup>28</sup>

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,<sup>29</sup> 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).<sup>30</sup> 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).<sup>31</sup> 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 cõmpria 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 iiiij' 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



27 Guimarães Sá, 2009, p. 600.

28 Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Bundle 106, Document no. 66, no. 14101. For a transcription 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 correspondance 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.

gilt mount bearing a Latin inscription dated 1554, was given to Pompeo Zambecari, papal nuncio to Portugal from 1550 to 1553, shortly before (or after) he returned to Italy.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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).<sup>34</sup> 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



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)  
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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  
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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

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, *Dekoratiwe Motiewe op Chinese Porseleinskerwe uit Portugese Skeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Kus, 1552–1647: 'n Kultureurhistoriese 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 Internacional 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*

borders (Figs. 3.1.1.3a and b).<sup>35</sup> The *São João* cargo also included porcelain decorated with Chinese landscape scenes or Arabic inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> 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'.<sup>37</sup> 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).<sup>38</sup> Although it is impossible to ascertain 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,<sup>39</sup> the over (intact or semi-intact) 1,000 porcelains and large quantity of shards dating to the Jiajing reign<sup>40</sup> 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<sup>41</sup> 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),<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup> The majority of the pieces, ranging from high quality to rather low, bear commendation marks and only a few bear Jiajing reign marks.<sup>44</sup> 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,<sup>45</sup> 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).<sup>46</sup>



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)  
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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 coast of Africa. For instance, their fortress in Alcácer Ceguer, located on the Moroccan coast of the Strait 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 Património Cultural. Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural. [www.patrimonio-cultural.pt](http://www.patrimonio-cultural.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

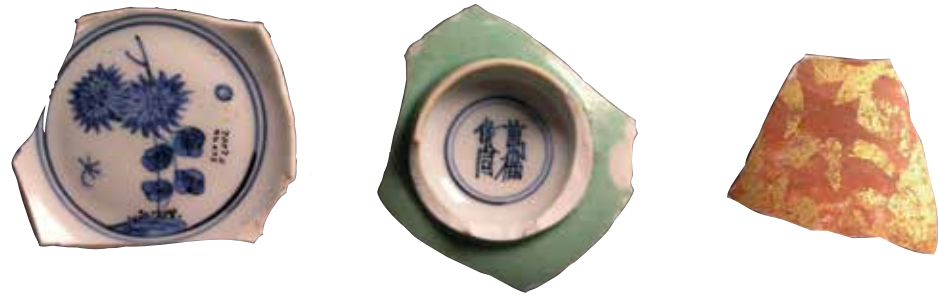
The aforementioned finds demonstrate that the Portuguese were importing porcelain with panelled rim borders much earlier than *Kraak* porcelain was first manufactured.<sup>47</sup> There is also a fragment of a blue-and-white dish with shallow rounded sides decorated with a border of pending foliate 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.<sup>48</sup>

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).<sup>49</sup>

Porcelain, however, did not remain solely 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.<sup>50</sup> 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'.<sup>51</sup> 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'.<sup>52</sup> 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'.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

Catherine of Austria's brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry continued the Lisbon royal court tradition of giving porcelain as a diplomatic gift.<sup>55</sup> 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

- 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, Principe 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, Faculdade 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  $\mu$ -EDXRF Spectrometer', *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomaterialogy. 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 Luisa 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: Guanying, 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,

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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),<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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'.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> By this time the trade in a new style of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain, known as *Kraak*, was already substantial.<sup>63</sup> This porcelain, probably first made at the end of the Longqing reign (1567–1572),<sup>64</sup> was produced in large quantities at several private kilns in Jingdezhen<sup>65</sup> almost exclusively for export not only to Europe and the New World, but also to Japan, Turkey, Persia and Southeast Asia (Appendix 2).<sup>66</sup> It seems likely that the development of this new style of export porcelain was prompted by the lift of the Ming maritime 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.<sup>67</sup>

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 Gama'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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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*.<sup>71</sup> According to Boyajian, the heterogenous category of *miudezas* rarely accounted to more than 100 or 200 quintals per *carrack*.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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*.<sup>74</sup> The India Company, however, collapsed in 1633.



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

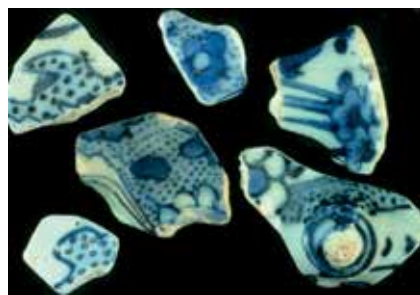


Fig. 3.1.1.13 Fragment of a *Kraak* plate from the wreck site of the shipwreck *Santo Alberto* (1593)

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

### 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.<sup>75</sup> 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).<sup>76</sup> 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).<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> 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 Tigris River (Fig. 3.1.1.15);<sup>79</sup> the small nau *São Gonçalo*, one of five ships offered by the Crown to the newly founded India Company, sank in 1630

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 major 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.

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> The term 'boião', of apparently unknown origin, refers to a pot, generally of clay or porcelain. According to



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

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.

<sup>70</sup> Souza, 1986, p. 122.

<sup>71</sup> Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Boyajian, 1993, p. 48.

<sup>73</sup> A quintal is about 130 pounds. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>74</sup> Mentioned in White, 2004–2005, p. 76.

<sup>75</sup> No porcelain appears to have been aboard a Portuguese ship, believed to be the *Santo António*, which sank in Boudeuse Cay, Amirante Isles, Seychelles, in 1589. Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 28.

<sup>76</sup> 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.

<sup>77</sup> For a discussion on frog-shaped *kendis*, see Vinhais and Welsh, 2008/2, pp. 180–183, no. 26 and pp. 184–187, no. 27.

<sup>78</sup> Published in Weston, 2013, p. 93, fig. 1b and p. 38, fig. 1 (detail).

<sup>79</sup> 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.

near Port Elizabeth in Plettenburg Bay;<sup>80</sup> the naveta<sup>81</sup> *Santa Maria Madre de Deus* sank in 1643 in Eastern Cape;<sup>82</sup> the *Nossa Senhora de Atalaya do Pinheiro* sank in June 1647 near the Cefane river north-east of East London;<sup>83</sup> and the large ship *Santíssimo Sacramento* sank a month later in Sardinia Bay, near Port Elizabeth.<sup>84</sup> 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);<sup>85</sup> 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);<sup>86</sup> and the *São João Baptista* sank in 1622 near the Great Fish River in Eastern Cape.<sup>87</sup> 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).<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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



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. 3.1.1.22 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. 3.1.1.24 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. 3.1.1.20 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. 3.1.1.23 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. 3.1.1.25 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

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

of stylized flower-heads, made at private kilns of Jingdezhen for the Chinese domestic market (Fig. 3.1.1.19).<sup>90</sup> 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).<sup>91</sup> 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).<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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*.<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> 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).<sup>98</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup>

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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup>

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 *Wucui* (five colours) in Chinese made in large quantities at Jingdezhen and other kilns in southern China during the Jiajing and Wanli reigns (Appendix 2),<sup>107</sup> were excavated from a cistern.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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, percolaninhas pequeninas and porcolana 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 *yuán* 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).<sup>110</sup> 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).<sup>111</sup>

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).<sup>112</sup> This porcelain was collected by Manuel I and his successors, as well as by members of the Lancaster 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.<sup>113</sup> 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).<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup> 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;<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup> 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).<sup>118</sup>

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).<sup>119</sup>

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.<sup>120</sup> The earliest textual references to the presence of porcelain in Spain, however, date to the fourteenth century.<sup>121</sup>

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.<sup>122</sup> In an inventory of the collection of artistic objects in the treasury of the Alcázar (fortress

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 Zhaohui, 'Kraak Porcelain Found in Macao', in Cheng, 2009, pp. 13–32; and Liu Zhaohui, '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 Tripathi, 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 tnglazed earthenware, as well as German stoneware. Porcelain amounting only to about 24 percent of



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. L11086.1)  
Lent by New College, University of Oxford

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 tnglazed 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 Rosário. 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 tnglazed 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).

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'.<sup>123</sup> 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 (*bacia*) 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.<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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 Topkapı Saray in Istanbul.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup>

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

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.<sup>129</sup> 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'.<sup>130</sup>

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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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'.<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup> 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],<sup>136</sup> the spoons with rubies and adorned with gold and silver'.<sup>137</sup> 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)<sup>138</sup> 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 Trindade, *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 Avis. 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 Avis (c.1580–1667). The Lancastre family took up residence in the palace and brought their treasures with them. In 1909, after almost three 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 dismantled, 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 Ariaga 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.<sup>139</sup>

#### 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.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> 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.<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> 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).<sup>144</sup> 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)'.<sup>145</sup> 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.<sup>146</sup> 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.<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

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 (*salserrillas*), ewers (*aguamaniles*), jars (*ollas*, *duernos*, *tinajas* or *calabazas*), bottles (*garrafas*), and salt cellars.<sup>149</sup> 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'.<sup>150</sup> 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'.<sup>151</sup> A group of 264 *escudillas* 'some gilded and coloured, and some blue and white', is also appraised at four *reales* each.<sup>152</sup> 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'.<sup>153</sup> 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 original text in Spanish, translated by the author, reads: '...De ahí se subió 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 Luisa 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

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)



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 Aragón 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.

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.<sup>154</sup> 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).<sup>155</sup> 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.<sup>156</sup> Another item is 'a blue and white porcelain jug with a long neck and an elephant head as a spout, appraised at six reales'.<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> 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).<sup>159</sup> 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',<sup>160</sup> 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'.<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup>

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, Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and Catalina Michaela (1567–1597), and Prince Diego (1575–1582).<sup>164</sup> Two years later, in 1582, the Count of Barajas purchased porcelain for the Infanta.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>124</sup> 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 baçia, la qual embió la señora Reyna de Portugal a la Reyna nuestra Señora en servicio en una caja 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 Origines 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.

<sup>125</sup> 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.

<sup>126</sup> 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 sobrecoapa...'. For further pieces that may have been made of glass, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 88–89.

<sup>127</sup> AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Leg. 190. *Recámara* 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.

<sup>128</sup> These included Don Hernando de Vllon, 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.

<sup>129</sup> John Ayers, 'The Early China Trade', in Oliver Impey and Malcolm MacGregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth-*

*and Seventeenth-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.

<sup>130</sup> Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza (hereafter cited as AHPNZ), Jerónimo Sora, 1537, folio 635, cuaderillo, (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.

<sup>131</sup> Jordan Gschwend, 2010, pp. 3015–3044. Mentioned in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 94.

<sup>132</sup> See section 1.2.1 of Chapter I, note 63.

<sup>133</sup> A transcription of the inventory is published in Paz Cabello, 'Los Inventarios de Objetos Incas Pertencientes 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.

<sup>134</sup> 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 María Escolastre con los demas bienes que estaban a su cargo en la dicha Fortaleza, como pareció por el entreguo que de ello se le 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. I, 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.

<sup>135</sup> Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 95–96.

<sup>136</sup> For the term *brinquitos*, a diminutive of the Portuguese term *brincos* or *brinquíños*, in English 'trinkets', see note 174 of this Chapter.

<sup>137</sup> 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.

<sup>138</sup> Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 66.

<sup>139</sup> Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Leg. 942, unpaginated. (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 26 November 1558). The inventory is published in Antonio Unrquizar Herrera, *Colectonismo y nobleza. Siglos de distincion 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.

<sup>140</sup> See section 1.1.2 of Chapter I, note 39.

<sup>141</sup> AGI, Contaduría, Caja de Filipinas, 943–956. Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>166</sup> 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.<sup>167</sup> 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'.<sup>168</sup>

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.<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup>

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.<sup>171</sup> Porcelain occupied 'two-thirds of the contents of the fourteen cupboard [sic], filling 8 of its total 12 shelves' in Ferdinand II's *Kunstammer*.<sup>172</sup> 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 *kunstammer* of her son, Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), which was housed at Hradčany palace in Prague. Rudolf's *Kunstammer* included 125 pieces of porcelain.<sup>173</sup> 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*'<sup>174</sup> to her daughter Elisabeth, then the widow of King Charles IX of France (r. 1560–1574).<sup>175</sup> 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).<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup> 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’.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> That year she also sent ‘some porcelains’ to Emperor Rudolf II.<sup>180</sup>

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.<sup>181</sup> 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’.<sup>182</sup> 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’.<sup>183</sup> In subsequent years, Maria Anna, who belonged to the House of Wittelsbach (by birth) and Austria (by marriage), received porcelain from her daughter Margaret.<sup>184</sup> For instance in 1605, Margaret sent her ‘six porcelains from the Indies with silver feet and handles on a box’.<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup> 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.<sup>187</sup> 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),<sup>188</sup> 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).<sup>189</sup> Some of the porcelain may have arrived at the Bavarian ducal court through dynastic relations with the Habsburgs.<sup>190</sup>

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 possessions 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.<sup>191</sup> 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

<sup>143</sup> 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.

<sup>144</sup> 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 Ring 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.

<sup>145</sup> 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.

<sup>146</sup> 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.

<sup>147</sup> 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.

<sup>148</sup> Mentioned in *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>149</sup> Mentioned in *Ibid.*, pp. 106–108.

<sup>150</sup> 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 ‘Novcientos 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.

<sup>151</sup> *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’.

<sup>152</sup> 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 mayores unas que otras, tasadas a cuatro reales cada una’.

<sup>153</sup> 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 diferentes hechuras, a algunos les faltan los tapadores, tasados a nueve reales cada uno’.

<sup>154</sup> 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.

<sup>155</sup> 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 Stichting 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 Xiangyu, 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.

<sup>156</sup> 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.

<sup>157</sup> 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’.

<sup>158</sup> See section 3.1.1 of this Chapter, note 80.

<sup>159</sup> 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*.<sup>192</sup> 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’.<sup>193</sup> 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.<sup>194</sup> The following year, in 1618, according to Simón Palmer, porcelain was offered as tableware to the Prince of Landgrave when he came to Madrid.<sup>195</sup>

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.<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup>

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.<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup>

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.<sup>201</sup> 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).<sup>202</sup> 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]'.<sup>203</sup>

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 (*jicaras*) from India, for chocolate'.<sup>204</sup> 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.<sup>205</sup> 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*)'.<sup>206</sup>

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 possessions of Philip II and Queen Anne: AGP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 903, Treasury. 1617. See Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Document 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 Possessions (1566–1599)', in Cordula Van Wyhe (ed.), *Isabella Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty 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 jewellery, 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)

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 cosas de la China, metida en una caja de hierba que envié 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 porcelanas de diferentes tamaños y hechuras y algunas dellas muy grandes y la vna con vn cerco 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 Kunstkammern 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 Fučíková, James M. Bradburne, Beket Bukovinska, Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Lumomir 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

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.<sup>207</sup> Juan de Herrera (1530–1597), the architect and principal designer of the Escorial, owned various pieces of blue-and-white and other porcelain.<sup>208</sup>

#### 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.<sup>209</sup> 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).<sup>210</sup> 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.<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> 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



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)  
Oficina Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático, Santo Domingo

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)  
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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, Kiev

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).<sup>213</sup>

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).<sup>214</sup> 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.<sup>215</sup> 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)  
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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 Josepe 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 María 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 Staatsarchiv, 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),<sup>216</sup> 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).<sup>217</sup> 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).<sup>218</sup> 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.<sup>219</sup> 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).<sup>220</sup> 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.<sup>221</sup> 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).<sup>222</sup> 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)  
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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 Eikermann (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 Wolfram 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



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.<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224</sup> The find of 70 tall bell-shaped cups with handles decorated with river scenes, some of them with inner rim borders of spiraling tendrils interspersed by a flower, among the cargo of the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625),<sup>225</sup> 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.<sup>226</sup> 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).<sup>227</sup> 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.<sup>228</sup> The Zurbarán painting dated 1640, the tall bell-shaped cups from the *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia y Pura Concepción*

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

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).<sup>229</sup> 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,<sup>230</sup> as well as a *Blanc de chine* Buddhist Lion incense stick holder made at private kilns of Dehua (Fig. 3.1.2.22),<sup>231</sup> which relates to finds made at both Jiabeishan kiln and Lingdou kiln in Xunzhong town (Appendix 2).<sup>232</sup> This Buddhist Lion demonstrates that the Spanish began acquiring *Blanc de chine* porcelain about ten years earlier than previously thought.<sup>233</sup>

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

various secular and religious sites.<sup>234</sup> 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).<sup>235</sup> 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.<sup>236</sup> 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.<sup>237</sup> 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 scrolls 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 have been made for the court of emperor Jiajing.<sup>238</sup> 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).<sup>239</sup> 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).<sup>240</sup> 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).<sup>241</sup> 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).<sup>242</sup> One other *Kraak* fragment was excavated at the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople, located on Juan de Herrera Street.<sup>243</sup>

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

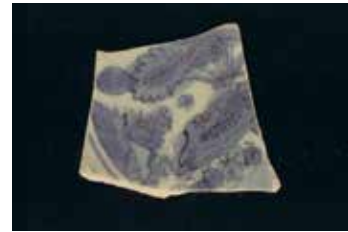


Fig. 3.1.2.24 Shard of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at Calle Mayor c/v Cuesta de la Vega, Madrid  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)  
c.1600–1620  
Museo de Los Orígenes, Madrid

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 October 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, Document 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 Inventario 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 Urquizar 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 permission 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.<sup>244</sup>

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.<sup>245</sup> Archaeological finds have been made in the cities of Bayona and Vigo in the province of Galicia,<sup>246</sup> in Murcia,<sup>247</sup> in Malaga, and in Barcelona.<sup>248</sup> 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).<sup>249</sup>

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.<sup>250</sup> 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).<sup>251</sup> 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 *Kunstammer* of Ferdinand II in Vienna, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum;<sup>252</sup> a *Kraak* cup in the Hallwyl Museum in Stockholm,<sup>253</sup> 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.<sup>254</sup> 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.<sup>255</sup>

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.<sup>256</sup> 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,<sup>257</sup> and another dating to the Jiajing reign is in the Huaihaitang

Collection.<sup>258</sup> 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.<sup>259</sup>

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.<sup>260</sup> 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 *La 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 Henríquez 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 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 earthquake 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 possessions 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.<sup>261</sup> 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.<sup>262</sup> 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.<sup>263</sup>

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 *Kunstammer* 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.<sup>264</sup> 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).<sup>265</sup> 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*<sup>266</sup> forming a five-petaled motif within a panelled rim border (Fig. 3.1.3.5) which relates closely to a late Wanli shard excavated at Macao,<sup>267</sup> 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.<sup>268</sup> 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’.<sup>269</sup>

It is likely that Archduke Albert sent Asian objects to Ambras Castle, including over 250 blue-and-white porcelain pieces and 30 *Kinrande* bowls.<sup>270</sup> The Archduke probably gave porcelain to Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, 2nd Count of Añover (c.1560–1620), who was his *gran privado*.<sup>271</sup> 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.<sup>272</sup> 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’.<sup>273</sup> 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.<sup>274</sup>

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),<sup>275</sup> who at the age of 16 became the third wife of Henry III, Count of Nassau-Breda (1483–1538).<sup>276</sup> 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.<sup>277</sup> An inventory taken in 1525 of the Mendoza family castle in Jadraque,<sup>278</sup> situated in the north-central province of Guadalajara, lists a large chest covered in leather containing ‘several porcelains’ among other items.<sup>279</sup> A shipment receipt made at Breda Castle in 1533 mentions a black square chest, no. 59, which contained porcelain among other objects.<sup>280</sup> 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’.<sup>281</sup> These receipts show that Mencía took her porcelain in this chest from Breda to Jadraque and then back to Breda.<sup>282</sup> 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*).<sup>283</sup> 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.<sup>284</sup> 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),<sup>285</sup> when the contents of Breda Castle were moved to Dillenburg Castle, the ancestral seat of the Orange branch of the House of

<sup>[</sup> Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 29, pl. 17. Also see *Ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 168.

<sup>[234]</sup> 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.

<sup>[235]</sup> 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.

<sup>[236]</sup> 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.

<sup>[237]</sup> 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.

<sup>[238]</sup> Krahe believes that the shards formed part of a fishbowl dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, by comparison 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.

<sup>[239]</sup> 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.

<sup>[240]</sup> 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.

<sup>[241]</sup> 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.

<sup>[242]</sup> 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.

<sup>[243]</sup> 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.

<sup>[244]</sup> For a discussion and images of these finds, see *Ibid.*, pp. 160–172.

<sup>[245]</sup> Krahe notes that until now, no porcelain has been found in the provinces of the Basque Country. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>[246]</sup> 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.

<sup>[247]</sup> 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.

<sup>[248]</sup> For images and a discussion on these finds, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 176, 174 and 189–190.

<sup>[249]</sup> 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.

<sup>[250]</sup> Research by Álvaro Zamora has demonstrated that the mounts have marks of Augsburg (1600-1610) and of Píllipp 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.

<sup>[251]</sup> A sketch drawing of the *San Felipe* bowl is published in Von der Porten, 2011, p. 22, 1–6. 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).

<sup>[252]</sup> Published in Trenk and Vasallo e Silva, 2001, p. 43, fig. 1; and Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 104, fig. 32.

<sup>[253]</sup> The gilded decoration of this bowl, consisting 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.

<sup>[254]</sup> 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.

<sup>[255]</sup> For this opinion, see Álvaro Zamora, 2006, pp. 744–745.

<sup>[256]</sup> Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 232, fig. 214.

<sup>[257]</sup> 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.

<sup>[258]</sup> See Lai, 2012, pp. 152–153, no. 27.

<sup>[259]</sup> Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 233, fig. 215.

<sup>[260]</sup> 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.

<sup>[261]</sup> 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.<sup>286</sup> In 1559, William I was appointed Governor of the provinces Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht.<sup>287</sup> 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’.<sup>288</sup> 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),<sup>289</sup> 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.<sup>290</sup> Most of the porcelain, a total of 199 pieces, was kept in the ‘Princess’ Cabinet’.<sup>291</sup> 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’.<sup>292</sup> 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,<sup>293</sup> 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’,<sup>294</sup> 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).<sup>295</sup>

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.<sup>296</sup> 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.<sup>297</sup> 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 Nicolai the Yonger her two pieces of porcelain with silver feet and also all her other porcelains’.<sup>298</sup>

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.<sup>299</sup> 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.<sup>300</sup> 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.<sup>301</sup>

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.<sup>302</sup> 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<sup>303</sup> 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.<sup>304</sup> 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.<sup>305</sup> 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,<sup>306</sup> three of which are broken’.<sup>307</sup> 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.<sup>308</sup>

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.<sup>309</sup> 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 servir 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 DriesRaeymaekers, ‘The “GranPrivado” 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. Inventario de los bienes y hacienda 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 Mencia 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 Mencia 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, Mencia’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 Mencia de Mendoza’s unpublished inventories.

278 Mencia de Mendoza and Henry III resided at Jadraque Castle for seven months after their wedding. In the succeeding years, Mencia returned numerous times to reside there. Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.

 279 Cited in Juana Hidalgo Ogáyar, ‘Doña Mencia 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 Mencia that had been taken from Ayora (Mencia’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’.<sup>310</sup> 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.<sup>311</sup> 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.<sup>312</sup> 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).<sup>313</sup> 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).<sup>314</sup> 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. 3.1.3.7 *Allegory of Fire*  
Oil on canvas, 117cm x 154cm  
Adriaen van Utrecht (1599–1652),  
signed and dated 1636  
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,  
Brussels (inv. no. 4731)



- 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. Jdraque, 10 de junio de 1535, folio 4v.* Cited in Canepa, 2014/1, p. 33.
- 282 Mencía stayed at Jdraque 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 daarmee gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, vol. I, The Hague, 1974, p. 17. I am greatly indebted to

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.



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)

# 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'.<sup>315</sup>

### 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.<sup>316</sup> For

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 (motschaelen)', '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



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

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 clappmutsen 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

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.<sup>317</sup>

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).<sup>318</sup> 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.<sup>319</sup> 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.<sup>320</sup> 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.<sup>321</sup> 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.<sup>322</sup>

Findings 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).<sup>323</sup> Although forty-four shards of bowls with similar *Kinrande* decoration were recovered from the Spanish shipwreck *San Felipe* (1576),<sup>324</sup> there are finds in the cesspit that suggest that the remains were deposited much later, between 1650 and 1690.<sup>325</sup> 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.<sup>326</sup> The archaeological finds discussed thus far confirm

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.<sup>327</sup> A variety of shapes are listed, including butter plates, *cameelscoppen* (camel cups),<sup>328</sup> 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'.<sup>329</sup>

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'.<sup>330</sup> 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.<sup>331</sup> 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'.<sup>332</sup> From Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck, whose fleet captured the *Santa Catarina*, we learn that it included both 'much coarse and fine porcelain'.<sup>333</sup> 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.<sup>334</sup>

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'.<sup>335</sup> 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 Rinascimento. L'inventario di António da Fonseca', *Giornale di storia*, 10 (2012), pp. 1–19, in [www.giornaledistoria.net](http://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 dell'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 ventiuo piatti di porcellana grandi, sette piatti del medemo mezzani, centodui piatti del medesimo ordinarij, 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 perugno, 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. 1, 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, *Porcelain 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 Yathim, 'Islamic ware as trade goods?', in Roxanna M. Brown

from fine to coarse, were available in the Northern Netherlands at this time.<sup>336</sup> 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.<sup>337</sup> 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.<sup>338</sup> *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.<sup>339</sup> The crew of the *Gelderland* must have considered that the porcelain was a novelty as somebody decided to make drawings of it.<sup>340</sup>

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.<sup>341</sup> Although regular orders were given to the Company servants in Asia to buy porcelain, without access to China the supply was intermittent.<sup>342</sup> In 1607, a memorandum was given to the fleet of Admiral Pieter Willemz Verhoeff and Vice Admiral François Wittert sailing to Asia, with specific instructions on the porcelain that should be bought in Bantam and Patani.<sup>343</sup> 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.<sup>344</sup> 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.<sup>345</sup> 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.<sup>346</sup>

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'.<sup>347</sup> 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.<sup>348</sup>

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...'.<sup>349</sup>

Trade was not only conducted by the VOC but also by Dutch private individuals.<sup>350</sup> 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.<sup>351</sup> 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.<sup>352</sup> 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. Vandeveld (eds.), *De Haven van Amemuiden. Het archeologisch onderzoek aan de Clasinestraat*, 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 guildier 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'.<sup>353</sup> 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.<sup>354</sup> 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.<sup>355</sup>

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;<sup>356</sup> 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*.<sup>357</sup> 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.<sup>358</sup> 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.<sup>359</sup>

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.<sup>360</sup> 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.<sup>361</sup> 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.<sup>362</sup> 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.<sup>363</sup> 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.<sup>364</sup> 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.<sup>365</sup> *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).<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>367</sup> It is worth mentioning that an inventory of the estate of Hendrik Buyck (b. 1551), who had invested 12000 f. in VOC shares,<sup>368</sup> 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).<sup>369</sup> 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 gecommiteerde 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 bewinthebbereren. 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 Compagnie’: 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.<sup>370</sup> 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).<sup>371</sup> The *Zhangzhou* porcelain of the *Witte Leeuw* includes a saucer-dish with a pair of phoenixes with overlapping bodies (Fig. 3.2.1.7),<sup>372</sup> 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.<sup>373</sup> 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.<sup>374</sup> 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).<sup>375</sup>

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.<sup>376</sup> 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).<sup>377</sup> 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 *Witte 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),<sup>378</sup> 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,<sup>379</sup> have washed up on the beach of Albion, where the *Geünieerde Provinciën* shipwrecked and broke into pieces (Appendix 3).<sup>380</sup>

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 Strait of Malacca that year.<sup>381</sup> 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

368 Hendrick Buyck was the brother of Jacob Buyck, the last pastor of the Oude Kerk. 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 Leeuw* 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.

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'.<sup>382</sup>

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'.<sup>383</sup> 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'.<sup>384</sup> They were most likely referring to small cups, which are listed in VOC documents as *pimpelkens* or *pimpeltjes*. This is suggested by the instruction

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 inkoop 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 Fengguwei 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 Fengguwei', *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. Xuezheng 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 Fengguwei, 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'.<sup>385</sup>

Archaeological finds made at the VOC fortress at Fengguwei 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.<sup>386</sup> 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*.<sup>387</sup> 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).<sup>388</sup> 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 *Schetsdam* of December 1626, which sailed from Batavia to Amsterdam.<sup>389</sup> 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.<sup>390</sup> Most finds at Fengguwei are *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain, which include shards of bowls decorated with circular fruiting branches similar to a find made at Wolio Castle,<sup>391</sup> and shards of *klapmutsen* decorated with deer within a continuous rim border.<sup>392</sup> This latter find is rare, as *Zhangzhou klapmutsen* are seldom found in land archaeological excavations or shipwrecks.<sup>393</sup> 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.<sup>394</sup> 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.<sup>395</sup> The site also yielded shards of *Kraak* dishes<sup>396</sup> 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.<sup>397</sup>

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'.<sup>398</sup> 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'.<sup>399</sup> 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,  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  dishes, finer than the ones sent so far, will be pleasing and profitable for the Company'.<sup>400</sup> 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).<sup>401</sup> This is also the earliest request for porcelain ‘well painted with Chinese persons’.<sup>402</sup> 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.’<sup>403</sup> 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’.<sup>404</sup>

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’.<sup>405</sup> 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.<sup>406</sup> 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 *craecqporceleijn* to refer to *Kraak* porcelain found thus far in VOC documents.<sup>407</sup> 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’.<sup>408</sup> 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.<sup>409</sup> 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.<sup>410</sup>

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.<sup>411</sup> 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).<sup>412</sup>

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: 11.7 cm; height: 6 cm British Museum, London (museum no. 1984.0303.12a-b)



409 Mentioned in Viallé, 2010, pp. 188–189.

410 Kasper van Baerle, *Blyde inkomst der allerdoorlichtigste 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.



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 Gonçalo* (1630).<sup>421</sup> 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,<sup>422</sup> 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.<sup>423</sup> 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.<sup>424</sup> 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.<sup>425</sup> 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.<sup>426</sup> Almost identical bowls were recovered from the *Wanli shipwreck* (c.1625), which was, as mentioned earlier, probably owned by Portuguese merchants.<sup>427</sup>

Until now there have been only a few archaeological finds of early seventeenth century *Zhangzhou* porcelain.<sup>428</sup> 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)  
© Sebastiaan Ostkamp

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).<sup>429</sup> 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.<sup>430</sup> *Zhangzhou* finds in Middelburg, 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.<sup>431</sup> Small quantities of *Zhangzhou* porcelain have been found in two other cities that housed a chamber of the VOC, Enkhuizen and Hoorn.<sup>432</sup> 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.<sup>433</sup>

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).<sup>434</sup> 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.<sup>435</sup> 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).<sup>436</sup> 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).<sup>437</sup> 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).<sup>438</sup> *Blanc de chine* figure models, though not of Guanyin, were also recovered from the *Hatcher junk*.<sup>439</sup> 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).<sup>440</sup> The fact that Zacheus de Jager lived in this house from about 1630

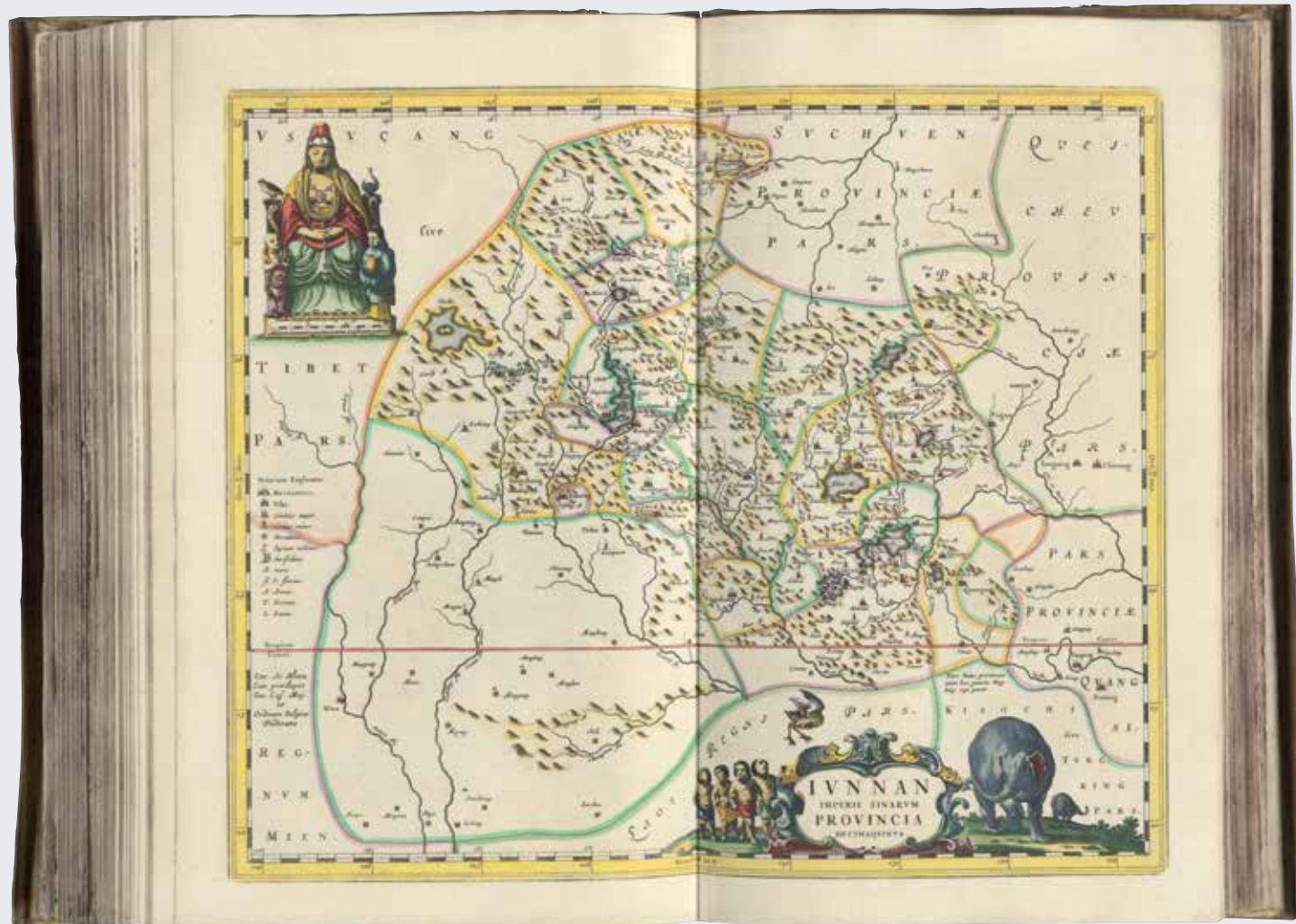


Fig. 3.2.1.18a Map of Yunnan Province from *Novus Atlas Sinensis* by Martino Martini (1614–1661)  
Published in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Johan Blaeuw, Amsterdam 1655  
National Library of Australia (inv. no. MAP Ra 300)



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

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),<sup>441</sup> 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).<sup>442</sup>

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.<sup>443</sup> 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

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 Terrarum* 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 Appendix 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



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 be with us in nearly daily use with the common people'.<sup>444</sup> 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).<sup>445</sup> 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).<sup>446</sup> A few other similar examples, as noted by Spriggs and Berger Hochstrasser, are known.<sup>447</sup>

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

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)

448 Mentioned in Juliet Claxton, 'The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room: an inventory of all the parcels 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. 171.

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. 80. 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.

Noordeinde Palace in The Hague, displayed in two rows of three shelves, placed one above the other.<sup>448</sup> 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*.<sup>449</sup> 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.<sup>450</sup> 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.<sup>451</sup> 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.<sup>452</sup> 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.<sup>453</sup> Maria and Amalia each received 642 pieces of porcelain.<sup>454</sup> 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.<sup>455</sup> 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.<sup>456</sup>

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.<sup>457</sup> 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 Uyten 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'.<sup>458</sup> 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.<sup>459</sup> 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.<sup>460</sup> 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'.<sup>461</sup>





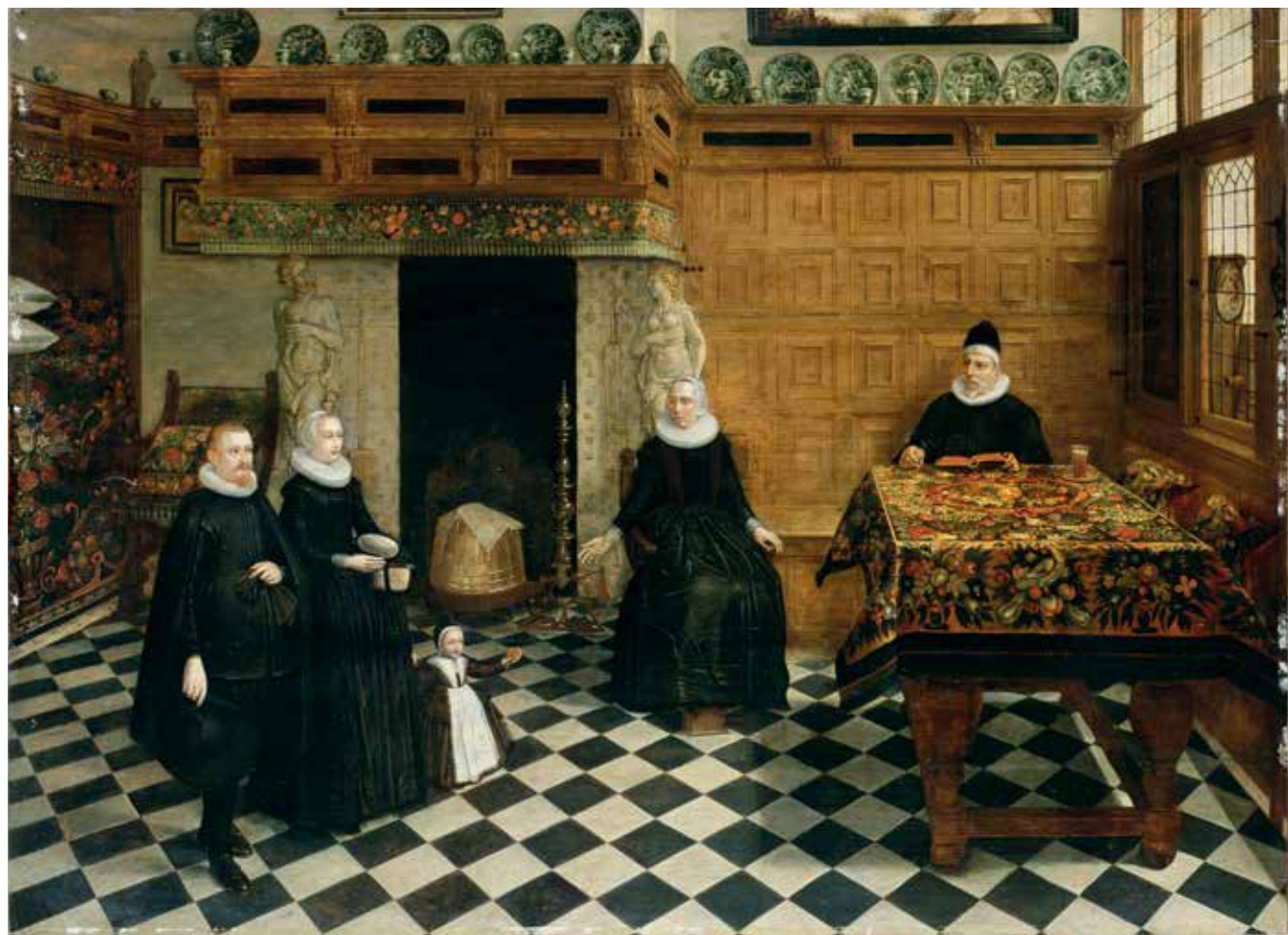


Fig. 3.2.1.25 Family in interior  
Oil on panel, 86cm x 118cm  
Anonymous, Dutch Republic, c.1630  
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva  
(inv. no. BASZ 5)

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).<sup>462</sup> 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.<sup>463</sup> 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

<sup>462</sup> 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.

<sup>463</sup> 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 Christiaan Coeuvershof (c.1596–1659), *Portrait of an Enkhuizen family in interior*, c.1635, published in *Ibid.*, p. 195, fig. 4.

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 klappmutsen*, saucer dishes, dishes and 'crow cups' as early as 1603. Textual sources indicate that by 1617 the enormous 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 punishment 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 similar 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 highest 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

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 sources 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.<sup>464</sup> 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.<sup>465</sup>

#### 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 Laies [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),<sup>466</sup> 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.<sup>467</sup> 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 Chaîne of silver guilt'; item 1099: 'oone Laire of Purslaine garnisshid with siluer and guilt and furnisshid with sundry stones sett in colletes 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'.<sup>468</sup>

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.';<sup>469</sup> 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

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. 1, 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 stufte; 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.

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)



red, listed as item 1582: 'one Cvp of Pursselyne thoneysde paynted Red the foute and Cover sylver guilt poiz all xiiij oz. quarter'.<sup>470</sup> 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.<sup>471</sup> 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).<sup>472</sup> 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).<sup>473</sup> 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.<sup>474</sup> 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.<sup>475</sup> It is likely that the bowl arrived in England via the Near East, where English merchants traded

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)

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

in Ottoman Turkey.<sup>476</sup> 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).<sup>477</sup> 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.<sup>478</sup> The description of the mounted porcelain presented by Mr Lytchfelde to Elizabeth I in 1588, corresponds closely to the aforementioned *Kinrande* bowl.<sup>479</sup>

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).<sup>480</sup> 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).<sup>481</sup> This latter ewer relates closely in shape and decoration to two ewers in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul.<sup>482</sup> 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.<sup>483</sup>

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

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.<sup>484</sup> Some are still at Burghley House, a large manor house in South Lincolnshire, which belonged to William Cecil by inheritance.<sup>485</sup> 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.<sup>486</sup> 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'.<sup>487</sup> 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.<sup>488</sup> 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,<sup>489</sup> a 'cabinet of china gilt all over'.<sup>490</sup> 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',<sup>491</sup> 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'.<sup>492</sup>

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.<sup>493</sup> 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).<sup>494</sup> 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),<sup>495</sup> 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).<sup>496</sup>

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).<sup>497</sup> 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).<sup>498</sup>

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).<sup>499</sup> 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. Yvonne 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)

*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 "artificial": 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.

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.<sup>500</sup> 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, Belboughton in Leicestershire.<sup>501</sup>

By the turn of the sixteenth century porcelains were still being acquired in England as valuable curiosities.<sup>502</sup> 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.<sup>503</sup> 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.<sup>504</sup> 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'<sup>505</sup> 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'.<sup>506</sup> 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'.<sup>507</sup>

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)



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 stufte 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 Wiltshire 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.

#### 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.<sup>508</sup> 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.<sup>509</sup> As Swann has remarked, after James I made peace with Spain, new forms of aristocratic material display began to emerge in England.<sup>510</sup> 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'.<sup>511</sup> 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'.<sup>512</sup> 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).<sup>513</sup> 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.<sup>514</sup>

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

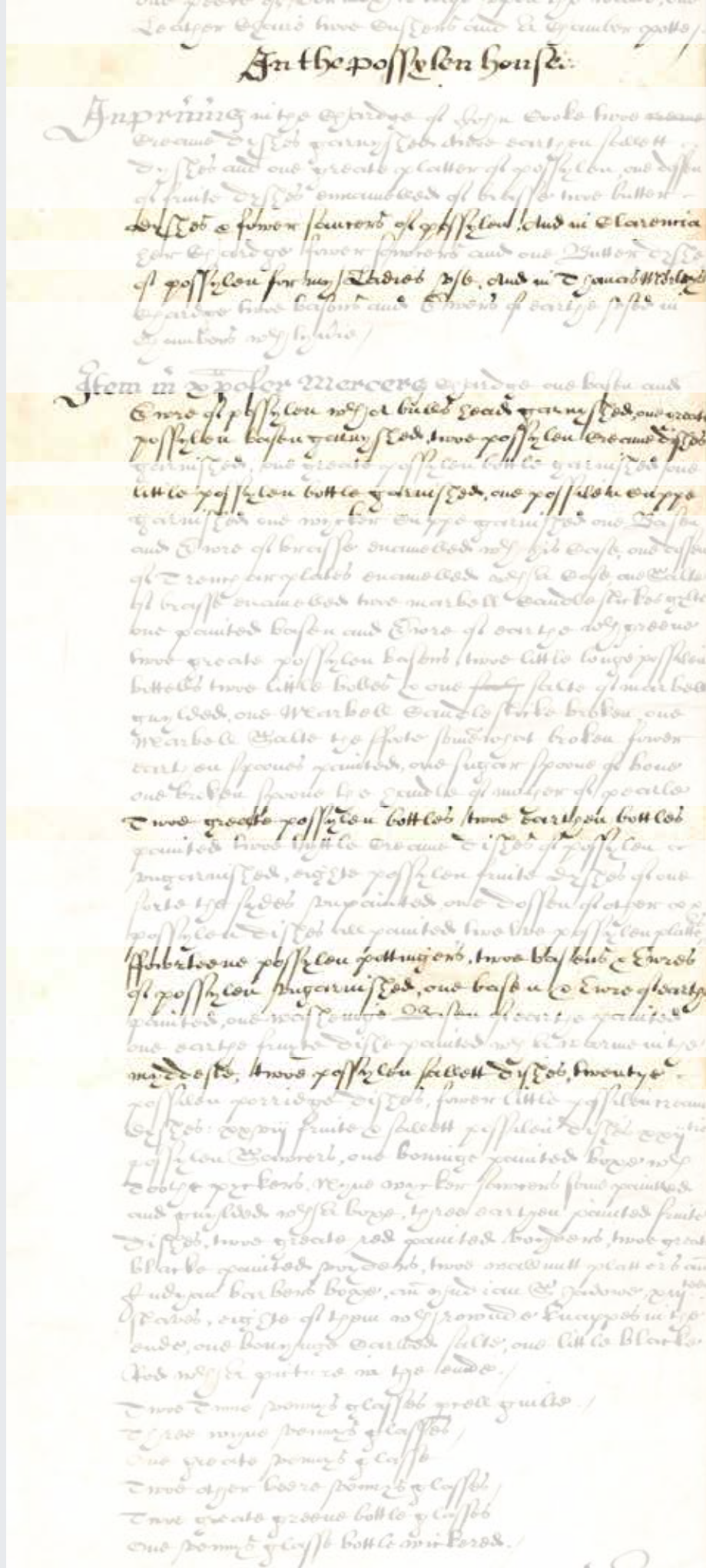


Fig. 3.2.2.14 Inventory of Wardour Castle, 1605 (document no. 2667/22/21) Wiltshire Council, Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre

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’,<sup>515</sup> 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.<sup>516</sup> Another inventory drawn up seventeen years later, in 1629, lists ‘in the Chamber over the Porters Lodge ... XXVI China dishes sett out a banquet’.<sup>517</sup> 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.<sup>518</sup>

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 seven parcels of Purslane cuppes trimmed with silver and guilte’, valued at 12 pounds, left to Lady Lumley.<sup>519</sup> There is also ‘a China guilte cabonnet upon a frame’, valued at 30 pounds, listed among the ‘Household-stuffe at London’.<sup>520</sup> 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),<sup>521</sup> Queen consort of James I, lists 14 pieces of mounted porcelain, Chinese textiles and mother-of-pearl caskets.<sup>522</sup> This same year, Sir Thomas Dale sent a box from Batavia containing 82 pieces of porcelain as gift for his brother-in law,<sup>523</sup> 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.<sup>524</sup>

An inventory taken slightly later, in 1620, of the belongings of Lady Dorothy Shirley, whose second husband was George Shirley,<sup>525</sup> at her house in Farrington, lists ‘purslin stuffe, Chinie stuffe, and cubbert frames, shelves and stooles’ among the ‘Silver Plate in my la. Closett’.<sup>526</sup> 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’.<sup>527</sup> 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.<sup>528</sup> 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.<sup>529</sup> 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.<sup>530</sup> In ‘the Parlor Chamber Clossett’ are listed ‘ij [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*.<sup>531</sup>

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*.<sup>532</sup> 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*.<sup>533</sup> 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, Wiltshire, by Alejandra Gutiérrez, ‘Of Sundry Colours and Moulds. 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.<sup>534</sup> ‘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.<sup>535</sup> 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’.<sup>536</sup> According to Glanville and Pierson the pieces described as ‘cruets of chinna’ referred to sugar casters.<sup>537</sup> 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).<sup>538</sup> 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’.<sup>539</sup> 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 pot’.<sup>540</sup> 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’.<sup>541</sup> Pieces were arranged in groups for display, such as the ‘fifteen 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.<sup>542</sup> 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, respectively.

542 Ibid., Appendix, p. 7.

543 Claxton, 2010, Appendix, p. 12.

544 Ibid., Appendix, p. 24.

545 Ibid., Appendix, p. 8, 11 and 12, respectively.

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 neer 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.

*Kraak* too, such as the ‘two little long necke bottells of Purselin’.<sup>543</sup> Only a few pieces appear to have been decorated with overglaze enamels, including the ‘Saeuen very large Jarres with Coeurs of Purselin’.<sup>544</sup> Even pieces intended for personal hygiene or use at that dinner table were displayed on shelves, like the ‘four Chamberpotts of Purselyne, and thereon three Purselin dishes’, ‘two little Mustard Purselin Potts & two little Deepe Porringers with Eares’, and ‘two saltsellors of Purselin’.<sup>545</sup> 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.<sup>546</sup>

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.<sup>547</sup> 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.<sup>548</sup> 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.<sup>549</sup> 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.<sup>550</sup> 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.<sup>551</sup>

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’.<sup>552</sup> 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.<sup>553</sup> 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’,<sup>554</sup> 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’.<sup>555</sup> 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).<sup>556</sup>

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*,



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.<sup>557</sup> 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’.<sup>558</sup> Jonson claims that there was a profusion of manufactured luxury goods on display.<sup>559</sup> 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’.<sup>560</sup> 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 shelve’.<sup>561</sup> 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’,<sup>562</sup> Jonson’s commentary saying that they ‘thinke to hauē the same goods ‘cheape ... at the next returne of the Hollanders fleete from the Indyēs’, further indicates that some of the porcelain that arrived in England at this time was acquired via the Dutch Republic.<sup>563</sup>

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.

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.

Earth a long time’.<sup>564</sup> Peter Mundy published a manuscript between 1634 and 1637, explaining that porcelain pieces ‘should ly 100 yeares undergrounde before they come to perfection.....’.<sup>565</sup> Later English publications, like Thomas Browne’s *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* of 1646, continued to include accounts of how to make porcelain.<sup>566</sup>

### 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.<sup>567</sup> 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.<sup>568</sup> 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.<sup>569</sup> 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.<sup>570</sup> 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.<sup>571</sup> 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).<sup>572</sup> 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.<sup>573</sup> 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.<sup>574</sup>

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.<sup>575</sup> 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.<sup>576</sup> 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).<sup>577</sup> 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.<sup>578</sup> 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.<sup>579</sup> A fragment of a tiny finely

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).<sup>580</sup>

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.<sup>581</sup> 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.<sup>582</sup> 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.<sup>583</sup> 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.<sup>584</sup> 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.<sup>585</sup> 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).<sup>586</sup> 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).<sup>587</sup> The porcelain was dated to c.1565–1585, but it could have been made slightly later, in the 1580s–1590s.<sup>588</sup> 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.<sup>589</sup> 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.<sup>590</sup>

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.<sup>591</sup> 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, Philip 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*



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)



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

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).<sup>592</sup> Baskerville owned a remarkable range of oriental products, including benzoin, China root, camphor, rhubarb and musk.<sup>593</sup> 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).<sup>594</sup> The estates left by Horsey and Anthonye valued at over £2,000, demonstrate that they were both very rich merchants.<sup>595</sup> 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.<sup>596</sup>

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 Bevyys, 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)

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.<sup>597</sup> 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’.<sup>598</sup> 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,<sup>599</sup> 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.<sup>600</sup> 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

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](http://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



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)

to include images of these inventories in this doctoral dissertation.

595 E. A. Donaldson, ‘Inventory of the goods and chattels of Richard Bevis, 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. 1, 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.

bulk of the *Hinde’s* lading, the rest being brought in gold’.<sup>601</sup> 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.<sup>602</sup> *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

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Fig. 3.2.24 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

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Fig. 3.2.25 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 shipwrecks, 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 feasible 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 hygiene, though a few were ornamental.<sup>603</sup> 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 scanty 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, especially at the remains of a church, brought to light 73 shards of blue-and-white porcelain dating to the reigns of Jiaping and Wanli. More than half of them formed part of pieces of

<sup>603</sup> 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 Archivo 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

<sup>604</sup> 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.

<sup>605</sup> 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.

<sup>606</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 162.

<sup>607</sup> AGI, Contaduría, Caja de Filipinas, 943–956. Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42.

<sup>608</sup> Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590–1785*, Mexico City, 1984, p. 26.

<sup>609</sup> Mentioned in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 42.

<sup>610</sup> Mentioned in *Ibid.*; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 252, note 61.

<sup>611</sup> Cited in Schurz, 1959, p. 27; and Canepa, 2014/1, p. 25.

<sup>612</sup> 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.

<sup>613</sup> 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.<sup>604</sup> The Pernambuco finds include fragments of two *Kraak* porcelain dishes with panelled rim borders.<sup>605</sup> 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.<sup>606</sup> 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.<sup>607</sup> 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.<sup>608</sup> 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.<sup>609</sup> Two years later, in 1572, the *Santiago* left Manila with '400 pieces of porcelain', which belonged to a merchant named Julian de Arbolancha.<sup>610</sup> 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.<sup>611</sup> 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.<sup>612</sup> The cargo included a full range of fine, intermediate and coarse porcelain (Appendix 3).<sup>613</sup> 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).<sup>614</sup> 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.<sup>615</sup> 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.<sup>616</sup> 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.<sup>617</sup> She was driven ashore and sank during a storm at *tamál-húye* in 1595.<sup>618</sup> 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.<sup>619</sup> 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.<sup>620</sup> 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.<sup>621</sup> 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).<sup>622</sup> 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.<sup>623</sup> 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*.<sup>624</sup> 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)

<sup>614</sup> 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 III)’, *Fujian Wenbo*, No. 73, March 2011, pp. 59–60.

<sup>615</sup> Von der Porten, 2011, pp. 38–39, VI–1 and p. 48, IX–2.

<sup>616</sup> 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.

<sup>617</sup> 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.

<sup>618</sup> 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.

<sup>619</sup> 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 Agustín*’, *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.<sup>625</sup> 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).<sup>626</sup> 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).<sup>627</sup> 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.<sup>628</sup> 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.<sup>629</sup> 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 *wucui* type.<sup>630</sup> 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)  
© Jack Harbeston, IOTA Partners



Fig. 3.3.1.1.9 *Kraak* porcelain from the shipwreck *Santa Margarita* (1601)  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)  
© Jack Harbeston, IOTA Partners



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

a similar dragon rim border to that seen on shards from the *San Agustín*, which sank five years earlier, in 1595.<sup>631</sup> 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);<sup>632</sup> and the *Hatcher junk* (c.1643), prove that this type of phoenix design dish remained popular until the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>633</sup>

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.<sup>634</sup> 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).<sup>635</sup> 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.<sup>636</sup>

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.<sup>637</sup> 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.

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 appears to have formed part of a bowl decorated on the interior with tulip flowers in the so-called Transitional style.<sup>638</sup> 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,<sup>639</sup> as well as shards of small cups decorated with landscape scenes and inner rim borders of spiraling tendrils 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).<sup>640</sup> 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*.<sup>641</sup> 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).<sup>642</sup>



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).<sup>643</sup> 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).<sup>644</sup>

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.<sup>645</sup> 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.<sup>646</sup> 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.<sup>647</sup> 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-Atlantic 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 vicerealties, 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, translucence 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 occurred 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.<sup>648</sup> 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.<sup>649</sup> 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.<sup>650</sup> 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.<sup>651</sup> 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

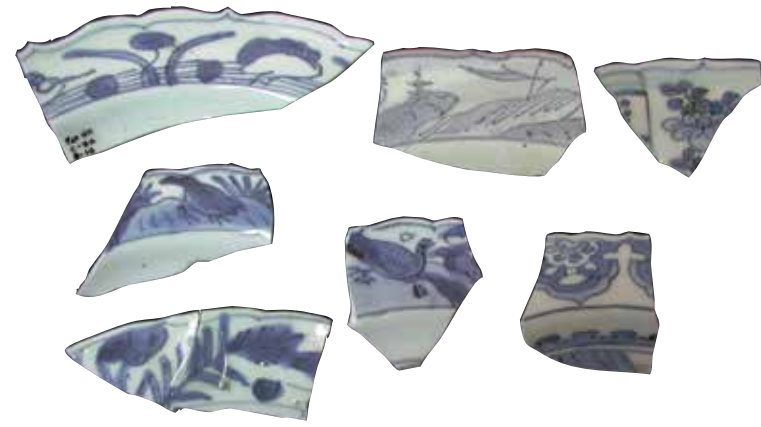


Fig. 3.3.1.1.13 Kraak shards excavated from the Donceles Street site and Metropolitan Cathedral, Zócalo area, Mexico City  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
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display.<sup>652</sup> Although silverware objects were extremely expensive, they had an intrinsic value as they could be melted down and made into coinage or recycled as different objects.<sup>653</sup> 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.<sup>654</sup> 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.<sup>655</sup> One of these inventories, dating to 1645, is of particular interest to this study.<sup>656</sup> 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).<sup>657</sup>

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.<sup>658</sup> 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 successful networks comprised of Portuguese, Burgalese (from Burgos), Catalans, English and Genoese merchants operating in New Spain.<sup>659</sup> 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

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>653</sup> Krahe, 2014, Vol. 1, p. 127.

<sup>654</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 162.

<sup>655</sup> Ballesteros Flores, 2007. Only 5 inventories of a total of 11 studied by Ballesteros Flores date to the late sixteenth and first four decades of the seventeenth century. Of the 5 inventories, only two include porcelain.

<sup>656</sup> *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.

<sup>657</sup> 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.

<sup>658</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 74.

<sup>659</sup> 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)  
© Eladio Terreros, Museo del Templo Mayor (INAH)

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).<sup>660</sup> 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<sup>661</sup> are similar to those recovered from the *San Diego* (1600)<sup>662</sup> 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<sup>663</sup> show similar decoration to those from the *San Diego* (1600).<sup>664</sup> 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).<sup>665</sup> 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).<sup>666</sup> 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.<sup>667</sup> 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

<sup>660</sup> 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.

<sup>661</sup> A reconstructed example is published in Kuwayama, 1997, p. 53, no. 20; and Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 49, fig. 13.

<sup>662</sup> Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994, p. 315, cat. 75 and pp. 242–43, cat. 111.

<sup>663</sup> Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 52, figs 22 and 23.

<sup>664</sup> Carré, Desroches and Goddio, 1994, pp. 340–341, cat. 107.

<sup>665</sup> Published in Miyata Rodríguez, 2009, p. 50, figs. 14–15.

<sup>666</sup> Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997, pl. 15, fig. 4 and pl. 36, fig. 1; and Canepa, 2010, p. 61, figs. 6 and 7.

<sup>667</sup> Mentioned in Canepa, 2014/2, p. 111.

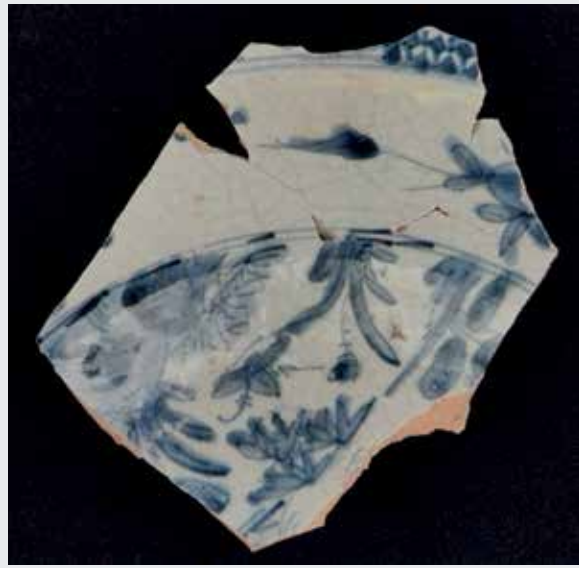


Fig. 3.3.1.1.15 Fragment of a Zhangzhou blue-and-white dish excavated at Donceles Street site, Zócalo area, Mexico City  
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
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Fig. 3.3.1.1.16 Shard of a Zhangzhou dish with overglaze enamel decoration excavated at Justo Sierra Street site, Zócalo area, Mexico City  
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
© Eladio Terreros, Museo del Templo Mayor (INAH)



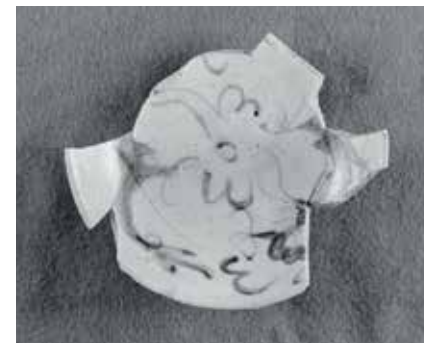
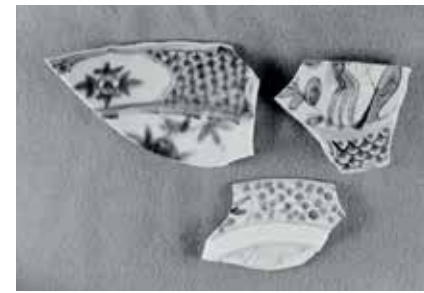
Fig. 3.3.1.1.17 Shards of Kraak plates excavated at the former Convent of Santa Paula, Mexico City  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
© Patricia Fournier García

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)  
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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



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 María Suárez de Avila, and niece of the conquistador Hernán 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 frontaler 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.

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.<sup>668</sup> 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.<sup>669</sup> 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.<sup>670</sup> 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 site in Zhaoan county (Appendix 2).<sup>671</sup>

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.<sup>672</sup> A will made by Isabel de Monjaraz in 1589, lists ‘1 medium porcelain from China’ and ‘1 small porcelain from China’.<sup>673</sup> 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.<sup>674</sup> Juana Quintero made a will in 1622, which included ‘2 porcelains from China’ and ‘2 medium plates [of porcelain] from China’.<sup>675</sup> 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.<sup>676</sup> 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 public auction of the belongings of Gaspar Pagés de Moncada, already discussed in Chapter II.<sup>677</sup> 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.<sup>678</sup> 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.<sup>679</sup> The porcelain is believed to have reached Florida via the Manila Galleon trade to Acapulco in about 1576–1578.<sup>680</sup>

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

Parris Island in South Carolina.<sup>681</sup> 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.<sup>682</sup> 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,<sup>683</sup> similar to examples recovered from the *San Felipe* (1576) and the *San Pedro*, which sank while en route from Veracruz to Spain in 1595.<sup>684</sup> 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),<sup>684</sup> which probably formed part of a saucer dish of the type excavated at the Erlong kiln site in Pinghe county (Appendix 2).<sup>686</sup>

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.<sup>687</sup> Although excavated colonial sites of this period are not numerous, shards of porcelain have been found at urban and rural settlements.<sup>688</sup> 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*)<sup>689</sup> households.<sup>690</sup> 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.<sup>691</sup> 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.<sup>692</sup>

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.<sup>693</sup> 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.<sup>694</sup> 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,<sup>695</sup> where the capital of New Mexico was relocated in 1610.<sup>696</sup> 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 DePatter, 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 Bind: 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 Jingdezhen 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.<sup>697</sup> 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.<sup>698</sup> 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.<sup>699</sup> 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.<sup>700</sup>

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'.<sup>701</sup> 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.<sup>702</sup> 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.<sup>703</sup> 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.<sup>704</sup> 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).<sup>705</sup> 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),<sup>706</sup> similar to those excavated at the Moneda Street site in Mexico City, as well as shards of a bowl with floral decoration.<sup>707</sup> The Dominican friars, as noted by Gómez Serafin, may have acquired the porcelain as gifts rather than through direct purchase.<sup>708</sup>

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),

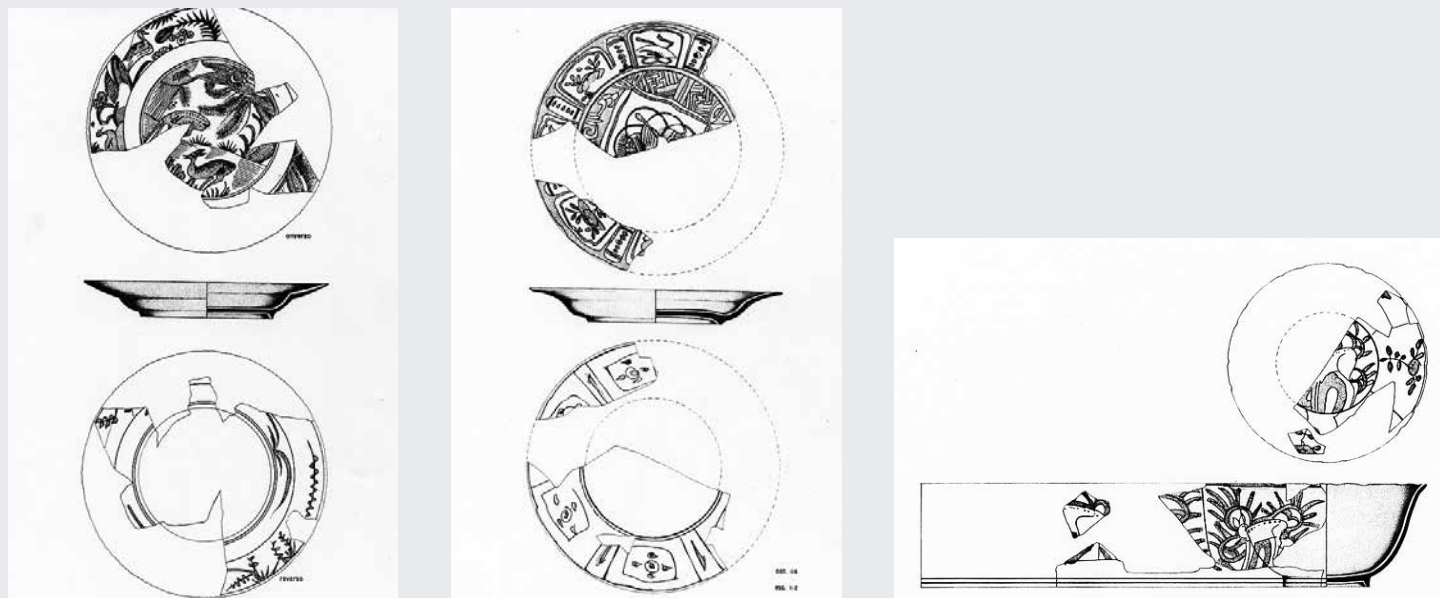


Fig. 3.3.1.1.23 Sketch-drawing of a Kraak plate excavated at the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Oaxaca  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620)  
© Susana Gómez Serafin

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 Serafin

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)  
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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 Serafin

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 Anthropology, 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 Serafin and Enrique Fernández Dávila, *Catálogo de los objetos cerámicos de la orden dominicana del ex convento de Santo Domingo de Oaxaca*, Mexico, 2007, pp. 214–215 and pp. 220–221. I am grateful to Susana Gómez Serafin, 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 Serafin and Enrique Fernández Dávila, *Las cerámicas coloniales del ex convento 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 Serafin, '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 Cerámica de Importación: Siglos XVI al XVIII, Tomo I: Resumen del Estudio', *Proyecto Arqueológico 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.<sup>709</sup> 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.<sup>710</sup> 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.<sup>711</sup> 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.<sup>712</sup> 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).<sup>713</sup> The Santo Domingo site also yielded a shard of a Zhangzhou 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).<sup>714</sup> 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,<sup>715</sup> 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.<sup>716</sup>

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).<sup>717</sup> 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.<sup>718</sup> 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.<sup>719</sup> Thus the Spanish colonists must have acquired the porcelain sometime before they abandoned the site.<sup>720</sup> 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 Obrapia*, located in area of Old Havana in the intersections of Obrapia and Mercaderes streets, yielded a considerable quantity of ceramic material of various origins, including over 200 porcelain shards.<sup>721</sup> 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.<sup>722</sup> 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.<sup>723</sup> 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’.<sup>724</sup> 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’.<sup>725</sup> 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 carrying] iron and pieces of bronze, damasks and other things of wax and silk, and pottery blue and gilt, and clover and pepper and

canela’.<sup>726</sup> 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.<sup>727</sup> 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 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> reales a piece’ and ‘60 dozens and ten pieces of white pottery at 2 reales a piece’.<sup>728</sup> 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.<sup>729</sup> 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* <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in Macao and 3 *reales* in Lima; and the price of white pottery (porcelain) was 7 *maravedí* in Macao and 3 *reales* in Lima.<sup>730</sup> 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.<sup>731</sup> 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.<sup>732</sup>

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.<sup>733</sup> 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.<sup>734</sup> 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).<sup>735</sup>

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 Obrapia’ 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 navio con cantidad de cosas de China que son porçelanas 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, pimienta 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.

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

736 The excavations that began in 2003, and undertaken again in 2010, yielded shards of ceramics from Peru, Panama and China. I am grateful 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.



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 cerámica 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 Andean 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 Archaeological Project: 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.



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.<sup>736</sup> 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).<sup>737</sup>

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

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 Instituto Riva-Agüero.<sup>738</sup> 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.<sup>739</sup> 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'.<sup>740</sup>

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).<sup>741</sup> The church complex of this tiny coastal re-settlement was established and run by the Dominican Mendicant Order.<sup>742</sup> 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.<sup>743</sup>

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.<sup>744</sup> The Jingdezhen finds at this archaeological site, declared a World Heritage Site in 2003,<sup>745</sup> include shards of finely potted *Kraak* saucer dishes, plates and bowls, dating to the Wanli reign.<sup>746</sup> These include shards decorated with lotus-petals outlined in blue identical to those recovered from the Portuguese shipwreck *Santo Alberto* (1593).<sup>747</sup> 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.<sup>748</sup> 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).<sup>749</sup> 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).<sup>750</sup> 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





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

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 greatly indebted to Luis María Calvo, Director Department Estudios Etnográficos 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.

Princesshof Museum.<sup>751</sup> 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.<sup>752</sup> 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).<sup>753</sup> 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.<sup>754</sup>

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 seventeenth century.<sup>755</sup> 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.<sup>756</sup> 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.<sup>757</sup>

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.<sup>758</sup> 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'.<sup>759</sup> 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

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.<sup>760</sup>

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 viceroalties 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 vicerealty, 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 vicerealties. 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.

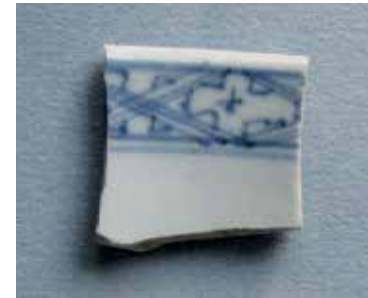


Fig. 3.3.1.2.11 Shard of a blue-and-white cup excavated at Plaza Mekis, Santiago Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province Ming dynasty, Wanli reign (1573–1620), probably early seventeenth century © Mónica Barrera

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

<sup>760</sup> 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.<sup>761</sup> 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.<sup>762</sup> 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’.<sup>763</sup>

### 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 *Geootroyeerde Westinsische Compagnie*, 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.<sup>764</sup>

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.<sup>765</sup> 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.<sup>766</sup> 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.<sup>767</sup> 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).<sup>768</sup> 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).<sup>769</sup> 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

<sup>761</sup> Carlotte Wilcoxon, *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century*, Albany, 1987, p. 13.

<sup>762</sup> Edmund B. O’Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1853–1858, p. 149. Mentioned in Wilcoxon, 1987, p. 13.

<sup>763</sup> 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.

<sup>764</sup> 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.

<sup>765</sup> 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. Wilcoxon, 1987, p. 82.

<sup>766</sup> 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.

<sup>767</sup> 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.

<sup>768</sup> 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.

<sup>769</sup> 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.<sup>770</sup> 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.<sup>771</sup>

### 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 Hills, 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 ware cloaths, crooked swords, & somewhat like our men, dwelt in houses, and were called *Acanack-China*’.<sup>772</sup> 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.<sup>773</sup>

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.<sup>774</sup> 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).<sup>775</sup> The wine cup along with other imported finds from the cesspit reflects a certain status of its owner.<sup>776</sup> 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’, *Vereniging 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 Valley 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 Valley 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,<sup>777</sup> and the base of one other was excavated in 1996–1997 from the Narrow Ditch III at the Reverend Richard Buck site.<sup>778</sup> 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.<sup>779</sup> 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.<sup>780</sup> Further examples have been found at other Virginia plantations, including Kingsmill, Governor’s Land and neighbouring areas.<sup>781</sup> 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).<sup>782</sup>

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,<sup>783</sup> 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.<sup>784</sup> 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.<sup>785</sup> 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.<sup>786</sup> 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.<sup>787</sup> Only one stem cup of this type was recovered from the *Witte Leeuw*.<sup>787</sup> Excavations at Pit 3 also yielded shards of the cruder *Zhangzhou* blue-and-white porcelain.<sup>789</sup> 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.<sup>790</sup> 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.<sup>791</sup>

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.<sup>792</sup> 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.<sup>793</sup>

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.<sup>794</sup> 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.<sup>795</sup> Thorpe, an Episcopal priest, was a member of the VC and one of the owners of the plantation.<sup>796</sup>

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.<sup>797</sup> 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.<sup>798</sup>

### 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).<sup>799</sup> 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.<sup>800</sup> 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.<sup>801</sup> 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<sup>802</sup> and four shards of a small blue-and-white bowl decorated with *ruyi*-heads (Fig. 3.3.3.2.2).<sup>803</sup>

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).<sup>804</sup> Its form and decoration, however, relate closely to about 20 wine cups recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613).<sup>805</sup> There is also a tiny

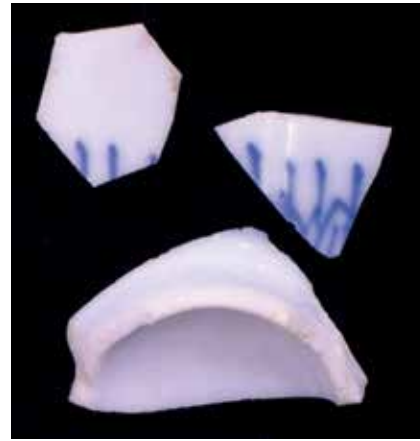


Fig. 3.3.3.2.1 Fragment of a blue-and-white wine cup excavated at the Ferryland site, Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
© Aaron Miller

<sup>792</sup> For an image of this plate, see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 79, pl. 54.

<sup>793</sup> The information on the inhabitants of Boldrup Plantation is taken from Calder Loth (ed.), *The Virginia Landmarks Register*, fourth edition, Virginia, 1999, p. 337.

<sup>794</sup> 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.

<sup>795</sup> 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.

<sup>796</sup> Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*, London, 2003, p. 146.

<sup>797</sup> Wilcoxon, 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.

<sup>798</sup> 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 shippes of their owne or belonging to the Netherlands'. Cited in Pagan, 1982, pp. 491–492. Also see pp. 486–487.

<sup>799</sup> 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.

<sup>800</sup> 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.

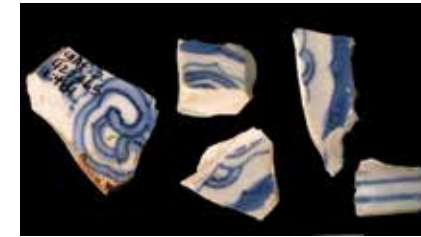


Fig. 3.3.3.2.2 Shards of a blue-and-white bowl excavated at the Ferryland site, Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi reign (1573–1627)  
© Aaron Miller

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

<sup>801</sup> 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.

<sup>802</sup> Excavated in Area F, Event 367. *Ibid.*, p. 112, fig. 10.5; and Appendix 3, p. 172, fig. 3.28.

<sup>803</sup> Excavated in Area F, Events 363, 432, and 481. *Ibid.*, p. 113, fig. 10.6; and Appendix 3, p. 198.

<sup>804</sup> Excavated in Area G, Event 545. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–115, fig. 10.8; and Appendix 3, p. 171, fig. 3.25.

<sup>805</sup> Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, pp. 161–162, no. 3.10.1.

<sup>806</sup> 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.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

## 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.<sup>808</sup> 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),<sup>809</sup> 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).<sup>810</sup> 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.

<sup>808</sup> References to porcelain orders in inventories of the Portuguese monarchy are discussed in section 3.1.1 of this Chapter.

<sup>809</sup> 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.<sup>811</sup> 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).<sup>812</sup> 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.<sup>813</sup> 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.<sup>814</sup> 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.<sup>815</sup> 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 NIA ERA DE 1552 REINA' (JORGE ALVAREZ HAD THIS MADE AT THE TIME OF 1552) (Fig. 3.4.1.1.4).<sup>816</sup> Nine extant bottles bearing this inscription with the name of an individual person, all dating to the Jiajing reign, have been recorded so far.<sup>817</sup> 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).<sup>818</sup> 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 João 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.<sup>819</sup> Another bowl of this shape, and one other with everted rim, bear the same inscription but lack the arms.<sup>820</sup> All three bowls are decorated on the exterior with purely Chinese motifs, but an example in the Topkapı 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.<sup>821</sup>

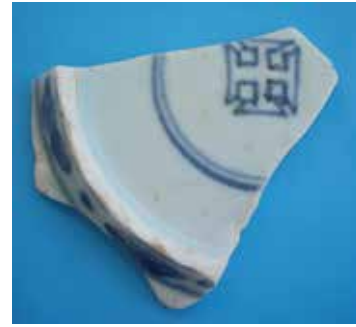


Fig. 3.4.1.1.2 Shard of a blue-and-white dish excavated from Huawanping site at Shangchuan Island, Guangdong province  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Zhengde reign (1506–1521)  
© Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua

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

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 inscrições 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 Topkapı 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,



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)

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).<sup>822</sup> 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.<sup>823</sup>

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).<sup>824</sup> 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.<sup>825</sup> 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).<sup>826</sup> 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 plusieurs 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)



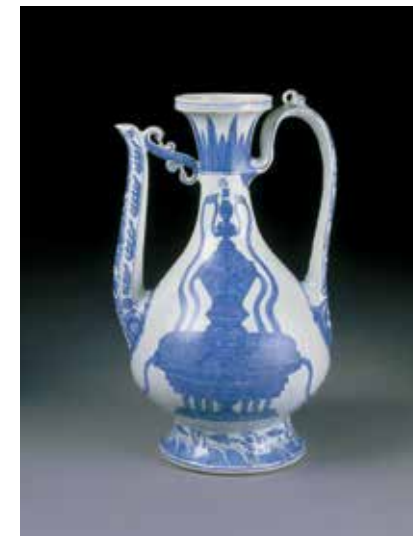
Opposite page

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 greatly 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.<sup>827</sup> 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.<sup>828</sup> 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.<sup>829</sup>

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).<sup>830</sup> 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).<sup>831</sup> The source of this fountain motif is still unknown.<sup>832</sup> 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).<sup>833</sup> 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).<sup>834</sup> 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.<sup>835</sup> 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)<sup>836</sup> 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.<sup>837</sup> 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.<sup>838</sup> 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.<sup>839</sup> 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.<sup>840</sup> 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.<sup>841</sup> 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.<sup>842</sup> 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 (probably 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 Erdoçdu, '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).<sup>843</sup> 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.<sup>844</sup> 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.<sup>845</sup>

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.<sup>846</sup> 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.<sup>847</sup> 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 armorial pieces, so only a few examples will be discussed here in detail.<sup>848</sup> The earliest armorial *Kraak* porcelain made for the Portuguese market 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).<sup>849</sup> The arms depicted on these



pieces, dating to c.1590–1600, have been attributed to Dom João de Almeida.<sup>850</sup> 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.<sup>851</sup> 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.<sup>852</sup>

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.<sup>853</sup> 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.<sup>854</sup> 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).<sup>855</sup> 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.<sup>856</sup> 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).<sup>857</sup> 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.<sup>858</sup> 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.<sup>859</sup> 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.



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 Illustri 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

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 Lotherton 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. Genealogia 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



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.<sup>860</sup> 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.<sup>861</sup> 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)<sup>862</sup> and a saucer dish,<sup>863</sup> on the interior of a small bowl,<sup>864</sup> on the sides of two bowls of larger size<sup>865</sup> and a small jar.<sup>866</sup> 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).<sup>867</sup> 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)<sup>868</sup> and the seven-headed hydra depicted on the stone façade of the Cathedral of St. Paul, built from



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).<sup>869</sup> 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.<sup>870</sup> 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).<sup>871</sup> 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.<sup>872</sup> 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.<sup>873</sup> 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).<sup>874</sup> Sargent has suggested that the architectural motif depicted in both the jars and dishes relates to colonial churches in New Spain.<sup>875</sup> 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.<sup>876</sup> 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-handed 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; Diaz, 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 Eikermann, 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)



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 Neuenhuys 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 Luisa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Imagens do Cristianismo 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 Apoiim Calvão Collection), and the Hodroff Collection in the United States.

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).<sup>877</sup> 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.<sup>878</sup> As noted by Sargent, there appear to have been multiple orders of such jars over a period of time.<sup>879</sup> 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')<sup>880</sup> 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).<sup>881</sup> 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.<sup>882</sup> 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.<sup>883</sup> 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

roundels reserved on a dense design of related flower scrolls with curling leaves were excavated (Appendix 2).<sup>884</sup>

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 commissioners 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).<sup>885</sup> 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.<sup>886</sup> 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;<sup>887</sup> 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),<sup>888</sup> 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.<sup>889</sup> 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.<sup>890</sup> 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.

<sup>874</sup> 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.

<sup>875</sup> 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.

<sup>876</sup> 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

<sup>877</sup> 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.

<sup>878</sup> 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.

<sup>879</sup> 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.

<sup>880</sup> Saint Ignatius 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.

<sup>881</sup> These jars are found in the Casa-Museu Dr. Anastácio 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.

<sup>882</sup> 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.



Fig. 3.4.1.2.4 Pewter dish from the shipwreck Galicia (1544) Diameter: 37cm © Rosa Benavides

the Iberian Peninsula and exported to other parts of Europe as well as to the New World.<sup>891</sup> 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.<sup>892</sup> 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.<sup>893</sup> 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.<sup>894</sup> Examples of such pewter dishes have been recovered from shipwrecks of various nationalities, including the *Mary Rose* (1545),<sup>895</sup> 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.<sup>896</sup> 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.<sup>897</sup> 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*,<sup>898</sup> 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 León (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 Jingdezhen 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 primeiras 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 grateful 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 Meneses 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 Jingdezhen 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).<sup>889</sup> The shape faithfully copies a glass square moulded bottle that circulated widely throughout Europe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>900</sup> Recent archaeological finds show that this type of glass bottle was used in Portugal at the time.<sup>901</sup> 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).<sup>902</sup> 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.<sup>903</sup> 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*<sup>904</sup> and the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*.<sup>905</sup> Though also recovered from archaeological marine and terrestrial sites of other nationalities,<sup>906</sup> this bottle shape is likely to have been introduced by the Portuguese to both China and Japan.<sup>907</sup> 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.<sup>908</sup> 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.<sup>909</sup>

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).<sup>910</sup> 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



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.

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).<sup>911</sup> 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.<sup>912</sup> 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.<sup>913</sup> 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).<sup>914</sup> 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.<sup>915</sup> 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.<sup>916</sup> Krahl also noted that handles in the form of figures with stretched arms, like those on these ewers, appear on Portuguese silver.<sup>917</sup> 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).<sup>918</sup> 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).<sup>919</sup> 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.<sup>920</sup> 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).<sup>921</sup> 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.<sup>922</sup> 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





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.<sup>923</sup> 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).<sup>924</sup> 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).<sup>925</sup> In Spain they were known as ‘Damascus bottles’ and in Italy as *albarelli*.<sup>926</sup> 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.<sup>927</sup> 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.<sup>928</sup> 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.<sup>929</sup> 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.<sup>930</sup> The earliest written evidence of porcelain made after European models

<sup>[1]</sup> 898 Rinaldi, 1989, pp. 118–119.

<sup>[2]</sup> 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.

<sup>[3]</sup> 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.

<sup>[4]</sup> 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.

<sup>[5]</sup> 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.

<sup>[6]</sup> 903 William B. Jordan, *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age, 1600–1650*, Forth Worth, 1985, p. 67, fig. II.3.

<sup>[7]</sup> 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.

<sup>[8]</sup> 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.

<sup>[9]</sup> 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).

<sup>[10]</sup> For more information, see Stemm, Gerth, Flow, Guerrero-Librero and Kingsley, 2013, pp. 14-15.

<sup>[11]</sup> 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.

<sup>[12]</sup> 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.

<sup>[13]</sup> 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.

<sup>[14]</sup> 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 Vialle, 1992, p. 12.

<sup>[15]</sup> 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.

<sup>[16]</sup> 912 This particular use is shown in the painting *Easy come, easy go* by Jan Steen (c.1626–1679), dated 1661, depicting a boy filling 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.

<sup>[17]</sup> 913 Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 193.

<sup>[18]</sup> 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.

<sup>[19]</sup> 915 Harrison-Hall, 2001, p. 359; Krahl, 2009, p. 331; and Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 198.

<sup>[20]</sup> 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’.<sup>931</sup> 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’.<sup>932</sup> 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.<sup>933</sup>

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.<sup>934</sup> 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),<sup>935</sup> the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>936</sup> and two private collections in the United States<sup>937</sup> and Brazil,<sup>938</sup> are of particular interest. The overall shape is known from Dutch,<sup>939</sup> German<sup>940</sup> and English<sup>941</sup> 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.<sup>942</sup> 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.<sup>943</sup> 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.<sup>944</sup> 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 Beuningen, 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 Vasallo e Silva, *Ouressesaria 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 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 Arqueológicas 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.<sup>945</sup> 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.<sup>946</sup> 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,<sup>947</sup> 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),<sup>948</sup> 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.<sup>949</sup> 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.<sup>950</sup> 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.<sup>951</sup> 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 Brilliana 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).<sup>952</sup>

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).<sup>953</sup> 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 Goldsmiths' 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 Orfèvrerie 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.<sup>954</sup> 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.<sup>955</sup> 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).<sup>956</sup> 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).<sup>957</sup> 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 Transitional 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'.<sup>958</sup> 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'.<sup>959</sup>

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.<sup>960</sup> 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. Ferdandez.<sup>961</sup> 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'.<sup>962</sup> Orders for salts were placed by the VOC again in 1639 and 1643, but only 323 salts were shipped to the Dutch Republic.<sup>963</sup> It is unclear if the aforementioned porcelain salts were part of these VOC shipments or if they were ordered privately.<sup>964</sup>

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.<sup>965</sup> 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.<sup>966</sup> 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.<sup>967</sup> 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, Hooageveen



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)

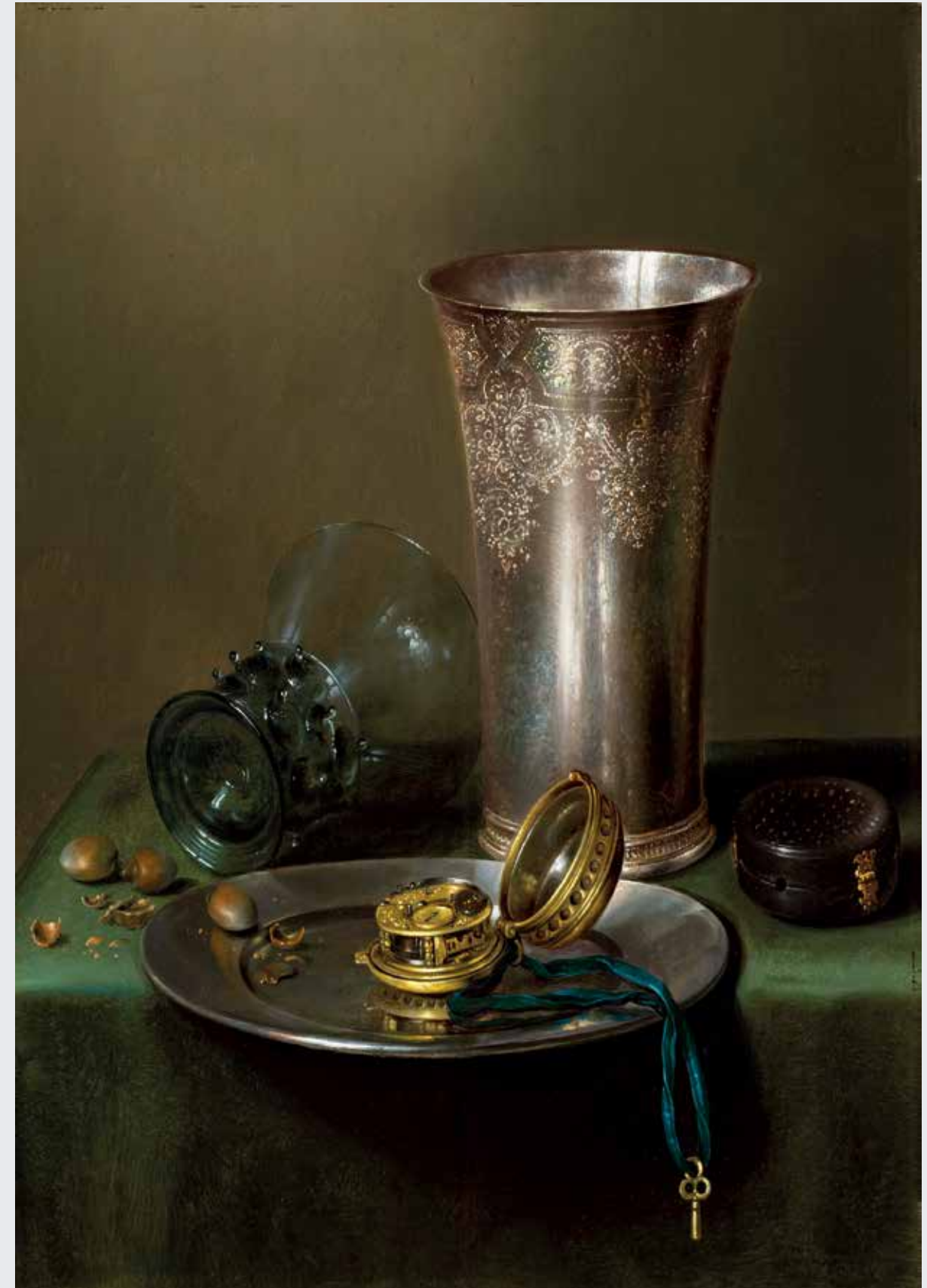






Fig. 3.4.2.1.24 Transitional style  
blue-and-white wine pitcher  
Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province  
Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign (1628–1644)  
Height: 22cm  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam  
(acc. no. A 2218 (KN&V))



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 Arctic Island of Nove Zembla, abandoned in 1597 by Willem Barentsz  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

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).<sup>968</sup> 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).<sup>969</sup> 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).<sup>970</sup> 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)<sup>971</sup> was most probably made after a pewter model provided



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)

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: *modèles artificiels de divers vaisseaux d'argent, et autres oeuvres capricieuses*, 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 Haften, 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).<sup>972</sup> 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.<sup>973</sup> 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'.<sup>974</sup>

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.<sup>975</sup> 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).<sup>976</sup> 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.<sup>977</sup> The hollow finial at the top served to hold a long-handled spoon, just like in the metal original.<sup>978</sup> 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.<sup>979</sup> 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.<sup>980</sup> 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 tulipaenen, 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))

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 Published 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*

still life painting by Frans Ryckhals illustrated earlier (Fig. 3.4.2.1.15).<sup>981</sup> Ten mustard pots of these two shapes were recovered from the *Hatcher junk* (c.1643): 4 globular, 2 baluster and 4 baluster and ribbed.<sup>982</sup>

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’.<sup>983</sup> A few shapes of heavily potted porcelain candlesticks made during the Tianqi and Chongzhen reigns have been recorded.<sup>984</sup> 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).<sup>985</sup> The shape is after a silver<sup>986</sup> or pewter model that was commonly used in the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century,<sup>987</sup> 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 Arctic 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).<sup>988</sup> 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.<sup>989</sup> 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.<sup>990</sup> 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.<sup>991</sup> 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.<sup>992</sup>

### 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



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*, Braunschweig, 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'.<sup>993</sup> 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'.<sup>994</sup> 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).<sup>995</sup> 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).<sup>996</sup> 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)<sup>997</sup> 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).<sup>998</sup> 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.<sup>999</sup> 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).<sup>1000</sup> The gable house

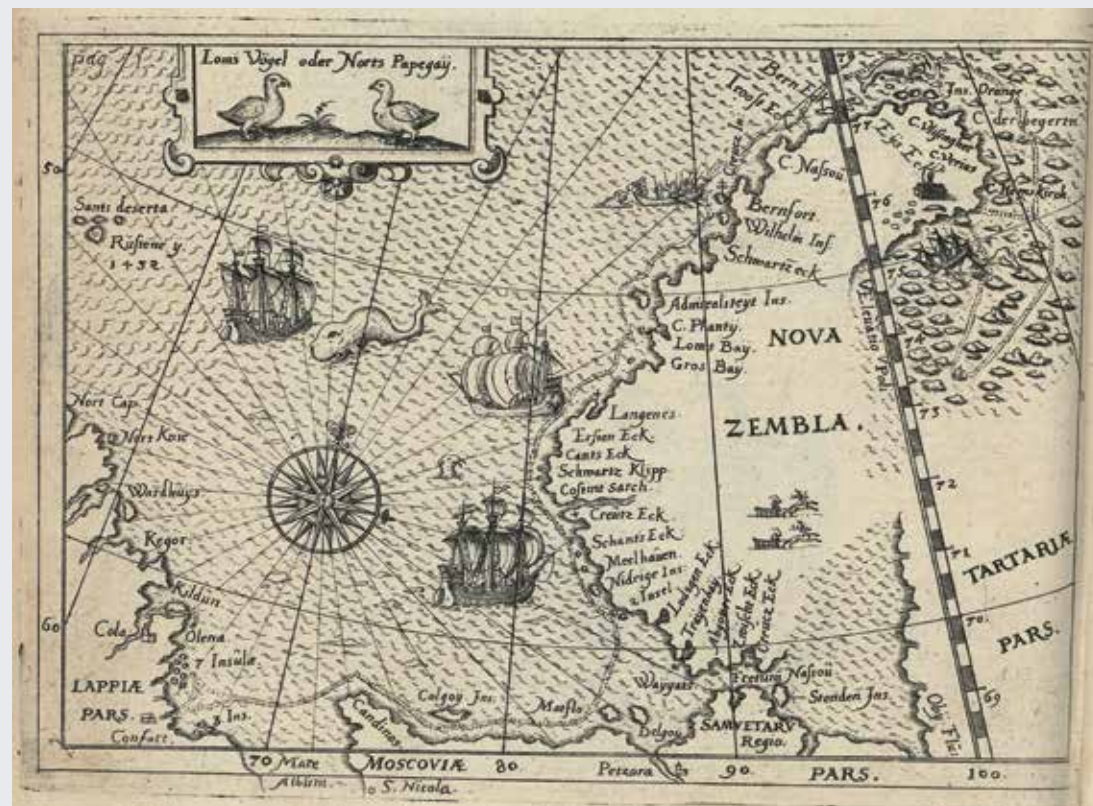


Fig. 3.4.2.2.8 Zhangzhou blue-and-white saucer dish  
Zhangzhou kilns, Fujian province  
Ming dynasty, Wanli/Chongzhen reign  
(1573–1644)  
Diameter: 47cm  
Groninger Museum, Groningen  
(inv. no. 1983-0189)

Fig. 3.4.2.2.9 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. 3.4.2.2.11 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 *Spiegel der Zeevaert*, first published by Lucas Janszoon Waghenar (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.<sup>1001</sup> 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).<sup>1002</sup> 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).<sup>1003</sup>

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'.<sup>1004</sup> 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).<sup>1005</sup> 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’.<sup>1006</sup> 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.<sup>1007</sup> 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’.<sup>1008</sup>

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.<sup>1009</sup> 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’.<sup>1010</sup>

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.<sup>1011</sup> 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 *Spiegel 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).<sup>1012</sup> 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 Hanım 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, ‘Inloed, 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 eeuwen Nederlands-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. Jahrhundert. Ein Kapitel Handelsgeschichte*, exhibition catalogue, Ostfriesisches Landesmuseum, Emden, 2015, pp. 95–96, cat. 4. I am grateful to Daniel Suebsman 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).<sup>1013</sup> 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).<sup>1014</sup> 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’.<sup>1015</sup> 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.<sup>1016</sup> 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 activities, 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 lengthy. 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.

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 'grootte 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 than 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 terrestrial 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 *wucaï* (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 vicerealties 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,<sup>1017</sup> 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.<sup>1018</sup> 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.

<sup>1017</sup> As noted by Viallé, the Governor-General Jacques Speck 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 *piringshs* 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.

<sup>1018</sup> 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.