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# Chinese porcelain and other orientalia and exotica in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty

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# Chinese Porcelain

## and other Orientalia and Exotica in Spain during the Habsburg Dynasty

VOL. I

Cinta Krahe

UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN 2014



# Chinese Porcelain

## and other Orientalia and Exotica in Spain during the Habsburg Dynasty

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor
aan de Universiteit Leiden,
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**Cinta Krahe**

Geboren te Madrid (Spanje) in 1965

**Promotiecommisse:**

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| | Prof. Dr. T. M. Eliens |
| | Prof. Dr. A. Gerritsen |
| | Dr. J. van Campen |

It is not just things that carry stories with them.

Stories are a kind of thing, too.

Stories and objects share something, a patina.

Edmund de Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes,* 2010

**This thesis is dedicated to the courage of the people of the Philippines in the aftermath of typhoon Yolanda**

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Blue and white bottle from de San Diego. H: 30 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. nº. 7317

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This dissertation has been several years in the making and has incurred many debts of gratitude along the way. As a History of Art undergraduate at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, I benefited from the encouragement of Professor Carmen García-Ormaechea. She was the first to suggest Oriental Art as an area of specialisation, since at that time only limited research had been conducted into this field in Spain. She also supervised my MA dissertation titled *Chinese Bronzes in the Museo de Artes Decorativas de Madrid*. While studying for my MA degree in Chinese Art and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS, University of London), Professor Rosemary Scott encouraged me to further explore the presence of Chinese porcelain in Spain. After spending a few years in China and having started my professional career at the Escuela de Arte y Antigüedades de Madrid, supervised by Casto Castellanos and Juan Castillo, I was fortunate enough to work with a group of specialists in Spanish decorative arts who taught me to appreciate the close interrelationship between these arts. I also learned from them the advantages of teamwork. To this day, at the Universidad de Alcalá, supervised by Antonio Martínez Ripoll, we continue training students in the appraisal and valuation of fine arts and antiques.

I met professor Christiaan Jörg, my supervisor, while attending some lectures at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. Since that first encounter in 1997, he has been a constant help to me, clarifying any enquiry or problem that I should raise. Six years ago, he suggested writing my thesis in English and translating the Spanish inventories in the form of appendices to the thesis. The task of translating the inventories has been arduous but worthwhile, for now it is available to a wider readership. With much comings and goings between Holland and Spain, we have jointly worked towards completion of this dissertation. All the way Christiaan has been an exemplary scholar, a sensitive advisor, and a truly remarkable man. I will always remember his insistence on the need to enjoy one's work. A world of thanks to him and to his wife Els, for making my visits to Haren so happy.

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reference for inclusion in my work. I cannot thank her enough. In the transcriptions of old Spanish I have tried to modernise the old Spanish script to make it more accessible to a general readership.

The chapter on archaeology would never have been accomplished without the help and coordination of Doctor Jaume Coll, director of the Museo Nacional de la Cerámica "González Marti". Thanks to his work in the field, and his vast network of contacts – he has colleagues in all corners of the country – we gradually managed to piece together the archaeological map of Chinese porcelain in Spain.

Saúl Pérez-Juana, whose knowledge of everyday life in Habsburg Spain is so great you might suspect he recently stepped out of that era, was a great help in shedding light on contemporary currencies, weights and measurements, as well as supplying details of the customs of the age. All of this helped me to better understand the context of life when Chinese porcelain reached Spain. As an archaeologist he also provided invaluable information on archaeology conducted in Madrid.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ADA | Archivo de la Fundación Duques de Alba. Palacio de Liria, Madrid. |
| ADM | Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, Seville. |
| AGI | Archivo General de Indias, Seville. |
| AGP | Archivo del Palacio Real de Madrid. |
| AGS | Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid. |
| AGFCMS | Archivo General Fundación Casa de Medina Sidonia, Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Cádiz. |
| AHN | Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobility section, Hospital de Tavera. Toledo. |
| AHPM | Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid. |
| AHPS | Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla. |
| AHPV | Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Valladolid. |
| ARChV | Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid. |
| CMC | Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas. |
| CSIC | Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas |
| UCM | Universidad Complutense de Madrid |
| UA | Universidad Autónoma de Madrid |
| Leg. | Legajo (Bundle) |
| Fol. | Folio (Page) |
| v | verso |

# *INTRODUCTION*

The reception of Chinese and Japanese export porcelain in Europe and the Americas has been the subject of much research, many publications and a number of exhibitions. The scholars and researchers involved could base themselves on a solid corpus of data, gathered in the past from a miscellany of sources. Although Spain was one of the most important commercial and colonial powers in the East during the 16th and 17th centuries, its role in the porcelain trade was far from clear, mainly due to the lack of research in the relevant primary sources. In fact, Spain was more or less a blank spot on the Western map relating to imports of Oriental porcelain.[1] This thesis aims to make a modest start to rectify this situation, offering an eclectic survey of hitherto unknown or unused sources, as well as a large collection of new data.

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[1] Only a few articles dealing specifically with Chinese porcelain during Habsburg-period Spain have been published to date. As far as archaeology of the period is concerned see: Etsuko Miyata Rodríquez, 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (1)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, June 2008, pp. 8–10; and 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (2)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, July, 2008, pp. 6–8; 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*, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London, 2009, pp. 123–41; Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Cerámicas de Importación: series y cronología', in *Manual de Cerámica Medieval y Moderna*, Alcalá de Henares, 2011, pp. 273–304. For trade in Chinese porcelain during this period in Spain see: Teresa Canepa, 'The Portuguese and Spanish Trade in *Kraak* Porcelain in the Late 16th and Early 17th centuries', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 73, London, 2009, pp 61–78; Alfonso Pleguezuelo, 'Regalos del Galeón. Las Porcelanas y las Lozas Ibéricas de la Edad Moderna', in Alfredo José Morales Martínez (ed.), *Filipinas*: *Puerta de Oriente*: *de Legazpi a Malaspina*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 125–43; Articles dealing with collections of the Royal House and aristocracy: Cinta Krahe, 'El Coleccionismo de porcelana China en España: de curiosidad Real a mercadería de exportación', in Grupo de investigación Arte de Asia (ed.), *Orientando la Mirada. Arte asiático en colecciones públicas madrileñas*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2009, pp. 23–34; and by the same author, 'Porcelana china en la España del siglo XVI', in *Galería Anticuaria*, no. 225, 2004, pp. 40–46; Linda Shulsky, 'Philip II of Spain as Porcelain Collector', in *Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. 44, no. 2, 1998, pp. 51–54.

On the other hand, there are there are number of important publications that deal with Chinese porcelain in Portugal and Holland. To name just a few: Christiaan J. A., Jörg, '*Kraak*porselein', in *Antiek*, vol. 25, no. 2, Aug/Sept, 1990, pp. 53–64; Christiaan, J. A., Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, The Hague, 1982; 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*, Lisbon, 2007, pp. 45–71; Teresa Canepa, '*Kraak* Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Century', in Jorge Welsh (ed.), *Kraak Porcelain. The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and 17th Centuries*, London, 2008, pp. 17–63; María Antónia Pinto de Matos (ed.), *Azul y Branco da China. Porcelana ao Tempo dos Descobrimentos. Colecçao Amaral Cabral*, exh. cat., Lisbon, 1998; Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Caminos da Porcelana – The Porcelain Route*, exh. cat., Lisbon, 1996; Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, 'Macao and Porcelain for the Portuguese Market', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2000, pp. 66-75; Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989; Maura Rinaldi, '*Kraak* Porcelain. The History and Classification of Dishes', in *Heritage*, no. 8, Singapore, 1986, pp. 1–25; Maura Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 57, 1992–1993, pp. 95–96; Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, 'Les Porcelaines Chinoises du Palais de Santos', in *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 39, 1984, pp. 3–68; Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 'Precious Objects and Marvels: the Goa-Lisbon Trade', in Helmut Trnek and Nuno Vassallo e Silva (eds.), *Exótica. The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer*, exh cat., Lisbon, 2002, pp. 27-37.

The research for this thesis has known its ups and downs and different methodologies were needed in order to get a broad survey. The initial idea was to focus on existing pieces of porcelain in a documented, early Spanish context, during the period of the Spanish Habsburg reign (1517-1700). Therefore the research began by placing inquiries with the curators of the palaces and monasteries known as the *Reales Sitios* and managed by the Spanish National Heritage Authority. They reported that no such pieces had survived. Even so, the records of their collections were checked for anything incorrectly catalogued. The conclusion drawn from this initial groundwork was that there were indeed no historical pieces from the Habsburg era remaining in the Royal collections in Spain.[2] Special commissions of Chinese porcelain for the Spanish market during the Habsburg period had been made but only a few pieces are preserved in non-Spanish museums and private collections.[3] Over the past few years, however, extensive research[4] has been conducted into Chinese porcelain from the later Bourbon dynasty, in particular the reign of King Philip V (1700–46) and his wife Elisabeth Farnese (1692–1766). This later 18th century export porcelain service partly is still extant in the Royal Palace in Madrid, although the inventory listing the pieces had not been traced. Recently, however, it was discovered and although beyond the scope of this work, I did translate it and have it included in this dissertation.[5] Finally, a recent publication discusses Spanish armorial decorations on eighteenth-cen-

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[2] I am grateful to Ana García Sanz and Leticia Sánchez, curators of the Palacio Real, for their help. Other luxury items, such as lacquered objects, textiles and armour, are preserved to this day in Royal collections; see the Royal Palace exhibition catalogue, Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *Oriente en palacio. Tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas*, Madrid, 2003.

[3] *Guan*-type blue-and-white jars decorated with the emblem of the Augustinian Order – the double-headed eagle over a heart pierced with arrows beneath a coronet dated c. 1590-1635, and are to be found in several public institutions such as Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, the Roberto Blackmann Collection in Lisbon, the Hodroff Collection and Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, USA. See for a survey of such pieces W.R. Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum*, New Haven, 2012, pp. 56-60. Two dishes decorated with the same motif, the double-headed eagle, are in the Peabody Essex Museum and a private collection. There is a plate ornamented with the coat-of-arms of García Hurtado de Mendoza, lV Marquis of Cañete that was probably ordered from Peru in around 1590–96 in private hands in Rocío Díaz, *Porcelana China para España*, 2010, p. 87-91. In addition we have to include the 'famous' bottles with round drum-like bodies decorated with the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon quarterly, which were probably made at the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century during the reign of King Philip III (1598–1621). For the latest research into these bottles, see Rocío Díaz, 'Armas de Castilla y León', in Díaz, 2010, pp. 74–79. An important number of these bottles have survived, but only in non-Spanish and private collections.

[4] A number of articles have been published about Chinese porcelain in Royal Households during the Bourbon dynasty such as: Carmen García Ormaechea, 'Los tibores de Isabel de Farnesio', and 'La Porcelana del Palacio Real', in the exhibition catalogue by Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *Oriente en Palacio. Tesoros asiáticos en las Colecciones Reales Españolas*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 215–23 and pp. 225–39; A small booklet by Carmen García-Ormaechea, *Tibores Chinos en el Palacio Real de Madrid*, Madrid, 1987, is based on the large eighteenth-century 'soldier' vases in the Royal Palace (Madrid); Teresa Lavalle-Cobo, 'El coleccionismo oriental de Isabel de Farnesio', in *Oriente en palacio. Tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 212–14; Teresa Fernández Pereira, 'Vajilla de Felipe V de la Compañía de Indias', *Reales Sitios*, no. 116, Madrid, 1993, pp. 25–32. For texts about Chinese porcelain decorated with Spanish motifs during the eighteenth century see: Rocío Díaz, *Porcelana China para España*, London, 2010; Antonio Díaz de Rivera wrote several articles on Chinese porcelain in Spain during the eighteenth century such as 'Proclamation Medals and Related Chinese Export Porcelain Services in the Reign of Charles IV of Spain', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 55, no. 3, 2005–6, pp. 61–70; 'Porcelanas chinas con blasón español en el siglo XVIII', in *Antiquaria*, no. 177, Madrid, November 1999, pp. 70–76; 'España y la Compañía de Indias', in *Antiquaria*, no. 176, Madrid, October 1999; and finally 'The Spanish Market', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1999, pp. 38–44. Carmen García-Ormaechea, 'El coleccionismo de Arte Extremo Oriental en España: Porcelana China', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, 2003, pp. 231–52.

[5] The inventory of the only Royal Chinese porcelain service made for King Philip V, dated circa 1730, was found during the research for this dissertation; see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 35, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 770, Expediente 80. See Grupo de Investigación Complutense Arte de Asia,

tury Chinese porcelain; most pieces in this category are preserved in private hands and in non-Spanish public collections.[6]

This absence of Oriental porcelain begged the first question: why were no pieces left in Spain while other countries, like neighboring Portugal, preserved a considerable body despite numerous wars and earthquakes? One point in Portugal's favour was that it had direct trade with East Asia while Spanish trade with the East had to pass through Mexico. Other possible answers were that the Spanish Royal collection suffered enormous losses when the Alcázar of Madrid burned down on Christmas Eve, 1734, and again during the razing and disappearance of Philip IV's Buen Retiro Palace during the Peninsula War (1808–14).[7] Without a doubt these two events alone would account for severe gaps in the collections of porcelain as well as other luxury items such as furniture, silver or glass. Still, it is remarkable that no Chinese porcelain from this epoch survived anywhere in the Royal collections.

Without sufficient documented historic items to refer to, the research lead to a dead end. Attention therefore shifted from the actual pieces to references on Oriental porcelain mentioned in archives from the period. This proved to be a much more fruitful approach, although progress was slow due to the archaic script and the almost complete absence of digitalised files. I was acquainted, of course, with the few published inventories of Spanish monarchs' belongings, for example that of the collection of Chinese porcelain of Philip II, which was the largest collection in Europe at the time. Such printed sources were welcome additions, but I had mainly to rely on unpublished documents in order to be able to sketch the interest for Chinese porcelain in the circles of the Spanish Crown and the nobility, how it was distributed and how it was valued in different layers of the Spanish society at the time.

In a next stage it was decided to add yet another type of sources: archaeological data from excavations in Spanish cities. Shards of porcelains actually used in Spain compensated more or less the absence of complete, documented porcelains. In addition, archaeological evidence proved fundamental to complement the written sources. In each case photographs were taken, the body, glaze and decorations were analysed, and when possible, comparisons were made between the shards and unbroken pieces in foreign collections. Data were gathered using a geographical criterion, starting with Seville, the port of entrance of these goods; contextual information is based on the sites where the fragments were found.

A special category of archaeological evidence is constituted by porcelain found in salvaged shipwrecks. As an example, I concentrate on the cargo of the *San Diego* galleon, which sunk in Philippine waters in 1600.[8]

Lastly, a fourth category of sources was added, namely paintings by Spanish artists of the period, mainly still lifes, that depicted Chinese porcelain as part of the scene. Although such seemingly naturalistic depictions have to be used with caution, they nevertheless give an indication of appreciation, status and use.

The main goal of this thesis, therefore, can be formulated as follows: to collect and present new, primary data on the importation, use and appreciation of Chinese porcelain and other exotica in Habsburg Spain, derived from these four categories of sources, namely references in archival documents, archaeological evidence, the few objects found in-situ and still lifes.

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2009, p. 144, ill. 37 and 30, and vol. II p. 128, of this thesis.

[6] Diaz, 2010. A few Spanish armorial pieces, dated to the eighteenth century, are preserved in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and the Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas in Madrid; see Grupo de Investigación Complutense Arte de Asia, Madrid, *Orientando la Mirada. Arte Asiático en Colecciones Públicas Madrileñas*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2009. pp. 148-49

[7] J. Brown and J.H. Elliott, *Un Palacio para el Rey*, Madrid, 1981, pp. 253–54: 'By the time the French had retreated across the Pyrenees in the summer of 1813, the Retiro was in ruins. […] Of the old Retiro there remained only the Hall of Realms […], the Casón, and a pile of rubble.'

[8] Jean-Paul Desroches, Fr. Gabriel Casal and Franck Goddio, *Treasures of the San Diego*, New York, 1996. The exhibition *The Treasures of the San Diego* was presented in New York at the Philippine Consulate, in Paris at la Grande Halle de la Villette and at the Central Hispano Foundation in Madrid in 1996 and 1997.

I am aware that this is a rather traditional art-historical approach, which in my opinion nonetheless is necessary to facilitate further art-historical, historical and sociological research on Oriental objects in Spanish contexts. In this, the study of decorative art and the cultural history of exotic goods in Spain certainly lacks the tools that are available for historians, who have access to primary data that have been collected over the years for more analytical studies. Of course, as an art-historian I could not - and should not - refrain from giving occasional interpretations of the data I found, but these should be regarded as a side-effect, inviting others to continue; certainly I did this not exhaustive, nor was it the main objective of this thesis.

The approach sketched above dictated the organisation of this study.

After this introduction, chapter 1 is devoted to the historical context of relations between Spain and China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries so that the setting embraces more than the framework of decorative arts alone. Period chronicles and letters gave information on what leading personalities of the day had to say on Chinese porcelain. It didn't take long before Chinese porcelain became a product in the trade in exotic items from China to the Philippines and thence to Mexico and Spain.

Chapter 2 is largely based on relevant publications on the Iberian countries' trading activities in Eastern Asian region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Establishing how Oriental commodities reached Seville and who the leading players in the exotic goods trade were, required consulting the records at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, the repository of documents on the trade relations between Spain, America and the Philippines.

Chapter 3 is the core of this thesis. It deals with the documents consulted in various Spanish archives in order to gain a better overview of how Chinese porcelain was received and how widely it was collected in different sectors of society. The topic's broader interest resides in the fact that primary Spanish sources are largely unknown to art historians in Spain and abroad and for this reason it was decided also to check the consulted documents on mentions of other exotic items, apart from porcelain. I have tried to place the data yielded by the documents in the context of their time, to give some interpretations and identifications. The material is divided into chronologically arranged sections, dealing with royalty, the nobility, merchants and other individuals. To flesh out the main information, references were also collected from contemporary testimonies given in letters, narrations and stories written by travellers in Spain that reflected on Spanish society, life and the customs of the day. It closes with a discussion about the use and display in Spanish households.

A vast corpus of new and hitherto unknown data was collected from inventories, appraisals, estate partition documents, dowry receipts and wills. They have all been transcribed and translated into English and are published in full in part 2 of this thesis. Quotations are used to support arguments in this chapter.

Finally, chapter 4 examines the actual Chinese porcelains. A large section is devoted to porcelain shards found during archaeological excavations in different Spanish cities. Such a basic survey had not yet been attempted, and although I will have missed information, I think I covered enough ground to be able to draw conclusions on the material I have seen. Not being an archaeologist, however, I heavily relied on the contextual data provided by others. Connected to this is the short discussion on shipwreck finds, in particular those from the *San Diego*. Then follows a description of the only three extant pieces in Spain that have a pre-1700 provenance.

A discussion of Spanish period paintings, in particular still lifes depicting porcelain (or porcelain imitations) closes this chapter. There is a wide variety of examples in other countries such as the Netherlands and England, but this source had not yet been explored in Spain.



Fig. I. The exhibition *Treasures of the San Diego.* New York, 1996.

To conclude this introduction, something has to be said about the various public collections in Spain containing Oriental porcelain from various later periods. These collections do include items of Habsburg-era Chinese porcelain, but only as latecomers, donated after the Habsburgs had declined. The first such collection is in the city of Ávila, in the Oriental Museum housed in the Royal Monastery of Saint Thomas. The second is in Valladolid, in the Oriental Museum at the Royal College of the Augustinian Fathers. These two collections were studied and catalogued by Carmen García-Ormaechea in her doctoral dissertation *Porcelana China en España* in 1985.[9] Dominican missionaries residing in the East (Hong Kong, Macao and the Philippines) sent most of the pieces in the Ávila Collection from abroad for the 1925 Vatican Exposition and the 1929 Barcelona World Fair. When the exhibitions ended, the objects were returned to the missionary houses, though many pieces were lost. When the museum's director, Isaac Liquete, arrived in Ávila in 1964, he found only 50 pieces, but the number grew with acquisitions made by the Order's members during the twentieth century. The collection at the Oriental Museum at the Augustinian Monastery has experienced a similar history. Missionaries and other individuals donated some of the objects, but the vast majority of pieces entered the museum's collection in 1925 for the Vatican Exposition. Many porcelain items were sent to Rome from various areas of China, and, though the best remained in Rome, many were returned to the monastery in Valladolid, where they can be appreciated today. About 100 of the nearly 400 pieces in the museum's collection are on display. They are placed in chronological order by dynasty, from the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) to the Qing period (1644–1911).[10]

Other collections of Oriental porcelain were formed in the nineteenth century in the city of Madrid. The Oriental ceramics in the National Museum of Decorative Arts and the Archaeological Museum were catalogued by Fernando Tabar de Anitúa in *Cerámicas de China y Japón en el Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas*[11], published in 1983. The Cerralbo Museum in Madrid contains the private collection of the seventeenth Marquis of Cerralbo, Enrique de Aguilera y Gamboa (1845–1922), who donated it to the state in the twentieth century. Fernando Tabar de Anitúa published the collection in *Lujo Asiático. Artes de Extremo Oriente y chinerías en el Museo Cerralbo* in Madrid in 2004[12]. There are other collections in Spain containing Chinese and Japanese porcelain, all formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among others they include the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation's collection in Granada[13], created by painter José María Rodríguez-Acosta in 1941, and painter Joaquín Sorolla's collection, now in the Sorolla Museum in Madrid.[14]

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[9] Carmen García-Ormaechea, *Porcelana china en España*, Ph.d. diss, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1985.

[10] Blas Sierra de la Calle, *Museo Oriental. China, Japón Filipinas. Obras selectas,* Valladolid, 2004.

[11] Fernando Tabar de Anitúa, *Cerámicas de China y Japón en el Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas,* Madrid, 1983.

[12] Fernando Tabar de Anitúa, *Lujo Asiático. Artes de Extremo Oriente y chinerías en el Museo Cerralbo,* Madrid, 2004.

[13] Carmen García-Ormaechea, *Colección de arte asiático. Fundación Rodríquez Acosta,* Granada, 2002.

[14] Carmen Padilla Montoya, *Museo Sorolla. Catálogo de cerámica,* Madrid, 1992.

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# 1. *HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*

## Two Empires Meet: Habsburg Spain and Ming China

### *Spain and China in the Middle Ages*

For the mediaeval Spanish mind, China was a land of fabulous richness and abundance. Its inhabitants were known as *seres* or *sinai*, both terms that derived from the word for silk – the sumptuous material for which China had been famous in the West since the Roman empire.[15] And in his seventh century encyclopaedia, the *Etimologías*, Bishop Isidoro of Seville (d. 636) made this reference to the China: 'The *seres* have taken the name from their city which is situated in the East where wool is knitted from the trees' (*Etimologías*, IX, 2, 40). [16] The best known early encounter between Europe and East Asia, was of course on the occasion of the Venetian Marco Polo visiting the country at the end of the thirteenth century. At that point new terms for China entered the Spanish language (via Catalan), such as *Cathai* or *Mangi*.[17] When a century later Tamerlane (1336–1405) began expanding his own empire by absorbing portions of the Ottoman Empire, he inadvertently halted Ottoman expansion into Europe. Like many European monarchs, Henry III of Castile (1379–1406) decided to foster ties with Tamerlane and dispatched an embassy to the Timurid court at Samarkand (1403–6). The only surviving document of this embassy to Central Asia is an account by one of its members, Ruy González de Clavijo, [18] who recorded that their embassy coincided with one from China. In describing the welcoming banquet he wrote: 'meat was served in gold and silver dishes, glazed ceramics and others that are called *porcellanas* that are very expensive and rare to find'.[19] These first Spanish ambassadors to an eastern court returned to Seville truly orientalised. One of them, the

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[15] The Greek traveller Strabo mentions the '*Seres*' in his Geographia, written around 20 AD. Other classical authors also mention the *seres*, among them, Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* (c. 78 AD).

[16] Juan Gil, 'La idea de China. De los Seres al Catay', in Carlos Martínez Shaw & Marina Alfonso Mola (eds.), *La Ruta Española a China*, Madrid, 2009, p. 20.

[17] Marco Polo's book was translated into the Aragonese language by Juan Fernández de Heredia (1310–96) between 1377 and 1396. His text was an abridged version of an older Catalan translation. The manuscript was kept in the Royal Chapel of Granada, but Philip II had it transferred to the Monastery of El Escorial where it is today. The book had previously belonged to Isabella the Catholic; see Tomás Buesa Oliver, 'Variaciones en el discuso y alternancias personales del narrador en la versión aragonesa del Libro de Marco Polo', in *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, no. 6, Madrid, 1987, pp. 289–95. The first map of Asia drawn in Spain, which included some of the names mentioned by Polo, is the *Catalan Atlas V* (1375) by the Jewish cartographer Abraham Cresques, which also included 30 toponyms in China and a number of Asian places. The map is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Mss. Espagnol 30, fols, III, IV, V and VI. Gil, 2009/1, pp. 22–23.

[18] Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan, e Itinerario y enarración del viage, y relación de la embajada que Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del muy poderoso señor Rrey Don Henrique el Tercero de Castilla*, Seville, Andrea Pescioni, 1582. The introduction is by Gonzalo Argote de Molina. (The first edition was consulted according to the Spanish bibliographer Antonio Palau y Dulcet who wrote a bibliographic compilation of printed Spanish books in seven volumes titled *Manual del librero hispano-americano: inventario bibliográfico de la producción científica y literaria de España y de la América Latina desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestro días* (1923–45). The edition consulted is preserved in the library of the Cigarral del Carmen in Toledo (no. 105218).

[19] '*Echaron mano de aquella carne, e facían piezas della, é ponian en bacines, dellos de oro, y dellos de plata, é aún dellos de barro vidriado, é otros que llaman porçellanas, que son muy preciados e caros de aver*', in Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan*, 1582, p. 45. See Gil, 2009, p. 20.



Galician nobleman Don Payo Gómez de Sotomayor, brought back with him many exotic items – one of which, a silk dalmatic datable to the first half of the fifteenth century, is still preserved in the cathedral museum of Santiago de Compostela. (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2. Dalmatic of the reliquary of Saint Susana in silk and gold, Central Asia, first half of the fifteenth century. 122 x 124 cm. Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. From Martínez Shaw and Alfonso Mola, 2009, p. 30.

## *Claiming the New World*

The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 disrupted the Mediterranean trade with Asia. There was mounting pressure on Spain and Portugal to search for alternative routes to the East. Shortly before making their victorious entry into the city of Granada in 1492, which brought an end to eight centuries of Moorish presence in Spain, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon (named the Catholic Kings) agreed to authorise Christopher Columbus's expedition across the Atlantic. His purpose was to discover and exploit the riches of India and the East – gold, silks, spices and porcelain – and to evangelise 'the Indies'.[20] Columbus proposed reaching India by sailing west from Spain, as sailing eastwards was impossible due to the treaties with Portugal.[21] When Columbus reached the island of *Guanahani* or *San Salvador* (Bahamas) in October 1492, he called its inhabitants *indios* mistaking the lands he had encountered for India. Uncertainty about the precise location of China would be the norm throughout the fifteenth century. Many Europeans still regarded China as part of the dominions of the great Khan.[22]

A year after Columbus's discoveries, Pope Alexander VI issued a series of Bulls granting the Catholic kings and their successors control over lands situated to the west of an imaginary line located 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. All lands to the west of the meridian would be Spanish, while Portugal was granted all lands to the east.[23] The Portuguese protested the decision, claiming that their Atlantic routes were being excessively curtailed. On 7 June 1494, a new treaty between the monarchs of Portugal and Spain was signed at Tordesillas (Valladolid),[24] whereby the line of demarcation was redrawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, approximately halfway between these islands and those recently discovered by Columbus (Fig. 3). All territories to the west of that line would be-

[20] After Columbus, the term was used in Castilian language from the fifteen to the nineteen centuries to refer to America and the Philippines.

[21] The Treaty of Alcaçovas, signed in 1479, confirmed Portuguese control of the Atlantic routes to Asia.

[22] Juan Gil, 'En Búsqueda de la China. Del Atlántico al Pacífico', 2009/2, pp. 33–46. Through the writings and documents of Christopher Columbus and others, the author explains the perception of the location of the newly discovered territories at the time.

[23] Except the Canary Islands which were granted to Spain by the Treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479.

[24] Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, 'El tratado de Tordesillas y su proyección en el Pacífico', in *Revista Española del Pacífico*, no. 4, Madrid, 1994, pp. 11–21.

long to Spain, and all the lands to the east to Portugal.[25] Since at the time of signing many lands in the Pacific Ocean were uncharted, Spain and Portugal concluded another agreement in 1529 (Treaty of Zaragoza) establishing a line of demarcation on the opposite side of the world. Although this treaty located the Philippines Islands in the Portuguese area even more conclusively than the Tordesillas line had done, Spain colonised these islands, as will be outlined in the following section.




Fig. 3. Cantino planisphere, by an anonymous Portuguese cartographer (1502). Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy.

[25] The line crosses the East coast of South America just east of the mouth of the Amazon River and ultimately served to secure the Portuguese title to Brazil. On the opposite side of the globe it passes just west of New Guinea, but it was a long time before the facts were accurately determined, and in the meantime Spain made good her hold on the Philippines, which lay on the Portuguese side of the line.

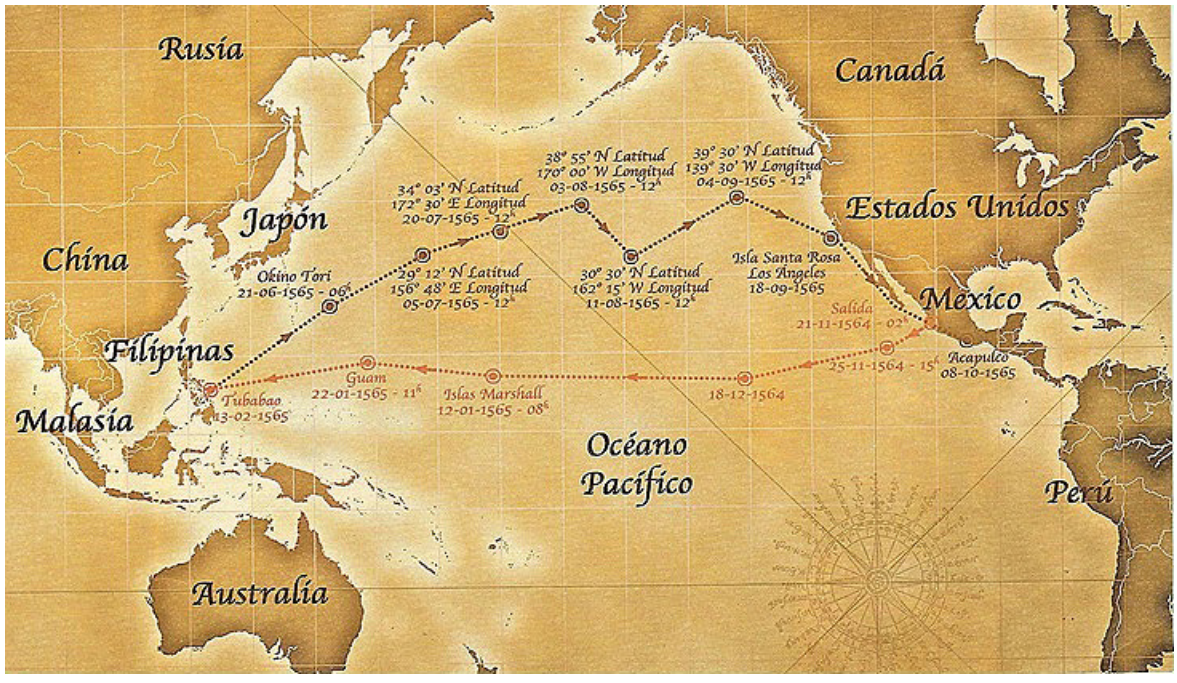


Fig. 4. The Manila Galleon Routes with their maritime courses and latitudes.

### *Expeditions Around the 'Spanish Lake' and the Discovery of the Philippines*

Charles I of Spain (1500–58), founder of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty (1516–56)[26] and ruler of the Holy Roman Empire from 1519, oversaw the Spanish colonisation of the Americas and the success of the expedition in search of the 'Spice Islands' by the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521). The first stage of Spanish exploration in the Pacific is known as 'the voyages to Maluco', because their objective was to wrest from the Portuguese the claim to the Moluccan archipelago, the precious 'Spice Islands', which should have been in the area recognised by the Treaty of Tordesillas as belonging to the Spanish Crown, according to biased Spanish interpretations relying on distorted geographic longitude calculations. The first of these expeditions (1519–22) was organised in Spain and placed under the command of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese mariner who, after discovering the first sea passage between the two oceans (the strait that bears his

[26] Philip I (the Fair) of Castile was the first king of the Spanish Habsburgs or 'Austrias' dynasty. He acceded the throne in 1506 after the death of Queen Isabella the Catholic of the Trastámara dynasty. Charles I of Spain (V of Germany) inherited both the crown of Castile and Aragon when they were united under the sovereignty of a single Habsburg because Charles father, King Philip I, never inherited the crown of Aragon. From then on Spanish Habsburgs have been divided into the 'major Austrias', which comprised the reigns of Charles I of Spain (1516–56) and Philip II (1556–98) and the 'minor Austrias' in the seventeenth century, which included the reigns of Philip III (1598–1621), Philip IV (1621–65) and Charles II of Spain (1665–1700). As Jorge Calvo Poyato explains: 'According to artistic and literary sources most of their rule in Spain is considered today as the Golden Age or *Siglo de Oro* dating from the beginning of the reign of Charles I of Spain until 1665 when the reign of Philip IV concluded. In any case, the period was of a great cultural activity between the Renaissance and the Baroque periods'. José Calvo Poyato, *Así vivían en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1989, p. 4. Other authors like Juan José Martín González consider the existence of two Golden Ages during the Habsburg period: the first finished with the death of King Philip II in 1598 and the second was during the seventeenth century. Juan José Martín González, *El artista en la sociedad española del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1984, p. 13.

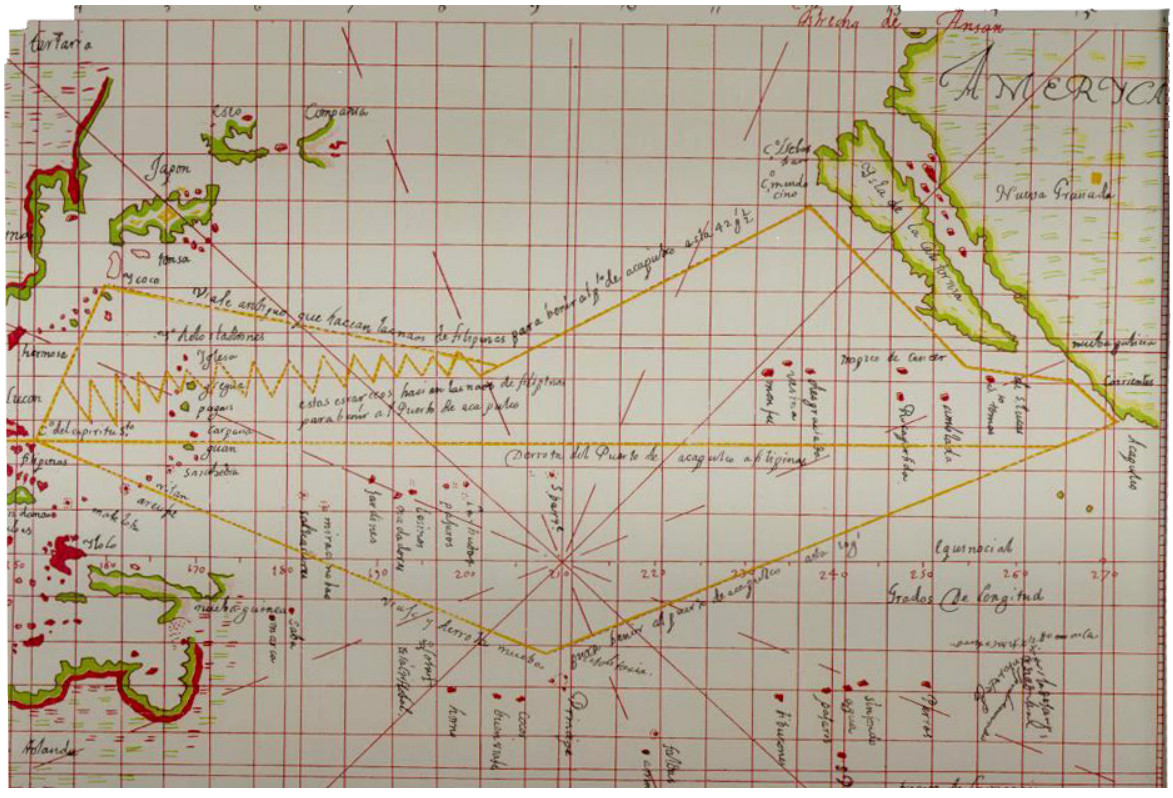



Fig. 5. Maritime routes from Manila to Acapulco. Drawing from the archive of Antonio Pareja, Toledo.

name), sailed into the waters of what their discoverer, Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519), had called 'the South Sea', and which Magellan re-baptised with the name *Mar Pacífico*, the Pacific Ocean. In his crossing, Magellan came into contact with the Desventuradas Islands and finally the Saint Lazarus Islands (that is, the Philippines) [27], where the expedition's commander met his death fighting the locals. Having reached the Moluccas, one of Magellan's ships, the *Trinidad*, under the command of Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, unsuccessfully attempted the first eastward return voyage, in the course of which Gómez de Espinosa discovered a number of islands north of Gilolo. In the meantime, the expedition's only remaining ship, the *Victoria*, returned to Spain under the command of Juan Sebastián Elcano by sailing westwards, thus completing the first European circumnavigation of the globe, one of the expedition's main achievements. The expedition commanded by García Jofre de Loaísa (1525–27) was also organised from Spain, with the same objectives as its predecessor, but the four ships that managed to cross the Strait of Magellan were scattered by a storm, each eventually meeting a different destiny. There were still further expeditions before the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529) settled the dispute in Portugal's favour, putting an end to this first cycle of Spanish sailing on the Pacific.[28]

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[27] One of the most important publications about the Philippine Islands is Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903–9. These 55-volume compendium contains nearly 20,000 pages of historical documents and books translated into English. The first volume describes the explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the islands, their peoples and their history, records of the Catholic missions, and documents regarding the lines of demarcation, Papal Bulls, Treaties and so forth. See also Carlos Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía*, Madrid, 1958.

[28] Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'La Exploración española del Pacífico en los tiempos modernos', in María Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera, Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, Madrid, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 3–23. See also Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, "El lago español o la primera exploración del Pacífico", in Martínez Shaw and Alfonso Mola, 2007, pp. 47-48.

The second stage of Spain's strategy for the Pacific was to secure the Philippine archipelago as Spanish territory and also establish a trade route back and forth across the Pacific between it and Spanish America. The first expedition was undertaken by Ruy López de Villalobos (1542–1545), who sailed through the Revillagigedo Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands, concluding at Sarangani, in the Philippine islands. Spanish rule would continue in these islands for three and a half centuries.[29]

Finding a route that would make a return trip to Mexico possible was a matter of great concern, and a ship, the *San Juan*, was sent on the mission. Two consecutive attempts were made and failed utterly. While Ruy López de Villalobos had set up outposts in the Philippines and explored the islands' coasts, the Spanish did not actually settle in the archipelago until after the arrival of the fleet commanded by Miguel López de Legazpi (1564–65). His particular mission was to conquer the islands, establish a permanent trade route and, as a related condition, find a way back by sailing east. Although on the outward trip the expedition, which departed from Puerto de la Navidad in today's state of Jalisco, discovered an entire series of islands in the Marshall Archipelago before making land at Cebu in the Philippine Archipelago, the endeavour's greatest accomplishment was discovering a way to reach New Spain. One member of the expedition was Alonso de Arellano, whose ship, the dispatch boat *San Lucas*, was separated from the parent fleet on the outward voyage, whereupon the commander set off on the homeward voyage on his own. The *San Lucas*'s successful arrival crowned the first crossing of the Pacific from West to East. However, it was Andrés de Urdaneta,[30] at the helm of the *San Pedro* under the command of Felipe Salcedo, who officially inaugurated the route back from the west when he reached Acapulco Bay in October 1565.[31]

### *The Settlement and Occupation of the Philippines*

The settlement and occupation of the Philippines after the founding of Manila (1571) made the archipelago a launching pad from which to reach out towards the borders of Asia. An entire series of expeditions were organised to establish contact with Asian lands, the real Cathay and Cipangu originally sought by Christopher Columbus. Organised from the Philippines or from New Spain – and regardless of whether their objectives were missionary, military or diplomatic, and although their effects in the field of the history of discoveries were quite minor – these expeditions enriched the experience of navigating the Pacific and allowed for a more extensive and accurate mapping of these territories (Fig. 6). New trade routes such as Lisbon-Goa-Malacca-Macao-Nagasaki, Seville-Veracruz-Acapulco-Manila, and inter-Asiatic routes such as Manila-Macao-Nagasaki would link old towns to newly discovered ones, re-defining the concept of

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[29] Martínez Shaw, 2001/1, p. 9.

[30] Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'El Tornaviaje de Andrés de Urdaneta y Alonso de Arellano', in Sociedad Geográfica Española (ed.) *Atlas de los Exploradores Españoles*, Barcelona, 2009, pp. 129–31.

[31] 'The point behind the early exploration of the western coasts of North America was to expand the zone occupied by the Spanish and to find a passage between the two oceans (the famous Northwest Passage) and, later, to establish points from which to take navigational bearings between the Philippines and New Spain. The second wave of exploration, launched from Mexican ports, sought primarily to reconnoitre the Gulf of California. Another important factor, however, was Spain's determination to take full advantage of return voyages from the Philippines to explore the Californian coast'. This rule was established in 1565, although it was not until 30 years later, in 1595, when Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño shipwrecked at Drake's Bay leaving behind his porcelain cargo. In the 17th century, exploration followed exploration, plotting maps and establishing place names from Acapulco to Oregon. This work would prove fundamental for the Manila Galleon Route, see Martínez Shaw, 2001/1, p. 14.

Fig.6. Map of the Philippine Islands with old and new maritime routes. Engraving from the archive of Antonio Pareja, Toledo.i




the world and of the individual, who became increasingly aware of a new global reality.[32]

Being its only colony in Asia, Spain had two main objectives regarding the Philippines. The first was to convert the local population to Christianity. The occupation of the islands was accomplished with no bloodshed, partly because most of the population, except the Muslims, offered little armed resistance. The Spanish Crown assumed administrative responsibility for the new ecclesiastical establishments while responsibility for converting the indigenous population was assigned to the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, known collectively as 'the Friars', and to the Jesuits. The second objective was to acquire a share in the spice trade and develop contacts with China and Japan to foster the Christian missionary efforts and promote trade with these territories. Indeed, Manila was going to be the key to the trade in the East Indies. As Miguel López de Legazpi,[33] who established a Spanish settlement in the Philippines, wrote in 1569: 'We shall gain commerce with China, whence come silks, porcelains, benzoin, musk and other articles'.[34] (Spanish involvement in the spice trade will be discussed in more detail in the chapter about trade.)

With the incorporation of the Philippines, Spanish America was brought to the gates of Asia, and the Spanish Habsburg Empire became the greatest power on earth, rulers of an empire on which 'the sun never sets', or in the words of the famous writer Lope de Vega: 'the world could be walked through the lands of Philip II of Spain'.[35] Although the Spanish monarchy enjoyed a pre-eminent position in the world and ruled over a vast overseas empire with immense resources – the discovery of new lands meant new sources of revenue – it was not a single or unified state.[36] From the prosperous Crown of Castile, the

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[32] Oliver Impey & Christiaan Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer* (*1580–1850*), Amsterdam, 2005, p. 19.

[33] Miguel López de Legazpi (1510–72), the Spanish explorer who established Spain's dominion over the Philippines until 1898. The town of San Miguel was founded on the island of Cebú In 1565, and the city of Manila in 1571; the latter became the first Spanish capital in the East; see Marina Alfonso Mola 'Miguel López de Legazpi', in Sociedad Geográfica Española (ed.), *Atlas de los Exploradores Españoles*, Barcelona, 2009.

[34] William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, Manila, 1985 (2nd ed.), p. 30.

[35] Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio (Madrid, 1562–1635) was one of the most important playwrights and poets of the Spanish Golden Age. In 1618 he published the comedy *La octava maravilla* in which he relates the imaginary voyage of the King of Bengal and his retinue to the Iberian Peninsula.

[36] It is due to custom or habit that nowadays we still use the term 'Spain' when referring to Spanish politics in the 16th and 17th centuries, but at the time it was a fragmented empire that stretched around the globe. It was a federation of states with different laws and customs governed by the same ruler, the King of Spain, but that was the main cohesion or link. The Iberian Peninsula included three Crowns: the Crown of Castile and León which was the most populated and extensive area and included territories like Galicia, Asturias, Andalucía and

seat of the empire, the Spanish Habsburgs financed their overseas projects by resorting mainly to taxation in Castile and mining in America, the former outranking the latter as a source of revenue. Because of its immense resources, the Spanish economy was soon devastated by inflation, taxation, currency devaluation and bankruptcies of the Royal treasury due to a succession of debilitating foreign wars.[37]

Fostering diplomatic ties with the Far East and gathering commercial, political and cultural information about these lands were two priorities for Spain during the first 30 years of settlement in the Philippines. However, there were other projects and political initiatives that were oriented towards less peaceful ends. After his return from the Philippines and a year before the foundation of Manila, the Augustinian friar Diego de Herrera wrote to Philip II from Mexico enquiring about the possibility of conquering China. On 8 June 1569, the official to the Crown, Andrés de Mirandaola, sent the king news about China and hoped that its conquest would be achieved soon.[38] Friar Martín de Rada, writing to the Marquis of Falces, Gastón de Peralta, III Viceroy of Mexico, on 8 July 1569, explained:

> If his Majesty wishes to get hold of China, which we know to be a land that is very large and rich and of high civilization, with cities, forts, and walls much greater than those of Europe, he must first have a settlement in these islands […] because in order to conquer a country so large and that has so vast a population, one must have aid and refuge near at hand, for any contingency that might arise […] I have been informed the people of China are not at all warlike. They rely entirely on numbers and on the fortification of their walls… Consequently, I believe (God helping), that they can be subdued easily and with few forces.[39]

Expansion west of Manila began with a set of instructions issued in 1572 by Martín Enríquez de Almansa, Viceroy of New Spain, to Captain Juan de Isla, ordering him to enter Manila with his three-ship fleet and thereafter to take one of his ships with a contingent of men recruited by Miguel López de Legazpi and set off to explore the Chinese coastline. The operation, however, was never carried out. Later, Governor Guido de Lavezares (1572–75) continued with the same plans of conquest, as is clear from a letter, dated 1574 he sent to Phillip II of Spain, enclosing a map drawn in 1555 and now preserved in the Archive of the Indies [M. P. Filipinas 5]. The last person to try to conquer China was the next governor of the Philippines, Francisco de Sande (1575–80). He garnered support from the results of the first Spanish embassy to the Middle Kingdom, conducted by the Augustinian monk Martín de Rada, who told of his mission in his famous account the *Relación*.[40] Nevertheless, the Council of the

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Murcia. The Crown of Aragon consisted of the Kingdoms of Aragon, Mallorca and Valencia and the Principality of Catalonia and Navarra. From 1580 until 1640 the Crown of Portugal was also added to the Iberian territories as the fourth crown. In addition, the kings also exercised sovereignty over the Netherlands, the Duchy of Milan, the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the New World. Preserving the territorial integrity of the empire against its enemies, maintaining their authority over a large territory that sometimes had opposing interests, and promoting the welfare of their subjects posed endless challenges to the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy. John H. Elliott, 'España y su imperio', in *España y su Mundo*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 27–50.

[37] Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, *El Antiguo Régimen: los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, Madrid, 1973.

[38] Trechuelo, 1994, pp. 11–21. See also José Martínez Millán, 'La crisis del "partido castellano" y la transformación de la Monarquía Hispana en el cambio de reinado de Felipe II a Felipe III', in Carlos Gómez-Centurión, *Monarquía y Corte en la España moderna*, Madrid, 2003, p. 33.

[39] The Editorial Board Filipiniana Book Guild, 'Letter from Martín de Rada to the Marquis de Falces', in *The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines by Spain. Some Contemporary Source Documents* (*1559–1577*), Manila, 1965, p. 149. From AGI, 68-1-37; BR 34: 223–28.

[40] In 1575, Rada wrote an account titled *Relación verdadera del reyno Taibin, por otro nombre China, y del viage que a* él *hizo el muy reverendo padre fray Martín de Rada, provincial que fue del orden de San Agustín, que lo vio y anduvo, en la provincia de Hocquien, año 1575 hecha por el mismo*. Rada's account is included in the text by Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A. *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas la temporal, por las armas del Señor Don Phelipe Segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos de la Orden de San Agustín*, Madrid, 1698.




Fig. 7. Map of China by Jodocus Hondius, Amsterdam, 1606.

Indies proved more prudent than the governor; in 1577 it ordered the suspension of all warlike intentions. However, that did not banish lurking plans of conquest from the minds of other people of rank, such as Governor Diego Ronquillo (1580–83) and Father Alonso Sánchez.[41] In many cases, however, these projects proved ultimately to be chimeras that never left the drawing board; others were put into practice but met with ill fortune.[42]

### *Fact-Finding Missions from Spain to China and Vice Versa*

Maps, letters and chronicles were the means by which information about newly discovered territories and their peoples first spread across Europe. Marco Polo's account of his travels to the Far East, *Il milione* or *The Travels of Marco Polo*, was the most popular source of information about China in Spain (see also footnote 17). It was translated into Castilian in 1503, followed in 1515 by the publication of *El Livro das Cousas de Oriente* (*Book of the Things of the Orient*), by the Portuguese explorers Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa.

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[41] For the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines during the last third of the sixteenth century, see Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China. De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila*, Barcelona, 2002; and by the same author, *La invención de China. Percepciones y estrategias Filipinas respecto a China durante el siglo XVI*. South China and Maritime Asia, 9, Wiesbaden, 2001. Also see Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580–1680). Declive imperial y adaptación*, Leuven, 2001.

[42] Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'Más allá de Manila', in Marina Alfonso Mola & Carlos Martínez-Shaw (eds.), *El galeón de Manila*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 95–105.

The first reference to porcelain (or *porcelaine* in the Italian-French dialect of Languedoc) was in a description of cowry shells (*cypraea moneta* as *porcellani*) in Marco Polo's book, but the same word was used to identify white pottery Polo had seen in Quanzhou (Fujian Province).[43] One century later Tomé Pires remarked that in China 'there was a practically infinite quantity of porcelain'.[44]

Among the first Spanish missionaries to the East Indies, were the Augustinian friars Martín de Rada, who accompanied Miguel López de Legazpi's expedition to the Philippines, and Jerónimo Marín and Miguel de Loarca, who were entrusted with the task of beginning the spiritual conquest and developing trade between the Far East and Spain. The main objectives of these friars was to ask for a Fukien port for the Spaniards to trade. They were also to obtain information about the diosyncray and trade of the Chinese.[45]

Martín de Rada accompanied Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés de Urdaneta on their expedition to the Far East, reaching the Philippines in February 1565.[46] He was later dispatched to China on behalf of the viceroy of New Spain[47] to request the opening of a port for trade with Spain, and to learn about the customs of the Chinese. However, the most important aim was to find out which sort of commodities could be profitably exported to Spain. It is revealing that Rada's first-hand account,[48] written in 1575, makes no mention of porcelain or pottery of any kind, although he does comment on details of Chinese banquets, such as the fact that they did not use tablecloths or napkins, and ate with the help of peculiar 'long little sticks'.[49] In marked contrast, the Portuguese soldier Galeote Pereira[50] described the place where fine porcelain was made, while the Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz, writing his *Tractado em que se cotam muito por esteso as cousas da China, co suas particularidades, e assi do Reyno Dormuz* (1569), provided many details about the place and manufacture of porcelain and the different types to be found. Like Galeote Pereira, he even refers to their price, stating that 'a great quantity is sold, very good and very cheap'.[51] The following description of the manufacturing process

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[43] The Italians had long called cowries '*porcellani*', because the shape of the shell was similar to a piglet (*porcellus*, diminutive of *porco*). Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in Word History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2010, p. 70; see p. 79 for a description of the term porcelain in Covarrubias' dictionary, where he describes porcelain wares from Puçol.

[44] Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Portugal at the Gateway to China', in *Caminhos Da Porcelana*, Lisbon, 1998, p. 46.

[45] C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, Bangkok, 2004, p. 45.

[46] Boxer, 2004, p. lxxvi.

[47] The viceroy of New Spain or Mexico was the monarch's representative in the Spanish territories of North America, Mexico, Costa Rica, Hispaniola Island (today's Dominican Republic and Haiti) and the Philippines.

[48] Pedro G. Galende wrote a biography of Rada: *Navarros ilustres*: *Martín de Rada*, Manila, 1980. A bibliographic compilation of some historical documents related to China in the Spanish archives can be consulted in *La China de España*: *Elaboración de un corpus digitalizado de documentos españoles sobre China 1555 a 1900*. http://www.upf.edu/asia. This project was directed by Prof. Dr. M. Dolors Folch i Fornesa from the Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona.

[49] The narration of Fr. Martín de Rada was translated by Boxer from a sixteenth-century copy in the Bibliothèque National in Paris that was written in Manila or Cebú in November 1575 and May 1576, folios 16–31 of Codex 325 of the Spanish Collection (Boxer 2004, p. 243). There is a copy of Radas' *Relación* in the Palacio Real de Madrid library.

[50] Galeote Pereira, *Certain Reports of China*, in Boxer 2004, p. 5: 'This city of Quiansi lieth nearer to Liampo, 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 that it had been made there, howbeit in fine, they perceived that the standing of Quiansi more near unto Liampo than to Chincheo or Cantao, was the cause of so much fine porcelain at Liampo.' Previous to this information there is a mention of porcelain-production in the early 15th century in Libellus de Notitia Orbis by John of Sultaniey, a French priest, who was appointed bishop in Beijing but ended up in Sultaniey (Persia).

[51] In Boxer, 2004, p. 91. Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos in her article 'Chinese porcelain. From Royal Gifts to

appears elsewhere in Boxer's translation of Gaspar da Cruz's text:

> The porcelain which is used in all the country of China and in all India is of common clay; notwithstanding, some of the porcelain is very coarse and other types are very fine: and there is some that cannot be sold to the common people, as it is reserved only for the use of high officials because this porcelain is red and green, gilt and yellow. Some of this porcelain does get sold but in very small quantities and in great secrecy.[52]

His description of the manufacturing process of porcelain echoes that of Marco Polo: 'As regards the substance of which it is made, some say it is manufactured from "oyster-shells", others of dung left to rot for a long time'.[53]

The Jesuit order, founded in 1534 by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), was one the most influential orders in the East. Among its most important missionaries was Francis Xavier (1506–52), who established Christianity in India, the Malay Archipelago and Japan, and who died in China in 1552.[54] Other Spanish Jesuits such as Diego de Pantoja (1571–1618) accompanied Father Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) to Beijing. He arrived in Macao on 20 July 1597 and was sent to Nanjing where he stayed until 1600. He and Matteo Ricci left Nanjing on 19 May 1600 and arrived in Beijing on 24 January 1601. He worked in Beijing as a musician, astronomer and geographer. In 1602 he wrote his *Relación*,[55] in which he described banquets and the use of porcelain:

> They don't eat as we do in our land, the banquets are not made to eat, as they only nibble a little and drink frequently from little porcelains which only hold five or six thimbles of wine, and in this and in chatting take four or six hours and after the feast you return home hungry.[56]

On 18 March 1617, he was trialed as an enemy of the Chinese astronomers, and was expelled from China, along with his Jesuit colleague, Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620), and settled down in Macao, where he stayed for a short time before his death. In 1625 another Spanish friar of the same order, Adriano de las Cortes (1578–1629), travelled from the Philippines to China where he lived for more than a year and wrote *Viaje a China* (*Voyage to China*). The book chronicles his perilous journey and provides insights into the everyday life of the Chinese: 'They have the best and very fine porcelain

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Commercial Products', in *Caminhos da Porcelana*, Lisbon, 1998, transcribes another part of Gaspar da Cruz's text, p. 111: 'There is another province called Quiansi [Jiangxi]… and it is there that all the fine porcelain is made, from Sulljo [Jingdezhen]… northwards, and none is made anywhere else… And as this city of Quiansi is closer to Liampo than to Chincheo or Canton, there is always a lot of cheap porcelain at Liampo; and because up until now the Portuguese knew so little about this land, there were many who believed and categorically stated that it was made in Liampo, but the truth is this.'

[52] Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado em que se cotam muito por esteso as cousas da China, co suas particularidades, e assi do Reyno Dormuz*, Evora, 1569; in Boxer, 2004, p. 126.

[53] Boxer, 2004, pp. 126–27.

[54] He reached the town of Kagoshima (Japan) on 15 August 1549 and remained there until 20 November 1551. He persuaded the viceroy of Portuguese India to dispatch an embassy to China, despite the regulation that excluded foreigners from that country. St Francis Xavier left India for Malacca on 25 April 1552 and at the end of August the same year reached the island of Sangchuan, off the coast of Guangdong. He was stricken with fever and died on 2 December, or, according to some authors on 27 November 1552.

[55] Diego de Pantoja, *Relación de la entrada de algunos padres de la Compañía de Iesvs en la China y particulares fuceffos que tuuieron, y de cofas muy notables que vieron en el mismo Reyno*, Seville, 1605. The book is preserved in the library of the Cigarral del Carmen, Toledo.

[56] Diego de Pantoja, *Relación*, 1605, pp. 112 and 112v: '*No comen como en nueftra tierra, ni parece que aquello fe hizo para comer, fino toman por cumplimiento alguna cofilla, y muy amenudo beben con vnas porcelanillas que en cada vna cabra cinco o feis dedales de vino, y en efto y en conuerfar paffan quatro y feys oras en banquetes, y tornanfe a cafa con hambre*'.

in the world and sell a great quantity of it to East India and the Philippines, but the Chinese hardly ever use it; rare is the Chinese using a fine cup or bowl as everybody uses coarse bowls and plates'.[57]

One Spanish book that stands out in the so-called *Literature of the Missions*, especially in view of the impact it would have on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European readers is *The Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Hereof* compiled by the Spanish Augustinian friar Juan González de Mendoza and published in Rome in 1585.[58] The descriptions in his account were not firsthand but were drawn from a variety of sources, such as texts and letters written by missionaries about their experiences while at their East Indies outposts. In an early English translation of the book,[59] the manufacture and trade of porcelain is described as follows:

> Such merchants as do keepe shoppes (of whom in euvry citie there is a great number) they haue a table or signe hanging at their doore, whereon is written all such merchandise as is within to be sold…. There be also shops full of eathen vessels (porsilan in the margin) of diuers making, redde, greene, yellow, and gilt; it is so good cheape that for foure rials [*reales*] of plate they giue fiftie peeces: very strong earth, the which they doo breake all to peeces and grind it, and put it into sesternes with water, made of lime and stone; and after that they haue well tumbled and tossed it in water, of the creame that is vpon it they make the finest sort of them, and the lower they go, spending that substance that is the courser: they make them after the forme and fashion as they do here, and afterward they do gild them, and make them of what colour they please, the which will never be lost: then they put them into their killes and burne them. This hath beene seene and is of a truth, appeareth in a booke set foorth in the Italian toong, by Duardo Banbosa [Barbosa] that they do make them of periwinkle shelles of the sea: the which they do grinde and put them under the ground to refine them, whereas they lie 100 years: and many other things he doth treat of to this effect. But if that were true, they should not make so great number of them as is made in that kingdome, and is brought into Portugall, and carried into Peru, and Noua Espania, and into other parts of the world: which is *a* sufficient proofe for that which is said. And the Chinos do agree for this to be true. The finest sort of this is neuer carried out of the countrie, for that it is spent in the seruice of

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[57] Father Adriano de las Cortes & Beatriz Moncó (ed.), *Viaje de la China*, Madrid, 1991, p. 240: '*Tienen la mejor porcelana y toda finísima que hay en el mundo y venden della mucha que se lleva a la India Oriental y Philippinas y a ellos vi que apenas la usan ni se sirven della en su tierra; raro es el chino que de limeta o de plato, ni escudilla o taca fina, todo es servirse de las más bastas escudillas que della hacen y en los bodegones cual o cual plato grande también de los más bastos*'. Pedro Ordoñez de Ceballos was another adventurous Spanish friar who spent time in China and wrote *Tratado de las Relaciones Verdaderas de los Reynos de la China, Conchinchina, y Champaa, y otras cofas notables, y varios fuceffos, facadas der fus originales*, Pedro de la Cuesta, Jaén, 1628. He did not, however, mention any porcelain in his book.

[58] The first edition of Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de China,* was published in 1585 in Spanish,1586 in Italian, the French edition in 1588, and a Latin edition in Ausgsburg (1589) and Antwerp (1655). A Spanish edition was also published in 1596 in Antwerp. Apart from Gonzalez de Mendoza, other Spanish pioneers in opening up China to the world were Bernardino de Escalante who wrote the *Discurso de la Navegación que los Portugueses hacen a los reinos y provincias de Oriente*, Seville, 1577; the first translation of a Chinese text to an European language was done by the Dominican friar Juan Cobo but it was not published until the twentieth century; it is titled *Beng Sim Po Cam* or *Rich Mirror of the Clear Heart*, Madrid, 1959, in R. Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia* (*1580–1680*), Leuven, 2001, p. 4. The manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Ms. 6040).

[59] The book was translated into English at Richard Hakluyt's suggestion in 1588 and republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1846. I have used a new edition of the book: Juan González de Mendoza, edited by George Staunton and Richard Henry Major, *The Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Hereof*, Cambridge, 2010, chapter X, pp. 33–34, and chapter XVIII, p. 138.

> the king, and his gouernours, and is so fine and deere, that is seemeth to be of fine and perfite cristal: that which is made in the prouince of Saxii is the best and finest.

In another part of the book a banquet is described in the following manner:

> In the middest of the table they doo sette the victualles in maruelous good order, as flesh of diuerse manners of brothes passing well dressed, and are serued in fine earthen [in the original Spanish book the author uses the word 'porcelain'] dishes of great curiositie, and of siluer (although these vse verie seeldome, except for the viceroys: they have no neede of table clothes nor napkins, for they eate so delicately, that they doo not touch the meate with their hands, but with little forkes of golde or siluer, with the which they eate so cleanly, that although it be verie small that they eate, yet will they let nothing fall.[60]

Mendoza's book was translated into several languages and made a long-lasting impression on seventeenth-century European readers, shaping their image of China. It should be remembered that Gonzalez de Mendoza was also involved in the mission to dispatch a Spanish embassy to the Chinese Emperor Wanli in 1580, supported by King Philip II. With this embassy the Spanish monarch tried to gain the friendship of Emperor Wanli and open the doors to the evangelisation of China, as revealed in a letter he wrote to the Emperor.[61] The importance of the embassy was underscored by a rich cargo of presents appraised at 4 million *maravedíes*.[62] The sumptuous gifts[63] were consistent with Philip II's 'concept of the State' being the most powerful ruler of the time, as he made clear in his letter, obviously intending to make an impression of power on the emperor. Unfortunately the embassy got as far as Mexico before it was aborted on the grounds that Chinese law prohibited the entry of foreigners to China and the emperor of China would not welcome the embassy. Besides, the

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[60] *Ibid*., chapter X, pp. 33–34, and chapter XVIII, p. 138. The Spanish edition consulted is Juan Gonçalez de Mendoza, *Historia de las Cosas más notables ritos y costumbres del Gran Reyno de China*, Antwerp, 1596, p. 22: '*Los mercaderes de tienda* (*ay muchos en cada ciudad*) *tienen a la puerta vna tabla, a donde eftan escritas todas las mercancías, que ay dentro para vender…. Ay otras tiendas de porcelanas, de diferentes maneras, coloradas, verdes, doradas, y amarillas: valen tan baratas que por quatro reales dan cinquenta pieças. Hacen fe de un barro rezio el qual deshazen, y muelen, y defpues echan en unos eftanques de agua, que tienen muy bien hechos de piedra de canteria: y despues de bine rebuelto en el agua, de la nata que queda encima, hazen las más finas: y quanto mas abaxo va, fon más baftas. Hazenfe de la forma que las de aca, y despues las doran: y ponen el color que quieren el cual jamas pierden. Luego las cuezen en el horno y efto se ha visto, y es mas verofimil que lo que dize cierto Duarte Barbosa, que anda en italiano, que se hace de caracoles de mar, los quales fe muelen, y los meten debaxo de tierra afinarfe 100 anos, y otras cofas que acerca defto dize. La muy fina, nunca fale del Reyno, porque fe gafta en feruicio al Rey, y Gobernadores, y es tan linda que parefce de finrceifsimo criftal. La mas fina, es la que fe haze en la provincia de Saxij. Los artífices, y officiales mecanicos estan en calles señaladas, donde no fe entro mete ninguno, que no fea del officio, o arte: de manera, que viendo al primero de la calle, el officio, o arte que vfa, fe puede entender que toda la calle fera de aquel mefmo officio…*'. In chapter XVIII p. 104: '*En medio de la mefa ponen la comida muy concertada, a fi aues, y carnes diferentes como de pefcados regalados de los quales hazen muchos potajes bien adereçados, y los siruen en platos muy curiosos de porcelana, o de plata* (*aunque de eftos vfan muy pocos fino fon los Virreyes*) *no tienen necefidad de manteles ni feruilletas, porque comen tan pulidamente, que no tocan con las manos al manjar, fino con vnos palillos dorados, o de plata, o de oro, a modo de tenedores*'.

[61] The letter of King Philip II to Emperor Wanli is preserved in the Archive of the Indies (Seville) dated 1580. AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1., fols. 201v–202 (430–431).

[62] Carmen Sotos Serrano, 'La Embajada Artística de Felipe II al rey de China. Arte y política de un proyecto frustrado', in *Orientes-occidentes: el arte y la mirada del otro*, XXVII, Mexico City, 2007, pp. 681–711. In 1580 one *maravedí* would have the purchasing power of approximately 0.07 Euros in 2010, so the total cost of the gift would have been of 280,000 Euros. Sotos Serrano, 2007, p. 682.

[63] The gifts sent by Philip II to Emperor Wanli included clothes for men, trappings for horses, mirrors, Venetian glass, clocks, paintings of Philip II, Emperor Charles V and of Our Lady Virgin Mary by Alonso Sánchez Coello, and so forth; See Sotos Serrano, 2007, p. 687.

viceroy of Mexico was unwilling to risk losing the gifts by authorising a voyage fraught with danger. The gifts were eventually sold in Mexico or were used to decorate of the viceroy's palace in the city of Mexico. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these gifts are not known at present.

A few years later (1584) another embassy[64] was dispatched, but this time in the opposite direction: four Japanese noblemen, who had been converted to Christianity by the Jesuits, sailed from Nagasaki to Lisbon, arriving on 8 November 1584. The embassy to the courts of Philip II of Spain and Pope Gregory XIII was conceived by the Jesuit Valignano[65] to introduce the Japanese to Europe and to win support for the Jesuit mission in Japan.[66] According to Frois' account,[67] Philip II watched the four emissaries arrive in two carriages from his chamber and met them in the courtyard (of the Alcázar) dressed in black with a cape, a sword and the chain of the order of the Golden Fleece around his neck that was prominently visible when he leaned over a table or *bufete*.[68] The Japanese were dressed in their ceremonial attire, wearing traditional swords and shoes, and the monarch, showing great curiosity, touched the robes of the visitors and asked them to take their sandals off to view them in greater detail. The Japanese presented the king with their gifts: a writing desk made of cane, a pot,[69] and a coffer for letters that were greatly appreciated for its lacquered surface and gilding. Examining these pieces, the king remarked that the work of the Japanese was very different from that of the Chinese. The words are revealing in that they suggest that Philip II was sufficiently familiar with Oriental objects to be able to discriminate between them by source and style.[70] The scene is exemplary of the fact that, all types of intercultural exchanges took place during the first two decades of the colonisation of the Philippines.

### *Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal*

In 1580 Portugal's aged Cardinal-King Dom Henrique (1512–80) died, the last descendant of the Royal House of Avis. This event plunged Portugal into a succession crisis between three rival claimants: Philip II of Spain, the son of Isabel of Portugal (a daughter of Joao III); the Duke of Bragança; and a royal bastard, Dom António, Prior of Crato. The nobility and urban elite supported the King of Spain, particularly after the defeat at Alcácer Kebir (1578) where the Spanish Crown helped them by giving them silver to repatriate relatives and enrich themselves. In addition, most of the Portuguese

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[64] During King Philip III's reign even another diplomatic and commercial embassy, known as Keichô, was sent to Madrid and Rome by *daimyô* Date Masamune, Lord of Sendai (in the northeast of Japan) from 1613 to 1620. See Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, *Lacas Namban: Huellas de Japón en España. IV Centenario de la Embajada Keicho*, Madrid, 2013.

[65] Alessandro Valignano (Chinese: 范禮安 Fàn Lǐ'ǐn; 1539–1606), arrived in Macao in September 1578 and visited Japan three times: in 1579 when he stayed for three years; from 1590 to 1592, and again from 1598 to 1603. Understanding and adapting to Chinese and Japanese culture, language and customs was a fundamental issue for Valignano who established several seminaries in the Far East.

[66] M. Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe 1582–1590. The Journey of Four Japanese Noblemen through Portugal, Spain and Italy*, Folkestone, Kent, 2005.

[67] L. Frois, *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592. Première partie. Le traité du Père Frois*, Tokyo, 1941.

[68] In Covarrubias' dictionary (1611) the word '*bufete*' is explained as a French name for a table but also for a sideboard. In this context it clearly refers to a table. See the glossary for a detailed explanation of this word.

[69] A pot was mentioned in Father Frois' account, but unfortunately no other details about the object could be gathered from his description.

[70] Fernando Bouza, 'Ardides del arte. Cultura de corte, acción política y artes visuales en tiempos de Felipe II', in *Felipe II. Un monarca y su* época, Madrid, 1998, pp. 57–81.

traders preferred Philip II of Spain above the other candidates because a Spanish Habsburg succession would be least likely to disrupt the markets and trade, incur a minimum violence and would also infuse silver into the *carreira* trade. At the *Cortes-Gerais* (General Courts) of Portugal in 1581, the Spanish king swore to maintain the independence of the Portuguese monarchy and the integrity of their respective overseas empires and to respect other privileges of the Portuguese nation.[71]

A consequence of the union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal was that Spanish influence over the territories around the Philippines intensified in the 1580s. Communication between the East and West was clearly apparent in the great voyages of that era. The Spanish Franciscan monk Martín Ignacio de Loyola (1550–1606) was able to travel around the world between 1581 and 1584, landing almost exclusively on Spanish-Portuguese lands only; and travelling in the opposite direction was the Portuguese Pedro Teixeira (1570–1641), who, because of his life and his work, can be regarded as a symbol of Iberian union overseas.[72]

Voyages across and in the Pacific Ocean also increased when Portugal came under the rule of the Spanish monarchy and Spain was accordingly allowed in waters that had been reserved for Portuguese vessels since the Treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza. Some of the most important early voyages included Francisco Galí's trip between Macao and Acapulco (1584), Pedro de Unamuno's voyage between the same two ports (1587), and the voyage of the *San Felipe*, the first Spanish vessel to seek refuge in a Japanese port (1596).[73] The diplomatic expeditions headed by Sebastián Vizcaíno (1611) belong to the same category; they carried a Japanese delegation that had visited New Spain from Mexico back to Japan, completing the round trip after having explored the eastern coast of the island of Honshu.

However, a few years after Philip II was proclaimed King of Portugal, the Spanish decided on other political and strategic plans relating to China. These projects included securing a port for direct trade with China much as Portugal had in Macao. In 1598 Francisco de Tello de Guzmán, governor of the Philippines (1596–1602), authorised Captain Juan Zamudio to survey the Chinese coast in search of a suitable site for a port. The Spanish obtained permission from the Chinese authorities to provisionally establish themselves in the Cantonese port of *El Pinhal* ('Pine Tree' in Portuguese) or '*El Piñal*' or '*El Piñar*' (same meaning but different Spanish spellings), and were also granted the use of a warehouse in Canton. Understandably, the Portuguese in Macao fiercely opposed these developments, despite Spain and Portugal being united under one Crown at the time. The persistent hostility of the Portuguese prevented the Spanish from bringing to fruition this commercial enterprise. By the time a Royal decree was issued in 1609 specifically granting Spain the right to trade directly with China, *El Pinhal* was a fading memory.[74]

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[71] James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640*, Baltimore and London, 2008, pp. 11–12.

[72] Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'Mas allá de Manila', in Marina Alfonso de Mola & Carlos Martínez-Shaw (eds.), *El Galeón de Manila*, Madrid, 2001, p. 98.

[73] In 1589 a group of Franciscan and Augustinian friars were sent from Manila. They received permission to build churches, monasteries and chapels, and stimulated trade from Manila to Japan. Pedro Bautista Blasquez was sent as an ambassador in 1593, causing great tension between Portugal and Spain, which greatly increased when the Manila galleon *San Felipe* foundered off the Japanese coast. As a result of that intrusion, six Spanish Franciscans from Kyoto and 20 of their converts were tried and executed in Nagasaki in 1597. After this episode Spanish influence in Japan waned, Impey and Jörg, 2005, p. 19.

[74] Jorge de Sousa Pinto, 'Enemy at the Gates, Macao Manila and the "Pinhal Episode" (End of 16th Century', in *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 16, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, June 2008, pp. 11–43.

After this incident, King Philip (I of Portugal and II of Spain) ensured that a clear distinction was made between the Portuguese and the Spanish Crowns, placing himself as the overarching figure who unified the two countries, while observing Portugal's traditional law and system of government, as well as the integrity and separation of its overseas dominions. The Crown played a moderating role in curbing Spain's expansionist drives in Portugal's areas of influence. The king insisted that Spain refrain from interfering in the Asian–Portuguese trade and in the direct communication between the Philippines and the Portuguese ports of Malacca, Macao and Nagasaki. However distance, commercial opportunities and conflicting colonial interests would conspire against the strict enforcement of these stipulations.

This delicate balance was maintained throughout the ensuing reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, as both kings abided by Portugal's *Estado da India*.[75] Nevertheless, and despite sporadic resistance on the part of the Portuguese, Spain's influence in China was to increase considerably because collaboration between the two empires in specific areas proved fruitful. One of these was the joint military defence of East Asia against the growing presence of Dutch and English ships in the zone. As far as the Dutch were concerned, Philip II ordered an embargo on the Dutch trade in Portugal whence they had drawn their supply of Oriental commodities to punish them for overthrowing Spanish dominion of the Netherlands. On 14 December 1600 the Spanish merchant vessel *San Diego* was refitted as a warship to pursue Dutch ships entering Philippine waters. This was the first in a series of episodes that brought an end to the Iberian monopoly on Asian trade.[76] A few years earlier Cornelis de Houtman (1565–99) had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and returned to Holland with a cargo of Oriental commodities (1595–97). In 1602 several trading companies in the Netherlands merged, and shareholders formed the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC) and soon huge quantities of Chinese porcelain and Oriental merchandise found its way to Holland. [77]

In 1606 the Portuguese and Spanish cooperation in defending Iberian interests in the zone would be enshrined in an agreement signed by the Viceroy of Goa, Jerónimo de Acevedo, and the Governor of the Philippines, Juan de Silva.[78] In the Moluccas and Macao, the Iberian joint forces managed to fend off the Dutch intruders, prompting the Governor of the Philippines, Juan Niño de Tábora (1626–32), to support the unification of the military headquarters of Manila and Macao.[79] The plan, however, was never realised. We also have to take into account other military ventures by the Spanish aiding the Portuguese who were sent to Macao (1622) and Formosa (1626).

On 1 December 1640 a revolution broke out in Lisbon that would restore the Bragança dynasty to the throne, tipping Portugal and Spain into war. It was also around this period that the Ming dynasty fell from power and was replaced by the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1644. By 1657 commerce between Europe and China had reached a standstill due to internecine struggles in the Chinese empire. Dutch traders turned to other Far Eastern sources for their imports, such as Japan.[80]

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[75] 'State of India', the name given by the Portuguese to their Asian empire from East Africa to Japan, with Goa as its centre.

[76] 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*, Lisbon, 2007, pp. 45-71.

[77] The English were another menace in the area. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) granted a charter to the Honourable East India Company of London and the ships arrived in Asian waters settling in the Persian Gulf and along the Malabar Coast. A truce between the Portuguese and the English was signed in 1635; see Jörg, 2007, p. 8.

[78] Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, 'Manila y la proyección española en Oriente', in Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2009/1, pp. 113–30.

[79] Ollé, 2007, pp, 65–80.

[80] Oliver Impey and Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer. 1580–1850*, Amsterdam, 2005, pp. 21–23.

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, Spain had to endure further concessions in Europe: a peace agreement with the Dutch rebels in 1648 and the Peace of the Pyrenees with France in 1659, which brought Spain's protracted war with France to an end. Spanish troops were then deployed in a new campaign unsuccessfully aimed at crushing the Portuguese 'rebellion'.[81] Portugal's separation from the Spanish monarchy also marked a turning point to the organisation of a defensive barrier against the Dutch in the Philippines. However, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Manila continued to be a forward bastion with a view to assailing the coastal border of Asia in every way, including military, commercial, religious and cultural. What this new phase ultimately accomplished in particular was to strengthen Manila's sway to the east, in the closest archipelagos in the Pacific, which were finally roped into the Spanish world. Thus were the Mariana Islands (so-called by Francisco Lezcano in honour of Queen Mariana of Austria in 1668) and the Caroline Islands (named in honour of King Charles II of Spain) conquered and evangelised.[82]

After the death of Philip IV there was an interregnum period with the regency of Queen Mariana de Austria (1634–96), mother of the child-king Charles II.[83] It was during the reign of Charles II (1665–1700), the last monarch of this Habsburg branch, that Spain's fortunes reached their nadir. A sickly man, Charles was quite unsuited to the task of tackling Spain's intractable problems.[84] The decade of the 1690s was, in turn, faced with the problem of succession to the Spanish throne, while the international front was characterised by a rapidly diminishing standing and a shift in European naval power to the Dutch and the English. The monopoly on the East Indies trade, which Spain and Portugal had clung to for decades, was irrevocably lost.[85]

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[81] It was around this time, in 1656, that the Spanish authorities seized a large cargo of Chinese porcelain from the merchant Juan Vangel (It might be an almost phonetic representation of Van Geel. He could be an individual from the Southern Low Countries with a place name-origin) as he was heading for Seville, having previously smuggled the goods into the country. (Documentary Appendix 1, document 26, 2). Incidents such as this reinforce the fact that there still was a market for Far Eastern artefacts in times of war. A few years earlier the Spanish authorities might have sold the confiscated goods to traders who would probably have resold them. In the circumstances, the cargo ended up in the treasury of Philip IV in Madrid. Spain's last hope of recovering Portugal was dashed in 1668 with the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon, which guaranteed the independence of Portugal, with only the loss of Ceuta in North Africa, which was left in Spanish hands.

[82] Martínez Shaw, 2001/1, p. 103.

[83] Maria Victoria López-Cordón, 'Mujer, poder y apariencia o las vicisitudes de una regencia', in *Studia Histórica Historia Moderna*, no. 19, Madrid, 1998, pp. 49–66.

[84] However during the decade between 1670 and 1680 aristocrats such as Don John of Austria, the Duke of Medinaceli and the Earl of Oropesa promoted key political reforms. Luis Antonio Ribot García, 'La España de Carlos II', in Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España, La Transición del siglo XVII al XVIII*, no. XXVIII, Madrid, 1993, pp. 71–203.

[85] John H. Elliott, 'Arte y decadencia en la España del siglo XVII', in *España y su Mundo* (*1500–1700*), Madrid, 2007, pp. 325–51. On Charles II of Spain, see Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century 1665–1700*, London, 1980; Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, *Carlos II. El rey y su entorno cortesano*. Madrid, 2009; Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'El Imperio portugués en el siglo XVI y las vías de evangelización en el Extremo Oriente', in *Congreso Internacional Los Mundos de Javier*, Pamplona, 2006, pp. 81–107.



*The General Archive of the Indies in Seville*

## 2. *THE TRADE IN CHINESE PORCELAIN FOR SPAIN*

### *2.1. The General Archive of the Indies in Seville*

Research into the Archive of the Indies (AGI)[86] regarding the trade of Chinese porcelain in Spain during the Habsburg period was based on the records of the ships that participated in the commerce between Spain and the Indies. The House of Trade (Casa de la Contratación), the institution tasked with stimulating and regulating commerce and voyages between Spain and the New World, was established in 1503. Ship entries, including the lists of trade goods transported to and from New Spain, are kept in the so-called Contratación section.

The fleet for New Spain sailed from Sanlúcar de Barrameda towards the Antilles, from there to Veracruz (Mexico) where the galleons were unloaded, reloaded and sent back to the Peninsula (see Fig. 9).[87] From 1571 this fleet usually carried silver from Mexico, plants for dyeing and Asian products. Within the Contratación section research focused on the 'Lists of Riches and Effects from the Indies' (*Relaciones de Caudales y Efectos Venidos de Indias*). Also consulted was the general section on Mexico, where the registry of goods reaching the port of Acapulco could be found. The results are only an approximation of the huge amount of information contained in this splendid archive. In time other studies will surely enhance our knowledge of Oriental exotics from documents in this archive.

### *2.2. Commercial Routes and Networks of Chinese Porcelain to Spain*

The long journey of Chinese porcelain to the court of the Spanish Habsburgs started in an industrial ceramic city in China called Jingdezhen. Jingdezhen is situated in the southern province of Jiangxi, and from the Five Dynasties period (AD 907–60) to the present day, this kiln site has produced huge quantities of porcelain vessels for export and the domestic market. As Jessica Harrison-Hall explains, the factory is in a favourable geographical location, being close to raw materials and an available workforce, as well as its proximity to navigable waterways for transportation. Such perfect conditions meant that the town developed into a major porcelain-manufacturing centre.[88] From the sixteenth century, the kilns and porcelain workshops in Jingdezhen that manufactured for foreign markets were located along the banks of the Changjiang River, in an area called the 'Old City Zone' that stretched 13 miles from south to north, the area called *Yaoyan*.[89] These privately owned kilns were distributed along the eastern bank with only a few on the western bank of the river. Demand

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[86] The Archive of the Indies was founded in 1776 to house documents pertaining to the New World.

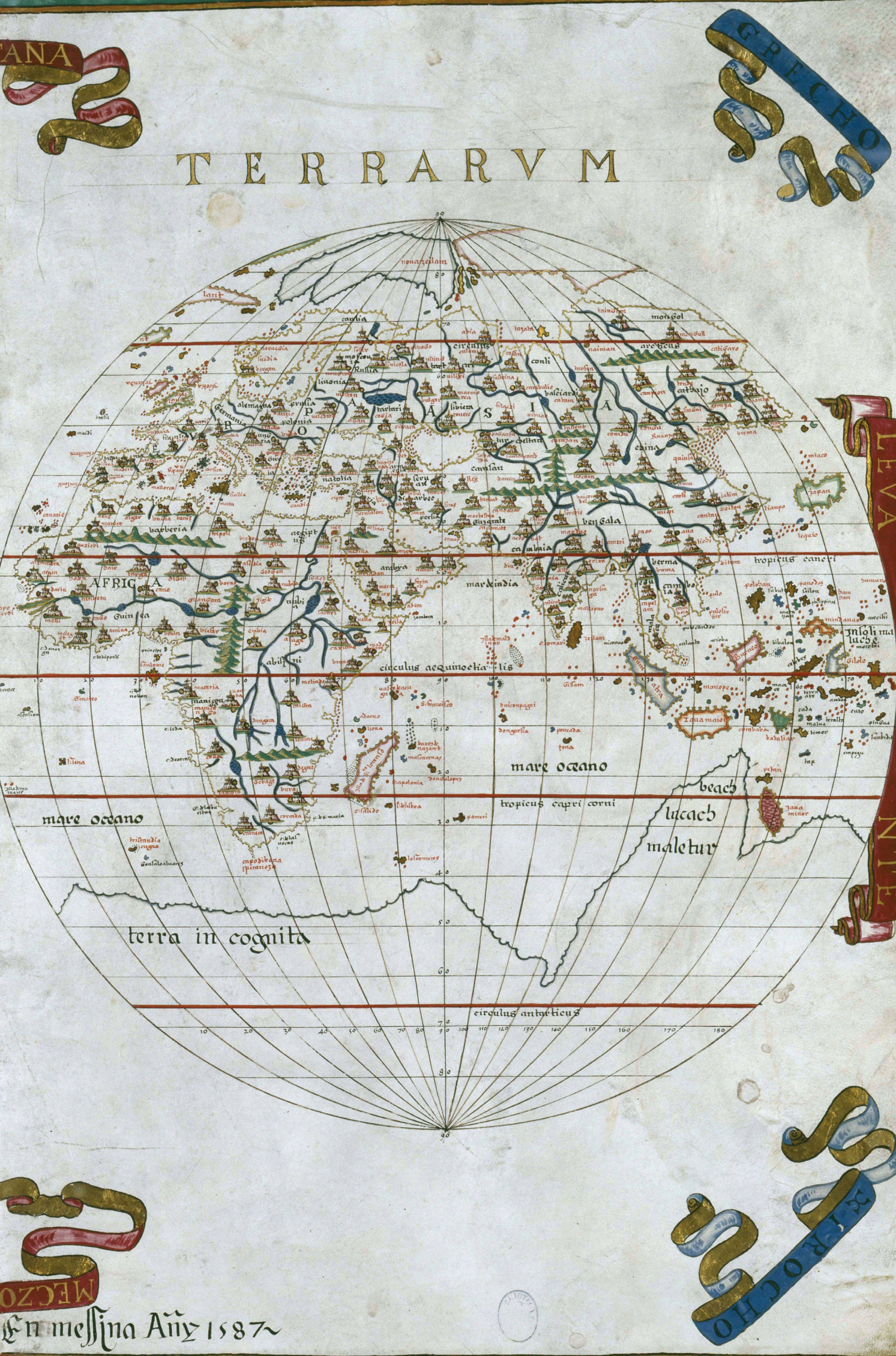
[87] According to the Royal decree promulgated by King Charles V in August 1543.

[88] Jessica Harrison-Hall, 'The Ming Porcelain Industry at Jingdezhen. 1368–1644', in *Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London, 2001, pp. 19–25.

[89] Ten kiln sites have been discovered in the Old City Zone: Guanyinge, Lianhualing, Dongfeng Cichang, Dian Cichang, Liujia Xia Nong, Shi Ba Qiao, Ren Min Ci Chang, Ci Du Bai Huo, Gui Hua Nong, Xin Hua Ci Chang. Cao Jianwen and Luo Yi Fei; see '*Kraak* Porcelain Discovered at some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2006. It is estimated that around a thousand kilns were producing export wares during the last quarter of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.




Atlas, drawing by Joan Martines, 1587, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.




En messina Añy 1587




Fig. 8. Map of *Kraak*-type kiln sites in Jingdezhen. From http://www.thewanlishipwreck.com/jingdezhen.html

for porcelain at the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was huge and these private kilns produced large quantities of porcelains for the export market. (Fig. 8)

A main workshop and kiln site, Guanyingge, produced the highest quality *Kraak*[90] porcelains and probably the highest volume as well. Excavations and research in the area have revealed a large number of kilns that produced different qualities and types of blue-and-white for export.[91] But blue-and-white was not the only decorative technique used on export wares. Polychrome porcelain of the *wucai*[92] type and gold-leaf embellished porcelain of the *Kinrande*[93] type were also exported from Jingdezhen.

The account of the Jesuit Father François Xavier D'Entrecolles (1664–1741), written in 'Jao Chou' on 1 September 1712, provides a glimpse of the trading atmosphere in the most important porcelain production city in China:

> I cannot refrain from giving you a description of Jingdezhen. Only because it has no encircling wall it cannot be called a city or be compared to the largest and most densely populated cities in China. Places like this, that are called 'tsching', are few in number but can be reached easily, have a considerable trade and usually don't have an encircling wall, perhaps because one could then enlarge and extend them as one wishes and probably also because this offers more facilities to load and unload merchandise. There are reportedly 18,000 families in Jingdezhen. The mansions of some great merchants occupy a vast area and offer lodgings

[90] See the description of this type of ware in Chapter 4, p. 226.

[91] See Canepa, 2008, pp. 17–63. In her interesting essay she also discusses the fact that in the last 20 years Chinese archaeologists have occasionally found *Kraak* porcelain in domestic contexts. See also Christiaan J.A, Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, The Hague, 1982, pp. 50–51.

[92] See the description of this type of ware in Chapter 4, p. 226.

[93] See description of this type of ware in Chapter 4, p. 227.

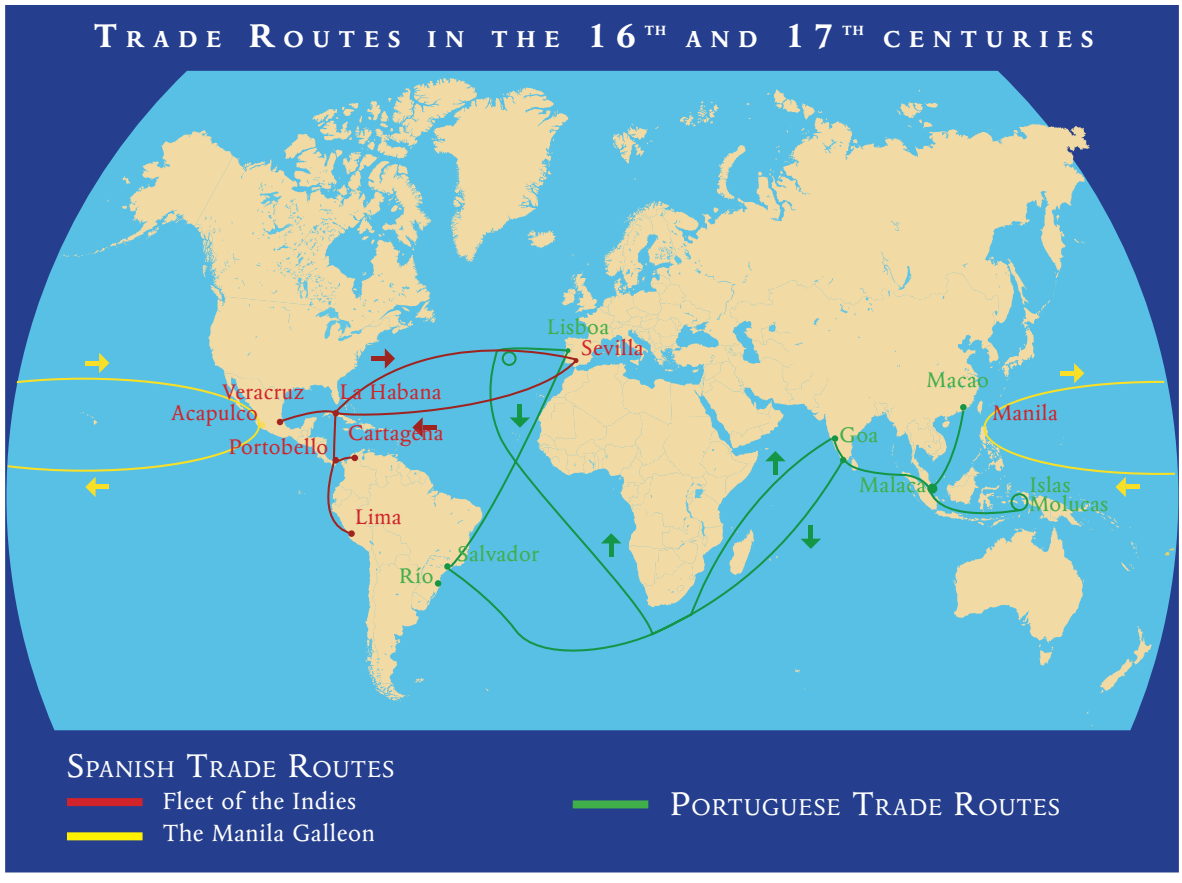



Fig. 9. Spanish-Portuguese Trade Routes. Cinta Krahe ©

to an amazing number of workers. It is often said that there are more than a million souls here, who consume more than 10,000 loads of rice and more than a thousand pigs each day. For the rest, Jingdezhen stretches for about three miles along a beautiful river. This is not just a conglomeration of houses, as one might think; the streets are straight as if drawn with a ruler, they cut each other and cross at certain distances. All the space is occupied; in fact, the houses are too densely packed along the narrow streets; in travelling them one gets the feeling of being in the middle of a busy market. From all sides one hears the cries of the porters trying to clear a path. One sees a large number of temples with idols that have been built at a great deal of expense. After having traversed vast seas for his business, a rich merchant thought that he escaped a shipwreck because of the protection of the Queen of Heaven, who, as he said, appeared to him at the height of a tempest. In order to fulfil the vow that he made then, he spent his entire fortune on building a palace for her that surpassed in magnificence all the other temples. God grant that what I have said to my Christians will be reality one day and that this temple will truly become a basilica dedicated to the real Queen of Heaven. This new temple has been build with piastres amassed in the Indies, and this type of European money is well-known here since for its use in commerce it is not necessary to smelt it as one does elsewhere. Life is more expensive in Jingdezhen than in Jao Chou, because one has to obtain from elsewhere all that is needed for consumption, even the wood to keep the fires burning in the furnaces. But notwithstanding the high costs, Jingdezhen is a shelter for innumerable poor families who have nothing to support them in the neighboring cities. Here, there is work for young people and for those who are less strong, and even the blind and the

handicapped earn enough money with powdering the pigments .[94]

In addition to the large quantities of porcelain made for export in the Jingdezhen kilns, ceramics were also exported from other factories in the Zhangzhou region in China, which produced a coarser type for export called *Swatow*,[95] named after the port of Shantou in northern Guangdong Province near the border with Fujian. We also have to include in the group of export ceramics a large group of utilitarian stoneware jars used to store and preserve food and liquids that were produced in southern Chinese coastal provinces of Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, while another group of these so-called martabans came from other factories in Burma or Myanmar, although the exact kilns where they were manufactured have not been identified.[96]

### *Chinese Export Porcelain from Jingdezhen to Manila*

Since the 10th century, the kilns at Jingdezhen had exported large quantities of porcelain to South-East Asia, India and the Middle East[97]. However, Emperor Xuande (1426–35) had imposed a ban on overseas trade that led to widespread smuggling, and pirate ships had proliferated along the Chinese coast. Pirates and private smuggling had always been a problem, even after Emperor Xuande's edict. In 1517 the first Portuguese ship arrived at Canton (Guangzhou), captained by Fernâo Peres de Andrade, and as a reward for suppressing the pirates, the Portuguese were permitted to establish a permanent trading foothold in Macao at the mouth of the Pearl River in 1557.[98] From this date Portuguese and Chinese junk traders transported large quantities of porcelain, especially to South-East

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[94] Spanish edition of the French letters of Padre D'Entrecolles, *Cartas Edificantes, y Curiosas Escritas de las Misiones Estrangeras, y de Levante por algunos Missioneros de la Compañía de Jesús traducidas por el padre Diego Davin de la misma Compañía*, Madrid, 1775, pp. 61–113, especially p. 65. This translation, however, is from the original French text, Lettre du père D'Entrecolles missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus, au père Orry de la même compagnie, Procureur des missions de la Chine et des Indes. A Jao Tcheou, ce 1 Septembre 1712 in *Lettres èdifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangeres…*' vol. 17, París, 1717, pp. 261-265.

[95] See footnote 770, p. 228.

[96] For bibliography on Martabans and stoneware jars see Sumarah Adhyatmanh and Abu Ridho, *Tempayan Martavans in Indonesia*, The Ceramic Society of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1984; L.A. Alba, 'A Preliminary Survey of the Storage Jars', in *Saga of the San Diego*, Manila, 1993; K. Nguyen Long, 'Typology and Classification', in *A Thousand Years of Stoneware Jars in the Philippines*, Manila, 1992; D. Main and R.A. Fox, *A Description of Pottery Complexes Excavated in Batangas Province, Philippines*. Monograph no. 5, National Museum Manila, Manila, 1982; Barbara Harrison, *Pusaka. Heirloom Jars of Borneo*, Singapore, 1986.

[97] Trade with the Philippines had a long history dating to around 500 BC. From the first century AD, Arab traders were active middlemen between China and the Philippines. Earthenwares glazed with lead glazes and *yue*-type celadons were exported during the Tang dynasty (618–907) from Zhejiang province. During the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) direct commercial contacts with China and the Philippines meant an increase in the volume of Chinese export monochromes of the *qingbai* and *longquan* types, especially from Guangdong and Fujian. The ruling elite bought these wares before the Spaniards arrived; see Monick Crick, *Chinese Trade Ceramics for South-East Asia from the 1st to the 17th Century*, Geneva, 2010; John M. Addis, 'Chinese Porcelain found in the Philippines', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, no. 37, 1967–69; Huang Zhong-yan, 'Research on the Trade Routes Between China and the Philippines', in *Investigations of East and West Oceans*, Xuehsu Yanjiu, no. 4, Guangzhou, 1978, Larry Gotuaco, Rita C. Tan, Allison I. Diem, *Chinese and Vietnamese Blue-and-white Wares found in the Philippines*, Manila, 1997; S. T. Yeo and Jean Martin, *Chinese Blue-and-white Ceramics*, Singapore, 1978.

[98] Valery M. Garrett, *Heaven is High, the Emperor Far Away. Old Guangzhou and China Trade*, Singapore, 2009, p. 73. In 1685 Emperor Kangxi wanted to trade with the West for the revenue it brought, so in 1685 he opened four ports, including Canton, to foreign trade and lifted the ban on Chinese vessels trading overseas. This ban was not a continuation of the Xuande ban, but was the result of having to fight the Ming rebels under Zheng Zhilong.

Asia, the Middle East and the West. The main route from Jingdezhen was southwards to Canton and Macao but other ports were also active in the second half of the sixteenth century such as Ningbo, further north in Zhejiang Province. By the late sixteenth century, ports in the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong such as Amoy (Xiamen), Quanzhou and Shantou (Swatow) were prospering in the maritime trade and had become fundamental to the trade with the Philippines.

The route from Jingdezhen to Canton–Macao was a long journey of about 1,400 kilometres. It began in Lake Poyang and proceeded up the Gem River to Nanchang. Porcelain – packed in straw bundles – was reloaded onto smaller boats. The cargo would then continue upstream to Ganzhou. Travelling on smaller rivers, the cargo boats eventually reached the southern border of Jiangxi Province. Here, the porcelain had to be carried over the Meiling Pass, a distance of some 30 kilometres that reached about 275 metres above sea level. After the Pass the goods were re-loaded onto small boats that navigated the narrow, winding upper reaches of the Beijiang River before reaching Canton.[99] (Fig. 10)

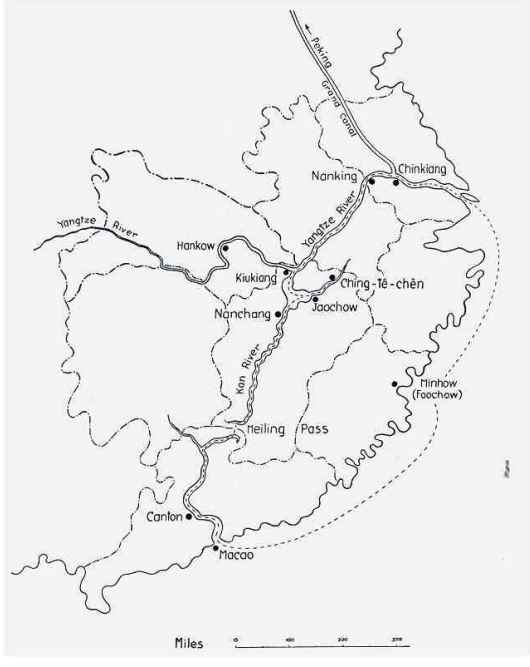



Fig. 10. Map showing the route from Jingdezhen to Macao. From: http://smashalloldthings.blogspot.com.es/2012/05/jingdezhen-when-west-copied-china-1.html

Once Macao was established as a permanent foothold in the East in 1557, porcelain exports increased dramatically with an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 pieces unloaded in Lisbon each year.[100] The arrival of a large quantity of porcelain meant not only that it was popular, but also that it was inexpensive, even at this early stage in the trade. Friar Bartolomeu dos Martires, a senior Portuguese clergyman, commented to Pius IV during a banquet in Rome in 1563 that:

> In Portugal there is a sort of pottery that, although it is made of clay, is no less beautiful or clean than silverware…. We call it porcelain, it comes from India but it's made in China. The clay is so delicate and transparent that white porcelain seems finer than crystal or alabaster; the blue ones are a pleasure to hold… and they are cheap![101]

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[99] Sten Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*, Kuala Lumpur, 2007. See http://www.mingwrecks.com/publications.html

[100] Crick, 2010, p. 40.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Through the accounts of the traveller Francesco Carletti, at the end of the sixteenth century, we know that the quantities of porcelain available for sale in Macao must have been very large; the objects were inexpensive and were bought by merchants of different nationalities:

> Porcelain was bought by a merchant of Middlebourg of Zeelandia […]. and the porcelain is of such quantity that it can be bought at very low prices, and even if the best and the thinnest are selected, 650 to 700 pieces, large and small, do not cost more than 20 or 22 *taels*.[102]

Chinese, Portuguese and Spanish merchants and shippers supplied the Spanish in the Philippines and the porcelain was shipped from there to Spanish America and Spain. It is clear that the Portuguese merchants had a privileged position in the porcelain trade because they had direct contact with Chinese porcelain traders. They had a stronghold in Macao, and their intermediaries (both Portuguese or Chinese) were closer to Jingdezhen (the porcelain kilns) facilitating the placing of special orders for porcelain (with Portuguese coat-of-arms, for example). But porcelain was not the main commodity they acquired in East Asia. Portuguese merchants acted as middlemen in the barter trade between the neighbouring countries. In South-East Asia they exchanged fine spices – pepper, cloves, nutmeg and cinnamon – for Chinese silk and porcelain, the latter being of less importance in comparison to other goods like pepper or silk. Porcelain fell into the *miudezas*,[103] a category that included items such as furniture (writing desks and boxes, lacquered or gilded, and inlaid with ivory or tortoiseshell), amber, pearls, gold jewellery, and seed pearl (*aljófar*) from India, China and Japan. According to James C. Boyajian, Chinese porcelain, which was very bulky, was sold for perhaps 500 *cruzados*[104] per *quintal*[105] in Lisbon, and the annual shipments of porcelain were worth less than 10,000 *cruzados*; musk – used as base for perfumes – was the most valuable commodity in the *miudezas* category.[106]

As far as the Chinese merchants dealing in porcelain are concerned, two groups appear to have dominated the trade. The first consisted of merchants such as junk owners and traders, based in Fujian Province, who were active until the reorganisation of the Jingdezhen kilns in 1683 during the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722), when formal seaborne enterprises were specially created to deal with foreigners. The second was a group of inland traders who had business arrangements with the coast. They came to dominate China's commercial activities with a widespread network until the end of the Ming dynasty (1644). The major porcelain-trading centre was located in Huizhou (Anhui Province), north of Jingdezhen, where clients with a cultivated taste influenced the decoration of porcelain, especially during the Transitional period (1620–83), and where traders introduced the new porcelain shapes required in the West.[107]

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[102] Francesco Carletti, *Mi viaje alrededor del mundo* (*1594–1606*), Barcelona, 2006, p. 157. A *tael* was a Chinese measure of weight equivalent to 37.7 grams of silver but the Chinese used different weights according to regions; in the eighteenth century it was calculated as c. 38.3 grams. Jörg 1982, p. 324, footnote 54. The English word *tael* comes via Portuguese from the Malay word *tahil*, meaning 'weight'. It is subdivided in 10 *condareens* or 100 *caties*.

[103] *Miudezas* (Portuguese); literally, 'notions' or 'trifles'; the term applied to a wide variety of small commodities (lacquered furniture, jewellery, semi-precious stones, musk oil and porcelain), and to small lots of valuable bulkier items, such as finer silks and cotton cloth.

[104] *Cruzado*: The *cruzado* was the main Portuguese currency, which consisted of 400 *reis*; roughly 10 Spanish silver *reales* equalled one *cruzado* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[105] 1 *quintal* = 100 kilograms.

[106] James C. Boyajian, 'The Private Trade of the Carreira da India', in *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs 1580–1640*, Baltimore, 1993, (pp. 29–52), p. 49.

[107] S. Kuwayama, 'Archaeological Excavations of Chinese Ceramics Transported by Manila Galleons', in *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial México*, Los Angeles, 1997, p. 16; see also Julia B. Curtis (ed.), *Chinese porcelains of the Seventeenth Century. Lanscapes, Scholar's Motifs and Narratives,* New York, 1995.




Fig. 11. Map of South-East Asia from the Atlas of Joan Martines, 1587. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Trade between the Spanish and the Chinese started soon after with the settlement of the Spanish.[108] When they established themselves in the town of Manila (on the island of Luzón), which was closest to China, in 1571, a colony of 150 Chinese traders had already settled in the area.[109] The Spanish had always been aware that before their arrival Chinese vessels had reached Luzón to sell: 'coarse crockery and other products such as timber (*palos*) and grass, and other unimportant odds and ends'.[110] Two Chinese junks were spotted on 10 May 1570. On boarding them, Juan de Salcedo, grandson of the founder of Manila, Miguel de Legazpi, mentioned that:

> The soldiers visited the compartments where the Chinese kept the best of their goods: they found silk, textiles, gold thread hanks, musk, gilt porcelain bowls, gilt ewers and other curious things […]. The junks' decks were full of jars, crockery, large porcelain vases, plates, bowls and some fine porcelain jars they call *sinoratas*.[111]

On 11 August 1572, a year after the City of Manila was founded, other Chinese junks arrived carrying damask, 'gold and white porcelain', sugar and sweet oranges, among other items. Recent excavations carried out in the old Spanish settlement of Manila have yielded several Chinese blue-

[108] For trade relations between Spain and China, see William Lytle Schurz, 'City and Commerce', in *The Manila Galleon*, Manila, 1985, pp. 129–57; Carmen Yuste López, *El Comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas*, Mexico City, 1984. Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *El Galeón de Manila*, Madrid, 2000.

[109] Ollé, 2002, p. 47.

[110] Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila. Siglos XVI y XVII*, Lisbon, 2011, p. 19.

[111] Gil, 2011/1, p. 21. *Sinoratas* were porcelain jars in Gil, 2011/1, p. 787.

and-white porcelain shards from the old city: in the remains of the town hall, the bastion of the San Diego and in the Chinese district.[112]

The merchandise was transported using a direct route across the China Sea to Manila, a distance of between 650 and 700 miles, slightly less than the long inland route between Jingdezhen and Macao (see fig. 11). The ships were large, sea-going junks that carried between 200 and 400 men, their interiors tightly packed with merchandise. Regular and continuous trade between China and the Philippine Archipelago was established by 1572. Vessels came from the coast of Fujian, especially from Chincheo (Quanzhou) and Amoy, and from Canton-Macao (Guandong Province), on voyages that took between fifteen and twenty days.

The success of the return trip from Manila to Acapulco marked the start of a new era (see Chapter 1: Historical Background, p. 24), and with this new route 'the great riches of China were finally communicated to Spain through lands of His Majesty'.[113] As early as 1572, while in New Spain, the English merchant Henry Hawks admired plates and goblets of the finest pottery brought from Manila, in 1573 the king of Spain, was sent twelve trunks labelled alphabetically, two writing desks and twelve cases with ceramics numbered with Arabic numerals. The items chosen for the monarch (which very rudely carried their price tags) were typical exotic Asian export items: pieces of black and gold furniture, textiles and porcelain objects such as gold, blue and gilded *sinoratas* (8 *mace*[114]), 16 gilded trinkets or *brinquiños* (4 *mace*), 36 gilded trinkets or *brinquiños* (9 *mace*), 90 gilded plates (3 *taels*), 80 gilded basins (1 *tael*, 12 *mace*), 30 blue-and-white plates (4 *mace*), 46 white basins (3 *mace*) and 6 small white plates (1 *mace*).[115]

Curiously enough, when these Chinese wares had their debut in New Spain, they made a very poor impression on Viceroy Martín Enríquez, who told the King of Spain in a letter of 9 January 1573:

> I have seen some things they have brought back from peddling with the Chinese and I regard it all as a lost cause. All they have brought are some beastly silks, porcelain and painted writing desks, etc.... If good governance of this land were my sole concern, I would not allow a single one of the things to enter this kingdom.[116]

However, despite the viceroy's repugnance toward Chinese goods, a roaring trade clearly began, and trading arrangements between the Philippines and New Spain were formed. In the galleon that dropped anchor in Acapulco on 22 October 1576, Captain Gaspar Ramírez sent from Manila to Rafael Pinelo in New Spain '*three boxes of ceramic ware*' worth 241 pesos and one *tomín*.[117] The cheapness of Chinese goods posed a threat to Peninsula trade, as Spanish commodities were also being exported to New Spain.

The Iberian Union in 1580 gave new impetus to commercial links with Manila and increased the export of Chinese porcelain despite it being recognised by all that the demarcation between the trading areas attributed to Portugal and to Spain was a fact (see Chapter 1: Historical Background, pp.

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[112] Takenori Nogami, Wilfredo P. Ronquillo, Alfredo B. Orogo, Nida T. Cuevas and Kazuniko Tanaka, 'Porcelains from Manila in Spanish Philippines', *Departamental Bulletin Paper, Kanazawa University,* nº. 28, 2006, pp. 20-60, quoted in Teresa Canepa, "The Portuguese and Spanish Trade in Kraak Porcelain in the late 16th and early 17th centuries", in Pei-Kai Cheng (ed), *Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilization,* Hong Kong, 2012, pp. 259-279.

[113] Gil, 2011/2, p. 179.

[114] *Mace* is an amount of money. It is 1/10 of a *tael*.

[115] The full list of objects is in Gil 2011/2, pp. 181–82.

[116] Gil, 2011/2, p. 182.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

32-33).[118] The number of junks permitted to officially visit Manila varied from 20 to 60 each year, but unrecorded arrivals may have been considerable. Antonio de Morga (1539–1636), governor of Manila in 1595, noted that the junks came in groups with the monsoon at the end of March, returning to Macao at the end of May or early June. When a junk appeared outside Manila Bay, watchmen stationed at Mariveles, 173 kilometres from Manila, boarded it.[119]

When the ships had anchored, Royal treasury officials – the *contador* (accountant) and *veedor* (overseer) – inspected the cargo and recorded the merchandise. Goods were appraised and the corresponding customs taxes collected. There were two kinds of taxes on Chinese goods; one belonged to the Crown, the other to the City of Manila (municipal taxes). The first was a royal tax of 3 per cent of the goods, the *almojarifazgo*, although by the seventeenth century this had increased to 6 per cent on imported goods.[120] Another important Royal tax was the so-called *avería*, which had to be charged on goods arriving from the Indies. This important tax *ad valorem* on the colonial trade was introduced to cover the expenses involved in maintaining naval escorts guarding merchant vessels sailing to the Indies. The overall amount of this tax increased from 2.5 per cent in 1587 to 35 per cent, when the threat posed by English pirates was at its peak in the first half of the seventeenth century. Many traders tried to smuggle goods to avoid *avería*. [121] Another Royal tax was the so-called anchor duty (*ancoraje*), which was calculated according to the tonnage of the vessel. In time, the total annual amount collected by levying this tax increased from 2 to 4,000 *ducados* a year.[122]

Municipal taxes were also imposed on all goods coming into port, based on their weight. Nevertheless, the documentation relating to this tax is not very clear. A 0.5 per cent (municipal) tax on the goods value, known as '*correduría de lonja*' (marketplace tax), was due on goods formally sold. This tax provoked several protests by Chinese merchants. In addition the *pancada* was a system of organizing

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[118] In the words of historian Jorge de Sousa Pinto: 'By the 1580s, Macao was a rapidly growing city. What had started with a group of merchants in the 1550s moved from being a small, tolerated trading post to becoming the main port in China' (p.16). From this city, Chinese goods and porcelain were distributed for nearby countries like Japan, Ryukyu and South-East Asia (mainland and islands), to the entire world including the long-distance routes that joined the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and Europe. ' The relationship between Macao and Manila was made of rivalry and complicity. Macao welcomed and fomented the trade in contraband goods with the Philippines, provided that this did not interfere with its privileged position in the silk and silver trade and, above all, as long as the Spanish did not try to take away from the city its role as exclusive interlocutor in contacts with the Chinese authorities. It was an unsustainable position since Manila was a trading partner but also a powerful rival in terms of the main merchandise destined for the Chinese market – American silver, which crossed the Pacific Ocean in large quantities and which competed with the silver the Portuguese bought in Japan'(p.17). From Jorge de Sousa Pinto, 'Enemy at the Gates: Macao, Manila and the "Pinhal Episode" (End of 16th Century)', in *Bulletin of Portuguese /Japanese Studies*, vol. 16, June 2008, pp. 11–43.

[119] At the end of the century 30 or 40 Chinese junks arrived in Manila. In 1616 there were only seven, but 50 came in 1631 and five years later 30 made the voyage. The number varied depending on the chances of profitable sales in Manila, the safety of the passage, and local conditions in China. Schurz, 1985, p. 65.

[120] The *almojarifazgo* (Crown Customs) receipts at Manila reveal the official version of the volume of revenue paid by Chinese and Japanese junks. These receipt figures, as Spanish officials were always careful to warn about, represented only official recorded statistics and did not take into account smuggling and evasion of duties. After the arrival and the anchoring of a Chinese ship at Manila, Royal officials inspected and established a landed value of the cargo; the value of the goods was established according to Manila's regulations. George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 81–82.

[121] See Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *La avería en el comercio de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1945. This tax was like a 'collective insurance' paid by the merchants to the Crown and handled by the Casa de la Contratación.

[122] Gil, Lisbon, 2011/1, p. 50.

the distribution of goods. Prohibited from selling directly to the retail business in Manila, Chinese merchants were supposed to deal exclusively with representatives of the Spanish administration, and the *pancada* was levied on these official transactions. According to the governor, the total amount of goods imported had to be bought by the city in their entirety at a predetermined price. Delegates were assigned to establish a global value. The purchased goods would later be 'fairly and properly distributed' among the city merchants. This *pancada* system was also used in other places in China and Japan; however, implementing this system met with many problems and it was finally cancelled in 1696.[123]

After all these taxes had been paid, the merchandise was unloaded under the supervision of another official onto sampans and taken to the *parian* (a market), or to other establishments and warehouses outside the city. The goods were then sold at an annual fair that took place on 4 June, so that merchants storing wares to ship to New Spain (and Spain) had a month to finalise their cargoes.[124] Shops also existed in the Chinese quarters of the *parian* and were described by the Italian traveller Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri: 'there are several streets with luxury shops that sell silks, fine porcelains and all sorts of fine merchandise'.[125] The number of shops varied according to the flow of merchandise and adapted to the annual seasons. The months of lowest activity were August, September and October; the highest were January and February, with the 'breezes' (the North West monsoon from November to June, the dry season) that ended in July, when the galleon departed for Acapulco to the gust of the 'gales' (the South-Easterly winds, from July to October, the wet season). Rents charged for the shops and warehouses increased from 3,000 pesos in 1587 to 7,460 pesos at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[126]

Antonio de Morga described the way of life in the Chinese communities (the so- called *sangleys*) in Manila in the sixteenth century:


SVCESOS DE LAS
ISLAS FILIPINAS.
DIRIGIDO.
A DON CRISTOVAL GOMEZ DE
Sandoual y Rojas, Duque de Cea.
POR EL DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA,
Alcalde del Crimen, de la real Audiencia de la Nueua Es-
paña, Consultor del santo Oficio de la Inquisicion.
EN MEXICO.
En casa de Geronymo Balli. Año 1609.
Por Cornelio Adriano Cesar.

> In the city of Manila, and in all those Spanish settlements of the islands, reside Sangleys, who have come from Great China, besides the merchants. They have appointed settlements and are engaged in various trades, and go to the islands for their livelihood. Some possess their parians and shops. Some engage in fishing and farming among the natives, throughout the country; and go from one island to another to trade, in large or small sampans. The annual vessels from Great China bring these Sangleys in great numbers, especially to the city of Manila, for the sake of the profits that are gained from their fares. As there is a superabundance of population in China, and the wages and profits there are little, they regard as of importance whatever they get in the Filipinas…. The Parian is a large enclosed *alcaiceria* [market quarters] of many streets, at some distance from the city walls. It is near the river, and its location is called San Graviel. There they have their own governor, who has his tribunal and prison, and his assistants; these administer justice to them, and watch

[123] Gil, 2011/1, p. 54.

[124] Schurz, 1985, p. 77.

[125] Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, in Francisca Perujo (ed.), *Viaje a la Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1976, p. XXVIII, quoted in footnote 17 in María Bonta de la Pezuela, *Porcelana China de Exportación para el mercado novohispano: la colección del Museo Nacional del Virrreinato*, Mexico City, 2008, p. 81.

[126] Gil, 2011/1, p. 145.

Fig. 12. First page of the *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* by Antonio de Morga, Mexico, 1609.

them day and night, so that they may live in security, and not commit disorders.[127]

Apart from transporting porcelain in Chinese junks and small sampans, Spanish merchant ships also carried porcelain from different locations along the Chinese coast. In a letter written by Miguel López de Legazpi to King Philip II on 23 July 1567, he proposed the construction of six galleys to conduct trade with China.[128] The small shipment of ceramics aboard the *Royal Captain*, found in Philippine waters and dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620), included an eclectic selection of pieces.[129] Spanish ships frequently participated in the illicit trade with local merchants at pre-arranged meeting places along the coast.[130] The *San Diego*, which had around 1,200 pieces of porcelain aboard when it sank in confrontation with Dutch warships on 14 December 1600, was rapidly armed with the cannons of the city of Manila to combat Dutch ships anchored near Manila with the intention of sacking the incoming Manila Galleon arriving from Mexico.[131] The *San Diego* was built in Cebú as a trading vessel of about 300 tons, and was requisitioned from Spanish merchants with its silver cargo.[132]

### *Financing the Trade*

As already mentioned, the *parian* was the trading centre for the merchandise destined for the galleons on the Acapulco voyage, and from the very beginning this market was supplied by Chinese merchants who imported goods from all over East Asia and acted as intermediaries in the trade with East Asia.[133] In exchange for Asian goods such as Chinese porcelain or Japanese lacquer, Spanish silver from the mines in the New World became the most widely accepted currency in the ports of East Asia.[134] The stream of silver that had found its way across the Pacific since 1571 to purchase these products was, by the late 1590s, a roaring river. In 1590 the volume of silver from New Spain to the

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[127] Antonio de Morga, *History of the Philippine Islands. From their Discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the Beginning of the XVII Century; with Descriptions of Japan, China and Adjacent Countries*, translated into English and edited and annotated by E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, at http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/7001/pg7001.html. In 1621 there were over 10,000 licensed Chinese in Manila and 5,000 unlicensed. Fifteen years later over 30,000 Chinese and Japanese lived in the city while in 1749 their numbers rose to more than 40,000. However the Chinese grew but Japanese diminished along the 17th century.

[128] Ollé, 2002, p. 40.

[129] The Royal Captain cargo consisted of 'bronze gongs and Chinese ceramics of the usual shapes, corresponding perfectly to the requirements of the markets in the archipelagos: plates, small bowls, cups, bowls, boxes, pear-shaped bottles and different-sized jars. Some pieces are in thick Swatow-type porcelain […] while others are fine-walled mass-produced porcelain with brush-outlined, wash-painted motifs'. See Crick, 2010, p. 52. See also Franck Goddio & Evelyne Jay, *Discovery and Archaeological Excavation of a 16th-Century Trading Vessel in the Philippines*, Manila, 1988.

[130] A Chinese porcelain shard was unearthed in the vicinity of Fort Santo Domingo at Tamsui, Isla Hermosa (i.e. Taiwan). Kraak porcelain was purchased by the Spanish in Isla Hermosa to be shipped to Manila. See Canepa, 2012, p. 270-1.

[131] Michel L'Hour, 'Un galeón fortuito', in Jean-Paul Desroches and Franck Goddio, *El San Diego. Un tesoro bajo el mar*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 128–51.

[132] See Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons. The Treasure Ships of the Pacific*, Central Milton Keynes, 2011.

[133] See Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'Más allá de Manila', in Marina Alfonso Mola & Carlos Martínez Shaw, *El Galeón de Manila*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 95–105; and Marina Alfonso Mola, 'La Carrera de Indias', in *ibid.*, pp. 25–49.

[134] Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'La Era de la Plata Española en Extremo Oriente', *Revista Española del Pacífico*, 2004, no. 17, pp. 33–53. This important work deals with the itineraries followed by silver from its extraction in the Spanish mines of Peru and Mexico to its important role played in the Far East.




Fig. 13. Maris Pacifici, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, by Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp 1589. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Philippines amounted to 400,000 pesos.[135] Nevertheless, Mexican silver was not the only commodity that was sent, as Peruvian traders sailed from El Callao (Peru) to Acapulco to participate in the lucrative trade in Asiatic exotics (in exchange for Peruvian silver)– but only for a short period at the end of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century.

In the early 1580s Manila's governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, fostered direct trade between El Callao and Manila by sponsoring two expeditions in 1581 and 1582. However, in 1591 the Spanish Crown, sensitive to Spanish and Mexican ship-owners' demands, banned commerce between Peru, Guatemala on one end and the Philippines and China on the other. This decree had to be issued again in 1593, 1595 and 1604. This last decree not only abolished all trading between El Callao and Acapulco ports, but more extensively, included all trade between the viceroys of Peru and New Spain. However, we find many indications that Peruvian Potosí silver illegally continued to flow to the Far East through other intermediate ports, such as Realejo in Nicaragua, before reaching Acapulco's fair.[136]

American silver would also reach other merchants by a different route: when unable to receive silver directly from Portugal (through the legal trade with Seville or through the contraband from Brazil), Portuguese merchants on Macao obtained it through either the legal or illegal, but always active, trade with the Spanish Philippines. For example, in 1583 ship-owner Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro in Macao outfitted one of his junks to return a Spanish Jesuit – Father Alonso Sánchez – and to trade

[135] María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano, 'Los mercaderes de la Ciudad de México en el siglo XVI y el comercio con el exterior', in *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, vol. 32, 2006, pp. 103–26.

[136] Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2004/3, p. 38.

with Manila (see Chapter 1, Historical Background, p. 27). The profits of this venture were such that Landeiro contemplated annual voyages: two of his junks traded in Manila the subsequent year. However, compared with the Chinese junks that sailed to Manila – 584 ships – the Portuguese made only 25 voyages from Macao to Manila between 1577 and 1612.[137]

China attracted Spanish–American silver because in the second half of the sixteenth century the country used it for its commercial transactions. This influence from the private sector was transmitted to the public sector and the Ming administration started demanding taxes be paid with the same silver. China would subsequently turn into an immense territory ruled by the silver standard for the next few centuries.[138] The price of silver in Ming China was twice as high as in Spain.[139] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, China was dependant on Japanese[140] and New World silver. Around 1600, more than a million *taels* (1 *tael* = 37.7 grams) of silver were exported from Manila to China annually.[141]

The interest in the trading activities of the Portuguese and the Chinese with the Spanish at Manila was so great that the outflow of silver increased. The Crown tried to limit silver bullion imports by different means such as the *pancada*, and re-instituted barter in the Philippines. In addition to these restrictions, in 1593 the Crown issued a Royal decree in an attempt to impose a fiscal limit on the export allowance from Manila to Acapulco of 250,000 silver pesos of '*ocho reales*' (eight *reales*)[142] coins per annum (called *permiso*), and 500,000 silver pesos of '*ocho reales*'[143] on the return voyage from Acapulco to Manila.[144] It is clear that the Philippines siphoned off large sums of silver from the New World but measuring the flow of silver to China is virtually impossible.[145] On the other hand, the American metal crossed the Atlantic to Spain and went to other European countries such as the Netherlands, which purchased silver in Spain for their Asian trade.

The most important issue regulating the trade was the apportioning of lading space on the galleon. This was organised as licenses for lading (*boletas*) issued by the *Junta del Repartimiento* (Commis-

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[137] George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 66–67. For trade between Macao and Japan 1555 to 1640, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macau and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640*, Lisbon, 1963.

[138] R. Huang, 'Fiscal Administration during the Ming Dynasty', in C.O. Hucker (ed.), *Chinese Government In Ming Times: Seven Studies*, New York/London, 1970, pp. 415–49; and *Taxation and Govermental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China*, Cambridge, 1974. Quoted in Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw 2004, p. 40.

[139] Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2004, p. 41.

[140] From the 1550s the opening of gold and silver mines in Japan meant a great increase in the production of these precious metals. The development of trade with the Portuguese indicated that Japanese silver was flowing in exchange for commodities like Chinese raw silk and spices from South-East Asia, see A. Kobata, 'The Production and Uses of Gold and Silver in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Japan', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 18, no. 2, 1965, pp. 245–66.

[141] G. Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico*, Los Angeles, 1997, p. 20.

[142] The '*real de ocho*' was equivalent to 272 *maravedíes*.

[143] Yuste López, 1984, p. 14.

[144] This amount of 500,000 pesos resulted from export duties levied on merchandise from Manila that was sold in Acapulco. It would be increased three times until it was fixed in 1702 at in 600,000 silver pesos of '*ocho reales*'. However these measures were not fully effective and silver still flooded East Asia being the coins of *reales de a ocho* (*pesos fuertes*). In international trade, peso= peso fuerte=8 reales (always in silver). The peso or peso fuerte was normally called 'real de a ocho'.

[145] J.J. TePaske, 'New World Silver, Castile and the Philippines, 1590–1800', in J.F. Richards (ed.), *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, Durham, 1983, pp. 425–45. An attempt at summarising these figures was made in Alfonso Mola & Martinez Shaw's article, 2004, p. 44.

sion for Allotment).[146] The amount of space allowed by the *boletas* was allocated to citizens of the islands 'in proportion to their wealth', so logically old trading families dominated the trade but only as the owners of the privilege of the *boletas* or 'tickets', which they usually sold to other (wealthier) merchants. Finally the *Junta de Evalúo* (Board of Appraisement) oversaw the compilation of a detailed register of the consignment, and the merchandise entered the *Contaduría* (Bureau of Accounts).[147]

Besides traders, high-ranking government officials would trade with 'money from His Majesty'. In 1573, Manila's governor, Guido de Lavezaris, made a number of purchases specified in a report.[148] The bundles it mentions contained writing desks, different types of textiles, trinkets (*brinquiños*), fans, rolls of gold thread, papers of scarlet silk, bone figures, musk, and chests with different types of plates and bowls. In addition, on ending his tenure in the Philippines in 1580, Governor Francisco de Sande ordered the loading of a number of chests registered under the names of Francisco Paolo and his nephew Bernardino de Sande into the galleon *Santa María de Jesús*. By the time the officials in New Spain realised who the bundles really belonged to, Paolo had already sold some of the goods.[149]

### *Chinese Export Porcelain from Manila to Acapulco-Veracruz*

By the 1570s galleons loaded with porcelain and other Asian goods were regularly plying the Pacific. In 1573 two ships, the *Santiago* and the *San Juan*, began the Manila Galleon trade by transporting a cargo of 712 pieces of silk and 22,300 '*fine gilt china and other porcelain wares*' to Acapulco.[150] It was indeed a large quantity of pieces for an inauguration journey. From then on the galleons crossed the Pacific annually from Manila to Acapulco, carrying porcelain and other Asian goods.[151] Carmen Yuste López, who studied the commercial relations of the Philippines and New Spain from the 1590s, stated that the most important East Asian goods were textiles, then spices, pottery and furniture, wax and storax balm (*estoraque*) used in perfumery and medicine. Pottery was far from being the main trade item and was generally registered under the category of 'presents' and not as a trade item.[152] As we can see, the Spanish regarded porcelain much as the Portuguese did when categorising it as *miudezas*, a category that

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[146] The amount of cargo space allotted to each citizen depended first on the capacity of the galleon of that year. The ship's hold was measured and divided by a committee into equal parts or bales (*fardos*). These bales were subdivided into four packages (*piezas*). A ticket (*boleta*) was then issued as a certificate of ownership for each unit of a *pieza* but these *piezas* could be further subdivided again. *Boletas* or *piezas* were worth around 125 pesos although this value increased several more times, according to demand.

[147] See Schurz, 1985, Chapter IV, 'City and Commerce'.

[148] These purchases were included in the report: *Memoria de lo que va en doze petacas y dos escritorios y doze caxones de loza en los tres navíos que parten para Nueva España este año de mil quinientos e setenta y tres para su Majestad.* Gil, 2011/1, pp. 31–32.

[149] The chests held different types of objects, including textiles, pepper and suchlike. On 14 March of the same year, officials opened the porcelain chests which later were sent to Mexico City: 56 jars (*pozuelos*), 30 porcelain chests, a box containing white and gilded pottery, plates, pitchers and bowls. In addition the governor at Acapulco seized from the same individual 'a large quantity of pottery' from the same vessel. A corrupted court turned a blind eye to Guido de Lavezaris and Sande's offences. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

[150] Schurz, 1985, p. 30.

[151] By 1593, fearing the loss of too much silver to China, among other issues, Spain cut the number of official galleons to two ships of 300 tons each per year, although smuggling was a standard practice in those times. Eventually, there was only one galleon per year. Mexico's first half-century of trade with China, until 1620, was unprecedented in terms of value and numbers of items; see Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America*, New York, 2000, p.41.

[152] Yuste, 1984, p. 26.




Fig. 14. Engraving of the port of Acapulco, New Spain by A. Boot, 1628, Bibliothéque Nationale de France, París.

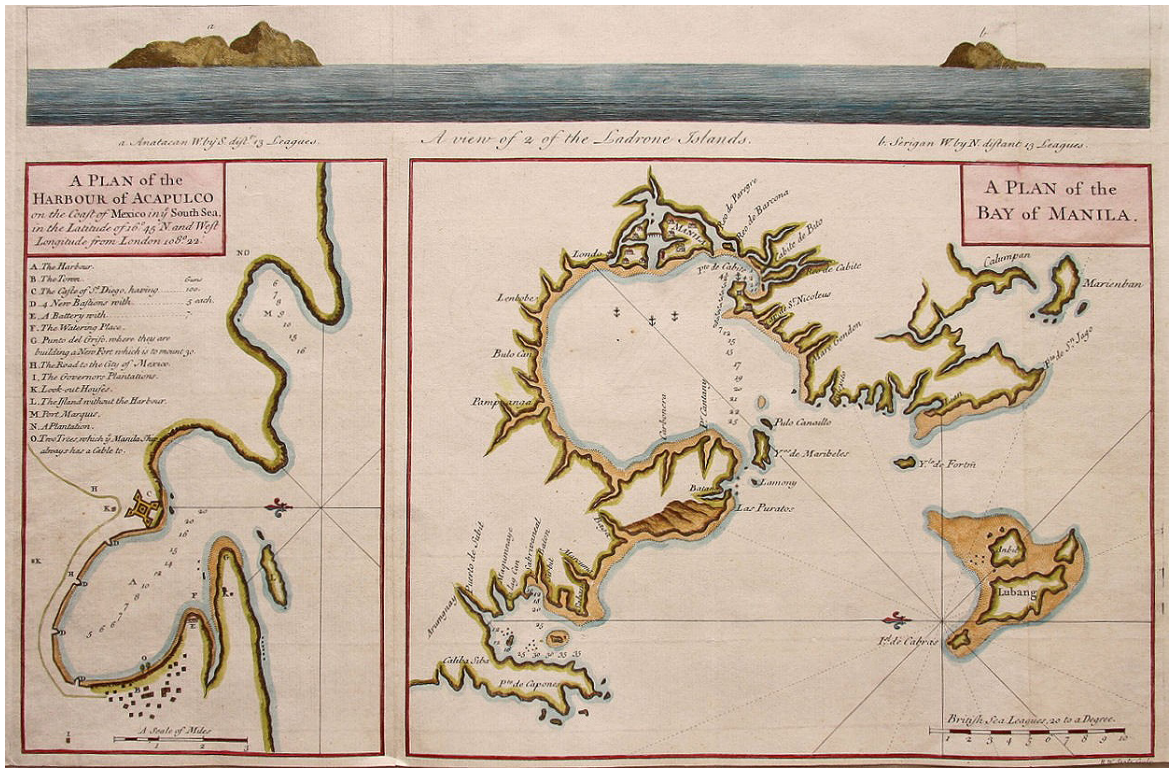



Fig. 15. Plans of the harbour of Acapulco and the Bay of Manila, from *Atlas* to George Anson, *Voyage From Around the World in the Years DMCCXL*, I,II, III, IV, London, 1748, p. 31.

included items such as furniture (writing desks and boxes, lacquered or gilded, and inlaid with ivory or tortoiseshell), amber, pearls; gold jewellery; and seed pearl (*aljófar*) from India, China and Japan.

East Asian goods and porcelain travelled north in galleons near the latitude of Japan, where favourable winds bore the ships across the Pacific Ocean to the coast of California. From lower California, the galleons sailed to the neighbourhood of Cape Corrientes and coasted down to Acapulco. The ship generally hove to in a port along the coast, usually at Natividad, from where documents were sent to the capital.[153] Shards of blue-and-white Jingdezhen porcelain and Swatow ware have been found in several sites in California's Drake's Bay and Drake's Estero (an inlet of Drake's Bay) from the Spanish galleon the *San Agustín*, which lost its cargo in 1595.[154]

The only ports open to trade with the Philippines in New Spain were Huatulco and afterwards Acapulco, which was consolidated as the main port on New Spain's western coastline. The voyage between Manila and Acapulco lasted six months; ships arrived in the middle of December and returned to Manila early in March, arriving there three months later. When the galleon arrived, Spanish port authorities supervised, registered and unloaded the goods, which were sent to different warehouses where they were kept prior to the fair. These procedures took several days. Each and every one of the items was compared to the itemised lists of the accountant or 'silver master' of the ship and another registry was drawn up and taxes were paid accordingly.[155]

Traders from all over New Spain and from other South American ports such as Guayaquil (Ecuador) and El Callao (Peru) came to buy at the annual fair held in Acapulco in February, which generally lasted a month. This fair was a meeting place for traders – its main purpose being the wholesale exchange of goods – and it was organised to attract as many people as possible from far-flung locations. Most traders came from different parts of Mexico, like Oaxaca, Puebla and Michoacán, but traders from Mexico City were the richest. The Spanish Crown tried to regulate the exchange of goods, but in the end the law of supply and demand finally determined the prices.[156]

From Acapulco goods were distributed via two routes. One led to Mexico City, the capital of New Spain, along the so-called Asian Road (Camino de Asia), which passed the town of Cuernavaca and led to the Camino Real to the north, passing the nearby towns of Guanajuato, San Luis de Potosí, Zacatecas (all

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[153] Schurz, 1985, p. 196.

[154] S. Kuwayama, 'Archaeological Excavations of Chinese Ceramics Transported by Manila Galleons', in *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial México*, Los Angeles, 1997, pp. 20–22. Datable shipwrecks are: *Golden Hind*. Drake's Bay, California, 1579, although there is much debate if the Drake's Bay shards were from the *Golden Hind* or from the *San Agustín* only; *San Agustín*, Drake´s Bay, California, 1595; *San Diego*, off Fortune Island, near the west coast of Luzon, 1600; *Witte Leeuw*, off St Helena, Atlantic Ocean, 1613; *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, off Florida, 1622; *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, near Saipan, in the Mariana Islands, 1638; Hatcher junk, South China Sea, 1643-46. See also C. Shangraw and P. von der Porten, *The Drake and Cermeno Expeditions' Chinese Porcelains at Drakes Bay, California 1579 and 1595*, Santa Rosa & Palo Alto, CA, 1981.

[155] A document of 1615 lists the merchandise aboard the *San Andrés* and the flagship (*capitana*), which arrived in Acapulco with 871 and 1318 bundles of pottery respectively; see Documentary Appendix 3, Document 39, AGI, Mexico, 28 N 20. This document, however, is not clear about the origin of the pottery.

[156] The documents listing the cargoes of the ships arriving in Acapulco are now preserved in several archives. The most important is the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), where most of the registers of goods arriving in Acapulco are preserved, Unfortunately this archive could not be consulted for this study. The Archive of the Indies in Seville also keeps documents that register some of the goods reaching the port of Acapulco under the general section of Mexico. Other porcelain cargoes arriving in Acapulco are in the section Contaduría-Caja de Filipinas of the Archive of the Indies, cuentas de Bastimentos. As the purpose of this dissertation is the study of Chinese porcelain in Spain, these boxes were not studied and await future researchers working on the presence of Chinese porcelain in Mexico.

towns with rich silver mines) and even up to Santa Fe, where Chinese porcelain shards have been found.[157] The other road led to Veracruz (Camino Antiguo de los Virreyes), in the Gulf of Mexico, where goods were loaded aboard ships heading across the Atlantic Ocean for Seville, with the land route passing the cities of Puebla, Jalapa and Orizaba.[158] (Fig. 17) The inland roads that traversed the high Mexican plateau could be very tortuous. There were two types of roads: for the so-called *caminos de herradura* (roads suitable for shod horses) the porcelain cargo – packed with soft materials to avoid breakage – would be loaded onto carts; for the other roads, mules or donkeys had to struggle through a difficult terrain of very steep and narrow paths carrying heavy loads of porcelain.[159]

Merchandise was also transported to other areas in the south, especially to Peru where Asian products were exchanged for silver. A few shards of *Kraak* porcelain have been found at the Magdalena de Cao site – an old settlement run by members of the Dominican religious order – in the Chicama Valley in Northern Peru.[160] Research into the Archive of the Indies found a register of the merchandise carried by the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* from the Philippines to Peru in the year 1581, which was captained by D. Gonzalo Ronquillo de Ballesteros. The registered items were mostly private spice cargoes that also included a variety of pottery from China.[161]

From 1582, traders came regularly to Acapulco when a Royal edict curtailed plans to establish free trade with the Philippines. Imports from Asia were very cheap compared to those from Spain and even the Viceroy of Spain in Peru, the Marquis of Cañete, commented that 'Chinese silk and other textiles are so cheap that local chiefs and even commoners are using them for clothing instead of cloth of local manufacture'.[162] Porcelain was also very inexpensive: a register of 1582–83 mentions 130 dozen-and-a-half gilded pottery objects being appraised at 3 and 3/4 *reales* a piece.[163] As Borah states, from the viceroy and the Audiencias down, all the officials ignored Philip II's directive to cease trading directly with Philippines–China and during the 1580s: 'goods were loaded and registered and taxes collected on them as though there were no restrictions on the traffic'.[164] In his very interesting study on sixteenth-century relations between East Asia and Peru, Fernando Iwasaki Cauti has pointed out the existence of shops in Lima overflowing with merchandise from all over the world;

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[157] A colony was founded at the San Gabriel settlement in 1598, but then moved to Santa Fe in 1610 (New Mexico, USA). The archaeological excavations of both these settlements have yielded Chinese porcelain shards of the *Kinrande* type (at the first site) and a fine white porcelain object painted in overglaze enamels and later *Kraak* pieces; see Linda R. Shulsky, 'Chinese Porcelain in New Mexico', in *Vormen Uit Vuur*, no. 153, 1994, pp. 13–18.

[158] See Ramón María Serrera, *Tráfico terrestre y red vial en las Indias españolas*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 23-39.

[159] Alonso Pleguezuelo, 'Ceramics, Business, and Economy', in Robin Farwel Gavin, Donna Pierce and Alfonso Pleguezuelo, *Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2003, pp. 114–15.

[160] Jeffrey Quilter, *Cultural Encounters at Magdalena de Cao in Early Colonial Period*, Harvard University, pp. 103–26. I am grateful to Jeffrey Quilter for sharing this information with me. A large deposit of Chinese shards was also found in a rubbish heap within part of a temple compound in Chucuito, Puno, northwest of Lake Titicaca in the south Peruvian highland. G, Kuwayama, 'Chinese Porcelain in the Viceroyalty of Peru', in *Asia & Spanish America. Trans-Pacific & Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850*, Denver, 2009, pp. 165–74. For the trade between the Philippines, Mexico and Peru, see Pilar Latasa Vasallo and Maribel Farinas de Alba, 'El comercio triangular entre Filipinas, México y Perú a comienzos del siglo XVII', in *Revista de Historia Naval*, vol. 9, no. 35, 1991, pp. 13–28.

[161] Documentary Appendix 3, Document 2, AGI, Patronato 24, R 55.

[162] Kuwayama, 2009, pp. 165–74.

[163] Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y Perú en el Siglo XVI*, Lima, 2005, p. 45.

[164] Woodrow Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation betweeen Mexico and Peru*, Berkeley, 1967, quoted in Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y Perú en el Siglo XVI*, Lima, 2005, p. 53.

these shops were owned by rich merchants who had commercial deals with China.[165] One of the most important traders established in Seville, Tomás Mañara de Leca, resided in Lima from 1595 to 1610 and traded in exotics from Asia.[166] One of the few surviving sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain objects decorated with the coat-of-arms of a Spanish noble is that of the Viceroy of Peru, Don García de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who held this office from 1590 to 1596 (fig. 16). He must have ordered a set of pieces with his arms during his residence in Lima.[167] The Marquis was so keen on establishing direct trade with China that in 1590 he tried to send a ship to China with more than 300,000 ducats to spend but the operation was a total failure.[168]

In New Spain merchants were mainly based in three cities: Acapulco, Mexico City and Veracruz. Everyone participated in the trade, regardless of social status: from high civil and ecclesiastic authorities of the viceroyalty, to mayors, clergymen, craftsmen, notaries, transporters and locals. Merchants included the locals who sold porcelain in *tianguis* (markets), travelling salesmen who sold goods in villages, and shopkeepers ranging from dealers or intermediaries to wholesalers. Some of the most important wholesale merchants were from Spain and returned to Seville after a few years in Mexico,[169] while others settled in Mexico and assembled important collections of porcelain and exotic objects from East Asia.[170] From 1592 the most important traders were members of the merchants' guild (*Consulado de México*), which had authority over most trading activities in the Atlantic and the Pacific. This merchants' guild had business agreements with other organisations and protected mercantile interests.[171]

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[165] Iwasaki, 2005, p. 157.

[166] Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Plata del Perú, riqueza de Europa. Los mercaderes peruanos y el comercio con la Metrópoli en el siglo XVII*, Lima, 2004, pp. 19–23.

[167] Díaz, 2010, pp. 87–91.

[168] Iwasaki, 2005, p. 228.

[169] Francisco López de los Olivos and Diego Rodríguez de León were two important merchants who returned to Seville at the end of the sixteenth century but continued to be linked to the transoceanic trade. For merchants in Mexico during the sixteenth century, see Martínez López-Cano, 2006, pp. 103–26. See also the introduction chapter by Carmen Yuste, *Los Comerciantes Mejicanos en el siglo XVIII*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, 1991.

[170] Analysing the inventories of the city of Mexico's consulate merchants in the seventeenth century, preserved in the *Archivo General de la Nación*, provides a glimpse of the objects collected by Antonio Díaz Cáceres, Antonio de la Mota y Portugal, Luis Vázquez Medina,Lope de Osorio, Álvaro de Lorenzana, Diego de Serralde, Bernardo Ruiz Guerra, Dámaso Saldívar, Juan Díaz de Posada, and María Teresa Retes Paz y Vera, the only heir of merchant José Retes Largacha (unfortunately the inventory of the goods of this last merchant was missing). They were based in Mexico City and owned a large quantity of goods from the Manila galleons, which included porcelains, jars, bottles and vases among the Asian objects. There is a significant amount of 'pottery from China' ('*loza de la China*') but unfortunately the descriptions of the pieces are very vague. Abundant in the inventories are plates, cups and some other objects described as 'chocolate cups'. Some pieces were mounted in silver in Mexico. Jars of the *guan* type were fixed with silver lids to preserve cocoa beans, although sometimes were also used for flowers; see Berenice Ballesteros Flores, 'El menaje asiático de las casas de la élite comercial del virreinato novohispano en el siglo XVII', in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, vol. 6, no. 20, April–June 2008, pp. 59–112.

[171] Guillermina del Valle Pavón and Melchor Campos García, 'Expansión de la Economía Mercantil y Creación del Consulado de México', in *Historia Mexicana*, January-March, vol. 51, no. 003, Mexico City, pp. 513–57. http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/pdf/600/60051302.pdf. Etsuko Miyata Rodríguez, 'The Early Manila Galleon Trade: Merchants' Networks and Markets in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Mexico', in Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (eds.), *Asia & Spanish America. Trans-Pacific Artistic & Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850*, Denver, 2009, pp. 37–57; Robert Sydney Smith, *Los Consulados de Comerciantes de Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1976.

Fig. 16. Dish with the coat of arms of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, IV Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru.
Private collection, USA. From Díaz, 2010, p. 87-91.



Nobles, traders, clergymen and civil servants had the economic means to furnish their houses with imported and exotic objects. East Asian objects had a profound impact on the material culture of the Mexican elite, and interactions and influences between these two cultures resulted in many Asian objects being adapted for new uses in Mexico.[172] Export porcelain ranged from being finely made with red and green enamels embellished in gold of the *Kinrande* type, to mass-produced blue-and-white *Kraak*. The Spanish in New Spain found these items irresistible and they wore Chinese silks and used Oriental lacquered furniture.[173] Archaeological excavations, underwater recoveries from sunken galleons and extant collections in Mexico confirm that the volume of ceramic trade to Mexico must have been significant, especially in the late Ming period. According to Kuwayama, during the last part of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century the galleon trade had already brought 'several million pieces to the New World'.[174] Abundant Chinese porcelain is unearthed in

[172] See Gustavo Curiel, 'Consideraciones sobre el comercio de obras suntuarias en la Nueva España de los siglos XVII y XVIII', in *Regionalización en el Arte: Teoría y Praxis. Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte*, Gobierno del Estado de Sinaloa/Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1992, pp. 126–60; and 'El ajuar doméstico del tornaviaje', in *México en el Mundo de las Colecciones de Arte, Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1994, vol. 1; Rodrigo Rivero Lake, 'Comercio artístico con el Oriente del siglo XVI al siglo XVIII', in *Catálogo 8 Festival Internacional Cervantino*, Guanajuato, Mexico, 1980, pp. 3–6.

[173] Ballesteros 2008, pp. 59–112. For Chinese porcelain in Mexico see: María Bonta de la Pezuela, *Porcelana China de Exportación para el Mercado Novohispano: La Colección del Museo Nacional del Virreinato*, Mexico City, 2008; Salvador Ugarte, *La Porcelana China y su introducción en México en la época Colonial*, vol. 59, nos. 5–6, from the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 1944; For archaeology of Chinese ceramics in Mexico, see Kuwayama, 1997; and Miyata, 2009; Gonzalo López Cervantes, 'El Templo Mayor: excavaciones y estudios', in *INAH*, 1982, pp. 255–82; Jean McClure Mudge, 'Manila Galleons to Mexico', in *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America*, New York, 2000, pp. 35–84.

[174] Of the 122,521 grams (269.6 pounds) of Oriental ceramics recovered in archaeological excavations between 1976 and 1981, almost 56 per cent was classified as Wanli (1573–1620), approximately 20 per cent as being produced during the transitional period (1620–83), and 15 per cent as Kangxi (1662–1722). Most recoveries in the Zócalo area have yielded Chinese ceramics from the Templo Mayor, the National Palace, the Ánimas Chapel of the Metropolitan Cathedral and Donceles, Justo Sierra and Verdad streets and from the Convent of




Fig. 17. Land and coastal routes for Asian goods in New Spain.

excavations and it is obvious that it was not used only by the wealthy. Most shards found are from tea or wine cups and rice bowls. Tea drinking never became popular in Mexico; the cups were probably used for drinking hot chocolate, which the Spanish had adopted from the Aztecs.[175]

According to the traveller Gemelli Careri, who was in Mexico in 1693, most of the porcelains travelled the Asian Road north to Mexico City, 'being too burdensome to transport to Europe'.[176] The relative scarcity of Chinese porcelain in Spain compared to Mexico supports this theory. As Jean McClure comments, the mule trip to Mexico must have increased the colony's stock of *chinitas* (shards of broken Chinese porcelain). Nowadays this term is still used in Spain as synonym for 'a white stone'. In Mexico *chinitas* passed as small change and must have been as plentiful 'as the cacao beans', used by the Indians since pre-colonial times.[177] It is interesting that broken porcelain was used in New Spain

San Jerónimo in Mexico City (1585), see Kuwayama, 1997, p. 16. Shards were also recovered during excavations done for the new underground railroad (STC) in Mexico City. They were presented in a paper by Gonzalo López Cervantes, 'Porcelana Oriental en la Nueva España', in *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 1976–1977, pp. 65–82.

[175] López Cervantes, 1976–77, pp. 65–82.

[176] Gemelli Carreri, vol. 6.2, in McClure Mudge, 2000, p. 43.

[177] McClure Mudge, 2000, p. 46.

as currency in minor transactions, much as cowry shells or *porcellani* (*Cypraea moneta*) had been used in the past throughout East Asia, India and Africa. As it was mentioned before, Chinese porcelain clearly played an important role in the domestic usages of the society of New Spain, from fine gilt porcelain to a humble currency (*chinitas*).

Chinese porcelain was also distributed in other areas in the southern part of North America, and in the Caribbean. The fleet from New Spain served the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, and carried supplies to the colonists. Silver was shipped from Peru to Panama and then transported on mules or riverboats to Nombre de Dios (Panama). Porcelain would arrive via the galleon trade in Panama, as this place was an important trading settlement. Shards found in Panama Viejo have been dated to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century and most of them were found on the site of the Iglesia de la Concepcion, the convent founded by the Sisters of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception in 1598.[178]

About 500 porcelain shards were also found in the city of Old Mobile,[179] so trading around this area must have been significant at the time.[180] Old Mobile was the first town in Lousiana (New Orleans was founded in 1718). Spanish colonial silver coins and pottery attest to the trading relationship with the nearby Spanish settlement of Pensacola (Florida), which was a military outpost. According to Gregory Waselkov, who was in charge of the excavations, 'owning porcelain must have been within the reach of even the poorest household'.[181]

### *Porcelain trade from Veracruz to Seville*

Porcelain and other exotics were carried to Veracruz on the east coast of Mexico. Before arriving in Veracruz, merchants exchanged silver for porcelain and other exotica, reselling the objects to provincial traders who would take the pieces to northern fairs such as those at San Juan de los Lagos and Saltillo.[182] From Veracruz the rest of the cargo was transferred to the Castle of San Juan de Ulúa, a fort on an island overlooking the seaport of Veracruz. From here, porcelain was loaded onto ships destined for Seville. Research in the Archive of the Indies has divulged 34 documents in which porcelain was registered as being carried across the Atlantic. Documents 4 to 38 in Appendix 3 contain several references to the transportation of porcelain and other exotics from Mexico to Seville, including the names of individuals, probably merchants, who sent and received the pieces.

One of the most interesting references confirms and clarifies the participation in the porcelain trade of civil servants of the Viceroy of Mexico such as Hernando Robles of the Council of his Majesty in New Spain. He played a very active role in founding the settlement in the mining area of Zacatecas,[183] and also participated in trading activities; witness the shipment of two crates of Chinese

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[178] Linda Rosenfeld Pomper, 'La Porcelana China *Kraak* en Panamá', in *Canto Rodado*, no. 3, Panama, 2008, pp. 1–15.

[179] Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, 'Chinese Porcelain in Old Mobile', in *Antiques*, July 1996, pp. 81–89.

[180] Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, 'Chinese Porcelain in Spanish Colonial Sites in the Southern Part of North America and the Caribbean', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 63, London, 2000, pp. 83–98.

[181] G. A. Waselkov, *Old Mobile Archaeology*, Center for Archaeological Studies, University of South Alabama, 1999, p. 53. Quoted in Shulsky 2000, p. 85.

[182] From there, they even continued distributing goods to other districts in the northwest. McClure Mudge, 2000, p. 43.

[183] Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *Zacatecas, Conquista y transformacion de la frontera en el siglo XVI: minas de plata, guerra y evangelización*, Mexico City, 1998, p. 102.




Fig. IX. View of Veracruz. Drawing by A. Boot. 1628, Bibliothéque Nationale de France, París.

pottery to Luis de Arauz in Seville with the instruction to take them to Madrid.[184] The pieces were transported aboard the *La Trinidad*, which departed on 18 May 1587. In another shipment several crates were sent by Sebastián Villena de Cárdenas, who lived in Mexico, to Juan López de Cabrera and Doctor Juan Fernández de Córdoba, both living in Seville. These two individuals had to forward the shipment to Juan del Valle de Villena, of the Council of Castile in Madrid, which consisted of several crates containing writing desks full of miscellaneous objects from China.[185] In another document, Alonso de Belorado, resident in Mexico in 1594, sent porcelain objects to Isabel Hurtado and Miguel Martínez de Jáuregui in Seville, i.e., 98 pieces of pottery from China, large and small, of different types, each piece costing four *tomines* (equivalent to eight Spanish silver *reales*).[186] It is quite curious that a general amount is given without considering the size of the piece; the documents in the appendices list different prices for different shapes. Finally, in 1610, Pedro de Viruela in Guatemala sent pottery from China to Diego de Cuéllar in Seville. The Cuéllar were an important noble Spanish family involved in trade. The crate was registered in Veracruz and sent on the *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. This document demonstrates trade links were established between Mexico and Guatemala.[187]

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[184] Documentary Appendix 3, Document 4, AGI, Contratación, 1793, no. 1, fol. 329, 1587. Veracruz.

[185] Documentary Appendix 3, Document 15, for a list of the objects contained in the different crates.

[186] Documentary Appendix 3, Document 16, AGI, Contratación, 1797, fols. 1–824 (fols. 335v–337). Veracruz. 1594.

[187] Documentary Appendix 3, Document 34, AGI, Contratación 1808, primer libro, fols. 238v–260. Veracruz. 1610.

Before departing for Seville, the two fleets met at the port of Havana, one arriving from Veracruz and the other from Portobelo.[188] Thus, it is no surprise that porcelain shards have been found in Havana.[189] A document in the Archive of the Indies states that the shipment of a crate containing twelve dozen pottery objects from China from the port of Havana to Seville aboard the *Nuestra Señora de Begoña*, which most probably would have been sold by a Mexican merchant.[190]

### 2.3. *Distribution of Chinese Porcelain within Spain*

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, the city of Seville, the great capital of southern Spain, was one of the most important economic and financial centres in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Seville was an inland port controlled by the King of Spain, to ensure strict control could be exercised over commercial traffic to and from the New World. Fleets from the Indies loaded with precious metals and exotic products arrived in its port by sailing up the Guadalquivir River. A substantial part of the income of the Spanish Crown came from the trade with the Indies, so from the very outset the Crown of Spain tried to control the trade by founding two very important institutions: the House of Trade (Casa de la Contratación, 1503) and the Consulate of Seville (1543).

The Casa de la Contratación was founded as the first administrative body to be set up to oversee trade with the New World. Its functions were the registry and organisation of all trading operations related to America.[191] It was located in the Reales Alcázares but relocated in 1598 to the Casa Lonja built by Philip II. The Archive of the Indies has been located here since 1776. The Casa de Contratación remained in Seville until 1717, when it moved to the city of Cádiz. The Consulate of Seville, or Guild of Merchants to the Indies (Universidad de Cargadores a Indias),[192] arbitrated in commercial disputes and handled matters essential to trade on behalf of shippers.

Its strategic location between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean has meant that Seville had been an important commercial centre since the Middle Ages. Traders of different nationalities – Italian, French, English, Flemish and Dutch – were attracted to the prosperity of the city and established trading offices.[193] The presence of foreign traders in the trade deals was reinforced with the discovery

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[188] The fleets sailed from Spain and would separate arriving in the Caribbean; one, the *Nueva España* fleet continued to Veracruz (Mexico), the other, the *Tierra Firme* fleet, sailed to the ports of Nombre de Dios (this last port was abandoned at the very end of the 16th century) and then to Portobelo in the Atlantic Ocean, before proceeding to Panama City (in the Pacific) and El Callao (Peru). A secondary route of the latter connected Cartagena de Indias and other ports on the same coast. Here, the ships were unloaded and the cargoes of silver and gold were brought aboard. For the return trip the separate fleets regrouped in Havana, then rode the Gulf Stream north along the coast of Florida before turning east when at the same latitude as Spain, see Marina Alfonso Mola, 'La Carrera de Indias', in Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *El Galeón de Manila*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 25–49.

[189] Lourdes S. Domínguez, 'Arqueología en un pueblo de indios cercano a la Villa de San Cristóbal de la Habana', in *Archivo Cubano http://archivocubano.org/transcult/arquologia_guanabacoa.html*, 2008

[190] Documentary Appendix 3, AGI, Document 33, Contratación 1805, cuaderno 17, fols. 113–14. La Habana. 6 July 1604.

[191] Ramón María Serrera, 'La Casa de la Contratación en Sevilla' (1503–1717) in Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales', in *España y América. Un Océano de Negocios*. Madrid, 2003, pp. 47–64; and Ramón Carande, 'La Casa de Contratación y sus funcionarios', in *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, vol. 1, Barcelona, 1977, pp. 252–56.

[192] In this sense the word 'university' means 'corporation'.

[193] The Statutes of the Consulate of Seville, founded in 1543, did not exclude the participation of foreigners who could only do so after their 'naturalisation'. If not, it was restricted to Spanish subjects of His Catholic Majesty (i.e., Castilians, Aragonese, Navarrese). See p. 63 and footnote 198.



Fig. 19. Anonymous, *Seville in the Seventeenth Century*, dated 1650. Oil on canvas. Focus Abengoa Foundation, Seville.

of the New World, Seville being the only port in Spain authorised to handle merchandise/shipments from the Indies. The Seville trade provided the silver Lisbon merchants used in Asia. The Lisbon and Seville trade provided valuable goods that Seville merchants marketed in Spain and Europe.[194]

Spain exported agricultural products such as wine and oil, the so-called fruits (in Spanish, the generic term for all agricultural products is 'frutos', or 'fruits'), and European textiles of various types such as silks, velvets, brocades, laces, cloths, as well as iron and mercury. On the other hand, imported precious metals (gold and silver) and products like cochineal or indigo (used in dying) were essential to the Spanish market. Other products like ginger or sarsaparilla were important for medicine, as were American plantation products such as tobacco, sugar and cocoa when they started becoming popular in Spain in the second half of the 17th c.[195] Among the regulated imports objects, pearls were the main import, while Chinese porcelain figured as a minor import.

### *Chinese Porcelain Traders and Shops in Seville*

Merchants of different nationalities traded in Asian products in Seville. Italian and Flemish traders led the large-scale wholesale imports, while Portuguese and French traders engaged in the medium and smaller-scale trade.[196] *Tratantes gruesos* (large wholesalers) could substantially reduce the price of imported products, such as porcelain, but the Spanish hated the competition from those selling in the

[194] Silver and gold were introduced from the New Word into Seville. A sixth part of it remained in Seville and Cádiz and the rest was taken to other areas of Spain such as Madrid, Valladolid (fairs) and Toledo, where the administrative centres were located, José Gentil da Silva, *Desarrollo ecomónico, subsistencia y decadencia en España*, Madrid, 1967, p. 73.

[195] Alfonso Mola, 2000, pp. 28–29.

[196] For foreign trade and traders in Spain see Gentil da Silva 1967, pp. 168–87.

retail market.[197] Foreign merchants would move to Spain – especially to Seville – specifically to trade with the Indies. This was not an easy business, since it was not only necessary to be Catholic, but also to prove 20 years of residency in Spain and marry a Spanish woman. Furthermore, it was required to own a minimum of 4,000 *ducados* in real estate.[198]

The number of foreign traders increased significantly during the reign of Philip IV (1621–65). Foreign traders had important commercial networks that enabled them to deliver imported products. Juan Antonio Corzo, one of the most important traders of the sixteenth century in Seville, had agents in Tenerife, Florence and Lisbon. This merchant would send his agents to buy silk from Lisbon and Granada, cloth from Baeza and Segovia, and knives from Toledo, which he then shipped aboard the fleets to America. Traders in Seville maintained a network of agents in the New World. Whenever possible, younger family members – sons or nephews – were sent to represent these firms in America.[199] As mentioned earlier, the Corsican merchant Tomás Mañara de Leca,[200] a remarkable seventeenth-century merchant residing in Seville, had an important commercial network that even reached Peru. Several fragments of Chinese porcelain found in his city palace can be dated to the seventeenth century (see Chapter 4: The Porcelains: Shards and Extant Pieces: Archaeological Finds in Spain, pp. 161-62).

At the beginning of the commerce with the Indies, traders from Seville would exhibit their products and close trade deals on the cathedral steps and in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, which they would later store in large warehouses they owned in the Andalusian region. Smaller traders would also buy a variety of imported products on the market (*lonja*) that later would be delivered to other Spanish markets in Spain.[201] Porcelain may have been sold in this way as well because the traveller Diego Cuelvis, writing at end of sixteenth century, mentions more than 50 shops. Most of the shops sold 'very good *loça*' (pottery) with white and yellow glazes (most probably tin-glazed pottery), at a good price. Unfortunately, Cuelvis did not specify if the pottery was Spanish, but Chinese porcelain could have been sold in these shops as well.[202] Private individuals owned pottery shops, but usually the proprietors were religious institutions. Pieces were received as payment for rent. In Seville, for example, the Convents of Santa Clara and San Clemente, and especially La Cartuja de las Cuevas Monastery, held title to many pottery shops in the district of Triana. Chinese porcelain shards have been found in all these convents (see Chapter 4: The Porcelains: Shards and Extant Pieces: Archaeological Finds in Spain, pp. 160-72). Some of these organisations also owned stores on the *alcaicería de la loza*, a street set aside specifically for the sale of pottery.[203]

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[197] Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, 'Grandes y pequeños mercaderes', in *Los Extranjeros en la Vida Española durante el siglo XVII y otros artículos*, Seville, 1996, pp. 37–126.

[198] A number of Portuguese had been naturalised, enabling them to trade in Seville with the Spanish Indies before 1620, Ruy Fernandes Pereira was naturalised by 1600 through his marriage to a Castilian woman, Ana Rodríguez, and an extended period of residence in Castile; several Portuguese obtained naturalisation by falsification of birthplace and residence. The number of Portuguese participants in the trade who sought naturalisation to legitimise and secure their unauthorised trade mushroomed in the 1620s and 1630s; see Boyajian, 2008, pp. 209–10.

[199] A group of traders who dealt in the transoceanic trade were also of *converso* origin, Jews who had converted to Catholicism, especially during the first half of the sixteenth century; see Ruth Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, Barcelona, 1978.

[200] Enriqueta Vila Villar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara. Tipos y arquetipos del mercader con Indias*, Seville, 2011. See also Enriqueta Vila Vilar and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios entre Sevilla y las Indias. Los Almonte*, Madrid, 2003; Enrique Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media*, Seville, 1996.

[201] Ildefonso Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y Comercio Exterior en Andalucía durante la* época *Mercantilista 1526–1740*, Huelva, 1993, p. 3.

[202] Domínguez Ortiz, 1996, for Cuelvis text, see p. 208.

[203] Pleguezuelo, 2003/2, p. 117.

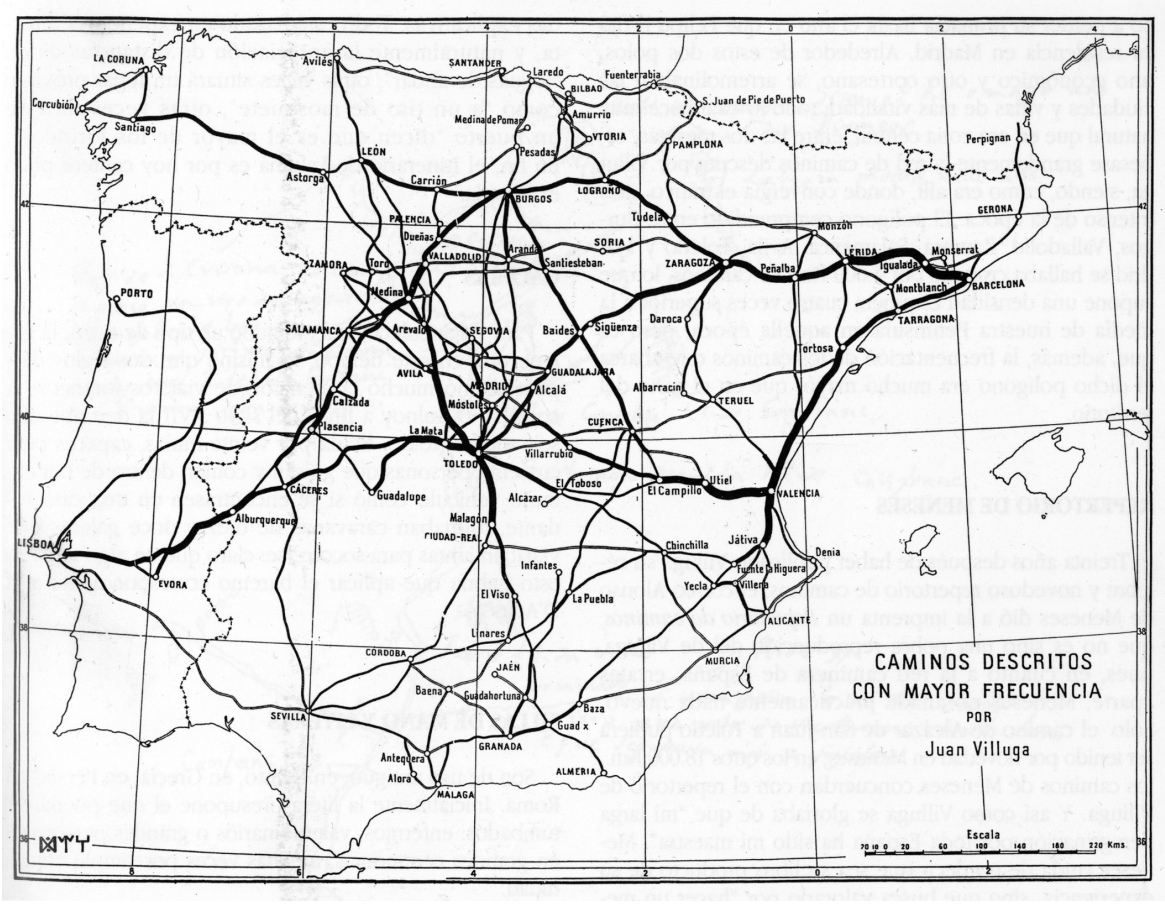



Fig. 20. Juan Villuga, Map of the tracks and paths used to transport trade goods in Spain, dated 1546. From Menéndez Pidal, 1992, pp. 130–31.

## *Roads and Packing of Chinese Porcelain in Spain*

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, commerce within the peninsula still resembled medieval commerce. Nevertheless, there was an improvement in the road network, with the construction of guesthouses and inns that helped increase security on the roads. Privileges were granted to chartered transport associations known as '*carreteros*' (that carried large volumes by carts and road) as well as the '*arrieros*' (smaller volume transporters who used narrower roads only accessible to horses, mules and donkeys (*burros*), known as '*caminos de herradura*' ('horse-shoe roads'). Donkeys carried the pottery in panniers (*angarillas*) made of grass, wire, and canvas.[204] City councils were responsible for road maintenance, but these were only repaired if there was a Royal visit to the area. Via these roads, merchants distributed porcelain and other imported products to the main cities of Castile and Aragon. Nevertheless, porcelain for the court was usually delivered directly from Seville to the city of Madrid, passing other important cities such as Córdoba, Ciudad Real, and Toledo (see fig. 20).[205]

Porcelain was carried in packs woven from *esparto* grass or canvas stretched over wooden frames and secured with wire. Wooden barrels, similar to those used for wine, were also used to protect

[204] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[205] Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *Los Caminos en la Historia de España*, Madrid, 1992, p. 131. In 1546 Juan Villuga published *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España*, which described the main itineraries and roads in the Iberian Peninsula.

pottery from the jolts of the journey.[206] In a document dated 1596, preserved in the General Archive of the Palace, wicker baskets used to carry porcelain are appraised at one and a half *reales*. The same document records that the King's muleteers were paid two *reales* to carry these porcelains and provided one pound of fibre (*estopas*) to wrap them in for two *reales*.[207] Porcelain could also be carried in chests, as is mentioned in a document dated 1656, when 2,774 pieces were dispatched to Madrid by the Duke of Medinaceli from the town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda in Cádiz.[208]

### *Acquisition of Chinese Porcelain by the Court in Madrid*

Members of the Royal Court and the aristocracy acquired Chinese porcelain and other exotics in various ways: from officially appointed traders and shops, from itinerant merchants which would provide the Royal Household with the required objects, through auctions (*almonedas*) of the possessions of deceased relatives, and finally through gifts from family members, especially Portuguese relatives and other members of the nobility and courtiers who had direct access to commodities from the East (this last issue will be discussed in Chapter 3.3. Chinese Porcelain for Royal Households, pp. 81-127).[209]

Until the end of the 1570s porcelain purchased in Madrid came mostly from Lisbon. This was made clear by Juan de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, when in 1577 he received word of the establishment of a Spanish factory in Malacca, which according to him would ensure 'that not all the porcelain that is used in Madrid will come to us from Lisbon'[210]. This was in spite of the fact that in 1571 Spain had opened up its own Pacific trade route with the Manila Galleon. The best way to acquire porcelain was through official traders who came regularly to the Court to offer their collectables; Anna of Austria and Juana of Austria, for example, bought Asian exotica[211] through Portuguese merchants such as Antonio Rodriguez in Lisbon in 1576, and Francisco de Lisboa, who frequented the Spanish Court.[212] By 1580, when Philip II was crowned King of Portugal, there were six shops

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[206] Pleguezuelo, 2003/2, p. 115.

[207] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902.

[208] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 904.

[209] Renate Pieper, 'The Upper German Trade in Art and Curiosities before the Thirty Years War', in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 93–102; and Renate Pieper and Peer Schmidt (eds.), 'Los límites del mundo Atlántico: artificialia y naturalia en el Comercio Transatlántico del siglo XVI', in *Latin America and the Atlantic World. El Mundo Atlántico y América Latina (1500-1850). Essays in Honor of Horst Pietschman*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2005, pp. 245–61.

[210] The letter of Ambassador Juan de Silva to Gabriel de Zayas, of the Council of His Majesty, was written on the 18th September 1577 and can be found in AGS, Estado, Leg. 394, fol. 115. Jordan & Pérez de Tudela, 2003, p. 36, footnote 28.

[211] During a trip to Lisbon in 1599 the traveller Diego Cuelvis commented on the merchandise he saw in the city: 'The ships that come from the Indies carry white silk, very fine and beautiful porcelain that sells for more than gold and other things pretty, thin and strange called *brincos*. The products that arrive from the Indies and all over the world come to the City of Lisbon are thereafter distributed all over Europe with great benefit for the Portuguese'. ('*Los navíos que vienen de las Indias llevan seda blanca, delgadísima y lindísimas porcelanas que más caras se venden que el oro y otras lindas y delgadas cosas raras que en Lisboa se llaman brincos. Aquellas mercaderías que de las Indias y de todas las partes del mundo vienen a esta ciudad de Lisboa, pues se despliegan por toda Europa con grandísimo provecho de los portugueses.*'). Diego Cuelvis, *Thesoro Chorographico de las Espannas por el Señor Diego Cuelbis*. Translation in the Biblioteca Nacional by Joel Koris from the original manuscript in the British Museum (no. 3822).

[212] Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)', in Helmut Trnek and Sabine Haag (eds.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher*

in Lisbon specialising in the sale of different types of porcelain, as well as others selling different articles such as velvets, silks, damasks or taffetas.[213] Access to porcelain from Lisbon must have been much easier after that, too. Around 1625, the merchant community in the capital was divided between luxurious and more popular products.[214] Shops selling luxury goods in the capital were divided according to their speciality: 48 jewellery shops, 66 textile and silk, 32 clothing, 11 glass or glaze (*vidriados*), and 4 diamond shops. It is important to point out that no merchant dealing with pottery is mentioned, as it may not have been considered a luxury item. Nevertheless, it could also be possible that pottery was sold together with glass products under the generic term of '*vidriados*' (glazes).[215]

Guilds (commercial associations) and shops were located in the city centre[216] (Mayor Street and square), but they would expand along the adjacent Postas, San Jacinto and Toledo streets, this being the most dynamic commercial area providing luxury items to the Royal Court.[217] Since 1683, merchants, especially foreigners, moved to Atocha Street and later to Huertas and Carretas streets. We also know that French merchants sold different goods in the arcades of the Real Alcázar. In 1592, 342 merchants, shopkeepers and dealers had premises here; 30 years later this number would increase to 531.[218]

Another way of acquiring pieces would be through the so-called *almonedas* (auctions of the possessions deceased relatives).[219] This custom was remarked upon by foreigners visiting Spain: 'One of the most interesting things to see in court were the sales or "almonedas" because as soon as a man or a woman dies everything in the house is sold and if the husband or son wants something then they would have to buy it themselves, so there is equality'.[220] People from all levels of society, including the King and Queen, came to buy objects at these public sales. It is well known that Philip II bought all sorts of objects at the sale of the possessions of Prince Charles who in turn had received them from Emperor Fernando.[221] The Duke of Lerma bought several articles at Philip II's sale, and as far as the Chinese porcelain is concerned, there were identical pieces in both their collections.[222] *Almone-*

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*Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance. Die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums*, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, vol. 3, Mainz, 2001, p. 8.

[213] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'As maravillas do Oriente: Colecçoes de curiosidades Renacentistas em Portugal', in Nuno Vassallo e Silva (ed.), *A herença de Rauluchantim*, Lisbon, 1996, p. 91. See also María Antónia Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Written Portuguese Sources', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 48, no. 5, 2003, pp. 37–38.

[214] Jose A. Nieto Sánchez, *Artesanos y Mercaderes: Una historia social y económica de Madrid* (*1450–1850*), Madrid, 2006.

[215] A. Alvar, 'Mercaderes en Madrid (1540–1640), Primeras Notas', in L.M. Enciso (ed.), *La Burguesía Española en la Edad Moderna*, vol. 3, Valladolid, 1996, pp. 1453–54.

[216] María Dolores Ramos Medina, *Casas de Negocios y Comerciantes en el Madrid de los Austrias* (*1634–1700*), Madrid, 2004, pp. 32–43.

[217] Guillermo Lohmann, *Les Espinosa: una famille d´hommes d´affaires en Espagne et aux Indes à l´époque de la Colonisation*, París, 1968; and Ruth Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, Barcelona, 1978.

[218] Teresa Zapata, *La entrada en la Corte de María Luisa de Orleans. Arte y Fiesta en el Madrid de Carlos II*, Madrid, 2000, p. 63.

[219] See John Elliott and Jonathan Brown, *La almoneda del siglo: Relaciones artísticas entre España y Gran Bretaña, 1604–1655*, Madrid, 2002.

[220] Pinheiro da Veiga, a Portuguese visitor to the court of Philip III, noted that visits to *almonedas* were one of the most distinctive and enjoyable activities of life at court. '*Una de las cosas que más holgaba de ver en la corte eran las almonedas, porque en muriendo un señor o mujer, se vende cuanto hay en casa, y si el viudo o el hijo quieren alguna cosa ha de comprarlo de su parte y es muy acostumbrado para que haya igualdad*'. Bartolomé Pinheiro Veiga, 'La corte de Felipe II', in J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 2, Salamanca, 1999, p. 761.

[221] María Paz Aguiló, 'El interés por lo exótico. Precisiones acerca del coleccionismo de arte Namban en el siglo XVI', in *El arte en las cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II*, *Actas IX Jornadas de Arte*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 151–68.

[222] Luis Cervera Vera, *Bienes muebles en el Palacio Ducal de Lerma*, Valencia, 1967, p. 21.

*das* ensured that art objects circulated on the open market in Madrid and were often the source of a wide variety of objects. The sales of important collections, which were often major social occasions, allowed middle-class collectors who never left Spain to purchase art from abroad. Expert appraisers (*peritos*) involved in the profession conducted the appraisals:[223] silversmiths appraised silverware, cabinet-makers the furniture, booksellers the books, and tailors the clothing. Several names are mentioned in the inventories, some apparently of Portuguese origin like Valerio Mendes, a Portuguese trader, who appraised the porcelain of Prince of Éboli (see vol. 2, p. 134). Inheritance, despite the necessity confronting the heirs to auction off an estate to pay outstanding debts and salaries, was yet another way of receiving works of art and exotica.

Finally, Chinese porcelain and other exotica was received as gifts from family members, for instance, the exchanges of Chinese porcelain between members of the Royal family or the porcelain given by King Philip II to his daughters or the pieces exchanged between Princesses Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catherine Michelle at the end of the sixteenth century. In addition, the new intermediaries were members of the nobility, like the Duke and Duchess of Alba or the Princess of Ascoli, who supplied the urban elites with commodities from the East (see Chapter 3.3. Chinese Porcelain in Royal Households, pp. 81-127).[224]

### *Other Ways That Chinese Porcelain Reached Spain*

In the rest of Spain, established or permanent shops did not exist and trade was organised through markets and periodic fairs. Merchants would travel from one town to another in local or regional cycles, although there were also those who travelled long distances to trade. Fairs were held twice a year in Castile; the most popular and larger fairs were held in Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalón (all in Valladolid). Portuguese or Spanish merchants came to Medina del Campo to sell exotica from the East and no doubt porcelain was included among the goods.[225] Although porcelain is not preserved there at present, Namban lacquer objects are still kept in several convents and churches near Medina del Campo (Valladolid), such as the Santiago el Real Church (the former Convent of San Pedro and San Pablo of the Jesuit order) and the Augustinian Convent of Saint María Magdalena. These pieces provide evidence that Oriental goods were available at these markets.[226] Castile's

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[223] All type of objects were sold but particularly paintings from Italy and the Netherlands, as well as old masters and high-quality works; see Burke, Cherry and Gilbert, 1997, p. 43.

[224] See Pieper, 1998, pp. 93–102; and Pieper 2005, pp. 245–61.

[225] Alberto Marcos Martín, *España en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII. Economía y Sociedad*, Barcelona, 2000, p. 385.

[226] http://www.museoferias.net. For Japanese lacquer in Spain see the following publications by Yayoi Kawamura: 'Apuntes sobre el arte de *urushi* a propósito de un sagrario complutense de arte namban', in Universidad de Oviedo (ed.), *Arte e identidades. Actas del XII Congreso del CEHA*, Oviedo, 1998, pp. 155–62; 'Apuntes sobre el arte de Urushi a propósito de un sagrario complutense de arte Namban', in *Actas del XII Congreso Nacional del Comité Español de Historia del Arte*, University of Oviedo, 1998, pp. 155–62; 'Arca japonesa del arte namban en el Museo de Lorenzana', in *Boletín do Museo Provincial de Lugo*, vol. 9, Lugo, 2000; 'Obras de la laca del arte namban en los Monasterios de la Encarnación y de las Trinitarias de Madrid', in *Reales Sitios*, no. 147, Madrid, 2001, pp. 2–12; 'Colecciones de la laca extremo oriental en España desde la época del arte namban hasta el siglo xx', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2003, pp. 211–30; 'La vía portuguesa en las colecciones reales españolas (1580-1640)', in Carlos Martínez Shaw and Marina Alfonso de Mola (eds.), *Oriente en Palacio. Tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 111–13; 'Escritorio namban', in *Oriente en Granada*, Granada, 2008, pp. 102–3; 'Reflection on Namban Lacquers in Spain: Its Collection and Use', in *Arts of Asia*, Hong Kong, 2009, pp. 92–105; 'La laca japonesa de exportación en España. Del estilo Namban al pictórico', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid,vol. 82, no. 325, 2009, pp. 87–93; 'Estudio sobre la laca japonesa de exportación en la Edad Moderna: el estado de la cuestión', in *¿Qué es Japón? Introducción a la cultura japonesa*, Cáceres, 2009, pp. 557–72; 'A Lacquer Dutch Pipe Case in the Torralba Collection', *Aziatische Kunst*, 39-3,

prosperity was reflected in these fairs, where leading merchant and banking houses of Europe transacted goods and financial contracts.[227] However, the fairs slowly declined during the sixteenth century.[228] In Spain, the auction system was never in use as it was in the north (*almonedas* occurred after the decease of an individual, they were property not trade good sales), in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam or Middelburg. There, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the cargoes of VOC ships returning from the East were auctioned and if these included porcelain, it was re-sold in the Netherlands or elsewhere in Europe. Amsterdam was the European centre for Oriental curiosities, where dealers offered porcelain, lacquer, and chintz at auctions and in specialised shops and market stalls as well.[229]

Porcelain could also have been transported from Lisbon to Seville, as a direct road had linked the two cities since the middle of the sixteenth century. This road passed through small towns in Huelva Province. Interior trade routes linking Lisbon to Galicia were lacking; the only route connecting the city of Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña) to the Basque Country and France was the old 'Camino de Santiago' (St. James Way), the pilgrimage route to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (see fig. 20). Trade between Galicia and Portugal was therefore conducted by sea.[230] The route from Lisbon to Madrid passed through the towns of Badajoz, Mérida, Navalmoral and Talavera. Chinese *Kraak* porcelain arriving from Lisbon influenced the stlye of Talavera tin-glaze pottery.

We have mentioned the Philippines–Mexico and the Portuguese trade routes as the gateways though which Chinese porcelain came to Spain. However, we should not lose sight of a third route that linked the Far East to Spain by way of North Africa. While conducting research at Spain's Archives of the Nobility, I came across a document referring explicitly to the import of Chinese porcelain from Algeria.[231] It is a report on the jars, porcelains, cups, plates, dishes and glass objects that were shipped from the city of Algiers by Antonio Alfonso Pimentel, [VIII] Duke-Earl of Benavente, and deposited in the fortress of the town of Benavente. The inventory was executed between 1652 and 1677. Despite having lost its monopoly on the East Asian trade, the Ottoman Empire maintained strong commercial ties with Europe during the modern period. We know that the decline of the pepper trade, due to the opening of a new Atlantic route, was compensated for with the trade in silk, cotton and linens. Commercial activities could well have involved other kinds of goods, such as porcelain objects. In his research on Catalan trade with the Muslim Mediterranean,[232] the historian Eloy Martín Corrales mentions that there was a regular trade in 'transit products' from India and East Asia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The document, however, seems to allude to a direct acquisition of porcelain. Although Eloy Martín Corrales acknowledges the existence of porcelain trading along this route, he believes that it must have occurred in very small amounts, as there do not seem to be records of porcelain objects in the cargo lists of vessels arriving from Muslim countries. Furthermore, the terms used to refer to such imports were vague, e.g., '*géneros*' (materials), '*mercaderias*' (goods), '*robes*' (materials). It is impossible to surmise precisely the contents of such shipments.

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Amsterdam, 2009, pp. 20–24.

[227] 'Bancos y Ferias', in Carande, 1977, pp. 191–233.

[228] Henri Lapeyre, *Una familia de Mercaderes*: *Los Ruiz*, Valladolid, 2009; Fco. Javier Goicolea Julián, 'Mercaderes y hombres de negocio: el poder del dinero en el mundo urbano riojano', in *Hispania*, vol. 67, no. 227, September–December 2007, pp. 947–92.

[229] Oliver Impey & Christiaan Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580–1850*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 29.

[230] Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *España en sus caminos*, Madrid, 1992, p. 131.

[231] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 51.

[232] Eloy Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña con el Mediterraneo musulmán. Siglos XVI-XVIII. El comercio con los* '*enemigos de la fe*', Barcelona, 2001, p. 60.

In conclusion, porcelain reached Spain not only through direct routes, but also through a variety of indirect ones: French, English, Dutch or other vessels that stopped off along the Eastern coast of Spain or in North African Spanish ports on their way home; or through the acquisitions of porcelain objects at the ports of Livorno, Genoa or Marseille. Porcelain objects could have found their way into Spain along these routes, but due to the weakness of available sources it is difficult to gauge how significant these indirect routes really were.[233]




Fig. 21. Insulae Indiae Orientalis. Map of South-East Asia by Jodocus Hondius, 1604. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

[233] I am very grateful to Eloy Martín Corrales for his suggestions on this matter.



# 3. *CHINESE PORCELAIN IN SPAIN – A CORPUS OF DOCUMENTATION*

## 3.1. *General Context: Spanish Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

Spanish society during the Habsburg era was divided into three strata consisting of, from top to bottom, the aristocracy, the clergy and commoners.[234] Each of these groups had a specific function in society that, in fact, guaranteed the society's survival. The monarch held the highest position in the same way that Christ was head of the mystical body of the church.[235] The nobility waged war and protected lives and property while the clerics saved souls. Performing these functions allowed the members of these strata to enjoy various privileges: fiscal, criminal–legal, or political, which were transmitted, in the case of the nobility, via lineage.[236] On the other hand, the lowest stratum in society, which included the majority of the population or *pecheros*, was required to work and pay taxes (*pechos* in Spanish) from which the nobility and clerical classes were exempt.

However, this stratified society was also divided into classes that manifested itself in the level of access to existing means of production that each class possessed. Each of the different social strata included members of different social classes.[237] For example, within the nobility there were important differences between members. At the highest level were the so-called *grandees*, a distinction granted in 1520 by Charles V to a group of families who had provided extraordinary service to the monarchy (I discuss them and the collecting of Chinese porcelain in section 3.4. Chinese Porcelain for the Nobility, pp. 127-142). There also was an intermediate category, called gentry (*caballeros*), who possessed no Lordship (*señorío*) of importance (we will define this term later on), but served as administrators in municipal and regional governments.[238] Finally, there were the so-called noblemen (*hidalgos*) who made up the

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[234] The strata consist of the social groups in a society defined by sharing a common lifestyle and analogous social function. This social division adapts to criteria adopted during the medieval and modern periods.

[235] Alberto Marcos Martín, 'La Estructura de la Sociedad: ¿Determinismo de la Sangre o Determinismo del dinero?', in *España en los Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII. Economía y Sociedad*, Barcelona 2000, p. 258; Carmen Sanz Ayán, 'Poderosos y Privilegiados', in José Niceto Alcalá Zamora, *La Vida Cotidiana en la España de Velazquez*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 149–67.

[236] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, privilege and hierarchy were the binding factors for social structure. Virtue was an essential attribute that was required of the king toward his subjects, as it was of the aristocracy toward the rest of the social body. Likewise, nobles imitated the monarchy and because of their privileged position, had the resources necessary to create their own image of power, as a mirror and reflection of the monarchy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the figure of the 'King's favourite' (*valido*) began to emerge; see Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, 'Poder y cultura: literatura y nobleza a comienzos del siglo XVII', J. N. Alcalá Zamora and E. Belenguer (eds.), *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, vol. II, Madrid, 2001, pp. 447–75.

[237] Carlos Martínez Shaw, 'Los Orígenes de la España Moderna (1474-1516)', in *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1998, p. 264-270. For society during the modern period also see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en la Edad Moderna, Historia de España XIII*, Madrid, 2005; M, Fernández Álvarez, *La sociedad española en el Siglo de Oro*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1989.

[238] Medium-level aristocrats who were in control of the municipal government and whose main aspiration was to obtain the habit of one of the military orders of Alcántara, Calatrava and Santiago. Upper and medium-level aristocrats lived in major cities such as Seville, Valladolid or Madrid and paid the highest rents in the society, ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 *ducats*; see B. Bennassar, 'Las jerarquías sociales', in *La España del Siglo de Oro*, Barcelona, 2004 p. 187.

< Fig. 22. Anonymous. The Enchanted Room in the castle of Binche during the festivities, 1549, 409 x 387 mm. Bibliothéque Royale de Belgique, Brussels. Inv. no. F. 12931.

broadest group, and, in spite of having no status, were able to amass great riches.[239] At the same time, within the stratum of commoners, there was a notable productive difference between the groups of merchants and artisans who dwelled in towns and cities, and the peons in rural areas who made up more than 80 per cent of the commoners in Spain.

During this period, the nobility clearly dominated society and, even though this group made up only 10 per cent of the population, they accumulated, along with the clerics, great riches from landholdings. The Lordship (*señorío*), an institution passed down from the Middle Ages, was one of the basic building blocks of Castilian social and political organisation in the modern age. According to Carlos Martínez Shaw:

> The Monarchy delegated a series of powers that had formerly fallen to the owners (members of the aristocracy): juridical powers (carrying out justice) administrative powers (appointing government positions, including municipal jobs) fiscal competencies (tax administration), and powers related to maintaining public order. In addition, there was an ancestral Lordship that enjoyed the right to exploit in exclusivity certain monopolies (mills, olive oil factories, ovens and kilns) and received payment in recognition of their ownership of lands over which they had dominion.[240]

There were also important differences between the clerical strata. The first division separated the ecclesiastics into secular or regular, that is, into priests and members of religious orders, who could be further divided into monks (living in monasteries) or friars (living in convents). Yet another division was reflected by differences in the incomes of the upper ranks (bishops, abbots, and others) and the lowest level of clerics (parish priests, friars, etc.). The influence of the upper clergy projected itself over the dioceses, or territories over which each member held spiritual jurisdiction, which in turn provided a high income consisting of rent earned from administering lands and lordships, from urban properties, and from tithing (one tenth of all harvests paid by farmers).[241] The Church controlled 20 per cent of all lands in the Peninsula and, together with the nobility, managed two thirds of the land in Spain. In general, members of Spain's aristocratic families held the most important archdioceses and dioceses in the country.[242] It is interesting to bear in mind that a large number of the fragments of Chinese porcelain that have been found at excavations are located at sites of convents all over Spain.

Finally, it should be noted that the development of cities during the modern era resulted in the formation of a bourgeois class whose success was linked to trade in urban centres such as Seville or Cadiz. In the end, this group would acquire noble status by either receiving or buying titles from the Crown. Because of the Crown's need for money, the number of noble families increased as many important merchant families were admitted to the aristocracy. These social differences are relevant, as the top strata had the means to acquire porcelain and other exotica.

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[239] There were also regional differences. There were many minor nobles in the Basque Country. Certain areas in the north even maintained the privilege of general nobility for the whole population. In the south, however, the situation was the exact opposite. Andalucia had relatively few nobles, although they enjoyed a higher rank. See Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, *Las clases privilegiadas en el Antiguo Régimen*, Madrid, 1973; and Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, *El Antiguo Régimen: los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, Madrid, 1973.

[240] Martínez Shaw, 1998, p. 222.

[241] *Ibid,* p. 223.

[242] *Ibid*, pp. 223–24.

## **3.2**. *The Archives – Their Contents and their Use for Research*

The lack of historic and documented pieces in Spanish Royal collections and of the paucity of research into Chinese porcelain in Spain during the time of the Habsburgs made it necessary to consult a number of Spanish archives to determine the presence and value attributed to Chinese porcelain in the general context of the so-called sumptuary arts and material culture in Spain.

Apart from appraisals, estate partition documents, dowry receipts and wills,[243] the most interesting and frequently found documents are property inventories. As the name indicates, these are exhaustive lists of the personal property and sometimes real estate, belonging to a certain individual in a certain location. For this kind of document, a notary had to be present to certify that the property on the list was actually present at that time and place and that a scribe was taking care of the lists. Inventories were drawn up for a variety of reasons that always related to the safekeeping or conveyance of the property involved, i.e., property possession and ownership. Generally, after the death of an individual, an inventory was made to defend the descendants' rights in the deceased's estate against the rights of the surviving spouse and third parties.[244] Sometimes an inventory merely certified the existence of objects, without even alluding to their monetary value, although other inventories did give values provided by appraisers,[245] or at least by the interested parties. After appraisal, auctions were held to raise money to cover debts and other necessary payments. All members of society, including monarchs, held auctions. Particularly interesting were documents dealing with Chinese porcelain that was entrusted to Royal officers called *guardajoyas*.[246]

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[243] Just as not all citizens made a will, inventories were not systematically made on the death of each and every citizen. When they were made, it was done to divide the patrimony to pre-empt possible disputes, not because it was required by law. Therefore, when inventories are used as a historical source, it must be borne firmly in mind that there were many citizens whose property was not inventoried. In any case, it seems obvious that there was no point in making an inventory if a person had no property, because there was nothing to leave to anyone and no interest in preserving anything.

[244] Generally inventories were made after an individual's death. But this was not the only reason an inventory might be worth preparing. The delivery of goods to be held in safekeeping for another person, the preservation of certain goods from third-party rights, a guardian's guarantee of a ward's property, a depositary's guarantee of deposited goods and an acknowledgement of property brought to a company or a marriage.

[245] Appraisers were required to establish a fair price (precio justo) for items to be sold in an estate sale. This meant setting the mean value (el medio) of each piece. Thus a piece of porcelain appraised at 10 reales could be sold within the range of 5 to 15 reales.

[246] All the offices of the Royal Household used objects, valuable or otherwise, that belonged to the sovereign. These objects were under the care and responsibility of each 'Head of Office'. The office responsible for a sovereign's objects of value was the *guardajoyas* (garde des joyaux). In this office, there were four posts: the *guardajoyas* or treasurer, two treasury valets and a young boy (mozo). Thus, in Spanish the term *guardajoyas* was used to indicate the office as well as the treasurer. This office listed and described all objects in painstaking detail in a special inventory. At the sovereign's express written command, the *guardajoyas* handed the necessary objects over to the heads of the different offices and immediately noted the deliveries in their inventory. In this way it could readily be ascertained who was in charge of what object. At the death of the *guardajoyas* and at the death of the sovereign, all belongings were checked and a new inventory was drawn up. This could also occur if there was a major change in the sovereign's belongings, for example, if new pieces were bought, pieces were given away or part of services were melted down for their noble metals. The only extant general inventories for some seventeenth-century monarchs do not list the full roster of luxury items, just certain sections (this will be addressed in the chapter on Chinese porcelain in Royal households). The lists of valuable objects included exotic objects, such as corals, bezoar stones or unicorn horns. In most inventories porcelain was listed in a separate chapter under the general heading of 'porcelains and glass'. For the description of all the offices in the Spanish Royal Household see the comprehensive work by Rubén Mayoral López, 'La Cámara y los Oficios de la Casa', in José Martínez Millán and María Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey*, vol. 1, Madrid, 2008, pp. 459–731.

While the importance of these documents is obvious, I did encounter some problems in interpreting them. The scribes who drew up inventories were not expert cataloguers of luxury items, and their job was to attest to the existence of certain specific goods, so their descriptions of pieces were not very detailed. I also faced the complicated task of translating these terms into English, because even in Spanish meanings were sometimes unknown or difficult to interpret. In order to clarify the different meanings, it was decided to append a glossary of terms based on historical dictionaries, such as Covarrubias's 1611 dictionary and the *Diccionario de Autoridades,* 1726, and to include the transcriptions of the original Spanish terms when they signify a specific shape. However, some words have no equivalent in any of the dictionaries consulted and remain in the original Spanish in the English translations.

The data from the inventories plus additional references were important for placing Chinese porcelain in the context of the decorative arts of the time. Chinese porcelain was among the objects used by the Spanish elite and other wealthy individuals. But the question is: were they always considered 'exotic' and 'rare', and how were they valued, used and displayed by Spanish at that time? In chapter 3.6 I try to answer such questions, using the data collected in the documents and mentioned on the previous pages. The first archive consulted was the Archive at Simancas (AGS) founded in 1540, which is considered the first official archive established by the Crown in Castile. This archive possesses a prodigious number of documents of various kinds. In order to find specific references to Chinese porcelain I had to consult the *Fondos de Instituciones del Antiguo Régimen* (Archive of the Institutions of the Ancient Regime) and then, within this section, the *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas* (Head Account's Office) where expenses from the Royal Treasury are recorded.[247] Other bundles and papers in other sections of the Archive that were consulted, including the *Patronato Real*, *Casa y Sitios Reales* ([*antigua*] *Junta de Obras y Bosques*) (Royal Council and Household and [former] Administrative Body for Construction and Forests), did produce a few positive results; nevertheless, I consulted a large number of bundles that yielded no results for the investigation whatsoever.

During the research process, Professor Fernando Checa Cremades, (University Complutense of Madrid), published *The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*, which contains essays and transcripts gleaned from many inventories of goods belonging to the Imperial family. Even though most of these inventories had already been researched at Simancas, this very thorough publication and the inventory in Brussels confirmed the initial impression that the Emperor had practically no porcelain among his possessions (except for a few pieces that are mentioned in the inventory of his son, King Philip II (see Chapter 3.3. Chinese Porcelain in Royal Households, pp. 94-5).[248] However there are still records of his life possessions in Lille (Picardy), which would have to be consulted in the future.

The General Archive of the Palace (AGP) in Madrid was the main source of information in reconstructing the arrival and collecting of Chinese porcelain by the Spanish monarchs from Philip II to Charles II, the last Habsburg. This archive preserves documents relating to the management of the Royal Palace and Household and the Heritage of the Crown from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The main objective with this archive was to gather information about the inventories of goods that belonged to the monarchs and their families, beginning with Philip II of Spain, even though Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón had already published his inventory in 1956-59.[249] Unfortunately, except for the inventory of Charles II – also published previously by Gloria Fernández Bayton in 1975 (for the current study all references to porcelain in both inventories have been translated into English) – most of the inventories of the monarchs and their families are incomplete, making it diffi-

[247] I am grateful to Isabel Aguirre, Rocío Bustos and José Menéndez Trigos for their help with this archive.

[248] Professor Checa Cremades compiled all known inventories related to Charles V and his family, both in the Archivo General de Simancas, Sección Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 1st Época, Legajo 1145 (1558–59) and Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Chambre des Comptes, Legajo 97 (1556). See Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*, Madrid, 2010.

[249] Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales. Bienes Muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1956–59.

cult to reconstruct the evolution of the presence of porcelain in the Court of Madrid from the second half of the sixteenth century and on through the seventeenth century.

However, a few quite detailed and interesting inventories have been preserved such as the 1621 inventory made after the death of Philip III, which contains descriptions of objects from the Royal Treasury, many of which he inherited from his father and his wife, and the 1612 inventory of Queen Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip III.[250] Most of the inventories of Philip IV relate to paintings and other objects in the various palaces. There is no complete inventory of all his possessions, yet some partial lists that mention exotic objects and porcelain have been consulted.[251] Further research into the possessions of Philip IV was conducted in Elizabeth of Bourbon's inventory of 1644, the king's first wife, in the Historical Archive of Protocols in Madrid (AHPM). Unfortunately this document does not mention a single item of porcelain but some ivory objects are mentioned. His second wife, Queen Mariana of Austria, did register a few pieces, as can be seen in Appendix 1.[252] Due to the fragmentation of the information in the Royal archive, I had to consult other parallel documentation such as palace accounts, historical reports by travellers, or letters, which helped to complete the general picture of the subject.

Many different archives were also consulted while investigating the Spanish nobility's acquisition and collecting taste regarding Chinese porcelain. The most important one, which provided most of the relevant documents, is the Archive of the Nobility in Toledo, now part of the National Historical Archive (AHN). Its holdings include an enormous quantity of political, economic, and social documentation of the aristocratic strata. The archives are arranged by noble household, and finding the inventories of these important families was the main objective of the research. The best results were from the Osuna and Frías lineages.

The Archive of Historical Protocols in Madrid (AHPM), which contains documents written by public notaries in Madrid, was another important source. Inventories, property assessments, and division of property as well as receipts for dowries and wills of the aristocracy were consulted here. Although many documents were checked, very little information was obtained. For this reason, I decided to investigate the archives of some of the most important noble households that nowadays are open to researchers. The archives of the Dukes of Alba (ADA) in the Liria Palace in Madrid, the Ducal Medinaceli Archive (ADM) in Seville and Toledo, and the Archive of the House of Medina Sidonia Foundation in Sanlúcar de Barremeda (AGFCMS), Cádiz,[253] were consulted. In addition, since the capital of Spain was moved briefly to Valladolid between 1601 and 1606, it was decided to check the Archive of Historical Protocols in Valladolid (AHPV) and the Archive of the Royal Chancellery in Valladolid (ARChV) for inventories containing references to Chinese porcelain or other exotic pieces.

In the last phase of the research, I consulted the Provincial Historical Archive of Seville (AHPS)

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[250] See Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Section Administración General, Legajo 902. I am very grateful to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend who pointed out to me this particular bundle in the Archivo General de Palacio. I am grateful to Miguel Ruiz Cabrera and Antonio Alonso Zimmerli from AGP.

[251] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 904, Felipe IV, Oficios de la Casa Real. Treasury 1654; and Document 27 of an inventory dated in April 1674 that contains pieces inherited by Charles II from his father. Other fragmentary inventories of paintings and other objects do exist and were compiled and studied by Steven N. Orso in 1986. See also Gloria Martínez Leiva and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tiene su Magestad Felipe IV en este Alcázar de Madrid. Año de 1636*, Madrid, 2007.

[252] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 30, AGP, Sección Registros/246. Inventory of objects of Queen Mariana de Austria, wife of King Philip IV. 1696.

[253] I am grateful to the heads of the following archives: Dr. Calderón (Archivo de la Fundación Duques de Alba); Caridad López Ibáñez (Fundación Casa de Medina Sidonia), Juan Larios de la Rosa (Fundación Medinaceli); and José Menéndez Trigos at the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Valladolid and Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid.

in an attempt to find inventories belonging to merchants in Seville during the period of the study. Unfortunately, after two weeks of work, results in this last archive were relatively scarce.[254]

On those occasions when porcelain was mentioned, it usually appeared at the end of extremely long and seemingly interminable lists, mingled with Spanish[255] and imported ceramics[256], in which other sumptuary art objects predominate. After painting[257] and sculpture[258], which were the most popular, particularly from the seventeenth century on, tapestry[259] was highly rated because it was so richly decorated with gold and silver threads. In addition, books played quite an important role with incunabula sharing space with illuminated manuscripts[260], precious stones and jewellery (fascinating objects,

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[254] The time allowed in the archives outside Madrid was limited, and so, with a few exceptions, visits to them were most of the time not very fruitful. However, there is still a lot of work to do for future researchers.

[255] Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica de Talavera*, Madrid, 1984; Alfonso Pleguezuelo, *Talaveras en la Colección Carranza*, Toledo, 1994; Alfonso Pleguezuelo, "Juan Floris (1520-1567), Azulejero de Felipe II", en *Reales Sitios*, nº 146, pp. 15-25; Alice W. Frothingham, *Talavera potte*ry, New York, 1994; Anthony Ray, *Spanish pottery 1248-1898*, London, 2000; Alexius Feit and Christian Feit, *Spanische fayencen. XV bis XIX hahrhundert*, München, 2012. I am grateful to Ángel Sánchez Cabezudo for this bibliographic list.

[256] María Concepción García Sáiz and Jose Luis Barrio Moya, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España", *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas,* 1987, pp. 103-10; María Concepción García Sáiz, "Mexican Ceramics in Spain", in *Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, Albuquerque, 2003, pp. 187-203.

[257] From 1550 to 1700 Spain witnessed a fashion for collecting paintings, from the king, to his nobles and ministers, even down to relatively humble subjects in Madrid. Painting collections assembled in Madrid in the Golden Age were often enormous, sometimes comprising thousands of pictures. Inventories of noblemen-courtiers, court functionaries, members of religious orders, merchants, and artisans found in the AHPM, emphasise the importance of picture collections. Marcus B. Burke, Peter Cherry, María L. Gilbert (eds.), *Spanish Inventories. Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*, Los Ángeles, 1997, p. xiii. See further bibliographic references for painting in Spain during the Habsburg period in chapter 4. 4.

[258] For Spanish sculpture in Spain during the Habsburg period see: J. Camón Aznar, *La escultura y la rejería españolas del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 2003. *Summa Artis.* Vol. XVIII; Fernando Checa Cremades, *Pintura y escultura del Renacimiento en España 1450-1600,* Madrid, 2005; Margarita Estella Marcos, *La escultura barroca de marfil en España.* Madrid, 1984; M. Gómez Moreno, *Las águilas del Renacimiento español*, Madrid, 1983; J.J. Martín González, *Escultura barroca en España 1600-1770*, Madrid, 1998. I am grateful to Dr. Javier Montalvo for this bibliographic list.

[259] For the history of Spanish tapestry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: G. Demarcel, 'Los cartones y tapices de la historia de Aquiles de Rubens', in *Pedro Pablo Rubens. La historia de Aquiles*, Rotterdam/ Madrid, 2003, pp. 36–37; G. Demarcel, N. Reyniés and W. Hefford W., *La Collection Toms. Tapisseries du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, Lausanne, 2010; M. García Calvo, *Colección de Tapices Fundación Segas-Fagalde*, Asturias, 2009; M. García Calvo, 'Pedro de Toledo (1546-1627), V Marqués de Villafranca, coleccionista de tapices', in *Archivo Español de arte* 83/332 (October–December) 2010, pp. 347–62; C. Herrero Carretero, *Rubens 1577-1640. Colección de tapices*, Obras maestras de Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, 2008; V. Ramírez Ruiz, *Las tapicerias en las colecciones de la nobleza española del siglo XVII*, Ph.D. diss., UCM Madrid, 2012; V. Ramirez Ruiz, *La colección de tapices del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, Guadalajara, 2007; V. Ramírez Ruiz, 'Los tapices de Alfonso V de Portugal o Tapices de Pastrana', in *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, Porto, 2008, pp. 9–31. I am grateful to Dr. Victoria Ramírez for this bibliographic list.

[260] Gerhardi Ernesto de Franckenau, *Biblioteca Hispanica historico – genealogico - heraldica* , Lipsiae (Leipzig), 1724; Francisco Vindel, *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo hispano-americano: 1457-1850*, Madrid, 1930-1934; Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1863-1889; Vicente Salva, *A catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, with occasional literary and bibliographical remarks*, Londres, 1826-1829: Jacques-Charles Brunet *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, París, 1860-1880; Ricardo Heredia, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis*, Paris, 1891-1894; Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano: bibliografía general española e hispano-americana desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros tiempos con el valor comercial de los impresos descritos*, Barcelona, 1948-1977; Frederick J. Norton and Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta en España, 1601-1620* [Edición anotada, con un nuevo "Índice de libros impresos en España, 1501-1520"], Madrid, 1997; Julián Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos,* Madrid, 2001; Julián Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos (Adenda)*, Madrid, 2007. Nicolás Antonio Hispalense, *Biblioteca Hispana Vetus…/Biblioteca Hispana Nova…,* Madrid, 1783-1788. I am grateful to Dr. Javier Krahe Ruiz for this bibliographic list.

unfortunately mostly lost over time),[261] silver,[262] weapons[263], furniture[264],



[261] Amelia María Aranda Huete, *La joyería en la corte durante el reinado de Felipe V e Isabel de Farnesio*, Madrid, 1999. See her dissertation published at hhttp://eprints.ucm.es/2444/. She concentrates on the jewellery of the period of King Philip V, but includes Spanish Habsburg jewellery as well.

[262] For the history of Spanish silver during the Habsburg period, see: S. Alcolea Gil, 'Artes decorativas en la España cristiana (siglos XI-XIX)', in *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. 20, Madrid, 1975; S. Alcolea Gil, *Orfebrería civil hispánica. Renacimiento y Barroco*, Barcelona, 1969; E. Arnáez, *Orfebrería religiosa en la provincia de Segovia hasta 1700*, Madrid, 1983; M.B. Arrúe Ugarte, *La platería logroñesa*, Logroño, 1981; and by the same author, *Platería riojana* (*1500-1665*), Logroño 1993; A.A. Barrón García, *La época dorada de la platería burgalesa, 1400-1600*, Burgos 1998; J.C. Brasas Egido, *La platería vallisoletana y su difusión*, Valladolid 1980; and by the same author, *La platería palentina*, Palencia, 1982. J.M. Cruz Valdovinos has written numerous publications such as: 'Platería', in Antonio Bonet Correa (ed.), *Historia de las Artes Aplicadas e Industriales en España*, Madrid, 1982; *Catálogo de la platería*, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 1981; *Cinco siglos de Platería Sevillana*, Seville, 1992; *Platería en la época de los Reyes Católicos*, Fundación Central Hispano, Madrid, 1992; *Platería europea en España* (*1300-1700*), Madrid, 1997; 'Platería', in *Las artes decorativas en España*, Summa Artis, XLVb, Madrid, 1999; *Platería en la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano*, Madrid, 2000; *Valor y lucimiento. Platería en la Comunidad de Madrid*, Madrid, 2005; *El arte de la plata. Colección Hernández-Mora Zapata*, Murcia, 2006; *El esplendor del arte de la plata. Colección Hernández-Mora Zapata*, Murcia, 2007; N. de Dalmases, D. Giralt-Miracle and R. Manent, *Plateros y joyeros de Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1985; Javier Montalvo Martín, "Especieros de plata hispanos del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan" in *Goya*, nº 329, 2009, pp. 352-361 and from the same author "Los jarros de pico del Instituto Valencia de don Juan de Madrid" in *Goya*, nº 276, 2000, pp. 167-175; C. Esteras Martín, *Orfebrería de Teruel y su provincia, siglos XIII al XX*, Teruel, 1980; M.C. Heredia Moreno and A. López-Yarto Elizalde, *La edad de oro de la platería complutense* (*1500-1650*), Madrid, 2001; M. Pérez Grande, *Los plateros de Toledo en 1626*, Toledo, 2002; R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Estudio sobre la historia de la orfebrería toledana*, Toledo, 1915; R. Sánchez-Lafuente Gemar, *El arte de la platería en Málaga* (*1550-1800*), Malaga, 1997; A. San Vicente, *La platería de Zaragoza en el Bajo Renacimiento* (*1545-1599*), Zaragoza 1976. And the following exhibition catalogues: Antonio Casaseca, et al., *La platería en la época de los Austrias Mayores en Castilla y León*, Valladolid, 1999; Pedro Moleón Gavilanes, et al., *El oro y la plata de las Indias en la época de los Austrias*, Madrid, 1999; Fernando A. Martín, *El arte de la plata y de las joyas en la España de Carlos V*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2000. I am grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande and Dr. Javier Montalvo Martín for their advice on this list.

[263] Álvaro Soler del Campo, *Arte del Poder*: *Armaduras y Retratos de la España Imperial*, Madrid, 2009.

[264] For the history of Spanish furniture during the Habsburg period, see: Sofía Rodríguez Bernis, Casto Castellanos, *et al.*, *Mueble español. Estrado y dormitorio*, exh. Cat, Madrid, 1990; J. Ainaud de Lasarte, J., R. Alcoy, *et al.*, *Moble Catalá* exh. cat., Barcelona 1994; María Paz Aguiló, *El mueble en España durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1990; María Paz Aguiló, *El Mueble en España. Siglos XVI-XVII*, Madrid, 1993; María Paz Aguiló, *Orden y decoro. Felipe II y el amueblamiento del Monasterio de El Escorial*, Madrid, 2001; G.H. Burr, *Hispanic Furniture with Examples in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, New York, 1941 (2nd ed. 1964); A. Byne and M. Stapley,

glass[265] and clothing.[266] Until the end of the seventeenth century, inventories are characterised by their inclusion of rare and exotic items that formed part of the so-called Cabinets of Curiosities (*gabinetes de curiosidades*) or *Wunderkammer*, some of which, once in a while, included a porcelain object.[267] Inventories generally include indexes which carefully specify the subject matter, but these lists had to be scrutinised carefully because Chinese porcelain could be registered in other sections such as silver, due to the

*Spanish Interiors and Furniture*, New York, 1921, 1922 and 1925; Casto Castellanos, *Estudio Histórico-Artístico y Catalogación de los Escritorios del Museo Arqueológico Nacional, del Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas y del Museo Lázaro Galdiano de Madrid* (*siglos XVI-XIX*), unpublished M.A. thesis, Madrid, 1985; Casto Castellanos, *et al.*, *El mueble de los siglos XV y XVI. España, Portugal y otros países, col. El Mundo de las Antigüedades*, Barcelona, 1989; R. Domenech and L. Pérez Bueno, *Muebles Antiguos Españoles*, Barcelona 1921; H.D. Eberlein and R.W. Ramsdell, *Spanish Interiors – Furniture and Details from the 14th to the 17th Century*, New York, 1925; L.M. Feduchi, *Historia del Mueble*, Madrid, 1946 (extended 2nd ed. 1966; 3rd rev. ed. 1975); L.M. Feduchi, *Historia de los Estilos del Mueble Español*, Madrid, 1969; L.M. Feduchi, *El Mueble Español*, Barcelona 1969; J.M. Florit, 'Los aposentos de Felipe II en San Lorenzo de El Escorial', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, year XXVIII, first trimester of 1920, pp. 38–40 and 94–101; J.J. Junquera, 'Mobiliario', in *Summa Artis*, vol. 45, pp. 387–461, Madrid, 1999. I am very grateful to Casto Castellanos Ruiz for providing this bibliographic list.

[265] For Spanish glass in the 16th and 17th centuries see: Susana Arbáizar González, Catalogue of glass objects from the 16th and 17th centuries, in *El mundo que vivió Cervantes,* Madrid 2005/ 2006 ; D. Belinchón Yague "Vidrios castellanos de Cadalso de los Vidrios y de El Recuenco" in *Cerámica y Vidrio. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Cerámica y Vidrio,* 2001, nº 40, (5), pp.385-388; Jordi Carreras i Barreda, "Els vidres catalans à la façon de Venise del Museu de les Arts decoratives de Barcelona (segles XVI-XVII)" in *I Jornades Hispàniques d'Història del vidre. Actes,* Barcelona, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, 2001. pp. 143-153*;* Alice W. Frothingham*, Spanish Glass,* London, 1963; Juan Luis González García "El coleccionismo del vidrio artístico español en los siglos XVI y XVIII" in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar,* LXXIII, 1998, pp. 111-147; Justina Rodríguez García, *Vidrio de los siglos XV, XVI y XVII*, Barcelona, 1989; Justina Rodríguez García, Justina. "Los vidrios esmaltados catalanes (siglos XVI y XVII) in *Revista Espacio, Tiempo y Forma.* Serie VII, Historia del Arte, t. 13, 2000, pp. 85-133; Justina Rodríguez García, "La industria vidriera castellana en la Edad Moderna: un estado de la cuestión", in *I Jornades Hispàniques d'Història del Vidre,* Museo d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona, 2001, pp. 135-142. I am very grateful to Susana Arbáizar for providing this bibliographic list.

[266] For the history of Spanish clothing during the Habsburg period, see: Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria española en tiempos de Carlos V*, Madrid, 1962; Carmen Bernis Madrazo, 'La moda en la España de Felipe II a través del retrato de Corte', in J.M Serrera (ed.), *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la Corte de Felipe II*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1991, pp. 66–111; Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *El traje y los tipos sociales en el Quijote*, Madrid, 2001; Amalia Descalzo Lorenzo 'La permanence du panier dans les Cours Européennes', in *Fastes de Cour et Cérémonies Royales. Le Costume de Cour en Europe 1650-1800*, exh. cat., Château de Versailles, 31 March–28 June, 2009, pp. 72–77; Amalia Descalzo Lorenzo, 'El traje cortesano español en la época de los Austrias: Señas de identidad' at the International Congress, *Vestir a la Española. Prestigio y Vigencia del atuendo español en las Cortes Europeas* (*siglos XVI y XVII*), 2007; Amalia Descalzo Lorenzo 'Apuntes de moda: desde la Prehistoria hasta época moderna', in *Indumenta. Revista Museo del Traje*, 00, forthcoming publication, pp. 76–86.; Amalia Descalzo Lorenzo, 'Velázquez y la moda. Aproximación a la identidad de "La dama del abanico"', in *In Sapientia Libertas*, Madrid/Seville, 2007, pp. 435–40. I am grateful to Dr. Amalia Descalzo for these bibliographic references.

[267] See Miguel Morán & Fernando Checa, *El coleccionismo en España*, Madrid, 1985; also José Luis Cano de Gardoqui García, *Tesoros y Colecciones. Orígenes y evolución del coleccionismo artístico*, Valladolid 2001; On *wunderkammen* in Europe, see: *Faszination Edelstein. Aus den Schatzkammern der Welt Mythos – Kunst- Wissennchaft*, exh.cat., Darmstadt, 1992; Julius Von Schlosser, *Las Cámaras Artísticas y Maravillosas del Renacimiento tardío*, Madrid, 1988; Antonie Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, la tulipe*: *Collections françaises au XVIIe siècle.* Paris, 1988; Roland Schaer, *L'invention des musées*, Paris, 1993; Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*: *The Cabinets of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Oxford, 2001; F. Kirchweger and S. Haag, *Habsburg Treasures*, New York, 2013; H. Chr. Winkler, *Ehemalige Hofsilber- und Tafelkammer. Sammlungkatalog I. Silber Bronzen, Porzellan, Glas*, Wien, 1998 and R.Paulus, *Glanz der Macht. Kaiserliche Pretiosen aus der Wiener Kunstkammer*, Wien, 2010

gilded silver mounts which decorated pieces, or even in the furniture section because of porcelain being placed inside a piece of furniture, for example, seventeenth-century display window cabinets (see Chapter 3.6. Appreciation, Use and Display of Chinese Porcelain, pp. 148-57).

The first problem that arose when studying the documents was the way the term 'porcelain' was defined and used in the archives. For this reason, historical dictionaries were consulted to identify the precise meaning of the term during the period of study. In the first historic dictionary, the *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española* (*Thesaurus of the Castilian or Spanish Language*) compiled by Don Sebastian de Covarrubias in 1611, the term 'porcelain' was defined in the following manner: 'A transparent clay used to make vessels of different shapes. It comes from China and the material it is made of is said to take a long time to mature. In Italy there is a type of clay that some call puscelana, because it can be found in Puçol [referring to the town of Pozzuoli and the vessels made of volcanic ash from Vesuvius]; some people have corrupted the word and call it porcelana'.[268]

In his dictionary on the terms used in the notary registers of Valladolid in the Spanish Golden Age, Anastasio Rojo Vega also lists the different usages of the term and the value of several porcelain objects at the time:

> ***Porcelanas***: a type of wide and deep cup made of fine pottery which is commonly used to serve sweets, *consommé*, milk and other things; they could be made of alabaster, horn, wood, silver or glass; the Countess of Altamira used one of them to tan her gloves; small and fine porcelains for 34 *reales* each in 1561; small ones for 14 *reales* in 1562; worth 234 [*maravedíes*] in 1580. Alabaster porcelains: in the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo (386-s.f). Pottery porcelains: in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez, one in the shape of an ewer, scarlet and gilded, two more in the shape of cups with gilded silver pedestals, another with a gilded foot, and nine others, large and small. Porcelains for food: a small white and gilded [one], in the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo. Painted horn porcelains: in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez; Wooden porcelains: in the house of Francisco Álvarez de Palacios in 1597. Silver porcelains: a few in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez; with a medal, stripes, relief decorations and four ovals; Glass porcelains: a large and transparent [one] with two men, one with a leaf, and another white and gilded with leafs from the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo. Gilded porcelains: worth 4714 *maravedíes* each in 1592. Fine porcelains: 204 [*reales*? *maravedíes*?] each in 1577.[269]

As we have seen, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term 'porcelain' was used to refer to bowls that could be made of a variety of materials: silver, wood, horn, alabaster, glass, etc. Pottery 'porcelains' such as the scarlet and gilded ewer in Doctor Pedro Enríquez's household were also included. In the same list we find gilded cups mounted in silver pedestals. These pieces were probably Chinese porcelain of the *Kinrande* style,[270] which were elaborated during the second half of the sixteenth century.

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[268] The definition of the word porcelain in Spanish from the Covarrubias dictionary is: '*Porcelana, un barro transparente de que se hacen diferencias de vasos con muchas labores. Traese de la China y dize que su materia, de la qual se hacen, dura en sazonarse y disponerse por gran tiempo. En Italia ay cierto barro o betun, que llaman Puscelana, porque se halla en Puçol y algunos corrompido el vocablo le llamana Porcelana. Vide Plinum libro 16 cap. 40. & lib. 35. cap. 13.*' Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, Edition of Luis Sánchez, printer to the King, Madrid, 1611, p. 593.

[269] Anastasio Rojo Vega, *El siglo de Oro. Inventario de una* época, Salamanca, 1996, pp. 64–70.

[270] *Kinrande*, a Japanese term, which literally means 'gold brocade', and refers to a textile woven with gold thread, replicated as a delicate golden pattern on a glaze or over an enamel. Pieces were elaborated in porcelain in Jingdezhen and this gold pattern was applied on white, green, dark blue (underglaze cobalt blue) or red grounds, as well as on rare aubergine examples. These wares were exported by the Spaniards and shards have been found in colonial outposts in Peru or New Spain and dated to the late sixteenth century. See Jessica Harrisson-Hall, 2001, p. 214. A *Kinrande* cup mounted in silver is preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum – the 'Von Manderscheidt cup' decorated in underglaze blue, red enamel and gilding; see Anna Jackson & Amin Jaffer, London, 2004, p. 47.

In the inventory of 1603, Empress María of Spain (1528–1603), eldest daughter of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, and wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, the term 'porcelana' could also have meant a washbasin, as in 'two porcelain washbasins of white silver engraved with bracket-lobed rim'.[271] Nevertheless, in the same inventory we find the following description: 'a small pot of porcelain from the Indies with a handle'.[272] Thus the piece is clearly identified as a Far Eastern porcelain which, taking into account the year, most probably was Chinese.

In 1596 the Marquis of Velada gave a bowl of 'porcelain', probably from the East, to a silversmith to serve as model to make silver bowls for the future king, Philip III, with the prince's coat-of-arms. It is very interesting to discover that the shape of a 'porcelain' bowl was used as a model to make more durable and valuable silver bowls (*escudillas*) for Prince Philip. An invoice from the silversmith Luis de Morales uses the same term to define the porcelain material and the shape of the bowl.[273]

Later on, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* **(***Dictionary of Autoridades***)** of 1726 gives four definitions of the term 'porcelain', which included previous Covarrubias meanings:

> 1. 'A certain type of fine, transparent, clear and lustrous ceramic that is extensively made in China or Japan. Covarrubias mentions that porcelain was applied to a certain type of clay from Puçol [Pozzuoli], a city of the kingdom of Naples, from which the term derives, but it seems likely that the term comes from the French term porcelaine, a type of white shell from which the ancient people shaped containers very similar to our present porcelain'. 2. 'A type of wide deep cup made of fine clay that is used to serve sweets, clear soups, milk and other things. [Hortens. Mar. f. 240.] 'What should taste better, tell me: to drink poisoned sweet milk from a porcelain cup or to know it in advance and spill it?'. 'In the countryside, friends, sisters and women with bunches of flowers attended, holding porcelains full of aromatic beverages'. 3. 'White enamel, mixed with a little blue that is used by silversmiths to decorate jewellery and pieces of gold'. 4. 'White colour mixed with blue'. Latin: *Color porcellaneus*.

Even Father d'Entrecolles, the first Westerner to visit the kilns at Jingdezhen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and who described the process of pottery making, had no clear idea of what the word meant. As can be seen in the text, he also qualified the term according to the shape of the container:

> But for the name of the material, which is called porcelain, it is so little a Chinese word that none of the syllables of which it is composed can even be pronounced or written by the Chinese. Its sounds are not found in the Chinese language. It is apparently taken from the Portuguese language, although for them '*porcellana*' properly signifies a cup or a bowl, and in Portuguese '*loza*' is the general name that they give to all of the material that we call porcelain. Usage thus is the cornerstone of language and it is up to each individual nation to give us the idea that is attached to their words. Porcelain is generally called *tseki* in China.[274]

Besides confusion and ambiguity about the use of the term '*porcelana*', the inventories also include other

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[271] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 22, AGS, Patronato Real, Legajo 31-28, fol. 191: '*Dos porcelanas palanganas de plata blanca, labradas de bicos, que pesan cinco marcos y tres ochavas*'.

[272] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 22, AGS, Patronato Real, Legajo 31-28. fol. 197v: '*Una calderita de barro de porcelana de la India*'.

[273] Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, 'La educación artística y la configuración de la imagen del príncipe Felipe', in José Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe III: La Corte*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2008, p. 127.

[274] Padre D´Entrecolles, *Cartas Edificantes, y Curiosas Escritas de las Misiones esrangeras, y de Levante por algunos Missioneros de la Compañía de Jesús traducidas por el padre Diego Davin de la misma Compañía*, Madrid, MDCCLV, (pp. 61–113), pp. 69-70. See note 94.

terms such as '*barros de la China*' or '*loza de las Indias*' (clay or pottery from China or the Indies). The term '*brincos*' (trinkets) is sometimes used in reference to small porcelain toys or zoomorphic figures. (For other terms, see Chapter 3.3. Chinese Porcelain for Royal Households, pp. 81-127; and the Glossary).

When porcelain or *barro* or *loza de la China* finally makes its appearance – as mentioned, usually at the end of the inventories – the descriptions of the objects turn out to be imprecise or hardly detailed, especially when describing decorative techniques and ornamental features. Besides, most of the objects listed in the inventories are now lost. Except for some isolated examples, most of these references are practically impossible to relate to any known or extant pieces, but still they are valuable as sources of information. They tell us about the socio-cultural habits, uses, and behaviour of Spanish society of the time. Undoubtedly, the existence of Chinese porcelain enriched the 'collections'[275] of sumptuary objects alongside glass or artistic pottery from Talavera or Estremoz, but apparently at no point was there any preconceived plan to create a collection of Chinese porcelain. It is clearly evident that its exotic presence in the household belongings enhanced the interiors and lifestyles at Court and the homes of the aristocracy, and that in most cases the presence of porcelain simply revealed a desire to own exotic or practical items depending on fashion or historical-cultural circumstances.

## 3.3. *Chinese Porcelain in Royal Households*

### *Precedents*

The importation of Chinese porcelain to the Spanish Peninsula started during the Muslim occupation, as can be proved by shard finds at different sites in Spain (see Chapter 4. The Porcelains: Shards and Extant Pieces – Archaeological Finds in Spain, pp. 159-222). Therefore the earliest evidence the author has found so far is dated to the later medieval period.[276] Though researching the inventories to trace medieval-period Chinese porcelain is not the specific aim of this work, there are nevertheless some references to porcelain at that time.

The oldest reference in Spain to a porcelain object from the East is in a letter dated 1314, where it is mentioned as 'two large bowls of true porcelain' (*duas escudellas magnas de porcelains veris*) given by Jaume II, King of Aragón (1267–1327),[277] to his wife María de Cyprus (1273–1319) and his children as a Christmas present.[278] Another reference is dated to the late fourteenth century in the will of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of Navarre, where a piece is described as being made of 'a stone called

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[275] The concept of 'collection' developed in England in the seventeenth century to refer to a group of vegetables which in order to be gathered or collected had to be previously harvested; see Antonio Urquízar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y Nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 2007, p. 22. I am grateful to Antonio Urquízar Herrera for his suggestions relating to Chinese porcelain in Spain in the collections of the nobility in Andalucía.

[276] Shards of a *Xing*-type bowl have been found in the Torre Mayor of Cullera Castle and a *yue*-type shard in Valencia (p. 182-83). See Chapter 4.1. Archeaeological Finds in Spain, p. 179. Also see David Whitehouse, 'Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe', in *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 16, 1973, pp. 63–78.

[277] James II (10 August 1267 – 2 or 5 November 1327), called *The Just*, was King of Sicily (as James I) from 1285 to 1296, and King of Aragon and Valencia and Count of Barcelona from 1291 to 1327. In 1297 he was granted the kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica. Marie of Lusignan (1273–1319) was a daughter of Hugh III of Cyprus and his wife Isabella of Ibelin. She was Queen consort of Aragon by marriage, and was a member of the House of Lusignan.

[278] M. Olivar Daydi, *La porcelana en Europa*, Barcelona, 1952, quoted in 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, London, 2009, p. 124, also in Jaume Coll Conesa, 2011, p. 276.

porcelain'.[279] However, the same description appeared earlier in the inventory of Louis, Duc d'Anjou, drawn up in 1379–80, as a 'a bowl made of a stone called porcelain with a border of gilded silver and enamel' (*une escuelle d'une pierre appelee pourcelaine borde d'argent dore et esmaille*).[280]

We only know of three pieces of Chinese porcelain documented as being in Europe before 1500:[281] the Gaignières-Fonthill vase, the Katzenelnbogen bowl and another *Longquan* vase that was presented by the Sultan of Egypt, Qa'it-Baj, to Lorenzo di Medici in 1487.[282] The so-called Marco Polo Jar in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice may have come to Europe at a later date.[283] Chinese wares were relatively easy to obtain in the Near East, for they had been exported there for centuries.[284] However in Europe, porcelain at this early stage must have been very rare and acquired as diplomatic gifts from Oriental rulers or brought back from the East by travellers.[285] One of the most important early collections of Chinese porcelain from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is preserved in Italy. Several pieces of porcelain are mentioned in different documents belonging to Filippo Strozzi (inventories of the Strozzi Palace), Piero, Lorenzo, Cosino I, Francesco I, Ferdinando I, Cosimo I, II and III di Medici and Cardinale Leopoldo along with several others from Venice.[286] Fortunately most of the pieces are still extant and are mainly preserved in the Museum degli Argenti in Florence.[287]

### *Isabella I of Castile, The Catholic Queen*

At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, harmonious relations between Spain and Portugal were fostered by the intermarriage of the ruling dynasties: King Manuel I of Portugal successively married Isabel and María, two daughters of the Spanish Catholic King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516) and Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451-1504).[288] It was in these years that Portugal first

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[279] Another reference to a fourteenth-century example of documented Chinese porcelain in Europe is taken from the will of Queen Maria of Naples and Sicily (1257–1323), but what is really interesting is that material from the archaeological excavation of her Royal residence in Lucera in Puglie indicates that Chinese porcelain reached Europe before the fourteenth century; see Jean Michel Massing, 'From Marco Polo to King Manuel I of Portugal: The Early European Fascination with Chinese Porcelain', in *Studies in Imagery,* II, London, 2007, p. 390.

[280] Francis Watson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain*, Washington 1986, p. 11. Also quoted in Fernando Antonio Baptista Pereira, 'El Encuentro de Culturas y la Recepción de lo Exótico: El Renacimiento portugués y los Nuevos Mundos', in *El Arte en la época del Tratado de Tordesillas*, Valladolid, 1984, pp. 269–82

[281] See Whitehouse, 1973, pp. 63–78.

[282] Marco Spallanzani, *Ceramiche Orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Florence 1978, pp. 85–86, pls. 21, 22. See also the illustration of Lorenzo de Medici's Longquan vase with an inscription from Sultan Qa'it-Baj in Francesco Morena, *Dalle Indie Orientali alla corte di Toscana. Collezioni di Arte Cinese e Giapponese a Palazzo Pitti*, Milan, 2005, p. 22.

[283] Whitehouse, 1973, pp. 71–72.

[284] In the mid-fifteenth century the export of a group of 23 chests that contained 'o*pera di terra*' (pottery) from the ports of Alexandria and Beirut are reported, with Barcelona as their destination. There are various references to the trade of different types of 'porcelain' in medieval times in M. Gual Camarena, 'Un manual catalán de Mercadería (1455)', in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales I*, Barcelona, 1964, p. 447. Quoted in Spallanzani, 1978, p. 45.

[285] Massing, 2007, pp. 377– 405.

[286] For the early trade in Chinese porcelain, see John Ayers, 'The Early China Trade', in Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*: *The Cabinets of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 259–66.

[287] Spallanzani, 1978, Appendices A and B. See also Francesco Morena, *Dalle Indie Orientali alla corte di Toscana. Collezioni di Arte Cinese e Giapponese a Palazzo Pitti*, Milan, 2005.

[288] During the second half of the 15th century great importance was attached in the Court of Castile to the so-called decorative arts, characterized by their eclectic nature and wide range of aesthetic influences: the Moorish



Fig. 23. *Portrait of Isabella the Catholic,* Juan de Flandes, 1496, 44 x 63 cm, inv. no. 10072266. Palacio Real. Madrid.

established diplomatic and commercial contacts with China. Due to the close dynastic ties between the two Iberian monarchies, an interest in Oriental art was soon revealed from the correspondence between members of the two Royal families, who often gave each other gifts of Chinese artefacts.[289] King Manuel I of Portugal was interested in East Asian exotica and porcelain.[290] In 1499 and 1501 respectively, explorers Vasco da Gama (1460 or 1469–1524) and Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467 or 1468–1520 or 1526) presented Manuel I with several pieces of porcelain.[291] The inventories and letters of payment of the Portuguese monarch reveal the donation of twelve pieces of Chinese porcelain from a set of 20 to the Hieronymite (Jeronimos) Monastery in Belem, and twelve Chinese porcelains to the Madre Deus Convent in 1511.[292] Additionally he gave his second wife María[293] 207 pieces of porcelain that were purchased at the *Casa da India*[294] in 1511, and 156 'small and large' pieces that had recently arrived from India.[295] However, it is striking that porcelain being such a novel and valued item at the time, the (incomplete) inventory of King Manuel I of Portugal's wardrobe, made on 3 February 1522, listed only 'four porcelains in white silver with wicker on the outside'.[296] The description is not very clear:

style in furniture, carpets and bookbinding; the Gothic tradition in the intricate gold and silver craftsmanship, and elements of the early Renaissance in glass and funerary sculpture. To this mixture of artistic elements must be added a new influence: that of Chinese art, which first reached Spain via the seafaring Portuguese. Spanish appreciation of luxury objects paved the way for the importation of porcelain and other exotic artefacts from the East Asia in Fernando Antonio Baptista Pereira, 'El Encuentro de Culturas y la Recepción de lo Exótico', *El Arte en la época del Tratado de Tordesillas*, Valladolid 1994, pp. 269–81.

[289] Pinto da Matos, 1998, p. 110.

[290] We know that the Portuguese king had direct access to porcelain, as all ships returning from India were allowed, by Royal decree, to carry porcelain as one-third of their cargo after 1522. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'As Maravilhas do Oriente: Colecçioes de Curiosidades Renascentistas em Portugal', in *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, Lisbon, 1996, (pp. 83–127), p. 91.

[291] Chistiaan 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 años de Comercio*, Lisbon, 2007, (pp. 45–71), private offprint, Haren, 2008, p. 9.

[292] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 'Precious Objects and Marvels: the Goa-Lisbon Trade', in Helmut Trnek and Nuno Vassallo e Silva (eds.), *Exótica. The Portuguese Discoveries and the Reinaissance* Kunstkammer, Lisbon, p. 35.

[293] Queen María's inventory registered numerous crafted jewels from exotic places: a gold and lacquer teaspoon, which is recorded as Indian, and a mother-of-pearl casket are early examples of Oriental pieces in her collection, but no porcelain is mentioned in the article by M. J. Redondo Cantera 'The inventories of Empress Isabella of Portugal', in Fernando Checa Cremades, *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, vol. 2, Madrid, 2010, p. 1246.

[294] *Casa da India*, 'India House', the Portuguese organisation that managed all overseas territories during the heyday of the Portuguese Empire in the sixteenth century. It was the central authority for managing all aspects of overseas trade, the central shipment point and the clearing-house.

[295] Jörg, 2007, footnote 17, p. 25.

[296] Massing, 2007, p. 397. Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos mentions Chinese porcelain in several documents related to King Manuel I of Portugal and his court; see M.A. Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 48, 2003, pp. 37–40. However the same author mentions that no Chinese porcelain was found in the inventory of King John III of Portugal (1502–57), who married his maternal first cousin, Queen Catherine of Austria, younger sister of Charles V, a great Renaissance collector.

it is possible that these objects were made of silver or porcelain mounted in silver, with a wicker container to protect them. Scarcity of porcelain is also indicated by the lists of Oriental goods sold at the *Casa da India* in 1505 where over 'one million kilograms of pepper were offered, but only 771 kilograms of 'other' commodities including all 'Indian' luxury items such as furniture, jewellery, precious stones, textiles and porcelain'.[297] From February 1511 to April 1514, Joao da Sa, treasurer of spices at the *Casa da India* in Lisbon, registered the entry of just 692 pieces of porcelain into the Royal warehouse, together with 'thousands' of rare and exotic goods.[298] Not everyone in Portugal was fond of porcelain, even at this early stage of the trade in Asian goods. The famous Alfonso de Albuquerque, the chief architect of Portuguese India, asked Manuel I for a service in silver, as the porcelain service in his commander's ship too easily broke.[299]

The House of Trastámara,[300] which ruled over Castile throughout the fifteenth century, amassed a large collection of artistic objects that were kept in certain rooms in the Alcázar[301] (fortress) of Segovia by Isabella's brother, Henry IV (1425–74). In Queen Isabella of Castile'a inventory[302] – the word treasure appears in the title of the inventory – the term 'porcelain' appears for the first time in sixteenth-century Spain to describe a piece in the treasury of the Alcázar of Segovia.

An inventory,[303] dated November 1503, mentions 'a bowl of white porcelain with an open filigree foot of twenty-two carats and weighing together with the gold one mark three ounces and four eighths'.[304] This would be the earliest documented example of a piece of porcelain mounted on a gold filigree foot in Spain. As the inventory did not include a specific section for porcelain (it did feature in a glass section), the bowl was included in the *cosas de oro* or 'gold objects' section because of its gold foot. The use of gold and silver mounts to embellish porcelain raised the value of the artefact as a whole. Mounts also provided some protection to porcelain pieces. Indeed the inventory refers to leather cases and boxes that were used to safely store delicate objects. Monochrome white porcelain pieces must have been sought outside China in this period. A collection of contemporary white porcelain in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul suggests that China was exporting considerable quantities of these pieces (fig. 25).[305] In addition, the so-called 'Lennard Cup' (fig. 24), dated to the Jiajing

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[297] Jörg, 2008, p. 10.

[298] Massing, 2007, p. 397. In another document dated 25 September 1517, Manuel ordered his accountant to inventorise, among others, 47 pieces of porcelain he had given to Antonio Salvago; see Pinto de Matos, 2002/3, p. 38.

[299] Massing, 2007, p. 398.

[300] This dynasty ruled over Castile from the rise to power of Henry II in 1369 through to the unification of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella.

[301] The Alcázar was the most representative castle of the period and a key fortress for the control of Castile. From here Queen Isabel set out for the main square to be crowned.

[302] This extensive inventory includes an enormous variety of gold or gold-leaf objects, silver, crystal, amethyst, and other precious goblets. Also listed are other objects from exotic areas around the globe such as a Turkish scimitar, brocades, fabrics, painted leather *guadamecíes*, and carpets that make up an ensemble, underscoring once again the extraordinary importance of decorative arts in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries.

[303] The inventory of the Queen's possessions was published by José Ferrandis (ed.), *Datos Documentales para la Historia del Arte Español*, *Inventarios Reales* (*Juan II a Juana la Loca*), vol. 3, Madrid, 1943, pp. 69 together with part of the inventories of Juan II (1405–54), King of Castile from 1406 to 1454, and Queen Juana la Loca. However, most of the references in this chapter were taken from AGS including other papers that were not included in the book.

[304] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 5, AGS, Patronato Real, Legajo 30-6, 68: '*Un taçon de porcelana blanca con un pié abierto de lima e filigrana de ley de veynte e dos quilates peso con el oro un marco y tres onças y quatro ochavas*'.

[305] White porcelain bowls and plates with incised decorations are dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century; see ills. 757–73 in Regina Krahl and John Ayers (ed.), *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum*, London, 1986,



Fig. 24. The Lennard Cup. Bowl with white glaze decorated with incised lotus scrolls on the exterior, the inside decorated with a hare in reserve against a landscape in underglaze cobalt blue, with silver-gilt mounts. Jiajing period (1522–66); Mounts: England (London) dated by hallmark 1569–70. D 11.9 cm. Percival David Foundation, British Museum. Inv.no. PDF 695.

period (1522–66), is another piece of mounted porcelain exported to the West that has been preserved. It is also a white bowl of translucent, shell-like porcelain with an incised scrolling lotus decoration and silver-gilt mounts that bear London hallmarks of 1569–70.[306]

Some of the objects in Queen Isabella's inventory were gifts from the Portuguese royal family. In the inventory of 1503–4, made by the Queen's royal chamberlains (*camareros mayores*), there are other references to porcelain such as 'a large blue-and-white Ottoman porcelain like a basin (*bacía*), which was sent by the Queen of Portugal to our Queen in a white wooden box', and was given to her lady-in-waiting, Violante de Albión, in the town of Medina del Campo on 28 April 1504.[307] What is interesting is that the piece was referred to as Ottoman, not Chinese, perhaps due to the fact that Turkey had the best collection of Chinese blue-and-white at the time and because this particular piece might have been dispatched from there. But there is another explanation that cannot be ruled out: that the piece was an early example of Iznik blue-and-white pottery. As stated in the inventory, the piece was presented to the queen by her daughter María of Portugal. Indeed, most of the porcelain that reached Castile in the first decade of the sixteenth century did so via Portugal.

Although this period was marked by a confrontation between Spain and Turkey, there is evidence of the occasional gift to the Spanish monarchs from the Ottoman sultans. While visiting Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century, traveller Hieronimus Münzer (1437 or 1447–1508) commented that he was presented with a flask of musk and was told that 'the sultans sent the Catholic kings[308] a shipment of different balms and other gifts'.[309] Chinese porcelain must also have reached Castile from

pp. 574–77. See also a white bowl in the British Museum with gilt silver mounts including a stepped, domed lid and tall finial, two baroque filigreed handles and a pleated foot. Underglaze blue inside with eagle perched on a rock and waves in a roundel in the centre; see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=525342&objectid=3180121

[306] Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds.), *Encounters. The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800*, London, 2004, p. 50.

[307] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 1, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 178. Chamber of Queen Isabel of Castile. Accounts of Sancho de Paredes and Isabel de Cuello, his wife, and Violante de Albion, gentleman and ladies in waiting (*camareros*) of the Queen. Sections VII to CCCXXXV: '*Una porcelana grande blanca e azul otomana como una baçia, la qual enbió la señora Reyna de Portugal a la Reyna nuestra señora en servicio en una caxa de madera blanca*'.

[308] Isabella's husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, remarried Germaine of Foix (1488 – 18 October 1538) in 1505 after the death of his first wife, Isabella I of Castile. Some historians have mentioned that the couple had a porcelain collection but inventories of their possessions have not been found; see Leticia Arbeteta Mira, 'La invención de Oriente en la cultura europea', *Goya*, no. 293, 2002, p. 74.

[309] José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 1, Salamanca, 1999, p. 275.



Fig. 25. White bowl with incised lotus designs and Ottoman decoration of jewels between inlaid trelliswork and trefoils, Ming dynasty (1356–1644), late sixteenth century. D. 14.1 cm. Topkapi Saray Museum, Istambul. From Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 1, p. 477.

Portugal in the form of private trading in important commercial centres such as Medina del Campo (Valladolid), where a General Fair of the Kingdom used to be held annually in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Chapter 2. The Trade in Chinese Porcelain for Spain, p. 67).

Presents to the Catholic monarchs were also given by the Venetian ambassador, such as the piece posthumously presented to Violante de Albión, Queen Isabel's lady-in-waiting, in Medina del Campo on 30 April 1504: 'another large white porcelain with violet flowers inside and octagonal outside that is as big as a medium-size basin (*bacía*)',[310] and 'a large white porcelain with blue flowers like a whitish basin (*bacía*) with points on the border [foliated edge] that came from the Venetian ambassador'.[311] Diplomatic and commercial relations between the Venetian Doges and the Crown of Aragon were intense at this time. Italy was the main focus of the Catholic Kings's foreign policy and the most urgent matter at the time was the defence of Sicily (a territory belonging to the Kingdom of Aragon) after the Ottomans seized the city of Otranto in 1480. This common threat drew Spain, Venice and the Sultan of Egypt (the Ottomans' fiercest enemy east of the Mediterranean) closer together.[312] As stated earlier, Florence and Venice, more than any other cities in medieval Europe, had a high regard for Chinese porcelain and had important trade and diplomatic connections with the Middle East. Throughout the fifteenth century the Doge and the Lordship (*Signoria*) received Chinese porcelains as gifts from the sultans. But pieces must have also arrived in Venice via Fustat (Old Cairo) in Egypt, which stood at the westernmost end of the great Asian trade routes, and at the crossroads of commerce between the Levant, the Arabian peninsula and the East African coast. From Alexandria, Eastern goods were shipped across the Mediterranean to supply European cities. Most of the

[310] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 1, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 178: '*Otra porcellana grande blanca de unas flores cardenes por de dentro e por de fuera ochavada que es tan grande como una baçia mediana la qual dio en seruicio a Su alteza un enbaxador de Venecia*'.

[311] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 2, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 959 (1504–16). Accounts of Juan Velásquez [Royal Accountant], executor of Queen Isabella the Catholic, of the clothes, jewellery, ornaments, etc., in the Queen's chamber: '*Vna porcelana grande blanca labrada de vnas flores azules que es como vna baçia anacharada* (*anacarada*) *e por la falda unas puntas la qual dis que dio a su altesa en seruicio vn embaxador veneçiano*'.

[312] Fernando Checa (ed.), *Reyes y Mecenas, Los Reyes Católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1992, p. 88.

Asian products were then introduced to Spain by the so-called Merchants of the Levant, like Lorenzo de Garibaldo o Garibaldi, who supplied the Catholic queen with exotica.[313]

Therefore it is not surprising that Chinese porcelains are recorded in some Italian paintings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: in Mantegna's *Adoration of the Magi* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California), wise King Balthazar is presenting his gift of gold to the infant Christ in a blue-and-white bowl. One of the best known is Giovanni Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* (1514–29), where three porcelain vessels are depicted (fig. 26).[314] The subject in the painting derives from a poem called *The Feasts* (*Fasti*) by the Roman author Ovid (43 BC–AD 17). The scene is a banquet given by Bacchus, the god of wine, and attended by beautiful nymphs, gods and goddesses. It provided an ostentatious and luxurious décor for the private study of Alfonso D'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1476–1534):

> 'No expense was spared in the creation of the picture, which used copious quantities of costly pigments such as ultramarine blue, composed of lapis lazuli. This blue was employed to depict valuable commodities like silk, and the blue-and-white Chinese porcelain used for feasting. No fewer than three porcelain vessels are depicted, and they are large and showy pieces. The deep bowl presented by a naiad (nymph of streams and brooks) in the centre of the painting has a scrolling lotus painted inside and out. A satyr to her left balances a deep dish on his head. Its lotus-scroll decoration and form with flattened rim are similar to those of another dish in the foreground of the painting, loaded with luscious fruits'.[315]

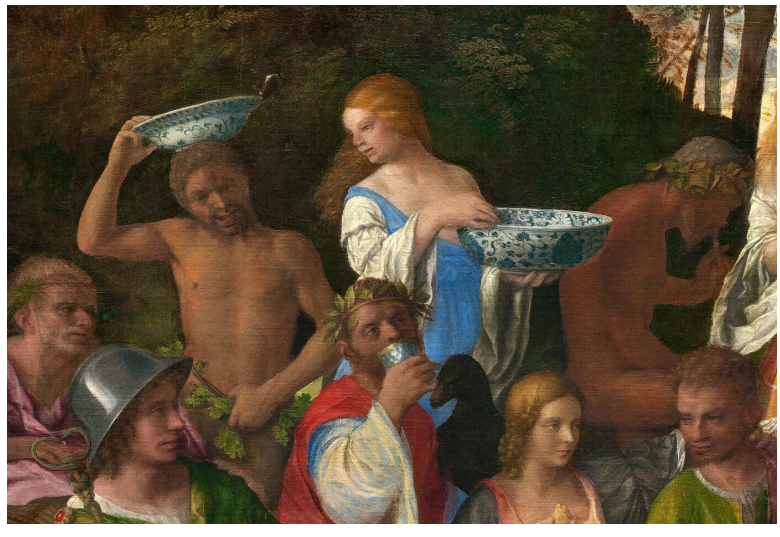


Fig. 26. Detail from Giovanni Bellini, *The Feast of Gods*, Oil on canvas; over-painted in 1521–22, 170,2 x 188 cm, Venice, 1514/1529. National Gallery, Widener Collection, Washington. Inv.no. 1942.9.1

Pieces like this type of large bowls were exported for the Middle East and were used for communal dining during the late fifteenth century.[316]

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[313] Arbeteta Mira, 2002, pp. 68–80.

[314] Watson, 1986, p. 12.

[315] Rose Kerr, 'Chinese Porcelain in Early European Collections', in Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds.), *Encounters. The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800*, London, 2004, p. 50.

[316] In 1487, the Sultan of Mamluk, Egypt, sent a gift to Lorenzo de' Medici of exotic animals and 'large vessels of porcelain, the like of which has never been seen'. By the mid-1500s, the Medici family's mostly Chinese porcelain collection was very large. Italian potters were able to create a soft-paste imitation of porcelain, and in 1574 Francesco de' Medici established two ceramic workshops in Florence to produce these wares. For Chinese porcelain in Italy, see Spallanzani, *op. cit.,* 1978; and by the same author, 'Le Porcellane Cinese donate a Cristiano di Sassonia da Ferdinando I de Medici', in *Faenza, Bollettino del Museo Internationale delle Ceramiche in Faenza*, Anno LXV, no. 6, 1979, pp. 382–89. For an overall study of Oriental ceramics in Florence, see Morena, 2005.

Back to Spain and to other documents relating to Queen Isabel the Catholic, we find that the accounts of Juan Velázquez, royal accountant and executor of the will of the queen, record that some pieces were sold to nobles to repay debts, as was customary at the time. In a document dated from 1505 to 1516, porcelain was mentioned in the following way:

> […] to Don Hernando de Vllon two porcelains [at] five *reales* each that are worth three hundred and forty *maravedíes*.[317] To the Count of Syruela five small porcelains worth eight hundred and thirty-three *maravedíes*. To Doña Catalina de Castilla one porcelain worth five hundred and ten *maravedíes*. To the said Doña Catalina another one worth two *ducats*. Alvaro de Lugo, one porcelain worth one hundred and seventy-two *maravedíes*. To Don Antonio Manrique two porcelains worth four hundred and forty-two *maravedíes*.[318]

As mentioned earlier the use of the word 'porcelain' in this and other inventories is ambiguous. The prices for these objects were very high in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, especially when compared to the prices of other basic goods such as a pair of adult rabbits that cost 7 *maravedíes* or a pound of oil for 6 *maravedíes*.[319] I am inclined to think that these 'porcelains' were silver vessels.

In the same inventory of Queen Isabel's possessions of 1505:

> A goblet of glass known as porcelain, with black and blue leaves of the same [material], without a lid, the foot being of silver, gilded and engraved with leaves or scales without enamel, the foot of the goblet weighing one mark and six eighths and a half; the foot of the piece is appraised at four *ducados* and the porcelain was appraised by Fernando Ballesteros for two hundred *maravedíes*, including its leather box and a lion with a cloth of marine blue colour on top of the lid.[320]

In this case it is not clear whether the piece was a glass or a porcelain goblet. White glass imitating porcelain was made in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, following those made at Murano (Venice). In 1504 seven bowls of counterfeit porcelain (*porcelana contrafacta*) were purchased in Venice on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara, and fourteen years later, Leonardo Peringer, a Venetian mirror-maker, wrote to the Senate about his discovery of a new way 'to make porcelain of any type like those transparent kinds from the Levant'.[321] In the following year, 1519, the agent of the Duke of Ferrara records buying for his master from a Venetian 'a small bowl of feigned porcelain'.[322] These imitations could have been opaque-white glass – the so-called *lattimo* glass – or early attempts to produce porcelain, because

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[317] The *ducado* or *ducat* was the Castilian unit of account (prior to 1537, a gold coin), worth 375 *maravedíes* (*mrv*), or 11 silver *reales*. Some other monetary units used in the sixteenth century were: 1 *real* = 34 *maravedíes* (*mrv*); 1 *escudo* = 400 *maravedíes* (*mrv*).

[318] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 6, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 189 (1505–16). Accounts of Juan Velázquez, executor of Queen Isabel of the jewellery, clothes and other objects in the Queen's chamber [Isabella of Castile].

[319] Earl Jefferson Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, New York, 1970. During the sixteenth century there was a steady price increase in all European countries: at the end of the century prices were three to four times higher than at the beginning of the century. Peter Kugler and Peter Bernholz, 'The Price Revolution in the 16th Century: Empirical Results from a StructuralVectorAutoRegression Model', in *Wirtschaftswissenschaftlicheszentrum der Universität Basel*, August 2007, pp. 1–19.

[320] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 3, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 81, fol 5: '*Una copa de vidrio que se llama porcelana, con unas hojas negras e azules de ello mismo, que no tiene sobrecopa, el pie de dicha copa es de plata, dorado e labrado de unas hojas o escamas sin esmalte, que peso el pie de la dicha copa solo por si un marco y seis ochavas e media; esta apreciada la hechura e oro del pie en cuatro ducados, la porcelana aprecio Fernando Ballesteros en doscientos maravedis, con su caja de cuero y encima del tapador un leon con su paño de naval*'.

[321] Hugh Tait, *The Golden Age of Venetian Glass*, London, 1979, p. 95.

[322] *Ibid*, p. 95.



Fig. 27. Venetian bowl, 1500, white glass (*lattimo*), with gilded and enamelled decoration. D. 14.1 cm. H: 5.9 cm. Corning Museum of Glass, New York. Inv.no.76.3.17.

the famous Medici porcelains imitating Chinese wares were only produced in Florence around 1575.[323]

In the glass section of another inventory of the Queen's possessions in 1503, her secretary described a piece as: 'a jug of white glass, the foot, the handle and the knob enamelled in the same glass'.[324] Queen Isabel was very fond of glass objects as Andrea Navagero, a nobleman from Murano and Venetian ambassador to Charles V, mentioned when he commented on her glass collection in the Royal Chapel of Granada Cathedral. Gaspar de Gricio, secretary to the Catholic kings, who inventoried the glass objects, was very specific in describing the different colours and textures: purple, blue, green, white or golden-brown (leonado). Two colours could also be combined as in 'a vessel of clear white glass having a gilded spout and black handles'.[325] Mottled glass was described as 'resembling chalcedony' or 'enamelled to resemble chalcedony'.[326] Decorations on Queen Isabel's glasses were gilt or painted in enamels, the favourite being white. The glasses had silver mounts or were set with precious stones. The decoration of gold foil and enamels in the shape of scales was very popular; see, for example, the bowl in fig. 27, the shape of which, except for the everted lip, shares a similar taste with the white Chinese bowl in the Topkapi Saray (fig. 25). The combination of white and gold must have appealed to the queen's taste. In the mid-sixteenth century Chinese porcelain with gold leaf decoration in the *Kinrande* style would be exported in response to this trend.

In an unpublished document of 1505 in the archive of Simancas dealing with Isabel's accounts, the scribe was very specific when he inventoried a number of pieces of porcelain some in blue,white and gold decoration and a brownish-green bowl. (see Documentary appendix 1, document 4).[327]

Chinese blue-and-white ewers with lids and spouts ornamented with an underglaze cobalt-oxide blue decoration that date to the beginning of the sixteenth century are still preserved in the Topkapi Saray in Istambul, as are plates, dishes and bowls. Jewelled porcelain – decorated with precious or semiprecious stones – mainly dates from the second half of the sixteenth century, although some pieces may have an earlier date. But because the gold was not specifically appraised in the inventory,

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[323] Morena, 2005, p. 28. See the square bottle with the arms of King Philip II of Spain in Fig. 5. The piece is preserved in the Musée National de Cerámique, Sèvres, France.

[324] Ferrandis, 1943, p. 69, Book of the Objects that were in the Treasury of the Alcaçares in the City of Segovia, November 1503: '*vn jarro de vidrio blanco el pie e el asa e los nudetes esmaltados del mismo vidrio*'.

[325] Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Barcelona Glass in Venetian Style*, New York, 1956, pp. 1–49.

[326] Frothingham, 1956, p. 6. This imitation of semi-precious stones – onyx, agate, and chalcedony – so popular at the time, was a tradition traceable to Roman glass manufacture. The Venetians revived the technique during the late fifteenth century.

[327] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 4, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 190. Recámara de la reina Isabel la Católica. 1505.

the pieces described in the queen's collection must have been gilded with gold leaf over the glaze.[328] In addition the scribe also uses the word 'porcelain' elsewhere to describe other shapes such as ewers or plates that were probably made of Chinese porcelain.

## *The Spanish Habsburgs in the Sixteenth Century*

### *Philip the Fair and Joanna the Mad*

Philip I, also known as Philip the Fair (22 July 1478 – 25 September 1506; in Spanish, 'Felipe el Hermoso'), Archduke of Austria, was the son of Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor. Through his mother, Mary of Burgundy, he inherited the greater part of the Burgundian state becoming Duke of Burgundy and Lord of the Netherlands, as he also took over the Burgundian Netherlands. In 1496 he married Joanna I of Spain and through his wife, he briefly succeeded to the Kingdom of Castile. He was the first Habsburg ruler in Spain and his successors recognised him as Philip I of Castile. He never inherited his father's territories, or became Holy Roman Emperor, because he predeceased his father. As no general inventory of his belongings has been preserved, there are very few documents related to the objects he came to own.[329] Among the pieces known to us are precious gold and silver reliquaries, images of Saints, cases, vessels, candelabra, jewels, tapestries, illuminated manuscripts and finally arms and suits of armour. As an example of the luxury and lavishness of his environment, complying with the Burgundian etiquette, Philip the Fair gave the powerful constable of Castile in the city of Burgos a banquet at which his gold service was displayed on 'a sideboard (*aparador*) that contained all his gold dishes'.[330] The courtier Antoine de Lalaing, also chronicles other luxurious banquets such as the one held in Toledo attended by the Catholic kings:

> Dignity was added to the dinner by the presence of five sideboards (*aparador*). The first one, which belonged to the King, contained from eight to nine hundred dishes, both in gilded silver and in other [types]. The second, owned by the Duke of Alba, had seven hundred dishes of gold and there were also six large gold cups. The third, belonging to the Duke of Béjar, was adorned with seven hundred pieces. The Count of Benalcázar had decorated the fourth *aparador* with six to seven hundred pieces, and the Earl of Oropesa had placed on the fifth one seven hundred pieces. When dinner was served, the dishes were taken from these *aparadores* and after dinner they were put back again to parade their wealth.[331]

In the first half of the sixteenth century objects made of gold, silver or precious stones ranked the highest in value and artistic aspects. Although appreciated, they were subordinate to the materials from which the works were made. A piece of porcelain with silver or gold mounts was appraised for more than plain porcelain. In addition, gold and silver dishes and plates used at the banquets could always be melted down if the need arose. The only piece of exotica that appears in the inventory is a gift sent by Philip's mother in-law, Queen Isabella the Catholic, of five chests with gold and silver objects together with perfumes and aromatic balsams of exotic provenance like benzoin or civet inside small gold receptacles or glass pots (*redomas*). [332]

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[328] For late Ming blue-and-white porcelain with jewelled decoration see Krahl and Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, pp. 835–68.

[329] A set of records referring to his father, Maximilian I, includes a list that appears to relate to Philip the Fair. See the essay by Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'Joanna I of Castile: The Inventory of the Queen's Artistic Property', in Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 875–912.

[330] Zalama, 2010, p. 883.

[331] Zalama, 'Felipe el Hermoso y las Artes', in *Felipe I el Hermoso. La belleza y la locura*, Madrid, 2006, p. 25.

[332] Zalama, 2010, p. 881.

Joanna I (6 November 1479 – 12 April 1555), called Joanna the Mad (*Juana La Loca*), reigned as Queen of Castile jointly with her husband Philip the Fair and later also together with her son the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. She was born in Toledo as the third child and second daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile of the Trastámara dynasty. One of the most complete known inventories of the first half of the sixteenth century is of her possessions, drawn up in 1545.[333] The inventory encompasses all the objects that were not considered significant but nevertheless were included in the inventory: every item was featured, even if damaged. Lists of dinner services, kitchenware and other utility wares were included. The catalogue of the queen's objects features many gold, silver and precious stone artefacts but very few objects from the Far East. As historian Miguel Angel Zalama explains: 'Juana's treasury was an accumulation of intrinsically valuable objects of uneven artistic worth. In this sense, her treasury was consistent with the medieval tradition of amassing – rather than collecting – objects'.[334] Although there is no mention of porcelain in Juana's inventories, there are references to exotic pieces such as goblets with 'pieces of unicorn' mounted in gold, reliquaries, precious stones purported to have magical or curative properties, and strings of pearls 'which appear to be from the Indies'.[335]

### *Margaret of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands and Guardian of her Nephew, the Future Emperor Charles V*

The inventory compiled for Princess Margarita, like that of her mother-in-law, is a key to understanding how patronage developed among the Hapsburgs in Spain. Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), the second child and only daughter of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, who married John, Prince of Asturias, the only son and heir of Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, left the Netherlands for Spain in 1496.[336] When she arrived at the Castilian court, she witnessed the splendour of the Catholic Kings and during the years she spent in Spain new objects from far distant countries were acquired. After being appointed Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands (1507–15) and guardian of her young nephew Charles (the future Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor), she ornamented her rooms in the Palace of Mechelen with a wide range of objects, including Flemish paintings and family portraits, sculptures, rock crystals and gems, liturgical objects, pre-Columbian artefacts, manuscripts and a small group of Chinese porcelains.[337] The impact of the new world she encountered in Spain explains her predilection for exotica and Asiatic merchandise. In her second inventory, compiled by Le Baron Davillier in 1882,[338] we find references to porcelain such as:

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[333] Ferrandis, 'Inventarios reales (Juan II a Juana la Loca)', in *Datos Documentales para la Historia del Arte Español*, vol. 3, Madrid, 1943, pp. 171–375. See the complete inventory in a recent publication by Fernando Checa Cremades, *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, vol. 1, Madrid, 2010, pp. 875–1197.

[334] Miguel Angel Zalama, *Vida Cotidiana y Arte en el Palacio de la Reina Juana I en Tordesillas*, Valladolid, 2000, p. 495.

[335] '*Un ylo de perlas que paresçen de las de las Indias dellas redondas e dellas berruecas que avía noventa e cinco perlas*', Miguel Angel Zalama, 2000, p. 383; see also by the same author, *Juana I en Tordesillas: su Mundo y su Entorno*, Valladolid, 2010.

[336] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Exótica Habsburgica. La Casa de Austria y las Colecciones Exóticas en el Renacimiento Temprano', in Alfonso Mola & Martínez Shaw (eds.), *Oriente en Palacio*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 27–43.

[337] Jordan and Pérez de Tudela, 2003, p. 27.

[338] '*Un Beau grand pot de porcelaine bleue a deux agneaux* (*anneaux*) *d'Argent. Deux autres petits pots de pourcelaine. Six plats et escuelles et salières de pourcelayne, de plusieurs sortes. Quatre autres moiens potz de pourcelayne. Ung pot de porcelaine, bien Beau, tirant sur gris. Siz petits crousetz de porcelayne, comprins ung moien. Une esguière de porcelayne sur gris,*

- A beautiful large pot of blue porcelain with two rings of silver.
- Two other small porcelain pots.
- Six dishes, bowls and salts cellars of porcelain of various types.
- Four other medium-size porcelain pots.
- A porcelain pot, very beautiful, of blue-grey colour.
- Six small porcelain crucibles [melting pots], one of them of medium size.
- A mounted ewer of blue-grey porcelain, the cover, the base, and the handle embellished with gilded silver, very well worked.
- Two other mounted ewers made of a type of blue porcelain, the lids embellished with gilded silver.
- A beautiful goblet of white porcelain, with a cover, with figures of men and women painted all around.

Again, porcelain was embellished with gilded silver mounts, but the scribe distinguished between grey, white and blue porcelains and emphasised the beauty of some of the mounts.[339]

### *Charles I of Spain and V of Germany and Isabella of Portugal*

Charles V (1500–58) was ruler of Spain (from 1516) and of the Holy Roman Empire (from 1519) until his abdication in 1556. As the heir of four of Europe's leading dynasties – the Habsburgs of Austria, the Valois of Burgundy, the Trastámara of Castile and of Aragon – he ruled over extensive domains in Central, Western and Southern Europe, as well as the Castilian (Spanish) colonies in the Americas. The reign of Charles V witnessed the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and this transformation is borne out in the shifting nature of art collecting during this period.[340]

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*garnie, le couvercle, le piez et le manche d'argent dorè, bien auvré. Deux aultres esguières d'une sorte de porcelayne bleue, garnies les couvecles d'argent doré. Ung Beau gobelet de porcelayne blanche*, à *couvercle, painct* à *l'entour de personnaiges d'hommes et de femmes*'. Le Baron M. Davillier, *Les origines de la porcelaine en Europe*, París, 1882, pp. 12, 13.

[339] Similar descriptions of the pieces of porcelain of Margaret of Austria can be found in the compilation of Margaret of Austria's inventories in Checa Cremades, 2010, such as the *Inventory of Tableware, Ceramics and Paintings in the Library*, Archives Départamentales du Nord, Lille, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no. 123962, 1520; Checa Cremades, vol. 3, 2010, p. 2402: '*vng gros pot de porcelain asure et ayant des ances d'argent et la couverde d'argent.- vng autre grant pot de porcelain qui est blue et blanc sans couverte*'. In the *Inventory of Tableware, Jewellery, Tapestries, Paintings and Other Objects* of 9 July 1523 and completed in Antwerp on 17 April 1524, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, in Checa Cremades, vol. 3, 2010, pp. 2449 and 2459 there are other descriptions such as: '*vng pot de pourcelaine sanc couuecle bien beau tyrant sur gris and vng beau goblet de pourcelain blanche*'. In the *Inventory of the Library*, in Checa Cremades vol. 3, 2010, pp. 2481 and 2492: '*vng pot de pourcelaine sanc couuecle bien beau tyrant sur gris, vne aultre esguiere de porcelain sus gris garnie, le couuecle, le pied et le manche dárgent dore bien ouure, deux aultres esguieres dune sorte de porcelain bleuue, garnies les couucles agent dorez, deux petites salieres de mesmes, don't les piedz sont de jaspe*'. See also the article by Dagmar Eichberger, 'Margaret of Austria and the Documentation of her Collection in Mechelen', in Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2351–63.

[340] The first publication to compile and transcribe the inventories of Charles V, his mother Joanna of Castile, his aunt Margaret of Austria, his wife Isabella de Portugal and his siblings can be found in Fernando Checa Cremades, *The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*, 3 vols., Madrid, 2010. See Helmut Trnek, 'Exótica in the *Kunstkamer* of the Habsburgs their Inventories and Collections', in *Exótica* 2001–2002, pp. 39–67.

The luxury and magnificence of Charles' court was evocative of the courts of his direct ancestors, the Dukes of Burgundy. Extant lists of Charles' objects include pieces stored in Coudenberg Palace and the many objects he inherited from his aunt Margaret who, as we have seen above, appreciated and used porcelain. The Duke of Berry, John of Valois, the Magnificent (1340–1416), introduced a new concept to collecting luxury objects in France, where exotic objects were treasured. One of the earliest documented porcelains to reach the West, the so-called Gaignieres-Fonthill Vase,[341] was in the duke's collection. The vase, made in China at the beginning of the fourteenth century, belonged to Louis the Great, King of Hungary (r. 1342–82). In 1381 the king had the vase mounted and sent it as a gift to King Charles III of Naples (r. 1381–86). The piece appeared in France in the inventory of the Duke of Berry in 1416. Records of the existence of the piece reappeared much later, in the collection of Chinese porcelain formed by the Grand Dauphin, heir to Louis XIV and his Spanish Habsburg wife María Theresa, daughter of King Philip IV of Spain. [342]

Although Charles V can hardly be described as a collector in the modern sense of the word, the objects assembled by him over the years make a very long list. The pieces that he took with him to his retirement place at the monastery of Yuste in Jarandilla de la Vera in Extremadura were only a small selection from the vast quantity of objects that he owned in his lifetime.[343] Although he appreciated exotic objects, especially from the newly discovered territories of Mexico and Peru,[344] the number of objects from the Far East (porcelain included) was relatively small.[345] Beurdeley mentions an order for a service of Chinese porcelain with the emperor's coat-of-arms that would later be found in the possession of the Elector of Saxony, but there is no evidence of such an order in any of the published

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[341] Arthur Lane, 'The Gaignieres-Fonthill Vase – A Chinese Porcelain of about 1300', in *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 103, London, 1961, pp. 124–32.

[342] Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, pp. 46–47.

[343] All the objects that belonged to the Emperor in the Monastery of Yuste were compiled by Vicente de Cadenas, *Hacienda de Carlos V al fallecer en Yuste*, Madrid, 1985. See also the complete inventory in Dolores María Mármol Marín, 'Inventario de los Bienes que quedaron de Carlos V en Yuste', in *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía*, vol. 10, no. 19, Madrid, 2001, pp. 3–57. See also Louis-Prosper Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste: Lettres inédites pub. d'après les originaux conservés dans les archives royales de Simancas*, Brussels, 1855; and Juan José Martín González, 'El palacio de Carlos V en Yuste', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 23, Madrid, 1950, pp. 27–51 and 235–51; vol. 24, 1951, pp. 125–40.

[344] The end of the 1540 inventory, registered in Brussels, has a section listing jewels, feathers of various colours, mirrors, gold collars, abundant emerald heads mounted in gold and other gold objects, probably brought by Hernan Cortés from Mexico in 1520; see Checa Cremades, 'Emperor Charles V: Inventories, Possessions and Collections', in Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia Imperial*, vol. 1, Madrid 2010, p. 64. For a description of Charles V's Hispano-American objects, see Paz Cabello, 'Los Inventarios de objetos Incas pertenecientes a Carlos V. Estudio de la colección, traducción y transcripción de los documentos', in *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 2, Madrid, 1994, pp. 33–61. Juan Luis González García, `Charles V and the Habsburg Inventories. Changing Patrimony as Dynastic Cult in Early Modern Europe' in RIHA JOURNAL 12, nov, 2010, http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/gonzalez-garcia-charles-v-and-the-habsburgs-inventories.

[345] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Almudena Pérez de Tudela mention some Chinese porcelain collected by the Emperor in their article 'Exótica Habsburgica. La casa de Austria y las colecciones exóticas en el Renacimiento temprano', in Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw (eds.), 2003, pp. 27–43, listed in the Archives Générales du Royaume, Bruselles, Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience, 1193, fols. 6, 106 and 106v, 107, 122–133v, but in the recent publication by Fernando Checa Cremades, 2010, which includes the complete known inventories of Charles V, the only two porcelain piece mentioned is in the AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1145. fol. 278, and described in the text; see footnote 351.

inventories,[346] in the Dresden collections or elsewhere.[347] Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa (1607–81), who dedicated his entire life to collecting marvels, curiosities, antiquities and books in his palace of Huesca (Aragon province), is said to have had two complete services, one of them from China, which would have been presented to one of his ancestors by the emperor himself.[348] However, after checking the inventory of goods of this eminent collector, no service was found among the registered objects.[349]

We know that Charles V, who visited Portugal on several occasions, was familiar with Chinese porcelain, as he used it on occasions such as at the banquet celebrating the birth of his sister Catherine's fifth son. Food and wine were served on Chinese Ming porcelain and in gold cups.[350] However, the only objects found in the entire body of inventories were the following as registered by the *Contaduría Mayor* section in the fortress of Simancas on 22 of February 1561:

> Juanin and François are in charge of two jars (*barriles*) made of porcelain clay, adorned in silver with their chains and silver lids in blue velvet cases with tassels of the same velvet, which were received in the fortress of Simancas by María Escolastre together with other goods that were in her possession in the fortress, before the scribe Juan Rodríguez on 22 February 1561.[351]

The term 'porcelain clay' indicates that the body of the pieces were made of porcelain and the reference to the 'barrel shape' of the objects suggests that they resembled a *guan*-type jar. These two pieces were deposited at the Simancas fortress and were handed over by María Escolastre, widow of Petijuan, keeper of the Emperor's armoury, to jewel keepers Juanín Esterch and François Mengale and sold off between 1558 and 1560. Several sales of the Emperor's objects were held, for example, at the Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid – where the possessions previously in Simancas fortress were deposited together with those from the monastery of Yuste – and other sales in Madrid at the Convent of San Francisco and the La Latina Hospital. These last sales were attended by King Philip II, who acquired tapestries and textile items, but there is no mention of any 'barrels' or jars mounted in silver and only a large 'barrel' with handles is described in Philip II's inventory of 1602.[352]

The inventory of King Philip II, Charles V's son, mentions a dish and ewer that belonged to the emperor made of brownish-grey pottery from the Indies, mounted in damascene – iron or steel inlaid or applied with gold or silver wires – and inlaid with garnets and turquoise. The ewer's foot, handle, spout, lid and chain were gold, the knob on the lid, was a pearl (fig. 28). These valuable pieces were stored in two boxes with green velvet and golden braids that were appraised at 50 ducats.[353] In

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[346] Checa Cremades, 2010, vol.1, pp. 75–834.

[347] Michael Beurdeley, *Porcelaine de les Compagnies des Indes*, Fribourg, 1982, p. 88.

[348] Fernando Checa and Miguel Morán, *El coleccionismo en España*, Madrid, 1985, p. 198.

[349] Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, *Descripción del Palacio y los Jardines de Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa*, 1650. See the full inventory, preserved by the Hispanic Society of America, at www.lastanosa.com. Manuscript B-2424, fols. 24–51v.

[350] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Verdadero padre y señor: Catalina de Austria, reina de Portugal', in Fernando Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2983–3013.

[351] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 13, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1145, fol. 278: '*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 parecio por el entrego que de ello se les hizo el 22 de febrero de 1561 ante el dicho Juan Rodriguez, escribano*'.

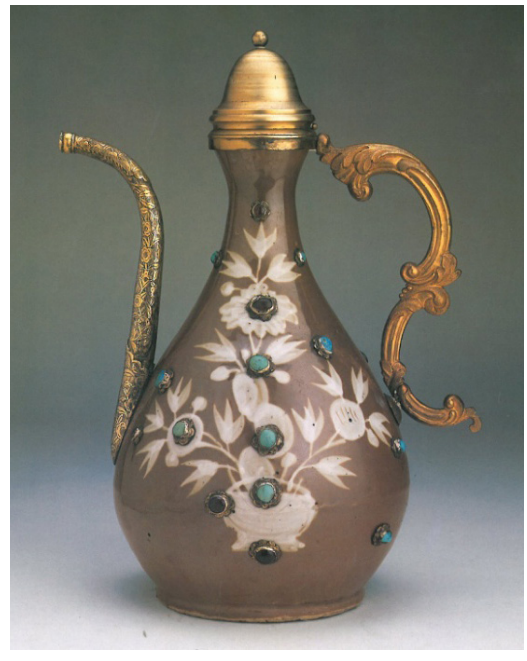
[352] Documentary Appendix 1 Document 20, AGP, Testament of King Philip II, Volume II, 1602. Fol. 848v: 'A large barrel, with two handles of the same clay, appraised at two *reales*' ('*un barril grande, con dos asas del mismo barro, tasado en dos reales*').

[353] Sánchez Cantón, vol. 1, Madrid, 1956–59, p. 4, item 2691: '*Una fuente y aguamanil de barro pardo de la Yndia,*

contrast to the scarcity of Chinese porcelain owned by the Emperor, Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo (1484–1553), Viceroy of Naples, and uncle of the Duke of Alba, and his contemporary, had 67 porcelains (blue-and-white and mounted celadons) in his palace of Castel Nuovo.[354] As was mentioned earlier, although a great number of Emperor Charles V's post-mortem inventories have been published recently,[355] there are still many documents in Lille (France) that would have to be consulted to know more about the Chinese porcelain in his possession during his lifetime.

Fig. 28. Ewer shaped as a brown-glazed porcelain bottle with a decoration of flowerpots in a white slip. The bowl is enamelled turquoise. Both pieces with Ottoman metal mounts and jewelling of turquoise and garnets. H. 31.5 cm (ewer) and D. 12 cm (bowl). Second half of the Ming dynasty (1356–1644). Topkapi Saray museum, Istambul. From Ayers & Krahl, 1986, vol. 2, p. 479. These pieces are examples of the types described in the text.





The art collection of Empress Isabella of Portugal, wife of Charles V,[356] was of the medieval treasury type with jewellery being the most valuable items in her collection, together with garments, liturgical vestments, linen, tapestries, rugs and furniture and silver.[357] Paintings and sculpture were scarce. However, being a Portuguese monarch, her collection included a good number of pieces of Chinese porcelain. In the section in the archive of Simancas that relates to her household, dated 1539, we

*labrado todo de atauxia de oro, lleno de granates y turquesas. El aguamanil tiene el pie y asa y la boca de la gorgola* (*gárgola*) *y el tapador y una cadenilla de que se ase toda de oro, con una perla por remate el tapador y otra en la gorgola* (*gárgola*). *En sus caxas cubiertas de terciopelo verde con guarniciones doradas y pasamanos en oro. Que fue del Emperador Nuestro Señor. No. 1. En cofre no. 9. Son de este año* [*sic por de staño*] *barnizado. Tasado fuente y aguamanil en cincuenta ducados*'.

[354] Silvana Musella Guida, 'Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo. Ritrato di un príncipe nell Europa rinascimentale', in *Samnium*, vols. 81–82, nos. 21–22, 2009, pp. 239–353.

[355] Checa Cremades, 2010/1.

[356] Various recent studies have dealt with her collection: María José Redondo Cantera, 'Formación y gusto de la colección de la emperatriz Isabel de Portugal', in IV Jornadas de Arte. *El Arte en las Cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II*, Madrid, CSIC, 1999, pp. 225–36; María del Carmen Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel de Portugal, Emperatriz y Reina de España*, Madrid, 1951; and María José Redondo Cantera, 'The Inventories of Empress Isabella of Portugal', in Fernando Checa Cremades, 2010, pp. 1245–78. The second volume deals with the inventories of Isabella of Portugal.

[357] As in previous inventories, silver objects predominate. The list includes a gala silver service that was gilded or enamelled and comprised different objects such as ewers, dishes, goblets, salts, cups, jugs and many other shapes. Surprisingly elaborate, for example, would have been a pair of large *confiteros* jar that weighed 17 kilograms and were appraised at 1,100 *ducados*. The value of that whole service was nearly 8 million *maravedíes*.

find references to porcelain specifically kept in Queen Isabella's *recámara* – normally identified with the treasury where the precious objects were stored – that were left in the care of her lady-in-waiting, Mencía de Salcedo. There were:

- A box with a glass porcelain and a glass goblet.
- Another chest with a lock and key with five large porcelains and a porcelain jar (*tinaja*) with its lid.
- Another two porcelain jars (*tinajas*) with their lids.
- Thirty-one pieces of porcelain of all kinds of which three are earthenware.
- A chest with its lock and key, full of jars and other pieces of pottery from Estremoz, which were kept for the Prince and Princess.
- A box with four porcelains.
- Another box with three porcelains.
- A wooden white box, round, with five porcelains.
- Four red jars from the Indies with four boxes; one is broken.
- Three white wooden boxes that contain small porcelains from the Indies and spoons and trinkets (*brinquitos*), the spoons with rubies and adorned with gold and silver.[358]

It is interesting to find 'little porcelains from the Indies' next to spoons and trinkets, '*brinquitos*',[359] a Portuguese term that in this context means 'small ceramic toys', which could have been shaped as a lion, dog, or other figures. That they are all in one box suggests that they were probably used by children together with the mentioned spoons decorated with rubies, gold and silver. In another document drawn up by the treasurer Francisco Pessoa, dated 1539–48, regarding the auction (*almoneda*) of the goods of Isabella of Portugal a few porcelain objects are recorded as having been sold to nobles and other persons.[360]

An object from China was registered as 'a coffer from China gilded with three knockers and locks all in silver that was sold to the Earl of Olivares for fifteen *ducados* (5625 *maravedíes*)'. What is remarkable and worth highlighting, is that even broken porcelain could be sold in 1539–48 just before the Portuguese and Spaniards settled permanently in Macao and Manila. However, compared with the porcelain in the previous appraisal of the Catholic Kings, pieces were still not expensive; for example, 6 porcelain plates for 4 *ducados* (one *ducado* equalling 11 silver *reales*), and a porcelain plate worth a slightly more than 7 *reales*. Although it is difficult to compare isolated examples, these prices seem quite low compared to porcelain sold in Lisbon in 1541 that could range between 50 and 100 *ducados*.[361]

### *Charles V's Siblings*

Charles V's immediate family played an important role in his private and public life. As mentioned above he grew up with his siblings at the Mechelen court under the guardianship of his aunt Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) who would later assume important political functions during his life. His four

[358] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 8, AGS, Legajo 67-3, fols. 198v–203v. 1539.

[359] *Brinco*: This term had two meanings: one was small items of jewellery worn by women, but in Portuguese it could also mean 'small ceramic toys'.

[360] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 10, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 552, 1539–48.

[361] Jörg, 2007, p. 10.

sisters were Leonor of Austria, Queen of Portugal, wife by her first marriage to Manuel I, and Queen of France by her second marriage to François I; Isabella of Austria, Queen of Denmark; Mary of Hungary, future Regent of the Netherlands; and Catherine of Austria, who would be the future Queen of Portugal through her marriage to John III. His younger brother was Ferdinand I, who will become King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526, King of Romans in 1531 and, finally, Emperor of the Holy Empire in 1558.

### *Leonor of Austria*

Leonor of Austria (1498–1558) was Charles V's eldest sister. She married King Manuel I of Portugal in 1518. Nine years after the king's death in 1521 she married François I of France on 4 July 1530.[362] Very few documents record Leonor's personal belongings; among them is an inventory of jewels, gold and silver she brought from Flanders as part of her dowry and a list of Indian gems, pearls and diamonds given to her by her husband, the Portuguese king.[363] Unfortunately her inventories are largely incomplete and thus it is impossible to know the kind of Oriental objects she possessed during her life.

### *Isabella of Austria*

The collecting tastes of Isabella of Austria (1501–26), who married Christian II of Denmark in Copenhagen in 1515, are also difficult to establish, as the sources are very sparse. All that has survived are a few lists of personal treasures, jewellery and furniture, which they took with them in 1523 the Netherlands and Germany, but no exotica is registered.[364]

### *Mary of Hungary*

Mary of Hungary (1505–58), Regent of the Netherlands from 1531 to 1555, was a leading Habsburg patron of the arts. Her tapestry collection was one of the most important at the time. On her death she left it to her niece Joanna of Austria, daughter of Charles V, and it later passed to Philip II. Today it forms the nucleus of the famous tapestry collection in the Spanish Royal Palace in Madrid. Like other monarchs, she also had a treasury of gold and silver objects; in fact, she had hundreds of goblets, vases, dishes and plates purchased each year from Antwerp silversmiths and dealers, which were used as table silver for banquets but were also sound investments.[365] She had a few pieces from the East such as a black horn from the Indies mounted in silver with its lid and with three legs of silver; and some porcelain objects, including a small white porcelain ewer with a foot, handle and spout in gilded silver and a six-sided foot, and two blue porcelain ewers with spouts and lids, decorated in gold and with silver mounts.[366] This piece could have been a *Kinrande*-type ewer decorated with underglaze cobalt blue.

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[362] François I (1515–47) dispatched his agent, Antoine de Conflans, to Lisbon to buy elephants and other exotic animals for his menagerie at Amboise. He also sent a letter to King Manuel I in advance, asking him about the likelihood of buying various Oriental products; see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Rarities and Novelties', in Jackson and Jaffer (eds.), 2004, pp. 32–43.

[363] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Ma Meilleur Seur: Leonor of Austria, Queen of Portugal and France', in Checa Cremades, vol. 3, 2010, p. 2573. On the other hand, we know that her second husband, King François I of France, acquired Indian, Chinese and Turkish luxury goods for his Cabinets of Curiosity at both Fontainebleau and Louvre.

[364] Jorgen Hein, 'Isabella of Austria, Queen of Denmark', in Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2601–38.

[365] See article by Bob C. van den Boogert, 'Mary of Hungary as Patron of the Arts`, in Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2807-2980, and inventories.

[366] *Ibid.*, p. 2894. AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1093, 1558: '*yten vna porcelana blanca, a manera de jarra, con pie, asa e cobertor e beuedero de plata dorada. El pie de seis esquynas. - yten dos aguamanyles de porcelana açul, chatos, guarnesçido el tapador y beuedero de plata y pintadas de oro la mesmas porzelanas*'.

### *Catherine of Austria*

Catherine of Austria (1507–78), the youngest (posthumous) daughter of Philip the Fair (1478–1506) and Joanna the Mad (1479–1555) and married to John III of Portugal, collected exotic objects and porcelain. She owned one of the largest collections of non-Western art in the first half of the sixteenth century. Her collection included precious, exotic and rare objects imported from the Portuguese colonies, and her direct access to Eastern wares available in Lisbon was one of her greatest advantages. As a result she was able to send exotic gifts to her Habsburg relatives in Spain.[367] She owned and used imported objects such as Chinese silks, jewellery, quilts and crystal utensils made in India, and furniture and ivory fans from China.[368] The first reference to China in Catherine's documents is a cargo of 53 *covads*[369] of silk recorded on 30 August 1528, being illicit trade at that time. In an official receipt (*carta de quitaçao*) of 1548, signed by the Queen's chamber scribe, Pero Fragoso, and by Catherine's majordomo, Fernando de Faro, records a number of exotic objects, including eleven porcelain vessels made with various decorative techniques, not only blue-and-white but also semi-precious stones in the Turkish style.[370]

We also know that she bought 320 pieces of Ming porcelain for her table in 1555 and commanded her treasurer Alfonso de Cunigua to make the payment and take them to the palace.[371] The pieces cost 22,400 *reales* – calculated at 1,400 *reales* for each '*corja*' (batches of 20 pieces).[372] The acquisition of such an important quantity of porcelain at such an early stage, before the Portuguese settled in Macao in 1557, indicates that porcelain supplies were regular by then. This treasurer, however, does not mention any of the shapes or the decorations on the pieces but remarks that they were used as a tableware service. If so, this would be the first instance of a service for a member of the Habsburg royal family. She also sent Chinese porcelain as gifts to her relatives, and some were given away



Fig 29. Blue-and-white bowl, second quarter of the sixteenth century with Portuguese mounts dated 1554. Civico Museum, Bologna. Inv. no. 1245. From Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, 2003, p. 30.

[367] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household: Its Character and Cost*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor, 1994, pp. 8–10. Also Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'O Fascínio de Cipango. Artes Decorativas e Lacas da Asia Oriental em Portugal, Espanha e Austria (1511–98)', in *Os Constructores do Oriente Português*, Porto, 1998, pp. 195–227, pp. 406–11.

[368] Jordan, 1994, pp. 38–89; and Jordan, 1996, pp. 82–127.

[369] Coved = Cubit, a unit of length based on the length of the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.

[370] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Verdadero padre y señor: Catalina de Austria, reina de Portugal', in Fernando Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, (pp. 3015–44), p.3022.

[371] Jordan, 1998/1, p. 206.

[372] Torre do Tombo/ Corpo Cronologico, I, Maço 96, Document 147: '*vinte e dous mil e coatrozentos e vi˜ters. em cõpra de dezasseis corjas de porzelanas de de mil e coatroze˜tos rs corja que somão vi˜te e dous mil e coatroze˜tos e os vi˜te rs forão de as leuar Ao paço. xxij˜ iiij ' xx rs*'.

as diplomatic presents, one of which was a Ming blue-and-white bowl, dated to the Jiajing period (1522–66), in the Museo Civico in Bologna, which probably came from the collection of either John III (1502–57) or Catherine of Austria. The bowl was a gift to Pompeo Zambeccari, Papal Nuncio in Portugal from 1550 to 1553, before he returned to Italy with other goods from Portugal (fig. 29).[373]

Another document records a large shipment of Chinese porcelain for Catherine of Austria in 1562.[374] In the list, Alfonso de Cuniga, the queen's treasurer, is in charge of several objects, including a number of porcelains:[375]

- Two ewers full of tamarinds.
- Two cases (*bucetas*) of octagonal porcelains with lids.
- A porcelain chamber pot with its lid
- Four porcelain jars.
- Two larger jars.
- Sixty rose porcelains [porcelanas de rosas?].
- Forty serpent porcelains[porcelanas de sierpe?].
- Six pieces of porcelain.

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[373] Jordan Gschwend, 1996, pp. 112–13. See also Sir J. Home, 'A Ming Bowl at Bologna', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 13, 1935–36, pp. 30–31, pl. 5.

[374] Jordan Gschwend discovered Document no. 66, no. 14101, in the archive of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, which contains of a list of porcelain containers that arrived in Lisbon in 1562 and were given to her apothecary Joana Gonçalvez on 29 March 1563. She kindly made it available to me for this dissertation.

[375] Document no. 66, no. 14101 in the archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon: Maço 106, No. Suc 14101: '*Alvara da Rainha pª seus Contadores levar*[*em*] *em. Conta a Affonso de Cuniga seu Thezorº conthido no Rol asima. A 29 de Março de 563*[*invertido*]. *rovisão pera as porcelanas e o tras cosas – que vierõ no ano de 1562 Rol das porcelanas que vierã da Imdia o anno pasado de 562*: *item duas jaras cheas de tamarynhos item duas bucetas de porcelanas cubertas oytauadas*; *item hũ seruydor de porcelana cõ sua cubertoura*; *item quatro peças de boyões de porcelana*; *item Duas peças de Boyões mayores*; *item tres corjas de porcelanas de Rosas*;*item duas corjas de porcelana de Serpe*; *item Seys peças de porcelanas*; *item duas corjas de porcelana† de coraes*; *Item Dez peças de porcelanas mays*; *Item hũa mão de canefystulla*; *Item hũa buceta dourada ẽ que veyo certo amber*; *Comtadores de minha casa. mãdouos que per este soo mẽte semmays outro mandado nem conhecimento leueys em comta* [*a*] *Afonso de cunhigua que serue de meu tisoureiro todalas porcelanas e mays cousas comteudas nas doze adições em cima escrytas que per meu mandado verbal ẽtregou a Joana glzˆ que tem carguo da minha Botiqua de que se não fez nhũa Receyta pollo ?antes? aver por bem. E este não pasara pella chamcelaria*; *Bastião d† †† o fez em lixboa A xxix de Março de myl bc sesenta* [*††e tres*]*raynha pera leuarem ẽ comta a fonso de cunhigua per este soo mente todalas porcelanas E mays cousas conteudas nas xij adições acima escrytas que ẽtregou a Joana glzˆ que tem cargo da botiqua E que não pase*'. Translation from Portuguese to Spanish of Maço 106, Document 66, No. 14101: '*Licencia de la Reina para sus Contadores llevar*[*en*] *en cuenta a Alfonso de Cuniga su tesorero contenido en la lista arriba el 29 de marzo de 1563*[*al contrario*] *Provisión para las porcelanas y otras cosas – que vinieron en el año de 1562*: *item dos jarras llenas de tamarindos*; *item dos cajas de porcelana cubiertas ochavadas*; *item uno orinal de porcelana con su tapadera*; *item cuatro piezas de tarros de porcelana*; *item dos piezas de tarros mayores*; *item 60 porcelanas de rosas*;*item 40 porcelanas de sierpe*; *item seis piezas de porcelana*; *item 40 porcelanas de corales*;*item diez piezas de porcelana más*; *item una mano de cañafístula*; *item una caja dorada en la qual veo cierto ámbar*; *Contadores de mi casa, mandovos que por esta* [*licencia*] *solamente y sin outro mandato ni conocimiento levéis en cuenta* [*a*] *Alfonso de Cuniga, que es mi tesorero, todas las porcelanas y más cosas contenidas en los doce sumandos escritos arriba, quepor mi mandato verbal entrego a Joana Gonçalvez que tiene cargo de la mi botica, de que no se ha hecho ninguna receta por ?antes? lo haber por bien. Y esta no pasará por la contaduría*; *Bastião d† †la hice en Lisboa el 29 de marzo de 156*[*3*].*Reina Por levaren en cuenta a Alfonso de Cuniga per esta solamente todas las poecelanas y más cosas contenidas en los doce sumandos escritos arriba que entrego a Joana Gonçalvez que tiene cargo en la botica. E que no pase por la c*[*ontaduría*]'. I am grateful to Professor Margarida Alpalhão for helping to translate this document.

- Forty coral porcelains.
- Ten more porcelain pieces.

This document lists the objects the queen sent to her apothecary Joana Gonçalvez on 29 March of 1563. The porcelain was probably ornamented with flowers, dragons or *qilins* (mythical animal) and coral in red or early monochrome red.

### *Ferdinand I, Archduke of Austria*

Ferdinand I (1501–64), Emperor of the Holy Empire, King of Bohemia and Hungary and Archduke of Austria, did not own much exotica from the Far East but he did have a few objects from Mexico such as a cape made of coloured feathers and lined with tiger skin that belonged to Montezuma, Turkish and Indian arrows, and a Moresque *gumia*, a type of weapon.[376] Like the princesses, he had silver tableware, but his inventories do not include porcelain.[377]

### *Charles V's Descendants in Spain*

### *King Philip II of Spain*

When Philip II ascended to power in 1556, Spain intensified its contact with the newly discovered territories, and this humanist prince who had travelled to Italy, Germany, England and the Low Countries, was in charge of a vast cultural area and was interested in the sciences and arts. The New World was clearly a major inspiration for the imagination and as Spain had gradually established connections with America and the Far East, the 'exotic' had begun to form part of the king's daily life. For Philip II, collecting was more than just a personal pastime, for he was a major patron and the most important collector of the arts of all the Spanish Habsburgs. In the second half of the sixteenth century he developed different projects to embellish the court by constructing new palaces and enhancing their decoration. He had well-defined art interests such as collecting paintings and books, two areas that fascinated him.[378]

When Philip II decided to move his court to Madrid in 1561, the Alcázar[379] became the principal dwelling of the Spanish Habsburgs.[380] Until its destruction in 1734, it yielded its primacy as the

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[376] Friedrich Edelmayer, 'Ferdinand I and his Inventories', in Checa Cremades vol. 3, 2010/1, pp. 2653–88.

[377] Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2689–2788: Inventario de vajillas, telas, prendas de vestir y otros objetos. Österreischische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, CVP. 7871 (1522–24).

[378] Henry Kamen, 'El mundo de Felipe II', in *Felipe de España*, Madrid, 1998, pp. 199–200. See Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'La decoración pictórica del Alcázar de Madrid durante el reinado de Felipe II', in Krista De Jonge, Bernardo José García García and Alicia Esteban Estríngana, *El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia Cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias* (*1454-1648*), Madrid, 2010, pp. 109–41.

[379] The Alcázar, a medieval fortress in Madrid was going to be the heart of the Spanish Empire during Habsburg rule. It was built between 850 and 886 by Emir Muhammad ben Abd al-Raman and was converted into a medieval fortress during the rule of the House of the Trastámaras in the eleventh century. However, little is known of its history before the Habsburg accession, except that the kings of Castile had used it as one of the temporary residences for their itinerant courts. Charles V began its extension and renovation, which continued during the reign of Philip II, who lived here from 1561 onwards.

[380] Also for a man interested in geomantic principles, his rational planning based on centrality was most convenient. Jonathan Brown and J.H, Elliott, *Un Palacio para el rey. El Buen Retiro y la Corte de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1981, p. 3.

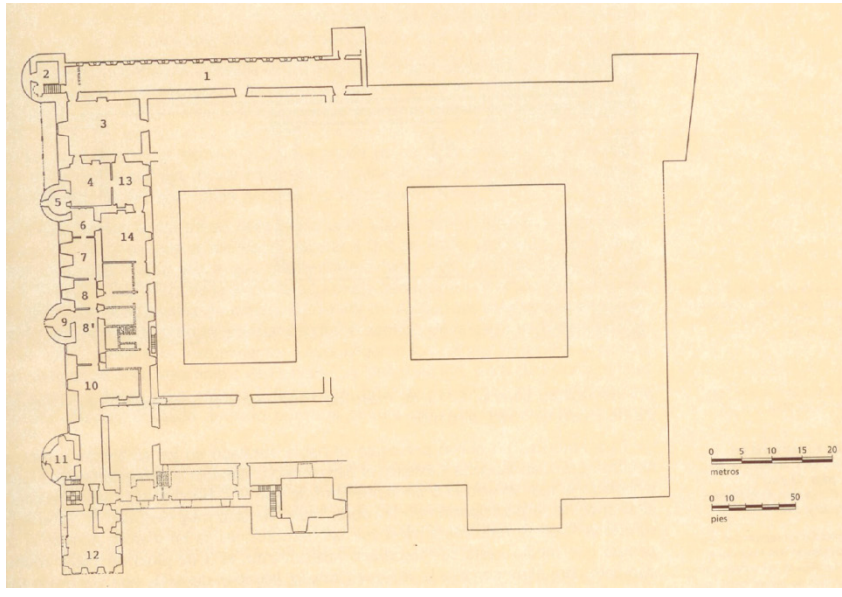



Fig. 30. Private quarters of King Philip II in the Alcázar Palace, Madrid. 1. Cierzo Gallery. 2. Gilded Tower (I). 3. Reception chamber or 'Quadra del rey'. 4. Audience chamber. 5. Passage Cube. 6. Small room. 7. Dining room. 8. Other dining rooms. 9. Room for architectural plans or '*trazas*'. 10. Gilded Gallery. 11. Stove (in Gómez de Mora map of 1626 this is the 'room where different things are kept that are pleasing or useful to the King). 12. New Golden Tower. 13. Antechamber. 14. Toilet. From Barbeito, 1992, p. 43.

capital only once, when Philip III moved the court to Valladolid from 1601 to 1606.[381] According to several visitors of the time, Philip II's Alcázar housed treasures from all over the world. It was here where he kept the most important collection of Chinese porcelain in contemporary Europe, consisting of slightly more than 3,000 pieces. Thanks to the account by the German traveller Diego de Cuelvis about his visits to the Alcázar in Madrid from 1599 to 1600, we know something about the way the Western and exotic objects were arranged in the palace. Unfortunately there are no references in Cuelvis's account to any of the Chinese porcelain that appears in the inventory.[382]

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[381] José Manuel Barbeito, *El Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 63–68; and Veronique Gerard Powell, 'La decoración del Alcázar de Madrid y el ceremonial en tiempos de Felipe II', in Fundación Argentaria/Visor (ed.), *Felipe II y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1998; and by the same author, *De castillo a palacio. El Alcázar de Madrid en el siglo XVI*, Bilbao, 1984.

[382] Diego de Cuelvis, *Tesoro Chorografico de las Espannas por el Señor Diego Cuelvis* (*Diary* of a Journey *through Spain and Portugal in the years 1599 and 1600*), Leipzig. Manuscript in the British Museum, Ms. Harl. 3822. The author consulted manuscript no. 18,472 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (S.I.), which is a translation by Joel Loris from the original manuscript in the British Museum dated to the nineteenth century. No precise date is given. The king ordinarily lived on the ground floor of the '*quadra del rey*' (King's Quarter), a square room for private audiences decorated, according to Cuelvis, with a Chinese painting – unfortunately he doesn't comment on the subject – grotesque figures, probably by Archimboldo – and paintings of birds and people. Cuelvis also refers to the *recámara* or *guardajoyas* (treasury) where the most luxurious objects were kept, which was situated in two rooms on the west side of the palace that corresponded to Gilded Tower I, a small and rounded old defence tower: 'Near the bedroom of the King, there is a mirror on the right hand side and the wall looks like glass, an esteemed treasure. There are three chains of the Golden Fleece made of fine gold, also stones and diamonds… one is worth 500,000 ducats… There is a pearl that is called the orphan because it is alone and has no sister, worth 50,000 ducats… The King of Spain has more boxes and silver chests full of precious stones that come from the Indies…'. Cuelvis does not refer in his account to Chinese porcelain, which would be registered later in the inventories, probably because he did not visit the ground floor of the new Golden tower, where the majority was gathered and which would undoubtedly have impressed Cuelvis, as it was later specified in the inventories. There were other Oriental items in the Alcázar such as 'a chair from India with a gilt laquered back', and paintings of Indian birds and coloured animals on paper from India. These last objects appear in the inventory of 'Extraordinary Things that were in the Tower Room', in AGP, Legajo 919, transcribed in Pérez de Tudela, 2010, p. 122. Unfortunately this inventory does not mention any porcelain.

According to the inventory, a total of 3,181 pieces of porcelain were deposited in the so-called *pieza de la torre*, also called 'Golden Tower II' or 'New Tower II', a large square room in the south wing of the palace (fig. 30).[383] So many objects would have required ample storage space and this second tower would have been suitable for that purpose. Baltasar Porreño,[384] a priest who wrote in the seventeenth century about different deeds of King Philip II, 'the Sensible King', or *Rey Prudente*, described a room on the ground floor of the new square tower, where the king's collection of Venetian glass was housed. The king remarked that the glass collection, which was placed on walnut shelves,[385] looked beautiful from the gardens.[386] Indeed among the inventoried porcelains there are several pieces of Venetian glass, but the scribe inventoried the entire collection of Venetian glass, directly after the porcelain. It is possible that this lower area in the square tower contained the king's Venetian glass and Chinese porcelain collection, although unfortunately there is no reference to Chinese porcelain in Porreño's descriptions of the Palace (fig. 31).



Fig. 31. The 'Golden Tower II' or 'New Golden Tower'. Fragment of the drawing by A. Wingaerde of the Alcázar's façade. National Library of Vienna.
From Barbeito, 1992, p. 36. This tower is nº 12 in the previous illustration.

[383] This second tower, also called 'Tower Room II' or 'New Tower', on the southern corner, was square and much larger. The interior was decorated by painters such as Gaspar Becerra, Rómulo Cincinatto and Patricio Caxesi, and the marble and jasper for the chimneys and lining on the lower part of the walls and in the corners were sculpted by the Italians Juan Antonio Sormano and Juan Bautista Bonanome.

[384] I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela, curator of the Monastery of El Escorial, for her suggestions on this matter; see also Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del Señor Rey Don Felipe Segundo. El Prudente, Potentísimo y Glorioso Monarca de las Españas y de las Indias*. Madrid, 2001, p. 38.

[385] Objects in the *Kunstkammer* in Dresden were stored in wall cabinets and on shelves, and particularly in precious wooden cabinets of various sizes, which also functioned as display pieces in themselves. Numerous drawers offered space to store medicines, precious objects, and foreign '*curiosa nova*'. Wolfram Koeppe, 'Exotica and the *Kunstkammer*: Snake Stones, Iridescent Sea Snails and Eggs of the Giant Iron-Devouring Bird', in Dirk Syndram and Antje Scherner (eds.), *The Dresden Court 1580–1620*, Milan, 2004, p. 81.

[386] Baltasar Porreño, 2001, p. 38.

The other building where Chinese porcelain was kept was the so-called *Casa del Tesoro* (Treasury House),[387] which was located outside the main Alcázar building. This housed a much smaller collection than the Alcázar's. According to the inventory of 1603 only eleven pieces of porcelain were kept in the *Casa del Tesoro*, along with other ceramics from Portugal (Estremoz) and Badajoz, and glass and tortoiseshell objects. A curious piece was inventoried in this building: 'a pottery ewer made in China, the outside painted black, with figures of men and woman, with a handle, [kept] inside a box lined with black leather on the outside and red inside, appraised at eight *reales*'.[388] In a 1608 addendum to the inventory, 34 porcelain items were added, though the precise location is not specified. Also included in the addendum are another two pieces: 'a jar of green pottery with a long neck and flat mouth, with branches of the same [material], and a large bowl or basin of the same clay'.[389] These were probably celadons, but could also have been simply lead-glaze pieces, as China was not specifically mentioned.

Philip II acquired porcelain through different means. During his stay in Lisbon as King of Portugal, Philip II bought porcelain for himself and for his family, also at auctions of his relatives' possessions and from the traders arriving in Madrid. Just four months before his death, on 30 May, he bought 124 pieces of blue-and-white porcelain in Lisbon. He ordered Archduke Albrecht of Austria (1559–1621), who ruled as Viceroy of Portugal for ten years from 1583 to 1593, to supply him with exotica and porcelain.[390]

The King bought for himself and also sent royal gifts to his Habsburg relatives in Prague, Vienna, Munich and Innsbruck, and advised his relatives when purchasing Oriental goods through their ambassadors or agents. Many Oriental pieces in Ambras were sent to Archduke Ferdinand II (1529–95) from Lisbon or Seville through the intervention of the monarch. This Ambras Castle collection was very rich in Asian decorative arts. The number of Chinese porcelain was a staggering 241 blue-and-white pieces probably sent by his cousin and displayed on a cupboard on eight shelves similar to the ones in the Alcázar.[391] Like many porcelains in Philip II's inventory, the bowl decorated in blue-and-white with gold leaf applied over the glaze (fig. 32), now in the Kunsthistoriches Museum, is an example of the type of gilded blue-and-white porcelain that would have been in the Spanish king's collection in the Alcázar. Porcelains are described only summarily in the 1596 inventory of the Ambras Kunstkammer, but the Ambras inventory of 1666 describes Chinese porcelains in more detail – the gilt technique is mentioned – and it is assumed that these types of pieces were among the objects.[392]

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[387] The *Casa del Tesoro* (Treasury House) was located outside the main Alcázar building and served, at the beginning of Philip II's rule to lodge officials and workers engaged in the renovation of the palace. In 1570 the building was temporarily used as a warehouse for 'antiquities', which were transferred from the treasury or *Kunstkammer* to this new location by the sculptor Nicolas Bonanome. When the court moved temporarily to Valladolid in 1601 during the reign of Phillip III, some antiques were returned to the *Casa del Tesoro*. In 1610 it was used to lodge distinguished guests.

[388] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 891: '*Un jarro de barro hecho en la China, a manera de aguamanil, pintado por de fuera de negro, de figuras de hombres y mujeres, con su asa, metido en una caja de cubierta de cuero negro forrada en cuero colorado, tasado en ocho reales*'. This puzzling description could not be linked to a known type of Chinese ceramics.

[389] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 893v: '*Una tinajuela de barro verde y cuello alto y boca tendida con unos ramos de lo mismo y una tinajuela grande del dicho barro*'.

[390] Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)', in Helmut Trnek and Sabine Haag (eds.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance. Die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, vol. 3, Mainz, 2001, p. 87. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 364, fol. 126.

[391] Helmut Trnek, 'Exótica in the *Kunstkammers* of the Habsburgs, their Inventories and Collections', in *Exotica*, Lisbon 2001, (pp. 39–67), p. 48.

[392] I am grateful to Dr. Konrad Schlegel, curator of the *Kunstkammer* of the Kunsthistoriches Museum, for this information.



Fig. 32. Blue-and-white porcelain bowl with gilding on the glaze. Second half of the sixteenth century. H. 7 cm, D. 14.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Kunstkammer*. Inv. no. 2673. From Trnek & Vassallo e Silva, 2001, p. 43.

The king also served as an intermediary for the Dukes of Bavaria, as they specially appreciated exotica to enlarge their *Kunstkammers*, and he always assisted their agent, Antonio Meyting, with their purchases of exotic goods in Spain and Portugal.[393] (see p.116)

### *Porcelain in Philip II's Inventory*

Philip II drew up his will in Madrid on 7 March 1598 after commending his soul to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the archangels Gabriel and Michael and to seventeen other solicitous saints. After issuing instructions for his burial, he ordered his executors to 'pay off all his debts and any other obligations'.[394] This last clause in the will was very important, for to die with debts was a regarded as a great obstacle to 'the salvation of the human soul'. But even for the mightiest ruler of the time, the funds required to honour his debts were not readily available. Thus, King Philip set in motion what was and would become a deep-rooted custom in Spain: the *almonedas*, an auction of personal property. Before an *almoneda* could be held, it was necessary to draw up a full inventory of the goods the holder possessed at the time of his or her death. Most of Philip's household goods were consigned to the *almoneda*, although the king made a few exceptions – certain inherited jewellery and most of the collection of tapestries – that he had expressly set aside for his son and heir, the future King Philip III.

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[393] Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, 'Relaciones artísticas de los duques de Baviera con España en el reinado de Felipe II', in José Martínez Millán, Rubén González Cuerva (eds.), *La dinastia de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2011, pp. 1769–1836, p. 1790. See also Diemer 2008.

[394] Sánchez Cantón, 1956–59, vol. 1, p. XII. Rudolf Beer, 'Inventare aus dem Archivo del Palacio zu Madrid', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 14, pp. I-LXX, Wien,1893 and idem, vol. 19, pp. CXVII-CLXIX, Wien, 1898, published a part of the inventory of the king but the complete inventory was published by Sánchez Cantón in 1956-59.

The inventory started on 12 October 1598, a month after the evening the king died. Antonio Boto – or Voto – his treasurer, was ordered to display all the objects in his care for the mentioned inventory and appraissal. Boto died during the course of this painstaking task, which took eleven years to complete; he was replaced by Hernando de Espejo. The structure of the inventory was meticulous and thorough. The first part was dedicated to devotional objects, such as monstrances, crosses, and devotional figures. This section included the paintings and illuminations in the Royal chapel in the Alcázar and in other chapels in palaces and lodges owned by the Crown, the so-called *Reales Sitios*. The next section recorded the full list of titles kept in the king's library in Madrid. After this came the stunning collection of precious stones and jewellery, followed by a long, 103-page section devoted to silver pieces. There was a section for items that purportedly had magical, religious or curative properties, such as horns, bones, nails or stones. After this followed a section on arms, coins, portraits, tapestries and linen. The last quarter of the inventory was dedicated to other 'decorative arts', where the sections on furniture and perfume appeared immediately before the collection of Chinese porcelain.

The porcelain in Philip II's inventory was grouped under the heading 'Porcelains, Glazed Pottery, *Búcaros*, Pottery and Glazes'.[395] These pieces were further classified according to their place of manufacture: China, Faenza, Estremoz, Persia or Talavera in Spain. Since such a large amount of pieces was being registered, it is understandable that a few pieces made from other materials – tortoiseshell, glass or even wood – were mixed in with the porcelain probably because they were displayed together.

### *Body and Glaze*

Different terms were used to describe the different types of clay used to manufacture the pieces. In Philip II's inventory, the most frequently used term is *barro*. According to the definition in the Autoridades dictionary of 1726 (which incorporates the definition in Covarrubias' dictionary printed in 1611), *barro* is 'earth or clay mixed with rain water forming mud, which is specifically mixed depending on the use it will be put to: the making of walls, bricks, tiles, pots, adobe and other things. Covarrubias states that this term comes from the Arabic 'barr' which means 'uncultivated field'. On the strength of this definition, one would conclude that *barros* in seventeenth-century Spain referred to rather soft and porous earthenware bodies, fired at low temperatures (between 800˚C to 1000˚C). Another term is '*barro vidriado*', which literally means 'glazed clay' or 'glazed pottery', and in the Spanish context was possibly used to denote tin-glazed pottery or majolica, like the pottery that was made in Talavera or Puente del Arzobispo. Other terms used are '*barro de la China*' (pottery, or clay, from China) and also '*barro negro de la China*' (black pottery, or clay, from China). The word *barro* is also used for *barro de Faenza* or Faenza majolica, another type of tin-glazed pottery made in Tuscany. It may have also referred to pottery made in Badajoz and Estremoz, two nearby towns on the Spanish and Portuguese side of border respectively. *Búcaro* or in the Italian word *boccaro*, is another type of pottery clearly distinguished in the inventory. The Covarrubias dictionary defines it as 'a type of *vaso* (container) made of red clay that comes from Portugal. The shape has a belly and for that reason people call it *búccaro* or *bucca* (swollen cheek); it may also have a Greek origin in the word *bouxepos*, *buqueros*, which translates as 'in the form of an ox horn'. An early eighteenth-century edition of the Autoridades dictionary expands the definition of this term: 'also, a fine and scented vase for drinking water. There are *búcaros* of different types and shapes. Some come from the Indies and are very

[395] Although redundant as glazed pottery already existed, the heading of the inventory also includes the term '*vidriados*' (glazes). The glass section is inventoried separately.

precious and esteemed'.[396] The last type of body mentioned in the inventories is the word 'porcelain' (*porcelana*), which was used for the majority of the objects, and had a hard, white and translucent body that is fired at very high temperatures of up to 1350˚C.[397] It is worth noting a shift in the use and meaning of the expression *barro de porcelana*. In the inventory, the scribe uses this expression to refer to the material the piece is made of (i.e., kaolin clay). As we have seen, the word *porcelana* referred not to the material but to the shape of the piece, i.e., a type of wide, deep bowl.[398]

### *Shapes and Decorations*

Many of the Spanish terms used to describe the shape of porcelain pieces in the sixteenth and seventeenth century are now archaic. This is why Covarrubias' pioneering Spanish dictionary is of great value in shedding light on the precise meanings of these words. Dimensions of the pieces are not usually given. However, in some rare cases, the dimensions of the object are included in the description, especially when the unusual size of an object rendered it noteworthy; for example, in the entry 'a large gourd just under a *vara* tall',[399] where the scribe stresses the unusual height of the piece (around 60 or 70 centimetres).

Most of the pieces in the section were tableware, the most important item being a set of 912 plates (*platos*), of different decorative techniques –some were gilded and coloured and others were blue-and-white.[400] Most of the plates in this specific lot must have been sold in the auction following Philip II's death, as there are no records in successive inventories, and his son King Philip III did not inherit them. Philip II's daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia retained 30 from a set of 300 for her service.[401]

The term '*escudilla*' appears in many entries. This was a general term used for different types of bowls. The most common of these was the 'ordinary' *escudilla*, which was registered as a single batch of 660 pieces,[402] some of which were gilded and coloured, others blue-and-white.[403] They were appraised at four *reales* each. Larger (medium-size) *escudillas* were accordingly appraised a little higher, at six *reales* each. Small ones, like a group of 92 small porcelains shaped as bowls and small sauceboats

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[396] Real Academia Española (ed.), *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua...* [*Diccionario de Autoridades*], Madrid, 1726–39, p. 694. The term '*boccaro*' still is a widely used name for red-bodied unglazed ceramics. Yixing ceramics from China were also named '*boccaro*' from the eighteenth to the twentieth century in Western publications.

[397] Stacey Pierson, *Earth, Fire and Water: Chinese Ceramic Technology*, London, 1996, p. 10.

[398] See definition of the word 'porcelain' in the glossary.

[399] *Vara*: 1 *vara* equals to 3 feet or 83 cm.

[400] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 835.

[401] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 765, Expediente 34, 1603. Fol. 59: 'On page 835 a group of 912 porcelain plates, some of which are gilded and coloured, appraised at three *reales* each, of which Hernando de Espejo in not in charge, but of 879 [plates] taken for auction, and of the others, 30 from the group of 300 were sent to Señora Infanta Doña Ysavel … on the order of His Majesty of 9 March 1603…', quoted in Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, pp. 93, 122–27.

[402] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, fol. 844.

[403] Another important lot was a group of 264 bowls (*escudillas*) some gilded and coloured (*Kinrande?*) and others blue-and-white, again of the size as the 'ordinary' ones, some larger than others, appraised at 4 *reales* each. AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 834: '*Doscientas y sesenta y cuatro 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*'.

of different shapes were appraised at a mere one-and-a-half *reales* each. The total number of *escudillas* or bowls was 1,360, excluding the *salserilla* or sauce bowls which numbered 166 and did not fetch more than one-and-a-half *reales* each. Three *reales* was the price tag on 48 blue-and-white *escudillas* shaped as small bells (*campanillas*),[404] probably of the crow-cup type with flaring rims 7 to 8.5 centimetres tall, although a shorter version of 6 centimetres also existed.[405]

Larger than the *escudilla* was the *albornia* type, which, according to Covarrubias, was 'a coarse, and large *escudilla* [...], made on the potter's wheel'. There were 315 of these in the king's inventory. The value of the *albornia* pieces ranged from 6 *ducados* each (i.e., 66 *reales*) to just three *reales* each for a smaller type that probably resembled the standard *escudilla*. There is an entry in this group specifying the diameter of one *albornia* as two thirds of a *vara*, equivalent to about 55 centimetres. This last piece might have been shaped as a charger.

Other types included jars – referred to as *ollas, duernos, tinajas or calabazas*– white inside and decorated on the outside in blue-and-white, with lids and knobs or finials, some set with hemp ropes as handles.[406] This group, which is at the beginning of the inventory, includes a piece of gilded blue-and-white porcelain gourd with a silver lid that seems to have held scented water and has a silver chain attached to the lid. This last piece is mentioned again in the list of pieces inherited by Philip III, but the mouth was broken by then.[407] Some other gourd vases were described as large blue-and-white pieces with lids, and another curious gourd vase with a foot shaped as an eagle and painted in colours was described as 'coming from China'.[408] It is very difficult to identify the type of foot in this last description – could it have been a painted wooden stand made to order in Macao?

One of the most valued pieces in the inventory was a pair of *duerno*[409]jars for 200 *reales* each (without lids), white inside, the outside decorated in blue-and-white.[410] Unfortunately there is no indication as to the type of motifs used to ornament the pieces. Comparing the value of these, the last and most expensive pieces in the porcelain collection – 400 *reales* (the pair) – with that of an average

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[404] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 834v: '*Cuarenta y ocho escudillas de porcelana de diferentes tamaños, de hechuras de campanillas, azules y blancas todas, tasadas a tres reales cada una*'.

[405] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 153.

[406] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 832v: '*Dos ollas grandes de porcelana, azules y blancas, con sus tapadores, con un botón por remate, guarnecidas de unas sogas de cáñamo, con dos asas de la misma soga, con que se asen. Tasadas a doscientos reales cada una*'.

[407] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 833: '*Una calabaza de porcelana dorada, azul y blanca, con un tapador de plata que parece haber tenido agua de olor, con una cadenilla de plata en que ase el tapador, tasada en treinta reales*'. Documentary Appendix, Document 25, AGP, Sección Administración General. Legajo 903. Treasury. 1617. '[Idem 833] A gourd of porcelain gilded blue-and-white with a silver lid that seems to have contained scented water and a silver chain attaching to the lid appraised at thirty reales… the mouth is broken. ([*Idem 833*] *Una calabaza de porcelana dorada azul y blanca con un tapador de plata que parece aver tenido agua de olor con una cadenilla de plata en que assee el tapador tassada en treinta reales…quebrada la voca.*)

[408] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 841: '*Una calabaza grande con su tapador, de porcelana azul y blanca, tasada en ciento y cincuenta reales*'; and fol.847: '*Un vaso grande de calabaza hecho en la China, con una garra de* águila *por pie, con tapador, pintado de colores tasado en veinticuatro reales*'.

[409] *Duerno*: A generic term that derives from the Latin word *dorna* (an amphora or container).

[410] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 832v: '*Dos duernos grandes de porcelana, a manera de media tinaja, azules y blancos por de fuera, y por dentro blancos, sin tapadores, tasados ambos en cuatrocientos reales*'.

silver dish of around 45 centimetres (diameter) and 14 centimetres (height) – 1,584 *reales* – reminds us that silver was regarded as much more valuable in monetary terms than porcelain.[411]

Ewers (*aguamaniles*) and bottles (*garrafas*) were decorated with colours (*wucai* or *Swatow*), or blue-and-white, and were appraised at nine *reales* each. There was also a *garrafa* bottle made of 'black clay' from China with a strainer of the same clay inside the neck, appraised at four *reales*.[412]

However the most important group is 27 ewers (*aguamaniles*) of different types and colours, five of which did not have lids, appraised at nine *reales* each. Elsewhere, the inventory (fol. 842) lists another group of 35 ewers (*aguamaniles*), some of which were decorated in green and gold, others in blue and gold (probably *Kinrande*),[413] while another group was decorated in various colours (*wucai* or *Swatow*), or in blue-and-white, all of them with handles, of different sizes and shapes, and appraised at nine *reales* each.

*Kendi*-type bottles[414] are also defined as *garrafas*[415] and two shapes are described as having a bulbous spout 'in the manner of a breast' through which oil was poured: hence the term *garrafa aceitera* (oil bottle). Three of these are decorated in blue-and-white and two others in gold and colours, while another type of *garrafa* or *kendi* of blue-and-white porcelain with a long neck and a spout shaped as an elephant's head was appraised at six *reales*.[416] It is remarkable that the first type was appraised at double the value of the elephant type *kendi* (figs. 33 and 34).

Some special pieces were presented to the king as presents: 'a dish (the term *fuente* indicates a plate of a considerable diameter) made clay from China, with a low foot, moulded and painted inside with gold and colours with animals and other things from China, inside a grass box which was sent by the accountant Iriguen from New Spain (Mexico), appraised at fifty *reales*',[417] and a large pottery bowl (*escudilla*), with a low foot, painted inside and out in white, black and tawny, which was sent by Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, along with other things which Captain Pacheco said he had received from two *sinchos* Indians in a straw box because they were precious to them.[418] Evidently this last piece was not Chinese but Peruvian.

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[411] Sánchez Cantón, 1956–59, vol. 2, p. 94, item 3132: '*Una bacía de plata de media vara menos dos dedos de diámetro y una sesma de alto, canalada, con diez y seis canales por dentro y fuera sobre los gallones de la parte de fuera, que hacen canal por la parte de dentro…….pagóse por la hechura veinte y dos mil maravedís en que se tasó, a que hechura y peso monta cincuenta y cuatro mil y ciento cuarenta y siete maravedís y medio*'.

[412] We do not know what this the type of object made of black clay for the export market could have been: perhaps a Cizhou-type vessel?

[413] Similar ewers in underglaze blue and gold brocade gold leaf of the *Kinrande* type are illustrated in Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum*, no. 1642, p. 818.

[414] Kendi: vessel from East Asia used for water in the Hindu and Buddhist rituals with a bulbous body, narrow neck, flange around the mouth and spout of different shapes. For a survey of these types see Sumarah Adyatman, *Kendi*, Jakarta, 1987 and Eng-Lee Seok Chee, *Kendis. A Guide to the Collections*, National Museum, Singapore, 1984.

[415] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 842: '*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 echa el aceite, tasadas a doce reales cada una*'.

[416] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 893v: '*Una garrafa con cuello alto y una cabeza de elefante por pico, de porcelana azul y blanca, tasada en seis reales*'.

[417] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 839v: '*Una fuente que dizen que es barro de la China con un pie baxo labrada y pintada por dentro de oro y colores de animales y otras cosas de la China metida en una caxa de yerba que enbió el contador Iriguen de Nueva Espana tasada en cincuenta reales*'.

[418] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 839: '*Una escudilla grande de barro, con pie bajo, pintada por fuera y por de dentro blanca, negro y leonado, la cual envió don Francisco de Toledo, virrey del Perú, con otras cosas que el capitán Pacheco dijo que se la habían enviado por cosa preciada dos indios sinchos metida en una vasera de paja, tasada en doce reales*'.



Fig. 33. Kendi with bulbous spout. Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, last quarter of the sixteenth century, Wanli (1573–1620). H. 22 cm. From the *San Diego* shipwreck, Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7309.



Fig. 34. Kendi with a spout shaped as an elephant's head, Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, last quarter of the sixteenth century, Wanli (1573-1620). H. 20 cm. Archaeological Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 64.108.

Linda Shulsky, in a very interesting article published in 1998, gave some clear guidelines on how to match certain pieces in Philip II's collection to extant porcelains.[419] Among the most interesting pieces she identifies is a vase with six hollow pipes.[420] It is very intriguing, however, what this type of object was used for. Linda Shulsky suggests it was a water sprinkler, while Christiaan Jörg thinks that the piece was used to warm wine cups or fragrant herbs in steam that passed through the cup (fig. 35).[421] Also in the inventory are two ewers shaped as Chinese women. Linda Shulsky relates these to a *Kinrande* ewer in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, today in the British Museum, but there are others with a Wanli mark in the Idemitsu Museum in Tokyo, in the National Museum of Tokyo, and in the Jan Menze van Diepen Stichting Collection in the Netherlands. (fig. 36) [422] It should be pointed out that in the inventory there is another figure of a Chinese women in white porcelain and gilt appraised at twenty *reales*: double the price of the previous one, as twenty *reales* was the total valuation for the two previous figures decorated with colours and gilded.[423]

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[419] Linda Shulsky, 'Philip II of Spain as Porcelain Collector', in *Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. 44, no. 2, Summer, 1998, pp. 51–54.

[420] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 846: '*Una ruciadera porcelana, el cuerpo y el brocal de por sí con seis asas por donde sale el agua a la boca, azul y blanca tasada en veinte reales*'. Identical pieces are in the Topkapi Saray Museum, nos. 1021, 1022, in John Ayers and Regina Krahl, 1986, p. 658; the Victoria and Albert Museum, in R.L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1915, pl, 68, fig. 1; the Teheran National Museum, in J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington 1956, pl. 86, no. 29,456; and the Groninger Museum, in Christiaan Jörg, *Oriental Porcelain in The Netherlands. Four Museum Collections*, Groningen, 2003, p. 40.

[421] Jörg, 2003, p. 49, pl.16.

[422] Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *A Selection from the Collection of Oriental Ceramics. Jan Menze van Diepen Stichting*, Slochteren 2002, p. 32; Tokyo National Museum, *Catalogue of Tokyo National Museum, Chinese Ceramics*, Tokyo, 1965, cats. 515, 543; Idemitsu Museum of Arts, *The 15th Anniversary Catalogue, Idemitsu Museum of Arts*, Tokyo, 1981, cat. 831.

[423] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol.



Fig. 35. Vase, second half of the 16th century, H. 22.2 cm, D. mouthrim 5.5 cm, D. footring 8.5 cm. Groninger Museum, Groningen. Inv. no. 1958-75.



Fig 36. Ewer shaped as a dancing Chinese lady, late 16th century, Wanli, H. 31 cm. Collection J.M. van Diepen, Fraeylemaborg, Slochteren, Netherlands. Inv. no. JMD-P-2390.

The most frequently featured decorative technique in the porcelain section of the inventory is blue-and-white (*azul y blanco*); others are blue-and-white and gilded. Some of these pieces are further described as being white inside (*blanco por dentro*). Other techniques mentioned are gilded and coloured (*doradas y de colores*), as well as gilded, white and coloured, which would have been of the *Kinrande* type (*dorada, blanca y de colores*). Other combinations are green and gilded, or red and gilded (*verde y dorada, colorada y dorada*), and painted black on the outside (*pintado por de fuera de negro*). It is possible that these last pieces were lacquered. Finally, there were a few instances in the inventory of plain white porcelain (*porcelana blanca*). As Linda Shulsky points out, the scribe seems to have grouped the pieces by shape rather than by the type of decoration, and size determined the value of the piece.[424]

847: '*Dos figuras de mujer de la China, que son aguamaniles, doradas y de colores, tasadas a veinte reales cada una*'. Also Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20,AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 844v: '*Una figura de mujer de la China, de porcelana blanca y dorada tasada a veinte reales*'.

[424] Shulsky, 1998, p. 54.



Fig. 37. Flemish anonymous, Philip II and the monarchs banquet,oil on canvas, c. 1596. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Poland.

### *Philip II's Family*

In 1545, the 18-year-old Prince Philip of Spain (1527–98) married his cousin Maria Manuela of Portugal (1527–45). She was the daughter of the Portuguese King John III and Catherine of Austria. Through this dynastic union, Philip became more exposed to Far Eastern decorative arts, for at that time a steady flow of exotic artefacts was reaching Portugal from its distant colonies. But when Philip's first wife died in 1545, the fragmentary inventories did not register a single reference to Oriental porcelain in the sales of her belongings, despite the fact that her mother Catherine was a keen art collector.[425] It should also be stressed that a full inventory of the queen's possessions has not been preserved and it is possible that she had a number of Oriental exotics. Tapestries featured as the most important objects in some partial documents, together with four rugs 'from the Indies', which were given to Juan Díaz de Madrigal, a chamberlain in the household of Philip II. María Manuela died a month after the birth of their only son, the mentally unstable Prince Don Carlos (1545–68). The inventory of the prince's goods, made on 28 December 1569, mentions a group of porcelain pieces: 'sixty porcelains of different shapes and sizes, some of them very large, one with a golden rim on the foot that weighed eight and a half *castellanos*, one of them broken and three chipped', which had been acquired by his father King Philip II. Unfortunately, the valuation of the pieces, which was in an attached document, is missing.[426] The inventory also refers to miscellaneous exotica, such as a

[425] An auction was held when Queen María Manuela of Portugal died in 1545, but the only document preserved in AGS (Casa y Sitos Reales, Legajo 73) is an inventory of the objects taken by her widower (King Philip II) and a few objects taken by her sisters. Only alabaster and gold 'porcelains' are mentioned in this document, which was published by Fernando Checa Cremades, 'Fiestas, bodas y regalos de matrimonio', in Miguel Ángel Zalama (ed.), *Juana I en Tordesillas*: *Su mundo*, *su entorno*, Valladolid 2010, pp. 135–62. According to Jose María March, *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II*, II, Madrid, 1942, p. 381, in 1546 the noble Estefanía de Requesens bought '*gold porcelains enameled in blue*' from the auction of Princess María Manuela of Portugal, i.e., a gold object. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[426] Documentary Appendix, 1 Document 16, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1092, 1569: '*Sesenta porçelanas de diferentes tamaños y hechuras y algunas dellas muy grandes y la vna con vn çerco de oro en el pie que peso ocho castellanos y medio y la vna hendida y otras tres desportilladas la tasación dellas esta por menudo en el pliego que esta con este*'.

'chair of black and golden wood from the Indies, some parts with a decoration, that dismantles into different pieces, appraised at two hundred *reales*'.[427]

In 1554 Philip married Mary I of England (1516–58) and among the objects the king brought with him to England were sumptuous gold and silver services, rich tapestries and embroidered canopies.[428]

His third marriage was in 1559 to the French queen Isabel of Valois (1545–68), the eldest daughter of Henry II of France and Catherine of Medici. King Philip was very attached to her and their marriage was, for the most part, quite harmonious. She gave birth to Princess Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633), and Catherine Michelle (1567–97). The inventory and valuation of the goods of Isabel (1569) mentions several pieces of porcelain:

- A large, eight-sided porcelain, with its lid, worth two *ducats*.
- Three small plates, one larger than the other two, at four *reales*, and the other [large] one at six [*reales*].
- One porcelain in the manner of a bell, nine *reales*.
- Two pieces in the manner of bowls (*escudillas*), five *reales* each.
- Forty-one porcelain bowls (*escudillas*), some larger than others, four *reales* each.
- Two small jars in the manner of vinegar pots, six *reales* each.
- One ewer (*aguamanil*) and a ewer (*garrafa*) of the same porcelain, twenty-six *reales* each.
- Another ewer (*aguamanil*) gilded outside on red, which has a loose foot (*desasido*) and a cracked handle, at three *reales*.[429]

Some of these pieces are very similar to the ones described in Philip II's inventory, so the king probably inherited them when his wife died; the only exception being a ewer in red and gilt – possibly *Kinrande* – which was quite damaged at the time the inventory was compiled.

Princesses Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catherine Michelle seem to have acquired a taste for Chinese porcelain at an early age. Their father Philip II presented them with gifs of porcelain during his stay in Lisbon: 'I have sent Calabrés [Head of the Casa de Campo Palace, Agustín Profit Calabrés] to Estremoz to have some *búcaros* made like the ones I had with the flowers and he is sending some boxes with bergamot pears…. I am also sending back for you and your brothers' service some porcelain inside the box, one of them has porcelain of a new type, at least I haven't seen anything like it, with other things that Santoyo has assembled for you'.[430] As the true art lover he was, Philip II appreciated porcelain and was able to discern a 'new type' of porcelain that was being sold in Lisbon. In addition, we know that the porcelain collection

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[427] Documentary Appendix, 1 Document 16, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1092, 1569: '*Una silla de madera de la Yndia negra y dorada en partes que haze labor y deshaze en diferentes pieças se taso en doscientos rreales*'.

[428] Thomas Cambell, *Henry VII and the Art of Majesty. Tapestries in the Tudor Court*, New York, 2007. If there is an inventory of the Queen's possessions, it must be in England, as she died there in 1558. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace it.

[429] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 17, AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, Legajo 67-2. 1569, fol. 31v. For Queen Isabel de Valois, see Agustín González de Amezúa y Mayo, *Isabel de Valois*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1949.

[430] Fernando Jesús Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, Madrid, 1988, p. 78: '*Al Calabrés he enviado a Estremoz a hacer búcaros como los en que tenía ahí las flores y lleva unas cajas que estaban acá, para que traigan en* éstas *peras bergamotas como ahora un año para que las envíe desde allí y el se vuelva. Porque no vayan vacías envío en la una, porcelanas para vuestro servicio y de vuestros hermanos y una hay dentro de ellas con porcelanas de nueva manera, a lo menos yo no las he visto sino ahora, y con otras cosas que ha juntado Santoyo*'. In other letters the king mentions other Oriental exotics like a 'writing desk' from India, Bouza, 1988, p. 54.

was expanded in 1582, when the Count of Barajas bought more Chinese porcelain for the *infantas*.[431]

Almudena Pérez de Tudela has studied the relationship between the *infantas*. She examines the exchange of presents that took place when the two sisters parted ways. [432] She mentions that:

> During their childhood in Madrid, the Duchess of Alba – a key figure in the education of the infantas – regularly presented them with trinkets or *brinquiños*[433] of Oriental origin, which would have been displayed in the so-called New Tower[434] where Philip II housed his glass objects. Oriental porcelain, such as bowls and plates were a part of the *infantas*' crockery.[435] When *infanta* Catherine Michelle settled in Torino in 1585, her sister Isabella Clara Eugenia often sent her presents, including Oriental exotica of which they were both fond. When court jester Gonzalo de Liaño departed for Turin in 1587, he carried a load of objects that included *búcaros*, porcelains, silks, fans, cordovans, gloves and perfumes.[436] In 1588 another consignment was dispatched from Isabella Clara Eugenia to her sister in the luggage of the Marquis d'Este that included different textiles and clothes, together with seeds, porcelains, bezoar stones, balms and dolls.[437] In the accounts of 1591 it is recorded that Isabella Clara Eugenia used white linen to wrap the porcelains and other objects she sent to her sister. In addition, on the departure of her husband in May of that same year, he was presented with many gifts for her sister and also from Doña Eufrasia de Guzmán, Princess of Asculi, consisting of 'many porcelains and vases from the Indies of Portugal'

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[431] Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Making, Colleting, 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 Brussel*, Madrid, 2011, p. 67.

[432] Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Regalos y retratos. Los años de la infanta Catalina Micaela en la corte de Madrid (1567-1584), in Blyte Alice Raviola and Franca Varallo (eds.), *L'infanta Caterina d'Austria, duchessa di Savoia (1567-1597)*, Rome, 2013, pp. 97-141

[433] *Brincos* or *brinquiños*: 'Trinket', a Portuguese term for small ceramic toys such as animals shaped as lions, dogs or other figures, which were later called *bibelots*, from the French. These objects were registered in the commercial lists of the galleons under the generic name '*regalos*' (gifts), and in this context refers to small ceramic objects of Oriental origin.

[434] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, footnote 45, p. 102, quotation from AGP, Administración General, Cuentas Particulares, Legajo 5264, Account of J. Gutiérrez, tercio postrero, 1583: 'crates in which some relics are placed... inside the crates are some *brinquiños* that were sent from the Duchess of Alba to Their Highnesses'. The Royal Household paid bills every four months, so 'tercio postrero' would be the last third of the year. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[435] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, footnote 46, p.102. On 17 December 1582 her majordomo, the Earl of Barajas, bought 'four porcelain plates' for16 *reales* from Pero Fernández, probably of Portuguese origin, for the service of Catalina Micaela, AGP, Administración General, Legajo 778, jornadas ('Journeys'). Other porcelain plates for Philip II' sons are mentioned in Legajo 5269, Expediente 20, Madrid, 31 October 1580: Payment to Sebastián de Ibargoen 'Twelve reales were paid for 3 porcelains, each one cost 4 *reales*, another two were paid for; other items not specified; for 3 porcelains that were bought, together with plates for porcelains at 4 *reales* each, by order of Senor Don Diego Messia', and 19 *reales* to Juan de Odriola 'for 4 small porcelain plates and another porcelain' for their Highnesses.

[436] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, footnote 218, p. 130, AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 362, fols. 70, 71v, Pardo, 8 August 1587: 'A crate, a medium-size box and a small one [box] with a script on the cover for Her Highness Catalina, my dear daughter, which contains búcaros porcelains, coloured silks, fans, gloves, and white leather, which are placed inside the mentioned boxes and crates [that are] sealed with two stamps and which Gonzalo de Liaño takes to Italy by order of His Majesty'. King Philip II refers to him in a letter to his daughter from San Lorenzo on his way to Torino. Bouza, 1998, p. 153, LXII.

[437] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, footnote 270, p.139. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 362, fol. 190, San Lorenzo, 10 September 1588: 'six small porcelains from Portugal… six porcelains, two dozens *búcaros*…, which are sent to Torino for Her Royal Highness Infanta Doña Catalina'.

> to take to Turin. Another consignment of 1596 [objects] included porcelains, *boccaros* or *búcaros*, and glass wrapped in paper,[438] together with odoriferous substances like *benjuí*.[439]

Isabella Clara Eugenia[440] inherited quite a number of pieces from her father's belongings that she took with her to Brussels when she was appointed Governess of the Southern Low Countries.[441] She and her husband Albert of Austria had an important collection of Asian objects in their *Kunstkammer* in Brussels. Albert's appetite for collecting exotica probably first started in his younger years while living in Philip II's court in Madrid. Here he would have had many opportunities to pore over the king's art collections. Appointed Viceroy of Portugal, Albert went on to live in Lisbon where his appreciation of Oriental decorative arts would have been further aroused by frequent exposure to Far Eastern artefacts. By the time he settled in Brussels in 1596 and, later, with his wife Isabella Clara Eugenia from 1599, their passion for Eastern exotica was such that they had several agents in Flanders and the Iberian Peninsula regularly purchasing Oriental objects for their collection. Several documents dated to 1596 in Princess Isabella's accounting books – while she was still in Madrid – record the purchases of porcelain pieces for her service, together with the price and packaging costs of the artefacts as described in the chapter on trade (Chapter 2, p. 65).[442] The value of these pieces was not high, as each of the bowls and plates cost 4,5 *reales* each, plus an extra pound (*libra*[443]) of fibre to wrap the porcelains for 2 *reales*. Another entry specifies: 'two porcelains to bleed at 9 *reales*'.[444] As we can see in Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, she took about 300 pieces from her father's porcelain collection.

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[438] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, p. 139. AGP, Administracion General, Legajo 902, Expediente 6, tercio postrero 1596 (Oct.-Dec., see note 434): 'Bought for the service of Her Highness half a resma of ordinary paper to wrap porcelains, *búcaros* and glass and other things for her service, which cost seven *reales* / Also bought for the same a pound of thread for packages which cost three *reales*'. The Royal Household paid bills every four months, so 'tercio postrero' would be the last third of the year. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[439] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, p. 139. AGP, Administración General, Legajo 902, Expediente 6, 1596: 'Payment for bringing two baskets of *benjuí* from the fruit shop (*frutería*) to Her Royal Highness' chamber, which were sent by the Royal treasurer for one-and-a-half *reales*'; 'Also paper for wrapping up búcaros and porcelains'. AHN, Consejos, vol. 2396 (Valencia), fols. 257v–258v, Campillo, 6 November 1596. Travelling licences from Isabella to her sister: 'Inside a box there is a small coffer mounted in silver, fifty ounces of amber, two glass bottles (*buxetas*) of civet, two lead boxes full of musk, seven dozen fans [inside], two net caps, two silver *brincos*, two dozen white leather (*cordobán*) gloves, a dozen gloves with flowers, another box with flowers for headdresses, another with six *arrobas* [unit of weight] and four pounds of civet, two boxes covered with white were with fifty pairs of Tauxia shoes'.

[440] See Pérez de Tudela, 2011/2, pp. 61–87.

[441] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21.

[442] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23. AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902, Account of the Expenses of Hernando de Rojas.

[443] *Libra*: A unit of weight equivalent of 460 grams. (RAE)

[444] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902.

Philip II's fourth wife, Anna of Austria (1549–80)[445] married him in 1570. They had five children but only one of them lived to adulthood, the future Philip III of Spain (1578–1621). The trade in porcelain and other Eastern objects from the Indies to Seville, and from there to the court in Madrid, must have increased considerably in the 1570s, as 'All sorts of goods, gold, silks, cinnamon, fine gilded pottery of all types, small objects are shipped from the West Indies…. Much gold, silk and, porcelain, and many richly ornamented jars arrive, which are sent by the vassals to the Kings as a sign of respect'.[446] The Duke of Alba, who at the time was leading a military campaign in Portugal, must have sent all types of porcelain from Lisbon to the court.[447] Unfortunately, the only inventory of the queen's goods that has survived is an appendix to an inventory (dated 1617) of those objects that had belonged to Philip II and Queen Anna and had not been sold in the auction of 1608 and were still in the Royal Household in 1617. Much of the porcelain went to the king's daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia,[448] which, as mentioned earlier, she subsequently took with her to the Brussels court, where she and her husband went on to found one of the most outstanding collections of Far Eastern artefacts.[449] The other part of the porcelain collection was inherited by the new Queen Margaret of Austria, wife of King Philip III, as can be surmised from her inventory of 1617.[450] Among the goods that belonged to Queen Anna were: 'a gilded and green porcelain cup which was given to Isabella Clara Eugenia on 29 May 1603, another large porcelain also given to Isabella Clara Eurgenia on the same date and two deep porcelain pieces'.[451]

After her marriage to Philip in 1570, Anna also became the most important supplier of Oriental gifts to her relatives, especially to the Austrian branch of her family. Gifts were a way of reinforcing kinship, but they also served the purpose of heightening a person's reputation and social position within the family hierarchy. Travel licenses (*cédulas de paso*) to export Far Eastern goods from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Europe between 1560 and 1612 show that there was a great demand for Chinese porcelain.[452] Members of the royal family were not the only recipients of porcelain gifts;

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[445] Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón 'La imagen y el mecenazgo artístico de la reina Anna de Austria (1549-1580)', in José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço (eds.), *Las relaciones discretas entre las monarquías hispana y portuguesa*: *Las casas de las reinas* (*siglos XV-XIX*). *Arte*, *música*, *espiritualidad y literatura*, Madrid, 2008, pp. 1563–1616, vol. 3, pp. 1563–1616. The author mentions the acquisition of some Oriental goods, including fans.

[446] In Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 2008, p. 1583, footnote 81. 11 January 1574. Noticias de Islas Filipinas y China de Hernando de Requel desde México, AGS, Estado, legajo 155, fol. 38.

[447] Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Ana de Austria (1549-1580) y su colección artística. Una aproximación', in *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 13, no. 1 ('Women in the Lusophone World in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period'), 2007, p. 204, quote 46, letter from Jerónimo de Arceo to Gabriel de Zayas, from Lisbon, 20 September 1580: '*no hay limones ni vidrios pero si porçelanas y enviara* [*el duque de Alba*] *de todas suertes*'.

[448] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 765. Expediente 34. This inventory was transcribed but not translated into English by Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend in 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)', in *Exotica*, 2001, Appendix B, Document 9.

[449] The inventories of the archdukes can be found in Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels 1955.

[450] For the objects bequeathed to Philip III, see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 903. Treasury. 1617.

[451] Almudena Peréz de Tudela, 2008, p. 1605, 'Goods that belonged to Queen Anna de Austria', AGP, Administración General, Legajo 765, Expediente 34, fol. 85. '*Cossas de olor y guantes*: "*...Un basico de porcelana verde dorada...* (*se dió a Isabel Clara Eugenia en una partida de trescientas piezas*, *29 de mayo de 1603*). *Otra pieza de porcelana grande...*(*se dió a Isabel Clara Eugenia en una partida de trescientas piezas*, *29 de mayo de 1603*)… *Dos pieças de porçelana grandes ondas*"'.

[452] Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend studied these licences, which are preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas, which feature porcelain as an important export item along with some other exotics. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, pp. 1–127.

agents and diplomats often gave and received such presents. In December 1590, the Imperial ambassador in Spain, Hans Khevenhüller (who was the Earl of Franquemburg), reported that Archduke Albert of Austria dispatched 400 containers (vassos) of porcelain from Lisbon.[453] Khevenhüller played a very important artistic advisory role and was a key figure in the procurement and transmission of rarities to Habsburg courts in Central Europe.

Other courts were also interested in acquiring Oriental exotica. In 1572 Albert V, Duke of Bavaria,[454] stated in a letter to his relative, Philip II, that he was intent on acquiring as many curiosities as possible for his Munich *Kunstkammer*.[455] In 1575 Duke Albert used his ties of kinship with Queen Anna of Austria to request a shipment of exotic objects.[456] Anton Meyting acted as an agent to the Bavarian court in Spain.[457] In 1582 he sent 70 pieces of large and small porcelains to William V, successor as Duke of Bavaria in 1579.[458] In 1591, 100 pieces of porcelain are recorded as being sent to the Dukes of Bavaria.[459] A large dish bearing the quartered arms of Wittelsbach beneath a crown, now in the Residenz Museum in Munich, with a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece surrounding the arms could have been made for Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (r.1597-1631).[460]

Joanna of Austria (1535–73), Princess of Portugal, was the younger sister of Philip II. She managed the affairs of the Spanish kingdom while her brother lived in England, from 1554 to 1559. She kept several Oriental objects in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales (Madrid), the nunnery

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[453] '*Por este mismo tiempo, en nombre del emperador y con licencia de su magestad del rey don Felipe repartió el conde de Franquenburg entre los ministros algunas pieles de zebellinas y cosas de este género traídas de Alemania, y al mismo tiempo el archiduq*[*ue*] *le embió al mismo conde desde Lisboa cuatrocientos vassos de porcellana presentados*', in Félix Labrador Arroyo, *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller, Embajador Imperial en la Corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, 2001, p. 391. Archduke Albert presented the Emperor with two Indian beds. Other presents included an ebony and ivory writing desk with silver statues sent by the Earl of Franquenburg to Archduke Albert in Lisbon, two Indian horses, two dogs from the Indies, bezoar stones and large emeralds to the Emperor; see Labrador Arroyo, 2001, pp. 271 and 293.

[454] For Chinese porcelain in the Bavarian court, see Dorothea Diemer et al., *Die Münchner Kunstkammer*, vol. 3, Munich 2008, pp. 302–4 and vol 1, p. 191,194, 399–401. See also the article by Friederike Wappenschmidt, "….Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen". Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstkammerinventar von 1598" in Diemer, 2008, pp. 293-309.

[455] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Rarities and novelties', in Jackson & Jaffer, 2005, p. 41.

[456] L. Seelig, 'The Munich *Kunstkammer* 1565–1807', in O. Impey and A. Macgregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, London, 2001, p. 110; and 'Exotica in der Münchner Kunstkammer der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher', in Helmut Trenek and Sabine Haag (eds.), 2001, p. 147.

[457] Italy was also a source of Chinese porcelain in northern *Kunstkammerns*. In 1582 and 1588 the Grand Duke of Tuscany gave gifts of porcelain to the Duke of Bavaria and Elector Prince Christian of Saxony; see Ayers, 1985, p. 263.

[458] Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 56.

[459] Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, 'Relaciones artísticas de los duques de Baviera con España en el reinado de Felipe II', in José Martínez Millán, Rubén González Cuerva (eds.) *La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2011, (pp. 1769–1836), p. 1790; AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 362, fols. 438 and 438v, El Pardo, 22 May 1591 '439: 'three sword blades, three leather containers for wine; in box number 3, one hundred porcelains and two pounds (*libras*) of linen from Portugal. All of these (items) are taken by Domingo de la Piaça Currier of the Duke of Bavaria'. Folio 439 notes that Piaza took 'three sword blades, nine scissors for a desk, seven knives, nineteen ounces of silk, three leather containers for wine, three fans, a case, two hides (*cordobanes*, see glossary), and one pound of linen from Portugal'. See also Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 72.

[460] Canepa, 2012, p.275.



Fig. 38. Antonio Moro, María de Austria,
oil on canvas, 181 x 90 cm, 1551, Museo del Prado. Madrid.

she founded, including Japanese lacquered furniture (*namban*), and gifts from her aunt, Queen Catherine of Portugal, and her mother, Empress Isabel of Portugal.[461] Although there are no extant pieces of Chinese porcelain in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales[462] or any reference to them in the state sale of her possessions,[463] we know that her aunt Catherine of Portugal gave her porcelain. In December 1566, Bernarda Coutinho, lady-in-waiting to Queen Catherine, at that time she was in Madrid as the wife of Francisco Pereira, the Portuguese ambassador in Philip II's court, presented Joan of Austria with some porcelain pieces given to her by Catherine of Austria. She was delighted with the gift, and described them as 'the best in the world'.[464] In 1572 she also acquired Chinese porcelain from a Portuguese merchant called Francisco de Lisboa:[465]

- Three hundred and forty *maravedíes* for a porcelain plate, scarlet and gilded.
- Two hundred and sixty *maravedíes* for an *algindarino* [?] of porce lain, scarlet and gilded.
- Five hundred and forty-four *maravedíes* for two porcelains, one gilded and white, the other blue and gilded.
- Three hundred and forty *maravedís* for two porcelains.
- Two hundred and four *mrs* [*maravedíes*] for another porcelain.
- And one thousand, two hundred and twenty-four *mrs* [*maravedíes*] for nine porcelains at four *reales*.

Maria of Austria (1528–1603), Dowager Empress, and daughter of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, was born a year after Philip II, and married her cousin Maximilian II to preserve the dynastic unity of the House of Austria. She joined her consort in Vienna in 1551 but would eventually return a widow to Madrid in 1582, where she was received in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales, where she lived until her death.[466] She kept a close correspondence with other members of her family, and often presented them with gifts of exotic or curious items. Her son Rudolf, the Holy Roman Emperor, and an avid collector, was the main recipient of her gifts. In 1600 she sent Rudolf II some porcelains and *bú-*

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[461] Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Las dos águilas del emperador Carlos V. Las colecciones y el mecenazgo de Juana y María de Austria en la corte de Felipe II', in L. Robot García, *La monarquía de Felipe II a debate*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 429–72. Other pieces could have also reached the monastery at a later date after Juana's death through her sister, María de Austria, and Archduke Albert, see María Ángeles Toajas Roger, 'Juana de Austria y las Artes', in *Felipe II y las Artes*, Madrid, 2000, p. 101.

[462] Ana García Sanz and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Via Orientalis: Objetos del lejano Oriente en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales', in *Reales Sitios*, vol. 4, no. 138, Madrid, 1998, p. 26.

[463] Documentary Appendixes 1, Document 17, AGP, Sección Patronatos, Descalzas Reales, Caja 4, Expediente 11, 1588. Only a table from China was found.

[464] F. Sousa Viterbo, 'O theatro na córte de D. Filippe II', in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol. 1, Lisbon 1903, p. 6. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[465] Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 109, Exotica acquired by Juana de Austria from the Portuguese merchant, Francisco de Lisboa, in June 1572, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 18639, fols. 21–21v. Quoted before in Fernando Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, Madrid, 1998, p. 61, footnote 99.

[466] The Dowager Empress arrived in Madrid on March 1582 and on 26 March she left again for Lisbon at the behest of Philip II, who appointed her as governor for ten months.

*caros* for his collection.[467] However, in the inventory of Maria of Austria's possessions, only one piece of genuine porcelain is registered in 1603: 'a small cauldron of porcelain clay from the Indies with handles and a ring and a mount on top of gilded silver'.[468] She also had a small jade vase, described as a 'small vase of jade (*piedra de ijada*), green with a gold foot, with three masks and a gold rim enamelled with coloured leaves, in a box of green taffeta', among other exotic stones. The scarcity of porcelain objects in her inventory is surprising, considering that Maria spent many years of her life acting as an enthusiastic art broker for her relations, including her son Rudolf, who owned an important collection of ceramics.

Margaret of Austria and Parma (1522–86) was another collector of exotic objects and Chinese porcelain, as can be gathered from the 1586 inventory of her personal belongings.[469] She was the illegitimate daughter of Charles V and Johanna Maria van der Gheynst, and was Governor of the Netherlands from 1559 to 1567 and from 1578 to 1582. She was Duchess consort of Florence and of Parma and Piacenza by marriage to Alexander de Medici and later to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. In the inventory, drawn up after her death, a few porcelains are registered as:

- Two porcelain bowls with a border, the foot and handles to hold it in gilded silver.
- Three porcelain bowls with feet, the handles of gilded silver to hold it, which weighs 2 ounces (*onzas*) and 1 and 7/8, and among them there is one with pulverised gold.
- A bowl of white and turquoise porcelain with handles, feet and cover (of gold?), which weighs 6 and 7/8 with the cover.
- Another yellow porcelain bowl, with its foot and two handles (of gold?) enamelled in black and white, which weighs 1 and 3/8 with the cover.
- Two porcelain bowls with feet and two handles in gilded silver.
- A small bowl with a mount on the foot and a gold handle.
- Four small porcelain bowls mounted in gold (in gold?).
- A porcelain bowl mounted in the middle (*guarnita del medio*).
- A Turkish jar with its cover, similar to porcelain.
- A small porcelain jar (*un vasetto*) with two handles.
- Two large porcelain vases, all worked in turquoise colour with a leather box.

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[467] Trnek, 2001, pp. 56–57. Rudolf II appreciated porcelain and some pieces in his collection, like a group of 22 vases were 'white translucent of the *quinta essentia* (very refined and pure)'. Seventeen large lidded jars were placed above the cabinets of the *Kunstkammer*, initiating a manner of decoration that became popular at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other pieces in his collection were chosen according to different criteria such as mounts, colours, and glazes. Some of the Emperor's porcelains were also gifts from the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia from Brussels such as three chests with table porcelains that were taken to the treasury in 1609. Ambassador Khevenhüller provided the Emperor with porcelain from Lisbon as well. Trnek, 2001, footnote 84, p. 66. Many porcelain pieces, some brought from Spain, are included in the 1612 inventory of his *Kunstkammer* that was compiled after his death. See R. Bauer and H. Haupt, 'Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien 72*, 1976, pp. 1–191.

[468] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 22, AGS, Patronato Real 31-28, fols. 191, 194, 197, 208, 212. Inventory of María de Austria, Infanta of Castilla, Empress of Austria, 15 March 1603. A microfilm of the same inventory is in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (AHPM) no. 2614. Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend published her inventory in 2001, p. 117.

[469] Inventario delle suppellettili di Margherita d'Austria, redatto alla sua morte, 1586, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Carteggio Farnesiano, vol. 372, in Maddalena Nardi, *Il Collezionismo di Oggetti D'Arte Esotica nelle Collezioni dei Farnese*, Ph.D. diss., Universitá degli Studi di Parma, Parma 1998–99, Appendix 1, p. 115.

- A large vase, with a similar long neck.
- Another similar [vase], smaller with a broken neck.
- A ewer with a piece to pour water onto the hands.
- Another similar plate and eight similar plates, four large, two medium, and two small.
- Eighteen similar cups.
- Two white similar shells and one green.
- A large bowl (*rinfrescatoio*), worked inside and out.
- A similar bowl, broken.
- A similar bowl for clear soup with a lid, the rim damaged.
- Six similar small plates.
- A similar cup (*tazzetta*).
- Twenty-five similar bowls large and small.
- Two similar medium-size bowls.
- A similar small bowl broken.
- Seven similar small bowls.[470]

### *Philip III and Margaret of Austria*

King Philip III's (1578–1621) status as art collector has been somewhat overshadowed by the two great collectors of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty, his father, Philip II and his son, Philip IV. A cultivated man, Philip III had good artistic judgement. He was especially fond of painting, but lacked his predecessors' enthusiasm for exotica and porcelain. His *valido* (Royal favourite) Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma, decorated his palaces with great magnificence and luxury, where he housed some of the porcelain pieces bought at the public sale of Philip II's goods (see Chapter 3.4. Chinese Porcelain in the Houses of the Nobility, pp. 137-38).

Entries in the palace accounts show that porcelain objects were part of Philip's table services from the moment he was born. Two large porcelain plates were bought on 25 July 1581 for eight *reales*,

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[470] See Nardi, 1998–99, Appendix 1, p. 115: - *due escudelle di porcellana, co'li bordi, piedi, et due maniche per ciashed.a di arg.to dorato- tre scudelle di porcellana di mestura, co' li piedi, et due maniche d'arg.to dorato, pero ciasched.a pesano lib. 2 on. 1 et 7/8. Fra le quali ve ne* è, *una co'oro macinato di fuora* f.8v; - *una scudella di porcelana blanca, et turchina, con manichi, piedi, et coperchio d.o. pesa on 6 et 7/8 con il coperchio* f. 9v; - *un altra escudella di porcellana gialla, co'piede, et due maniche d.o, smaltata di nero, e bianco, pesa co' il coperchio on. 1 et 3/8* f.10; *due escudelle di porcellana, co' piede, et sue manchette d'argento dorato* f.10r; *una escudellina di porcellana guarnita al piede et, manico d'oro* f.20 v; - *quattro scudellini di porcellana guarniti d.o* f. 20v; *una scudella di porcellana, guarnita del med.o* f. 20v; - *un vaso tuchino co'suo coperchio similare a la porcellana* f. 72; - *un vasetto di porcellana, co'due maniche* f. 85; *due bacili grandi di porcellana, tutti lavoratti di color turchino, co' la lor custodia di córame* f. 99; *un vaso grande, con il collo lungo simile* f.99; - *un altro piccolino simile co'it collo rotto* f.99; - *un bocalle simile co'il pezzo per dar l'acqua alle mani* f.99; - *otto piatti simili cio* è, *quattro grandi, due mezzani, et due piccoli* f.99; - *dicidotto tazzetti simili* f.99; - *due conchette bianche simili, et una verde* f. 99; - *un rinfrescatoio, lavorato dentro et fuora* f.99; - *una escudelle simile rotta* f.99 – *una scudella simile da brodo, co'suo coperchio, rotto un poco l' orlo* f. 99; - *sei piattelli piccoli simili* f.99 – *una tazzetta simile* f.99 – *vinticinq scudelle simili fra grandi et piccole* f.99v – *due scudelle simili mezzane* f.99 v – *uno scudellino simile rotto* f.99v – *sette scudellini piccoli simili* f.99v.

and the same amount was paid for a plate and a bowl during an illness when he was just three years old.[471] Again in 1583, by order of the Duke of Uceda and Earl of Barajas, several porcelains and *brincos* were bought and used as toys by the prince and the other *infantes*. The prince used Oriental porcelain at mealtimes, and took them on several different journeys despite the fragility of the pieces.[472] His fondness for Oriental objects was apparent when he sent several lacquer chests of the Namban type, textiles and other Oriental objects to his sister Catherine Michelle (1567–97) at the Court of Torino.

Most of the king's tableware was selected by the Marquis of Velada, who gave a porcelain bowl to a silversmith, Luis de Morales, and ordered him to produce a similar piece in silver. As mentioned previously, Velada delivered a 'porcelain bowl' to the silversmith in 1596 and requested that he made two small silver bowls in the manner of the 'porcelain bowl' with his coat of arms. In addition, two silver porcelain pieces were made for bleeding. As we can see, silver imitations of porcelain were highly regarded not only for their intrinsic value, but also because they were likely to last much longer than their fragile porcelain or crystal counterparts. The king and queen inherited an important number of pieces from Philip II and Anne of Austria's estate in 1617 (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25), but it was precisely during his reign that the collection gradually started to diminish.

In 1607, Philip's household costs rose sharply at a time when the Crown's revenue was falling. To curb excessive expenses in the Royal palace, it was ordered that all the *infantes* eat together rather than separately. In addition, all servants would be paid in kind, with spices instead of money. They ate their masters' leftovers.[473] It is hardly surprising that in such circumstances, the porcelain pieces in the royal palace began to disappear. They were probably taken by servants with their food rations or to the convents that surrounded the palace. We also know that the king handed out some of these pieces as presents, such as the 100 porcelain vases that he gave the Archduchess Maria Anna of Bavaria in Barcelona in June 1599, along with other exotic items from India.[474]

The inventory of the king's possessions is unfortunately not extant but we do have the complete inventory of his wife, Queen Margaret of Austria. Her inventory is divided into different sections, one being dedicated to 'porcelain, glass and aquamarines'. However, there are no porcelain items listed in it. On the other hand, broken porcelain mounted in silver is mentioned in the silver section.[475]

Other bowls belonging to Philip III and documented in a manuscript dated 1612, were carefully kept in boxes: two porcelain bowls (*escudillas*) from the Indies for the service of His Majesty inside a wooden box covered in black leather'.[476] Some pieces of porcelain clearly had a practical use at Philip III's dining table:

- Two porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve His Majesty's *consommé*.
- Three porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve the *consommé* at the table of His Majesty.

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[471] Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'La educación artística y la configuración de la imagen del príncipe Felipe', in José Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.) *La Monarquía de Felipe III: La Corte*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2008, (pp. 108–46), p. 123.

[472] Pérez de Tudela, 2008, p. 126, footnote 236. Account of Jusepe de Vargas, treasurer of His Majesty, by order of Arnedo, AGP, Administración General, Cuentas Particulares, Legajo 5227, 14 May 1591: 'two boxes, each containing four porcelains from India for the service of His Highness the Prince'.

[473] María del Carmen Simón Palmer, *La alimentación y sus circunstancias en el Real Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid, 1982, p. 13.

[474] Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 116.

[475] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902. Inventory of jewellery and objects of Queen Margaret of Austria.

[476] *Ibid.*

- Another two porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve His Majesty's *consommé* soup in a box covered in black leather and lined in red *frisa* with a strap and a button to tie them up.[477]

- Two large porcelains to serve the soup of His Majesty on the fish days, one larger than the other, one with a rim.[478]

Since some porcelain items had an everyday use, they were more prone to breakage, as this inventory entry shows:[479]

> Francisco de Colmenares as *salsier* to the King, received from Hernando de Espejo,[480] his treasurer, two porcelains from India shaped as two round cooking containers or bowls (*caçuelas*) of one fourth in diameter that are used to serve the soup for His Majesty on the fish days. They were given to me to replace other broken ones that were in the service of His Majesty. Signed in Madrid on the sixth of December 1610.[481]

### *Philip IV and his Two Wives, Elisabeth of France and Mariana of Austria*

King Phillip IV ruled Spain from 1621 to 1665 and during his reign he assembled one of the most admirable collections of art in the west. The king's love of art and culture was a glorious chapter in the history of Spain. He added thousands of paintings, sculptures and tapestries to the pieces he had already inherited in the Royal collection. He was the most ambitious Spanish art collector of the seventeenth century and his acquisitions of Old Masters and contemporary works was supervised by his principal painter, Diego de Velázquez, who was familiar with the Royal collection and ideally suited to select the finest works.[482] Unfortunately, the loss of the settings that displayed his treasures[483] has obscured the information on much of its original collection. In addition, a complete inventory of the king possessions was made, but a state sale to 'excuse the indecency' (*escusar la indecencia*) was prohibited by Royal decree on 31 December 1667,[484] so all lists were returned to the queen and perhaps destroyed. To 'excuse the indecency' probably meant that the court had become prim and thought an auction of the king's goods was indecent (despite it being a widespread practice across Spain), or that the economic deficit was so large that the court avoided the embarrassment by settling the accounts with the creditors in other ways. However, fragmentary inventories of paintings and other objects do exist and were compiled and studied by Steven N. Orso in 1986.[485] Other inventories are preserved such as the one compiled by his treasurer Francisco Tamayo de Villalta, where porcelain and pieces from

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[477] *Frisa*: ordinary woollen cloth that is used to line clothes. (RAE).

[478] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902. Inventory of jewellery and objects of Queen Margaret of Austria.

[479] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902, fol. 3.

[480] Hernando de Espejo was a prominent courtier during the reign of Philip III who was appointed *Cavallerizo de la Reina* (Royal Cavalry) and *Guardajoyas* (Treasurer) of his Majesty.

[481] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902, fol. 3.

[482] Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcazar de Madrid*, Princetown, 1986, p. 8; Fundación Universitaria Española, *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV. Jornadas de Iconografía y Coleccionismo*, Madrid, 2006.

[483] The Alcázar of Madrid burned in 1734; the Buen Retiro Palace was almost destroyed during the Peninsula War and the El Escorial Monastery was never intended to be used to house a large collection of antiquities or paintings, with the exception of the splendid and large library, built to contain more than 40,000 volumes.

[484] AGP, Reinados, Caja 83, Expediente 3. I am grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande for this information.

[485] Orso, 1986, pp. 24–31.

India and China are registered eleven years before his death in 1665.[486] However, from isolated documents in other bundles we can infer that some pieces were sold after the king's death, notwithstanding the decree of 1667: 'A porcelain from China with a bezoar stone in the middle mounted in gilded silver [for] forty silver *reales*'.[487] The inventory of his first wife Elisabeth of France (1602–44), Queen consort of Spain from 1621 to 1644, is complete and well preserved. Many luxurious items are mentioned, but not a single piece of porcelain and only a few ivory pieces from the Indies.[488]

The king's main residence in Madrid, the Alcázar, was further renovated during the seventeenth century, but the layout remained largely unchanged, with the king's courtyard to the west separated from the queen's courtyard to the east, reflecting the division of palace life into two households. From this period we have more documentation of the life in the palace – preserved in the General Archive of the Palace, Madrid – and some complementary accounts of the decoration of the Alcázar and of new foreign decorative elements by visitors. González Dávila's description of 1623 mentions other Oriental objects in several rooms of the palace:

> There is a beautiful gallery decorated with paintings, jasper tables and extraordinary things in the so-called Golden Tower… the King sleeps, consults and signs near this gallery…. Nearby is the treasury (*guardajoyas*) and the rare objects from the world's riches. There are no words to explain what these are. One of its jewels is a gold *fleur de lis* of half a *vara* in height, and a little less in width, and embroidered with precious stones… The richness of the writing desks, crystal vases and other [vases] from China, scents from India and multitude of precious stones….[489]

As we can infer from his description, González Dávila gives an account of a type of *Kunstkammer* or treasury where objects from China and India were still displayed together with precious jewellery kept in the Golden Tower I, the same location where the objects were kept in the time of King Philip II.

During his visit to the palace in 1626, Cassiano del Pozzo described the New Room or Mirror Room:

> In the same room, before entering, there was one of those paintings from Japan that is folded one [panel] against the other in the manner of their books, which, standing on their feet, serve to divide rooms and to screen doors. They are called '*biombos*'. They are made with long panels, one attached to the other, and unfold together. It was constructed from the aforesaid standing paintings [and made] a small room, which takes up little space when it is in use. They can be carried conveniently, they make a very charming show of painting, and they can quickly form a room in whatever shape is desired.[490]

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[486] See Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26.

[487] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 905. Account of the objects inventoried and appraised at the treasury of His Majesty that could be sold. The rest [of the objects] mentioned in the inventory must remain in the house of the King. no. 60 (0040); Madrid 31 October 1666.

[488] AHPM, Protocolo 5412, fol. 1. Inventario y Tasación de Bienes de la Reina Isabel de Borbón, 1644.

[489] '*Entrando más adelante, por diferentes salas y retretes, está la Torre Dorada, y una hermosa galería compuesta de pinturas, mesas de jaspe, y cosas extraordinarias……cerca de esta galería duerme el rey, escribe, firma y despacha….. Cerca del está la guardajoyas, y lo raro de la naturaleza del Orbe. No hay palabras para poder explicar lo que ella es. Una de sus preciosas joyas es una flor de lis de oro, de más de media vara de alto, y poco menos de ancho, bordada de piedras preciosas ……La riqueza de escritorios, vasos de cristal y de la China, olores de la India, multitud de piedras preciosas…*'; see Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España*, Madrid, 1623, pp. 311–12.

[490] Cassiano del Pozzo, untitled journal of Cardinal Francesco Barberini's legation to Spain in 1626, Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. Lat. 5689, unpaginated. Transcribed by S.N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, Princeton, 1986, p. 188.

Like his predecessors, King Philip IV sent presents to his close family too. Soon after being appointed King of Spain, he sent his aunt Magdalena (Duchess of Tuscany and sister of Queen Margaret of Austria) 'different presents such as portraits of him and his brothers, *búcaros* of different shapes, trays from India, a writing desk made of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, mounted in silver, boxes from India, rosaries of coconut and clay and one hundred and twenty porcelains of different shapes and decorations'.[491]

As far as the use of the porcelain during his reign is concerned (except for a document stating that an enormous quantity was seized from Sanlúcar de Barrameda and sent to the Royal court; Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, 2,3,4), there is less of it compared to his grandfather's collection, and it is mixed with other Western types such as pieces with decorations of 'children playing the trumpet' or 'a porcelain King David with the head of giant Goliath at his feet'. Most of the pieces were registered in a specific section 'Porcelains from Portuguese India' (*Porcelanas de la India de Portugal*) by His Majesty's treasurer Francisco de Tamayo, who in turn received the pieces from the heirs of the previous treasurer, Jerónimo de Villafuerte.

Although the collection inherited from his grandfather Philip II was already dispersed, some pieces might relate to previous inventories: 'one hundred and sixteen blue-and-white porcelain plates (*trincheos*) with pointed edges' [foliated edges; *faldillas con labores de picos*], that could be left over from the previous 'nine hundred and twelve porcelain plates, some gilded and coloured, and some blue-and-white, of the size of a *trincheo* plate' registered by his grandfather.[492]

Other shapes and decorations were new and popular in the middle of the seventeenth century such as *papelinas*[493] or *yen yen* vases, covered ovoid jars (of the Transitional type) or 'dogs' shaped as lions with open mouths and snake-like tails probably Dehua (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, 7). Some very interesting pieces in the inventory of 1674 during the regency of Mariana of Austria, are 'two *botixas* of one third [of a *vara*],[494] in height, round and painted with the coat of arms in blue-and-white',[495] which would probably be similar to the blue-and-white bottles that have been generally attributed to the reign of King Philip II, although some have been dated later, to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[496]

Blue-and-white was still the most popular decorative technique but others began appearing, including a combination of red, gilt and blue – perhaps a Japanese *Imari*-type decoration. Of the pieces received by Bernardo de Tamayo, treasurer of King Charles II, in the inventory dated 1674 – nine years after Charles II of Spain ascended to the throne (Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27), most are the same as in the inventory dated 1654 (Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26), but what is really striking is that the pieces had no value by then.

Silver was still the most important material used as tableware. In 1626, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was visiting Madrid for 68 days and through the accounts of traveller Cassiano del Pozzo (1588–1657)

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[491] '*Retratos de* él *y sus hermanos, búcaros de diferentes hechuras, bandejas de la India ciento y veinte porcelanas de diferentes tamaños y hechuras, un escritorio de carey y nácar guarnecido de plata, cajillas de la India, rosarios de cocos y barro*'. Travel License, 22 April 1621. Quoted by Magdalena de Lapuerta Montoya, 'La corte y el arte', in José Martínez Millán and María Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe III: La corte*, Madrid, 2008, vol. 3, p. 586, quotation 8. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[492] See Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. fol 835.

[493] 'A type of vase narrow on the foot and wide in the mouth in the shape of a trumpet; it was the invention of a Pope' (from the Covarrubias dictionary).

[494] A *vara* equals to 83.59 centimetres so the piece must have been 27.3 centimetres tall. The bottles with the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon are approximately 30 centimetres tall.

[495] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 905, file 1, no. 42.: '*Mas dos botixas de una tercia de alto redondas pintados unos escudos con colores de azul y blanco*'.

[496] Díaz, 2010, pp. 74–77, dated to the reign of King Philip III (!598-1621).

we know of the type of tableware used at that time: 'They do not use small plates but medium-size plates and bowls that have some decoration on the sides. Two gentleman assist the meal, one of them brings two plates from the stepped sideboard or credenza (*aparador*) to the table'.[497] From Philip IV's reign, new protocol requirements – the *etiquetas* of 1647 to 1651 – were issued, so we know that most of the meals were eaten by the king 'in public' (i.e, in the presence of privileged courtiers), and were served in the Antechamber, whether they were 'ordinary' meals marking no special event, or those celebrating Easter, birthdays or any other solemn occasion.[498] From the accounts of the Dutch traveler Lodewijck Huygens (1631–99), on 25 December 1660, we know of a 'public' meal hosted by Queen Mariana of Austria in the Alcázar, stating that after washing their hands the meal started with a *consommé* served in a 'porcelain' bowl with 'Spanish style' bread.[499] From the inventories preserved in the Palace archive we know that 'seventeen dozen bowls (*escudillas*), blue, white, scarlet and gilded, were used by His Majesty for soup'.[500]

One of the most interesting documents relating to his reign is a record of a large amount of Chinese porcelain sent in 1656 by the Duke of Medinaceli from the village of Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) to the court in Madrid. The Duke confiscated the porcelain trader Juan Vangel (fron the Southern Low Countries?) as he was smuggling the pieces to Sanlúcar. East Asian pieces arriving in Seville were heavily taxed, so many ships offloaded merchandise in Sanlúcar to avoid them.[501] The pieces were first received by Francisco Tamayo, King Philip IV's treasurer, and were stored in large boxes – in seaweed to protect them – in a storage below the room of the late Balthasar Charles, Prince of Asturias, who had died in 1646. It was a huge amount: 2,774 pieces divided across different crates and organised according to the shapes of the pieces.

Pieces were decorated in blue – most likely underglaze cobalt blue – while just a few were ornamented in red.[502] Sizes are mentioned, such as some large dishes of one third of a *vara* in diameter (about 27.5 centimetres). Many pieces were broken and from the initial total of 2,774 the final number of complete pieces was reduced to 2,418. One of the last documents in the file of May 1656 confirmed that the pieces were transferred to Don Francisco Gaztelu y Gamboa, treasurer of Queen Mariana de Austria, meaning that this confiscated Chinese porcelain was intended for the queen.

The inventory of Queen Mariana de Austria of 1696 registers several pieces of porcelain, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the large quantity of pieces mentioned earlier had disappeared. However, other pieces of porcelain are mentioned in her inventory.[503]

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[497] Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 24: 'Some of these half-liquid sweets were served on extremely fine silver plates whose ends and borders were, with a little *scherzo*, shaped as lettuce leaves (*lattuga*), making these porcelain plates highly stylish (*fanno*), and beneath these there was snow [crushed ice] for chilling'. This is not the clearest of texts, but seemingly these liquid sweets were served in porcelain bowls with lobed or wavy silver edges, like neck ruffs, on fine silver plates containing crushed ice for chilling the food. The Spanish original reads: '*Las cosas dulces medio líquidas* (*servidas*) *en platitos finísimos de plata cuya extremidad y orla rea con un poco de* "*scherzo*" *diremos a* "*lattuga*" *que lo más* "*fanno*" *los platos de porcelana y bajo esto, en otro había nieve para refrescar*'.

[498] Orso, 1986, p. 17.

[499] Maurits Ebben (ed.), *Un Holandés en la España de Felipe IV. Diario del viaje de Lodewijck Huygens* (*1660-1661*), Madrid, 2010, p. 45. Dutch edition: Maurits Ebben (ed.), *Lodewijk Huygens' Spaans Journal: reis naar het hof van de koning van Spanje, 1660-1661*, Zutphen, 2005.

[500] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 904.

[501] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, [2].

[502] 'One thousand, six hundred and seventy small, medium and large bowls (*escudillas*) of cold blue and some scarlet porcelain from China'. Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26.

[503] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 30.

As we can infer, except for the four large earthenware jars from the Indies at the end of the list, most pieces in her inventory were preserved for their valuable filigree mounts. Other objects such as lacquered chests, jars and writing desks inlaid with mother-of-pearl (probably of the *Namban* type), were not appraised but just inventoried; (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 30).

### *Charles II of Spain and his Two Wives, María Luisa de Orléans and Mariana de Neoburgo*

One of the first inventories published of the Spanish Habsburgs in Spain was made on the death of Charles II of Spain. It was selected here because it is by far the most extensive and complete inventory.[504] It is additionally important because it covers the greatest art collections of the Royal Habsburg house before a fire in 1734 at the old Alcázar in which so many pieces of art were unfortunately lost. Gloria Fernández Bayton started to transcribe these inventories in 1974 from six manuscript volumes, 3,274 documents comprising various inventories of the objects left by the Habsburg kings in the so-called *Sitios Reales* or Royal palaces. The objects inventoried were categorised according to the different palaces and rooms in which they were placed.

The first Oriental object inventoried was a lacquer screen with nine panels of three *varas* in height (2 metres 49 centimetres)[505] in the Room of the Furias, which was a royal bedroom decorated in the seventeenth century with a portrait gallery that glorified the Habsburg line along with paintings of views of Spanish territories. Most of the porcelain was still kept in the treasury (*guardajoyas*) but additional pieces were listed in the Bureau of Foods.[506] This inventory illustrates the practical use of porcelain at the Court at the end of the seventeenth century.

The porcelains kept in the treasury are all listed in Document 33 of Documentary Appendix 1. Some were mentioned in earlier inventories, but new objects do appear, including 'five dozen and eleven small plates (*trincheos*) of scarlet, gold and blue porcelain', clearly a group of Imari-type porcelain; others decorated in *famille verte* and green, red and white, similar to a specific type of vase (*papelina*); 'a vase of one quarter in height [20 centimetres] and another [one] with a green, red and white decoration without a lid'. Many pieces in the inventory were already broken at the time and were inventoried even in the damaged condition. What is really striking is that at end of the treasury list there is note stating that the pieces of porcelain 'were not appraised as they had more of a sentimental than an intrinsic value'.

The king's first wife, Queen Maria Luisa de Orleáns (1662–89), niece of Louis XIV of France, had a few pieces registered in her inventory.[507] Most of them were bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) and some lac-

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[504] Gloria Fernández Bayton, *Inventarios reales*: *Testamentaría del Rey Carlos II 1701-1703*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1975/81/85. I have translated the names of all Oriental objects in this publication; see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 31. Apart from this publication I found other Oriental objects in different bundles; See Documentary Appendix 1, Documents 32 and 28.

[505] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, Registros, signatura 240, in the Pieza (Room) de las Furias: '*Un biombo de Charol de nueue ojas de a tres Uaras de alto cada Una y es de la Yndia*'.

[506] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, Registros, signatura 240, Guardajoyas y ofiçios de voca: • [Fol. 1] *Three porcelains from China, plain with no mounts, one of which is* [used] *to serve milk, the other two smaller round ones to serve strawberries – they are in two boxes covered in leather* (vaqueta) *and lined with cloth* (frisa). *Department in charge of the spices, salt, etc., used in meals in the Royal Household* (Sausería) • [Fol. 4] S*ix small plates shaped as* (flamenquillas) *that are called 'cazolettas', on which the porcelains with consommé are served, with arms and numbers, and two boxes covered in leather, each one containing six [plates]. Seven porcelains from China with silver feet and handles in which the clear soup is served, three of them in red velvet boxes with new gold riveting and four in leather. Eight porcelains from China.*

[507] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 29, AGP, Sección Registros, no. 5269. Inventory of goods of Queen Maria of Orleáns (Doña Maria Luisa de Borbon or Orleáns), 1689.

quered objects. Chocolate was a very popular beverage in the second half of the seventeenth century. The daughter of Philip III of Spain, Anne of Austria, introduced it to the French court in 1615 when she married Louis XIII. By the time of Anne's son, the future Louis XIV of France – who was married to Princess María Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV of Spain in 1660 – she and her court brought their tradition of chocolate drinking to Versailles and later, during the time of María Luisa de Orleáns, the habit returned to the Spanish court with the French queen:

- Forty white bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) from China without mounts.
- Twelve *jícaras* from China with two handles and lid of gilded silver.
- In the pottery room one hundred and eight porcelain *jícaras* and bowls (*escudillas*) from China, and four larger pieces from China.[508]

The inventories of Charles II of Spain registered a number of pieces in the Casa de Campo, a small palace built in the second half of the sixteenth century by architect Juan Bautista de Toledo, who also designed the surrounding gardens of *El Reservado*. During the reign of Philip IV, interest in this palace declined in favour of the Palace of Buen Retiro, inaugurated in December 1633. The grandeur of the latter palace reduced interest in the Casa de Campo. At the end of the seventeenth century the palace was in a delapidated state but still contained several pieces of Chinese porcelain, probably used for outings during which chocolate was consumed. These pieces were registered as belonging to the second wife of King Charles II, Queen Mariana of Neoburgo.[509]All the items in the list were not appraised because María Grauett declared that they belonged to Her Majesty the Queen.

A document dated 7 May 1703 recorded that the overseer (*contralor*), following the practice of previous reigns, organised a distribution of table linens and tableware used in the service of Charles II of Spain, the last Habsburg king. Among the beneficiaries were the heads of the various offices in the Royal Household who had been responsible for such objects. For example, the treasurer, the Head *Salsier* (*salsiers* were in charge of the meat in the Royal Household, but the Head *Salsier* had come to be responsible for the silverware), the Head of the Royal Bakeries (who as well as being in charge of the bread, had come to be responsible for table linens), the Head of the Royal Cellars, and other similar offices. Foremost amongst these beneficiaries were the overseer himself and the majordomo, both of whom received in addition to a large quantity of tablecloths and tableware, two crystal goblets, one with the base decorated with diamonds and rubies and the other with gold and enamels. These two crystal goblets had been used to serve wine at the king's table. For the Head of the Royal Cellars, among other pieces mentioned are some ceramics and porcelain wares: 'six large Talavera wine jars, with stoppers, six pieces of Chinese porcelain, used to serve *consommé* and other dishes to His Majesty'.[510] King Charles II of Spain died childless in 1700 and was succeeded by Bourbon Philip V, grandson of Charles' half-sister Maria Theresa of Spain, the first wife of Louis XIV. As a change of dynasty took place, most objects from the old dynasty were sold off or given away to servants at the court. Many pieces of old Chinese porcelain were probable dispersed at that time.

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[508] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 29, AGP, Sección Registros, no. 5269. Inventory of goods of Queen Maria of Orleáns 1689. I: '[*Fol. 22*v] *Quarenta jícaras de la China blancas sin guarnición ninguna, Veinte y quatro cucharas de caracol de la India con cabos de filigrana de plata retorcidos. Doce cocos con pie y dos asas y tapador en cada uno de filigrana de plata blanca, Doce jícaras de la China con pie dos asas y tapador de plata dorada,* [*Fol. 42*] *Barros. En el camarín de los barros se halló ciento y ocho jícaras porcelanas y escudillas de la China, quatro piezas mayores de China*'.

[509] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, Casa Real del Campo.

[510] In Paulina Junquera, 'Vajillas Reales', in *Reales Sitios*, no. 5, Madrid, 1965, p. 67, in a document dated 7 May 1703.

Fig. 39. Tizian. *Portrait of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba*, 101 x 83 cm., oil on canvas, 1570. Liria Palace, Madrid (The Alba Collection).



The conclusion I wish to draw from this chapter is that Oriental porcelain was used by the court for various domestic purposes, such as vessels for oil, vinegar, perfume, stock, fish soup and later for strawberries, conserves and chocolate, together with silverware vessels. These latter objects were effectively an economic investment, as they could be melted down and made into coinage or recycled as different objects. It is for this very reason that so few examples of domestic silverware remain from the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The arrival in the Iberian Peninsula of Chinese porcelain in significant quantities, especially from the last third of the sixteenth century onwards, made it possible to acquire cheap examples from both Seville and Lisbon. The low cost of these goods is recorded in royal and noble inventories of the last third of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. We should also bear in mind the continuous economic difficulties experienced by the Court throughout the seventeenth century in meeting the costs of paying its staff. This resulted in a significant increase in the number of thefts of all sorts of Court tableware, especially of silverware, but also of Chinese porcelain. The Court was responsible for the board and lodging of all the palace staff, and food was distributed between close servants as well as being sent to certain convents as a charitable offering. Porcelain went along with this food, as the finds in various Madrid convents affirm.[511] Finally, old Chinese porcelain was given away to servants and courtiers during a change of dynasty when a new style in the arts was being introduced in Spain.

### 3.4. *Chinese Porcelain for the Nobility*

The stratified society in which the Crown occupied the top position did not mean that the kings were the only ones at the top. The monarch governed supported by the aristocracy and by the Church, sharing responsibilities and privileges with a sometimes shaky equilibrium. The titled nobility (*nobleza titulada*),[512] which included various categories (dukes, marquis and earls and among other titles), had diverse privileges such as the symbolic right to stand before the king with their heads uncovered, and being called 'cousins' by the king.[513] This highest level included the 'grandees' of Spain and titled nobility, who had illustrious last names such as Enríquez, Velasco, Mendoza, Guz-

[511] The royal Palace in Madrid has covered passageways to many adjoining buildings such as the royal convent of the Encarnación and the church of San Gil so these buildings could be considered extensions of the palace.

[512] The following publications provide overviews of Hispanic nobility during the Habsburg period: Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, *Las clases privilegiadas en el Antiguo Régimen*, Madrid, 1973; Idem, 'La nobleza cortesana en el Antiguo Régimen', in Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra (ed.), *Visión histórica de Madrid* (*siglos XVI a XX*), Madrid, 1991, pp. 35–37; Idem, 'La nobleza como estamento y grupo social en el siglo XVII', in *Nobleza y Sociedad en la España Moderna*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 119–33; David García Hernán, *La nobleza en la España moderna*, Madrid, 1992. Recent publications: Adolfo Carrasco Martínez, *Sangre, honor y privilegio: la nobleza española bajo los Austrias*, Barcelona, 2000; Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España Moderna: cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, 2007; Joseph Pérez, 'La Aristocracia Castellana en el siglo XVI', in Fundación Central Hispano, *Nobleza y Sociedad en la España Moderna*, Oviedo, 1995, pp. 53–71.

[513] We must note that in the early modern period, part of the Castillian nobility changed from holding rural seats to become members associated with the Court. Even in the sixteenth century it was normal for high ranking aristocrats to remain in the places that were the seat of their Lordships, where they lived in magnificent palaces and were active patrons to church and convents, surrounded by a small court that included family members, administrators, and chapel priests. Over time, however, they tended to drift towards the Court where they took on responsibilities and received honours from the monarchs. This tendency became more pronounced after a political capital was selected by the monarchy at the beginning of Phillip II's reign.

mán, Pimentel. The next promotion, in the mid-sixteenth century, saw several noble households in Andalucia such as the Marquis of Priego or the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Arcos being elevated to 'grandees' of Spain. In Castile (which used to include the area of Andalucía) the Dukes of Medina de Rioseco (admirals of Castile), Escalona, Alburquerque, Medinaceli, Alba, Béjar, and Frías, Constable of Castile, were also 'grandees' of Spain.

The amounts these high-ranking nobles earned, even when taking into account the enormous expenses of maintaining a costly lifestyle, were quite high. Their incomes came from rents on the lands held by the entailed estates (*mayorazgo*)[514] and lordships (*señoríos*), as well as from the seigniorial taxation of their vassals.[515]

The power of these aristocratic lineages was demonstrated by the sumptuous architecture of their palaces and the interior decoration that reflected the prestige and dignity of the family. The house and its ornamentation were fundamental to maintaining the good name of the family and to exhibiting the emblems of a specific lineage. Further, it served as a place for social cohesion and a tool for projecting social rank.[516] As Antonio Urquízar Herrera explains: 'The most important families identified

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[514] The *mayorazgo* was a regulation in old Castilian law, enforced from 1505 (*Leyes de Toro*) to 1820, which gave the first-born son the right to inherit the entire estate to prevent its subdivision among the members of the family. Usually, one-third of the assets were transferred to these perpetual trusts or *mayorazgos* to ensure that a large block of assets would pass intact from one generation to the next. The holder of the *mayorazgo* could not sell, mortgage, or give away any portion of the *mayorazgo's* principal, but was obliged to invest its annual income to provide for his siblings and their descendants, as well as his own children. (RAE, Seigniorial system).

[515] At the end of the sixteenth century, the Duke of Medina Sidonia received 200,000 *ducados* rent. The Almirante de Castilla, Duke of Medina de Rioseco, received 120,000 *ducados*, and the Álvarez de Toledo and Hurtado de Mendoza, Dukes of Alba and Infantado respectively, received 100,000 *ducados* per year as rent. Other well-known lineages like the Osuna, Escalona and Arcos received the same amount. These amounts were higher than the rich Archbishopric of Seville received. In the same period, a wage-earning farmer would not earn more than 30 or 40 *ducados* a year. See Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, *La Sociedad Española en la Edad Moderna. Historia de España XIII*, Madrid, 2005, p. 109.

[516] In recent years a number of publications have dealt with the issue of artistic collections of several important nobles, members of the Spanish Administration and merchants. Antonio Urquízar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 2007, researched Andalucían nobility during the Renaissance period. G.M. Cerezo San Gil, *Atesoramiento Artístico e Historia en la España Moderna: Los IX Condes de Santiesteban del Puerto*, studied the collecting activities of the IX Earl of Santiesteban del Puerto. He was Viceroy in Italy at the end of the seventeenth century. His collection consisted of nearly 2,000 pieces of silver, some of which were used as *menaje de ostentación* (ostentation household service), usually kept in the stepped sideboards (*aparadores*) with other objects such as 460 religious and ordinary pieces of jewellery, 302 paintings, 37 tapestries, sculpture, clocks, arms, furniture and an important library with 408 books and 22 manuscripts, including some under the epigraph '*Geography, Travels and Scientific Curiosities*' with books related to East Asia such as the *Embassy of the Dutch to China* or *History of China* by Father Navarrete. In 1716 the collection was appraised at 1,472,923 *reales de vellón*. Unfortunately not a single ceramic object was mentioned in the complete inventory of the collection. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, María Cruz de Carlos and Felipe Pereda, *Patronos y coleccionistas. Los Condestables de Castilla y el Arte* (*Siglos XV-XVII*), Valladolid, 2005, also analysed the patronage and wealth of five generations of Constables of Castile, who assembled artistic collections in Spain over a period of three centuries. The collection of Juan Fernández de Velasco, VI Constable of Castile, who started his diplomatic career in Portugal in 1580 and was appointed Governor of Milan in 1592, included an impressive array of Italian paintings, jewellery and a library with a *studiolo* with scientific instruments, sculpture, *bronzetti*, medals. Unfortunately, no Oriental objects were registered in these inventories either. Another interesting publication by Ana Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana de una élite de poder. Los regidores madrileños en tiempos de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1993, who studied the daily life of a number of families of Madrilenian *regidores* (municipal administrative officials) during the reign of Philip II. In her work she analysed their habits, ways of living and varied collections of gold, silver, painting, sculpture and other items. Finally, Daniela Bleichmar, 'Looking at Exotica in Baroque Collections: The Object, the Viewer and the Collection as a Space', in Mar Rey-Bueno, Miguel

themselves so much with their houses that their homes served as a point of reference for the members of the family and as a public showcase for society. If in Italy the house and collection of Lorenzo de Médicis was considered one of his best political weapons, then Castile and Andalucia wished to live the same way'.[517] To exhibit one's riches to the outside world through sumptuousness, acquisition of artistic works and cultural patrimony was consubstantial to this attitude, an attitude that would continue into the seventeenth century, an era when power and culture were closely related.[518] The ideal of the humanistic nobleman – which in Spain was understood to mean a humanist and a Christian – had its followers and its identity traits among the Spanish nobility that were reflected in a greater interest in culture and education through a familiarity with Renaissance culture and the Classics alongside Christianity based on theological readings.[519]

During the last few years, research in Spain has concentrated on the great collectors of the Spanish aristocracy during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth. Peter Cherry and Makus Burke[520] studied collections of paintings of the nobility. Other studies followed such as the households and collecting of the Duke of Alcalá, the Marquis of Velada, the Duke of Lerma, the Earl of Lemos and Oñate, the house of the Constables of Castile or the Dukes of Osuna and the Earls of Astorga. In addition, there are several studies on specific individuals such as Juan José of Austria or the Marquis of El Carpio.[521] In all of these studies, the common element was the desire for social distinction through the acquisition of paintings and sculptures, art objects, which, to them, represented power and ostentation.

The objective of this part of the research was to find, not only within primary sources, but also within secondary ones, the inventories of household goods pertaining to these relevant families, searching

López-Pérez, *The Gentleman, the Virtuoso, the Inquirer: Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa and the Art of Collecting in Early Modern Spain*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2008. This very interesting book is dedicated to the collecting interests of Juan Vicencio de Lastanosa who had a keen interest in exotic objects and devoted his life to collecting marvels, curiosities, antiquities, books and medals, that he kept in his palace in Huesca. Although the inventory mentions some interesting exotica like two chests from China of a *vara* long decorated with mother-of-pearl and hunting scenes in gold leaf and with locks, no porcelain is mentioned. See the full inventory, preserved by the Hispanic Society of America, at www.lastanosa.com. Manuscript B-2424, fols. 24–51v.

[517] Urquízar, 2007, p. 38.

[518] Fernando Checa, 'Imágenes de la magnificencia: actitudes ante el hecho artístico en las sociedades del Antiguo Régimen', in *Revista de Occidente*, no. 180, Madrid, 1996, p. 29.

[519] Antonio Urquízar Herrera, 'El coleccionismo artístico de los condes de Santiesteban del Puerto (Jaén) en el siglo XVI, a través de sus inventarios de bienes', in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Gienneses*, July/December, 2001, no. 179, pp. 29–56.

[520] Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755: Spanish Inventories I. Documents for the History of Collection*, 2 vols., Los Ángeles, 1997.

[521] For publications on artistic collections of the Spanish nobility of the Habsburg period: Sarah Schroth, *The Private Collection of the Duke of Lerma*, Ph.D. diss., New York University,U.M.I., Ann Arbor 1990; Santiago Martínez Hernández,, *Don Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marqués de Velada, y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III, (1553-1616)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2002 and by the same author *El marqués de Velada y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III: nobleza cortesana y cultura política del siglo de Oro*, Valladolid, 2004; Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, *Nobleza, poder y mecenazgo en tiempos de Felipe III: Nápoles y el conde de Lemos*, Madrid, 2007; Ana Minguito Palomares, *Linaje, poder y cultura: el gobierno de Iñigo Vélez de Guevara, VIII conde de Oñate (1648-1653)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2002; J. I. Martínez del Barrio, *Mecenazgo y política cultural de la Casa de Osuna en Italia (1558-1694)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 1991; Manuel Arias Martínez, *El marquesado de Astorga. Siglos XVI y XVII. Arquitectura, coleccionismo y patronato*, Zamora, 2005; Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan de Austria y las Artes* (1629-1687), Madrid, 2005; Leticia de Frutos Sastre, *El VII marqués del Carpio (1629-1687), mecenas y coleccionista de las Artes*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2005; Mercedes Simal López, *Los condes-duques de Benavente en el siglo XVII. Patronos y coleccionistas en su villa solariega*, Benavente, 2002.

for porcelain, china, and other exotic items, because items in these two categories combine two essential aspects that could have positively influenced their presence in the household: on the one hand, plentiful economic resources, and on the other, the taking on of a particular public image through collecting costly goods which served as a model for the rest of society (see Documentary Appendix 2).[522]

One of the lineages most relevant to the first period of the Greater Austrias (sixteenth century) was the Medina Sidonia lineage. This family, based in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), were Earls of Niebla since the fourteenth century, and Dukes of Medina Sidonia after 1445. They were one of the first Andalusian families to reflect their economic and social power by collecting luxury objects.[523]

One of the most important inventories, by volume and value, was that of Don Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1558), VI Duke of Medina Sidonia[524], which includes numerous precious stones and jewellery, religious ornaments (altarpieces), household furnishings, weapons, tapestries, imported furniture, objects from the East Indies, and a few porcelains from the Indies such as: 'two large decorated porcelains from the Indies of Portugal; a large one from India and another, smaller and flat with a figure in the middle; two small Chinese porcelain pieces painted with fish and lions; a ewer from the Indies and twenty-two large and small bowls from the Indies, and three trinkets (*brinquiños*) made of clay from the Indies'.[525]

His descendants, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán and Ana de Silva, VII Dukes of Medina Sidonia, however, showed more interest in painting on canvas and board, with only two 'black' dishes from China (probably lacquered) among the exotic items on their list.[526] Searching for other inventories from this household, uncovered the 1619 inventory of Miguel Jerónimo de Guzmán, son of the distinguished Don Alonso and Ana de Silva y Mendoza, which had only one exotic item: a Japanese *katana* sword.[527]

One of the most complete inventories found in the Medina Sidonia archive pertained to Luis Guillén de Moncada (1614–72), VII Duke of Montalto and Cardinal of Moncada, in 1672, which included a very important, more than 500-page list of objects of various types. Apart from glass pieces and gourds, 40 pieces of Chinese porcelain of varying sizes appear on the list. The total value of the 40 items was appraised at 200 *reales*.[528]

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[522] Some historians, such as Bennassar in his study on Valladolid society, asserts that even an artisan with a minimum income had various items such as embossed leather articles (*cordován*), jewellery, silver dishes and explains that the decorative elements in interiors increased with their eagerness to ornament their dwellings. Traders or those with a higher income had significant quantities of table linen, sheets, embroidered towels, and a great amount of silver that represented 10 per cent of their fortune. In 1597, 1600 and 1603, several regulations were promulgated against luxury, which favoured the compiling of inventories. The regulations, however, were completely ineffective in reality, but they do testify to the level of refinement and luxury that was attained during that period; see Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid en el Siglo de Oro. Una ciudad de Castilla y su entorno agrario en el siglo XVI*, Valladolid, 1983, p. 26.

[523] The archive, located in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), contains more than six million documents, contained in 6,317 files belonging to different families or noble houses that one-by-one joined the House of Medina Sidonia, such as the Houses of Vélez (Fajardo), Requesens, Montalto, Maza de Linaza and the Villafranca family. http://www.fcmedinasidonia.com/archivo.html.

[524] Urquízar, 2007, p. 134.

[525] '*Dos porcelanas grandes de la India de Portugal labradas. Otra grande de la India y la otra llana más pequeña con una figura en medio. Otras dos porcelanas pequeñas de la India con unos peces y leones pintados. Un jarro aguamanil de la India. Veinte e dos escudillas grandes y pequeñas de la India. Tres brinquiños del mismo barro de la India*'. Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Legajo 942, unpaginated. (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 26 November 1558), in Urquízar, 2007, pp. 175–207.

[526] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 81.

[527] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 80.

[528] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 87.

Also found was the inventory of Pedro de Guzmán el Bueno, XIV Duke of Medina Sidonia, made in his house in Puerta de la Vega in 1764.[529] Although this inventory is chronologically later than the period established for this study, it was included because it contains a section dedicated exclusively to pottery, glass and china. As can be seen from the inventory, there were a great many ceramic objects in this nobleman's house in Madrid, but 'Maya'[530] pottery pieces (made in Portugal) and ornamental Chinese pieces from a later time, such as jars and figurines of white lions or roosters probably made in the kilns of Dehua (Fujian Province), are most abundant. There are also utility wares such as ceramics for holding tobacco, gourds for chocolate and tea, and Chinese porcelain of various shapes and described as decorated with scarlet (red), green, and other colours that very likely corresponded to 'the *famille verte*' type of porcelain.[531]

At present, the Duke of Medinaceli Archive (Seville–Toledo) contains more than 5,000 bundles, files, etc., belonging to various noble households from the Medinaceli[532] house itself and to other families related to this, such as the houses of Alcalá de los Gazules (Ribera lineage), Denia-Lerma, Segorbe, Priego, Feria and Santisteban del Puerto, among others. The main objective in consulting this archive was to find 'a small treasure of Chinese porcelain' that belonged to Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, IV Marquis of Priego, which was mentioned by Antonio Urquízar in his book *Coleccionismo y Nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*. According to the author, this nobleman had a room or *Wunderkammer* full of many precious stones, leather pouches, cloth and tapestries, imported coloured glass, ornamental weapons, other antiquities and the aforementioned Chinese porcelain treasure, along with a large library.[533] During the research, the inventories listing the household goods in the marquis' palace in Montilla were consulted and the only item recorded was: 'a Chinese porcelain object decorated with gilded silver mount with a short foot, no handles, made on a wheel (*torneada*) that weighed three marks and seven ounces'.[534] The scribe wrote later that he entered a room full of fine glass, ceramics from Portugal, German green glass and 'a few' pieces from China, but that since there were so many items 'he couldn't list every single one', so he put off the inventory until after the auction. The Marquise de Priego was in charge of the key to the room, and the scribe noted that 'for fear of breaking something if the pieces were moved', the items were not recorded. Finally, it appears that the items in the room were given as a dowry, probably for one of the marquis' daughters, and for that reason, were not inventoried. A very small number of exotic objects such as porcelain pieces or Chinese screens are mentioned in other documents from the Priego household,[535] but unfortunately the famous porcelain treasure was never found.

The aforementioned archive of the Medinaceli household also contains a document recording 'four Chinese porcelain pieces decorated with gold, one of them broken' belonging to the Duke of

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[529] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 85.

[530] Barros de la Maya, a type of ceramic made in Portugal. In the play *La Dorotea* by Lope de Vega, there is a reference to Barros de la Maya: 'And if I were dying of thirst, I still wouldn't drink from Barros de la Maya', in Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, Valencia 1968, p. 292, footnote 9: 'The Maya water jugs are made in Lisbon, and they are probably called Maya jugs after the last name of the potter, or family of potters with the last name Maia or da Mai. On the other hand, it could refer to the tradition of a little girl who plays a role in the May (Maya) Festival'. This term does not appear in either of the Covarrubias and Autoridades historic dictionaries.

[531] See this and other inventories in the archive at the Medina Sidonia Foundation in documentary appendix 2, from Document 80 to 90.

[532] The lineage of La Cerda, known from the middle of the fourteenth century as the Counts of Medinaceli, the area situated on the border of Castile and Aragon, represents the legitimate primogeniture of the former kings of Castile and Leon, as the La Cerda lineage originates in the dispossessed descendants of King Alfonso X, the Wise. http://www.fundacionmedinaceli.org.

[533] Urquízar, 2007, p. 156.

[534] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 92.

[535] See documentary appendix 2, Documents 93 and 94.

Alcalá. It appears that the duke bought them from a Portuguese canon for 200 *ducados* (for the pair of intact pieces) and paid 22 *ducados* for the second pair that was damaged.[536] We do not know exactly if these items pertained to the first Duke of Alcalá, Don Per Afán de Ribera, who died in 1572, because the document is incomplete and the inventory was made in 1590. This nobleman was Viceroy of Cataluña and Naples[537] and had amassed a well-known collection of Italian sculptures and other antiques that are currently housed in the Pilatos House, in Seville.[538]

Linked to the Andalucian nobility, but of inferior status than the family mentioned above, are the Earls of Santisteban del Puerto.[539] The historian Antonio Urquízar Herrera, who studied this lineage through the post-mortem inventories from the end of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, points out that of the fifteen painted wall hangings contained in the first inventory as the only decorative element, there is a clear evolution towards riches in sumptuary arts at the end of the sixteenth century. The inventory of the V Earl of Santisteban, Don Francisco de Benavides, of 1582, and his wife Isabel de la Cueva, of 1599, testify to the propensity to accumulate riches and sumptuary goods such as tapestries and decorative wall hangings, religious paintings, rugs, furniture, jewels, silver, glass, and porcelain items. After the great number of glass objects, a list of items included in the pottery section was found. These pieces comprised: 'four porcelain plates from Portugal, twenty-two porcelain plates from Portugal, twelve medium-size porcelain saucers from Portugal, eight large porcelain bowls from Portugal, one large porcelain bowl from Portugal, two porcelain items shaped like bells, twenty-one porcelain bowls, three small porcelain items shaped like bells, two gilded porcelain bowls, and one very small gilded bowl on a silver pedestal',[540] and continued with Portuguese vases made from coloured clay. It is interesting to see how the pieces are described as being Portuguese porcelain because they probably came from 'Portuguese China' and were sent to Spain from there. But they could have also been ordinary Portuguese earthenware pottery. Once again, we see imprecision and ambiguity used in the inventories' definitions.

In his wife, Isabel de la Cueva's, inventory, however, made a few years later, in 1599, there are items described as 'porcelain from the Indies': 'two pieces of porcelain brought from India, one large porcelain item, another large piece of the same material, two – I mean three – plates of the same material, four large porcelain bowls, another four small bowls, plus four mediu-size porcelain pieces, another small piece of porcelain, fourteen medium-size porcelain plates,'[541] together with more ceramic pieces from Talavera, pottery from Venice, Jaén, Plasencia, Estremoz and glass from Barcelona.[542]

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[536] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 95.

[537] Another noble of the same period, Don Fernando de Alarcón Marquis of Valle Siciliana, had a box full of porcelain vessels from the Indies of Portugal, when he was in Naples in 1591; see Carolina Belli, 'Arte, musica e milizia nella nobiltà d'oltremare. Gli Alarcón y Mendoza al mare di Chiaia', in *Dimore Signorili a Napoli. Palazzo Zeballos Stigliano e il mecenatismo aristocratico dal XVI al XX secolo*, Naples, 2013, p. 163.

[538] Vicente Lleó Cañal, *La Casa de Pilatos*, Madrid, 1998; Vicente Lleó Cañal, 'El Jardín Arqueológico del Primer Duque de Alcalá', in *Fragmentos*, no. 11, 1987, p. 25. See also Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana*, Seville, 2005, pp. 237–49.

[539] Urquízar, 2001, pp. 29–56.

[540] Urquízar, 2001, p. 48. Fols. 298, 298v. '*Cuatro platos de porcelana de Portugal, veintidós platos de porcelana de Portugal, doce porcelanas y platicos medianos de Portugal, ocho escudillas grandes de Portugal, otra escudilla grande de Portugal de porcelana, dos porcelanas como campanillas, veinte y una porcelanas escudillas medianas, tres porcelanas como campanillas pequeñas, dos escudillas pequeñas de porcelanas, nueve escudillas de porcelana doradas, otra chiquita con pie de plata dorada.*

[541] '*Dos porcelanas traídas de la India, una porcelana grande, un plato grande de porcelana, otro plato grande de lo mismo, dos platos digo tres platos de lo mismo, cuadro escudillas de porcelanas grandes, otras cuatro pequeñas, una más pequeña, mas cuatro porcelanas medianas, otra porcelana pequeña, catorce platos medianos de porcelanas*'.

[542] Urquízar, 2001, p. 54, doc 7.

In the inventory of his descendent of 1589, Don Diego de Benavides, VI Earl of Santisteban, the wording is also imprecise when describing ceramics, giving us only the following information: 'forty-three small and large pottery pieces of different shapes'. However, other pieces were clearly specified, like 'two painted from Talavera, three from Portugal, and four small plates from Seville'.[543] The word '*porcelana*' is even used here to describe a tin-glazed pot from Talavera.

One of the most important lineages in the Spanish Habsburg period was the House of Osuna. This family was originally from the city of Osuna (Seville), which at that time belonged to the Crown of Castile and whose name identified the dukedom, created by Phillip II in 1562 for the V Earl of Ureña, Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, I Duke of Osuna. The Girón family had served the Crown oustandingly since the Middle Ages. The first and third Dukes of Osuna, both named Pedro Téllez, served as viceroys in Naples and Sicily. Over time, the House of Osuna gained such importance and wealth that the Duke of Osuna acquired 20 'grandee' titles, including the duchies of Arcos, Béjar, Benavente, Gandía, Infantado, and Medina de Rioseco. Several nobles of the House of Osuna had porcelain objects listed among their goods.[544] The most noteworthy as far as Chinese porcelain is concerned, is that of Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of Infantado, in 1624.[545]

Several inventories are preserved from this noblewoman,[546] which include a good number of porcelain pieces. Unfortunately, as in other cases, the descriptions of most the objects are very imprecise, though, fortunately the majority are identified as being 'from China'.[547] An inventory of 1675 specified the way the pieces of Chinese porcelain were organised in the various cupboards.[548] And also found was the inventory of her first husband, Rodrigo López de Mendoza, of 1588, which mentions several exotic items like 'a black chest from India with an embroidered decoration and several porcelains from India with a blue decoration'.[549] Other pieces are described, including a porcelain with a blue, red and gilded decoration, probably of the *Kinrande* type. It is interesting that the inventory mentions a few 'used' porcelains shaped as small plates.[550] As with other inventories, everything is included in the tally, even defective or broken pieces.

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[543] *Ibid.*, p. 49, doc 6: '*Cuarenta y tres barros chicos y grandes de diferentes hechuras, dos porcelanas de Talavera pintadas, tres de Portugal y cuatro platillos de Sevilla*'.

[544] J. I. Martínez del Barrio, *Mecenazgo y política cultural de la Casa de Osuna en Italia* (*1558-1694*), Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 1991.

[545] See Documentary Appendix 2, Documents 42 and 43. Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of Infantado and VII Marquise of Santillana (1554–1633), was born in Medina de Rioseco and was the daughter of the fifth Duke and granddaughter of the Earl of Saldaña Diego. From childhood a pious person, in 1582 she was married for the first time to Rodrigo de Mendoza, her father's brother and a close friend of Don Juán de Austria, who had spent his youth in the Court, returning with a reputation being a petticoat chaser and two illegitimate daughters whom Ana cared for and fed. Only two daughters from her marriage with Rodrigo de Mendoza reached maturity. After being widowed in November of 1587, she went through a period of 'excessive' piety. In spite of her religious devotion (and because she had not produced a male heir), Ana was obliged by her father to marry again in 1594. She married Juan Hurtado de Mendoza (son of her father's sister and III Marquis de Mondéjar), who was just as pious as she was, and had two more daughters with him. She was widowed once again in 1624 and after that lived a religious life, practically in seclusion, until her death in 1633. Perhaps that is why an inventory of her goods was made at that time, her withdrawal from society possibly being equated with her death. Thanks to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for the information she provided me about this noblewoman.

[546] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 42 and 43. I am grateful to Juan José Junquera for providing me with the inventory of this noblewoman, preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Osuna, Legajo 2967.

[547] Documentary Appendix 2, Documents 42 and 43.

[548] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 53.

[549] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 34.

[550] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 34: '*Siete porcelanas chiquitas algo traídas como platillos*'.

Related to the Osuna lineage was the inventory of the possessions of Alonso López de Zúñiga, VI Duke of Béjar, dated 1620. Mentioned there were quite a lot of pieces 'from China' such as a 'coloured plate' with a silver foot used as a '*salvilla*'.[551] A *salvilla* was a type of tray on which a gentleman's goblet was served. This Spanish word is where the expression '*hacer la salva*' (to perform the *salva*) comes from. '*Hacer la salva*' was a ceremony in which the highest-ranking servant tasted his lord's wine or food to prevent him from being poisoned, thus 'saved' from betrayal. As we can see from the description in the inventory, this *salvilla* was a Chinese porcelain plate with a silver foot. In the same inventory, other Chinese porcelain pieces are described using the word '*contrahecho*', a term which in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain had two accepted meanings. One was 'to imitate something of the natural or artificial world', thus the piece could have been an imitation of a Chinese piece, but another meaning could have been 'something badly made, warped or crippled'. Chinese export porcelain at the end of the sixteenth century and beginnings of the next had a series of 'defects' associated with its elaboration and it could be that these imperfections were noticeable or that the piece had simply been chipped with use. Referring to such pieces, Maura Rinaldi, the outstanding specialist in *Kraak* commented: 'Porcelain varies greatly in quality, from fine to coarse. But even the finer quality retains impurities, which produce pitting and small imperfections…. Many foliated edges are extremely uneven, an indication that they could have been carelessly made by hand'.[552]

One of the inventories richest in Chinese porcelain comes from Alonso López de Zúñiga's descendent, Ana de Mendoza, VII Duchess of Béjar, 1629.[553] This inventory is interesting because it also provides information about the lifestyle of the period by describing how the Chinese porcelain collection was arranged in the cupboards, similar to the way the Duchess del Infantado placed them, alongside to bowls or silver and ceramic 'porcelain' from Estremoz.[554]

Related to the previous lineage was the noble lineage of Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the most influential and powerful during the Renaissance.[555] This family exerted an absolute power over many places in the province of Guadalajara from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, including the city of Guadalajara where palaces in different styles were constructed under their patronage. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century there was always a Mendoza family member in either of the Trastámara or Habsburg courts, the Great Cardinal Mendoza being perhaps the most influential and important patron of the arts.[556] The branch of the Earl of Tendilla provided three generations of Captains General of Granada and mayors of the city. The inventory of the goods of Don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Almazán, for sporadic brief periods was the president of the Royal Council of Castile (*Real Consejo de Castilla*) had some Oriental objects from 'the Indies'. He was member of the Council of Salamanca from 1565 to 1566, ambassador to the German empire from 1570 to 1576. He returned to Court in 1577 and was appointed General Captain of Guipúzcoa and Viceroy of Navarra. He lived in Pamplona and took part in the *Consejo de Estado y de Guerra* (Council

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[551] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 38.

[552] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 68.

[553] Ana de Mendoza died in 1629. She was Duchess of Mandas and Villanueva (1624), Marquise of Terranova. In 1616 she married Francisco Diego López de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, Duke of Béjar, Duke of Mandas and Villanueva, Marquis of Gibraleón, Earl of Belalcázar and Bañares, and Viscount of Puebla de Alcocer.

[554] See Documentary Appendix 2, Document 45.

[555] Gonzalo Yáñez de Mendoza was the first of this lineage in Castile in the middle of the fourteenth century. He fought against the Muslims in the Siege of Algeciras (1342-44); the family moved from Alava, their place of origin, to the Castilian province of Guadalajara. Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350–1550*, New Brunswick, 1979.

[556] Jose María Azcárate, 'El Cardenal Mendoza y el origen del Renacimiento en España', in *Revista Santa Cruz*, vol. 17, no. 22, 1962; Morán and Checa, 1985, p. 32.

of State and War) from 1587 to 1589. The inventory of his goods of 3 December 1592 included 'four large and small porcelains' and also an object 'eight-sided and gilded for drinking', obviously a type of cup. It is quite curious that the porcelains were inventoried together with the glass, as he had five larders (*alacenas*) containing glass. He also owned 43 *búcaros*, a type of earthenware from Portugal of different shapes.[557] He also had a gilded gourd 'from India' together with two painted plates from the 'Indies of Portugal' to hold silver candlesticks for the altar and an *escritoire* from the Indies, which contained a small box with *anus deyes* (Agnus Dei).[558] He was related to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza (1535–1609), Viceroy of Peru from January 1590 to June 1596, who had blue-and-white porcelain dishes, probably ordered from China, with his coat of arms (see Chapter 2: The Trade in Chinese Porcelain for Spain, p. 57). This is one of the few pieces of Chinese porcelain with a coat-of-arms related to the era of the Spanish Habsburgs preserved today.

The inventories of María de Mendoza Fonseca, Marquise of Cenete, wife of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Saldaña, and son of Iñigo López de Mendoza, IV Duke del Infantado, also included the appraisal of several ceramic and porcelain pieces. Even though it begins by mentioning the pieces of silver 'porcelain', it goes on to describe two pieces of 'porcelain from India of Portugal' mounted with silver. Finally, near the end of the list, it describes how, when the 'coffer of porcelains' was opened, it revealed nine large porcelain plates and ewers appraised at fifteen *reales* each, along with porcelain bowls appraised at six and a half *reales*. Next came a group of Spanish ceramic pieces from Valencia, Talavera and from Portugal.[559]

From the archive of the nobility of Toledo, the inventory of Catalina de Silva, Princess of Melito and mother of the famous Princess of Éboli, dated Barcelona, 1568 was analysed. It would appear that Catalina de Silva was a cultured woman who possessed a library of some 300 books, and other objects such as jewels, dresses, and tapestries. This inventory contained a set of ceramic pieces that belonged to the House of Infantado that was specified as a group of ceramic items with 'no particular value'. Also mentioned are ceramic and porcelain pieces of varying materials and origin: Galápagos, bone, India, *búcaros*, gilded and green ceramics, two white clay jugs from Faença, a large blue porcelain pot, and a few porcelain pieces mounted in silver that were in the possession of one Francisca Nogués.[560]

One of the finest inventories in relation to exotic items and Oriental porcelain belonged to the Prince of Éboli, Don Ruy Gómez de Silva (1516–73), who, in 1553, married Ana de Mendoza de la Cerda, Duchess of Pastrana, daughter of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (c. 1500–78), Duke of Francavilla and Prince of Mélito and Catalina de Silva, daughter of the Counts of Cifuentes. The inventory – executed on several dates between 8 August 1573 and 1 May 1574 – is very rich in exotic and pieces from the East. The Prince of Éboli was one of the most refined and successful courtiers of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. For years he was a very close adviser to Prince Philip, the future King of Spain.[561] As the king's *sumiller de corps*, he enjoyed constant private access to and special personal relationship with the king; consequently his voice was dominant in the Council of State. Also, as *Contador Mayor*, Ruy Gómez supervised the Crown's finances. It is evident that the Portuguese origin of this nobleman had a great deal to do with the fact that the selection of pieces reflected a special pre-

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[557] *Búcaros* and Portuguese ceramics, no. 658 of the same inventory.

[558] Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo no. 1238: 'Inventario de bienes de don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Almazán, 3 December 1592, no. 655: '*Quatro porçelanas grandes y pequeñas*; *Otra porçelana ochavada y dorada para beber*'. See Juan Luis González García, 'La colección , librería y relicario de D. Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, primer marqués de Almazán', in *Revista Celtiberia*, no. 92, 1998, pp. 193-228.

[559] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 30.

[560] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 29.

[561] J. M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King. Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain*, Berkeley, 1995.

dilection for all things Oriental. This nobleman, along with King Phillip II, was the most important collectors of East Asian items in the sixteenth century. In the inventory there are many exotic items from the Indies, most of which are registered as from 'the Indies of Portugal'. The list is very long and includes different materials: textiles, bed covers, carpets, clothing, leather pieces, furniture, crystal, exotica like coconut shells or gourds, and much porcelain.[562] Some of the exotic items mentioned were very extravagant gifts that he gave to his wife: 'A large and rich carpet from the Indies patterned with many birds that was given by Alvaro Méndez to the Princess'. A similar piece appears on the list as: 'a large carpet with colours in silk and wool from the Indies of Portugal that had thirty-two inches', was appraised at 70 *ducados*. Many of the Prince´s pieces were objects lacquered in red, and gold or black and gold, including 'A small round box from the Indies of black and gold lacquer with its lid', and a 'large red and gilded box from the Indies of Portugal with a lid', and also lacquered pieces of furniture such as 'two painted tables (*bufetes*) from the Indies of Portugal'.[563]

To conduct an appraisal of such a complex inventory specialised merchants were hired to catalogue and appraise the items. For the ceramic pieces, Valerio Méndez, a Portuguese merchant, was given the task. This list seems to be divided into pottery from Portugal and porcelain pieces, although in the inventory pieces made of 'Turkish clay' and vases were also included. The largest set included thirty-five plates (trincheos) for one and a half reales'.[564] In the inventory of Philip II, as we have seen, there was a large lot of 912 blue-and-white plates of the *trincheo* type, some gilded and coloured, and also at three *reales* apiece.[565] However, some porcelains in the shape of plates were appraised here at eight *reales* each, while another lot of deep plates was appraised at four *reales*.

Lastly I would like to mention Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, III Duke of Alba (1507–82), who belonged to the lineage of the Alvarez de Toledo. He was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (1567–73) and appointed Majordomo to both the Emperor and King Philip II. The duchess' collection (María Enríquez) also reflected an interest in Oriental exotics.[566] On 3 June 1563 she paid 4,406 *reales* to a Portuguese merchant for twelve ounces of ambergris, 20 ounces of musk, ten ounces of storax, four fine Oriental fans (*abanos leques*), two tortoiseshell plates and two table fans, four large porcelain plates and two cruets, a Chinese box and a tortoiseshell ball, fifteen porcelains and sixteen plates, chain lacework and a fine, rich Indian carpet.[567] The Portuguese campaign must have presented the duke with a particularly good opportunity to enrich his collections as well as buy exotics for the queen (see Chapter 3.3 Chinese Porcelain for Royal Households, p. 115). The duke maintained lodgings (*casa de aposento*) in the neighbourhood of the Alcázar of Madrid but after he returned from Flanders he spent much of his time in his palace of Alba de Tormes (Salamanca) where he had a *camarín de los vidrios* (a room to display glasswork), and Saint Teresa herself recalled her impressions on visiting one such room belonging to the Duchess of Alba, with its vessels of glass and ceramic.[568] This display can be related to king Philip II golden tower where his glass and porcelain vessels were placed.

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[562] See Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2.

[563] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2, fol. 162, 172, 184.

[564] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2, fol. 281v.

[565] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, fol. 835.

[566] Pérez de Tudela, 2013/1, p. 189.

[567] Pérez de Tudela, *ibid,* p. 189, ADA, C 211: On 3 June 1563 '*compra de un portugués doce onzas de ambar gris, veinte de almizcle, diez de estoraque, cuatro abanos leques finos, dos platos de tortuga y dos abanos de mesa y cuatro platos grandes de porcelana y dos vinajeras, una caja de la China y una bola de tortuga, quince porcelanas y diez y seis platos, cadenetas y una alcatifa* [*alfombra*] *rica de la India, por 4.406 Reales, 3 junio 1563*'.

[568] Quoted by Pérez de Tudela, 2013/1, p. 189. Saint Theresa, prologue and notes by Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Las Moradas*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 186–87.

Another important noble at the time of kings Philip II and Philip III was Juan de Borja (1533–1606), an aristocrat from the House of Borja and the House of Castro. He was ambassador in Lisbon and later, in 1576, was sent to Prague as the Spanish ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II of the Holy Roman Empire. He was majordomo of Empress María of Austria until 1603. As recognition for his services to the state, Phillip II granted him the title of Count of Mayalde and also made him Count of Ficallo, President of the Council of Portugal and later Head Majordomo of Margaret of Austria, Queen consort of Spain and Portugal who was married to King Philip III (1598–1621). During his stay in Lisbon he probably purchased Chinese porcelain and exotics as they are registered in his inventory of 1600. He had a 'chamber with glass and porcelains' with jasper tables, corals, glass mounted in silver and gold, mother-of-pearl trays, Chinese objects, and porcelain gourds.[569] We know from transport licences (*cédulas de paso*) that he took several porcelains with him on his departure on assuming his post as ambassador for Emperor Rudolf II.[570] He took pieces for his use or as gifts and, among other objects, there were: 'a small box from India with five small porcelains, two porcelain plates, two golden porcelains, a porcelain carafe, white and gilded porcelains, a porcelain salt container, a large porcelain from India, two porcelain ewers one gilded, a porcelain carafe from India and other porcelains'.[571]

Philip III's tutor was Don Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marquis of Velada (1553–1616).[572] In the inventory carried out at his death, it is mentioned that his wife had a porcelain cabinet with a number of porcelains, maps of China, silks and other exotics. The inventory also refers to a chest full of: 'fifty large and small porcelains, together with Venetian glass, a model of a ceramic ship from Portugal and several other ceramics from Talavera and Portugal'. As we see, the display was similar to that of her relative, the Duchess of Alba.[573]

One of the most important noblemen during the reign of Philip III was Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma (1553–1625). He was so influential that in 1612 his written or verbal orders would enjoy binding force utterly equivalent to the king's royal signature or pronouncements. In 1606 he began decorating his palace in the town of Lerma (Burgos). According to

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[569] Morán and Checa, 1985, p. 158. The inventory of this noble is in AHPM, Protocolo 933.

[570] Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 43.

[571] Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 43. Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 360, fols. 197–199v. 6 March 1577. Among other objects, the porcelain objects mentioned in this document are: '*una caxa de la yndia con* çinco *porcelanas muy chicas, dos platos de porcelana, dos porçelanas doradas, una garrafa de porcelana, porcelanas blancas y doradas, un salero de porcelana, una porçelana de la yndia grande, dos aguamaniles de porcelana uno dorado, una garrafa de la yndia de porcelana*'.

[572] See Santiago Martínez Hernández's Ph.D. diss., *El marqués de Velada y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III: nobleza cortesana y cultura política del siglo de Oro*, Valladolid, 2004.

[573] Martínez Hernández, 2004, p. 270. Archivo Zabálburu, Altamira 198, GD [Grupo Documental] 1. Inventario a la muerte del marqués de Velada en 1616, fol. 77. In the lady's chamber there were 'a great quantity of glass and porcelains'. The marquis' goods included maps of China, coconuts, bezoar stones, and so forth. Fol. 107 mentions a chest that contained 'fifty large and small porcelains together with Venetian glass, a model of a ceramic ship from Portugal and several other ceramics from Talavera and Portugal', among other objects. The complete Spanish inventory is as follows: '*Çinquenta porcelanas grandes y pequeñas junto a vidrios de Venecia, un barco de barro de Portugal, un cantarillo y una olla de barro de Portugal*'. Other goods were: '*12 cubillos y cajas de barro de Talavera para conservas, almofias de Talavera, barro blanco. En f. 136, barritos de Portugal, un barro hecho de menjuy, vidrio lleno de olor* (*todo esto en cesta de mimbre*). *137 cocos y menjuy. 138. Colcha de India con animalejos labrada en seda y flecos blancos a la redonda.146. Cocos con pies de marfil como frascos. 47: talega en seda de colores de la China. 149: cinco porcelanas grandes blancas. 159* "*una fraçada*" *leonada de la India.193: bezares, calabacilla de sangre de drago,* "*porcelana grande de vidro verde*", *cesta de paja con cadenas de vidrio forrada de tafetán amarillo y dentro una taza de barro blanco y azul. En f. 195: vaso de piedra bezar, vaso y albornia de barro de las Indias colorado, un vaso de barro de la China, Un caracol blanco*'. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

inventories written on 3 September and 28 December 1616,[574] the palace was decorated with such magnificence and luxury that inventories listed specific items such as paintings, sculptures, as well as wall hangings, furniture including beds, canopies, magnificent mirrors and all types of sumptuary objects including clocks, jewels or pieces of gold and silver. As generally occurred in the Spain of the Habsburgs, silver was used as the main table service[575] and represented luxury and ostentation, an attitude that is clearly expressed in the following saying, 'Spending money on silver tableware is not spending money, but only exchanging small pieces of silver for large ones'.[576]

As the historian Luis Cervera Vera comments regarding the porcelain in the duke's collection, 'it may be said that the number of porcelain objects was neither significant nor of great interest. Many pieces are broken and, through it's impossible to be sure, most likely they lacked decoration since there is no mention made of any'.[577] As we see, Cervera Vera points out the paucity in the selection of porcelain objects, many of which belonged to King Philip II and were inherited by his son King Philip III.[578] We do not know if the pieces were gifts from the king to his favorite or purchased by him from the king's state sale. Cervera notes that the porcelain pieces were 'common articles' with a couple of exceptions, as in: 'a porcelain object shaped a gourd with a silver hinged lid', a description that is similar to a piece in King Philip II's inventory.[579] This piece was used to hold scented water during King Philip III's reign, although it was still broken, and was listed in the same way among the items in the Duke of Lerma's inventory.[580] There are also some small porcelain pieces made to hold preserves, a saltcellar, and a bowl.[581] Also mentioned are a specific group labelled 'Chinese clay' or simply 'from China' that included 'large pot with a lid',[582] and a very interesting piece listed as 'a jar of that same clay from China, with the handle made of marine reed'. Some other pieces listed were: 'four small dishes, several bowls, plates, and bottles, and a bottle holder from China with two matching bottles'.[583] In another section of the duke's inventory there is mention of a 'porcelain chest' along with several gilt silver pieces including eight silver plates similar to 'those from China', and four porcelain pieces from China, mounted with gilded silver, two undamaged and two broken and smashed'.[584] There is also a porcelain vinegar and oil set, decorated with gilded silver, and screw lids.[585] We also know that through the donation of an important number of luxurious goods – which were appraised at 50,000 *ducats* – Tomás de Borja y Castro-Pinos

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[574] The inventories of the Duke of Lerma were published by Luis Cervera Vera, *Bienes Muebles en el Palacio Ducal de Lerma*, Valencia, 1967.

[575] The Duke of Lerma was completely obsessed with everything ostentatious and spectactular. He amassed a fabulous treasure in silver that included 452 plates along with a very varied selection of types of silver and a wonderful set of glass pieces for the table. See Cervera Vera, 1967, pp. 16–26.

[576] Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares en los quales se contienen los discursos, modos de hablar, proverbios y palabras españolas más comunes: Muy útiles, y provechosos, para los que quieren aprender la lengua Castellana*, Paris, 1619, p. 133.

[577] Cervera Vera, 1967, p. 21.

[578] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25.

[579] Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25. AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 903, Treasury. 1617. [Idem 833]: 'A porcelain gourd decorated in gold, blue-and-white with a silver lid, which seems to have contained perfumed water, a silver chain attached to the lid, appraised at thirty reales… the mouth is broken'. The piece remained in the service of Philip III and Margaret of Austria after the auction of his father, King Philip II.

[580] Cervera Vera, 1967, p. 72.

[581] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[582] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[583] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[584] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[585] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

(1541–1610), Archbishop of Zaragoza, gave his nephew, the Duke of Lerma, two porcelains from India with silver feet and handles, one of them gilded, and which, from the 1608 inventory of the archbishop's possessions, were both appraised at 150 *reales*.[586]

The absence of Chinese porcelain and other exotic pieces in the inventories of items pertaining to the great collectors of the seventeenth century such as the Marquis of Leganés (d. 1655), Diego Messía y Guzmán, is very notable. This nobleman was one of the main collectors of Baroque art in Spain and indeed, in all of Europe, possessing works by Spanish, Italian, and, above all, Flemish artists. It was amazing to find such a large number of treasured items in his inventory: clocks, swords, pieces of artillery, statues (among them more than 20 bronze busts of Roman emperors), mirrors, luxurious pieces of furniture and unusual objects… an endless list of objects and a very impressive collection of about 1,333 paintings. Just for the quantity of items alone, it would have been extraordinary (King Philip IV's Buen Retiro Palace had about 800 paintings), but the truly important thing about this collection is that a large portion of the items described in the inventory have been studied and related to extant pieces.[587] However, as far as exotic ítems are concerned, they are few in number and only a few screens are listed (without specifying their origin) along with a 'coconut from India mounted in silver with a silver handle'.[588]

King Philip IV had legitimised his illegitimate son, Juan José de Austria (1629–79), who therefore had a social status somewhere between the aristocracy and royalty. He was a brilliant soldier and politician who accumulated an extensive collection of artistic items during his intense, busy life. We know about his collection through his post-mortem inventory. The most important group of items were paintings and books, but he also collected other objects such as clocks, sculptures, silver objects, jewels, and musical instruments.[589] Unfortunately not a single Oriental object is mentioned in his inventory, while there is such mention in the inventory of his daughter, Princess Marie Catherine Isabelle d'Autriche, a nun in the Convent of Berlaimont in Brussels. In her list the following pieces appear: 'five porcelain jars from the Indies, blue, and four *boccaros* [*búcaros*, see Glossary] decorated with silver, and half a dozen cups'.[590]

Another of the seventeenth century's major bloodlines was the Pimentel family, which was linked to the House of Osuna and the countship and duchy of Benavente. Historian Mercedes Simal studied the artistic patronage and collections of the Pimentels in different cities, including Benavente, Valladolid and Madrid. The eighth Count-Duke of Benavente, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel Herrera y Enríquez de Velasco, held the post of Viceroy of Valencia (1598–1602) and, from 1603 to 1611,

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[586] Carmen Abad Zardoya, 'Por el bien y beneficios que de su mano hemos recibido: estudio documental de una donación de bienes muebles hecha por Tomás de Borja a su sobrino el duque de Lerma en 1608', in *Artigrama*, no. 24, 2009, pp. 341–71; see Table 26. 'Relojes Y Objetos Con Guarnición De Metales Ricos': '*Dos porcelanas de la India con assas y pies de plata la una dorada y la otra blanca* (*f. 839v.*) *150 reale*s', on p. 370 of the mentioned article. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

[587] José Juan Pérez Preciado, *El marqués de Leganés y las artes*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2010; José Luis López Navío, 'La gran colección de las pinturas del marqués de Leganés', in *Analecta Calasantiana*, Madrid, 1962, pp. 259–330; Vicente Poleró, 'Colección de pinturas que reunió en su palacio el marqués de Leganés, Don Diego Felipe de Guzmán (siglo XVII)', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, vol. VI, Madrid, 1898–99, pp. 122–34; Mary Volk Crawford, 'New Light on a Seventeenth Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', in *The Art Bulletin*, New York, 1980, pp. 256–68; Jonathan Brown, 'Felipe IV, Carlos I y la cultura del coleccionismo en dos Cortes del siglo diecisiete', in John Elliott and Ángel García Sanz, *La España del Conde Duque de Olivares*, Valladolid, 1990, pp. 81-100.

[588] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 12, AHPM, Protocolo 6267, fol. 425.

[589] See Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las Artes* (*1626-1679*), Madrid, 2005.

[590] González Asenjo, 2005, p. 701, '*cinq pots de porcelaine des indes bleux et quattre boccaros garnie d'argent, une demie douzaine des tasses*'.

that of Viceroy of Naples. The inventory of his property at his Madrid residence included not only objects such as glass and *búcaros*, but also a number of porcelain objects, including 'a large piece with a sedge',[591] and other exotic objects, such as a tray from India.[592] Although paintings, sculptures and tapestries regained their pride of place in the inventories of the collection belonging to the tenth Count-Duke of Benavente, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel, his Valladolid palace was described in 1653 as featuring a 'porcelain chamber' containing a number of objects such as three dozen plates, ten-and-six 'small porcelains', two-and-a-half dozen 'shields' [probably vessels painted with escutcheons], pots in a large porcelain vessel, nine small bowls, two white bowls, four pieces of porcelain of different colours and one large piece of porcelain, among others.[593] There is mention of 'the pots in the pinewood chest' and a large basket of pots in 'the spiral room'.

Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis of Heliche and VII Marquis of El Carpio was another great seventeenth-century collector.[594] He was the son of Luis de Haro, also a collector, and inherited a large repertoire of paintings, a collection he progressively increased with works of fine quality. He played a leading role in the court of Philip IV as ambassador to Rome and Viceroy in Naples. In 1649 he married Antonia María de la Cerda, daughter of Don Antonio de la Cerda, VII Duke of Medinaceli and María Luisa Enríquez de Ribera y Girón, V Duchess of Alcalá. During his time in Rome, he amassed a large number of paintings, around 1,462 paintings and 30 albums of drawings.[595] His inventory,[596] consulted in the archive of the House of Alba, in Liria Palace, lists sculptures, classical antiques, sumptuous pieces of furniture, writing desks with precious gems, medals, busts, garden ornaments, and impressive fountains. There is not a single Asian piece in the most important inventory, made in Rome in 1682.[597] But in another inventory written between 1692 and 1693 we find 'two round painted wooden platters from India, another large one in the shape of a basin, a lacquered parasol, a large clay goblet shaped as a brazier on a pedestal, some masks that appear to be from China or Geneva, with some sort of label, a large round dish that looks like Chinese clay with a wooden drawer'.[598] However, another inventory

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[591] A large porcelain with '*juncia*'; this term could also refer to a *junciera-type* porcelain which was like a large dish.

[592] Mercedes Simal López, *Los condes-duques de Benavente en el siglo XVII. Patronos y coleccionistas en su villa solariega*, Benavente, 2002, p. 221.

[593] Simal, 2002, p. 233, Fol. 61: '*Tres dozenas de platos trincheros, diez y seis porcelanicas, dos docenas y mª de escudos, unos barros que estaban en una porcelana grande, nueve escudillas pequeñas en dha, dos escudillas blancas, quatro porcelanas de diferentes colores, una porcelana grande, tres aljafanas, tres jarras, una escudilla, quatro del mismo tamaño, doce platos, porcelana grande, un platico, otra porcelana mediana, una salvilla de tres, un platico, quatro de las diez jarras y frascos, una olla de dos*'.

[594] Gratitude is due to Dr. Calderón, who enabled access to the Carpio papers in the Alba Archives of the Palacio de Liria, Madrid. Rosa López Torrijos, 'Coleccionismo en la época de Velázquez: el marqués de Heliche', in Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Arte 'Diego Velázquez', *V Jornadas de Arte: Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 27–36.

[595] Leticia de Frutos Sastre, 'Una constelación cortesana en torno al Rey Planeta. El Marqués de Heliche y la Corte de Felipe IV', in Fundación Universitaria Española, *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV. Jornadas de Iconografía y coleccionismo*, Madrid, 2006, pp. 207–69.

[596] Besides this important inventory, others papers from the House of Alba were consulted in search of porcelains and other exotic items, but none were found. ADA, 157. *Inventario de los bienes muebles y guardarropas de la Casa de Alba* (*1654-1668*), *en el que se apreció gran cantidad de indumentaria y objetos de plata*; ADA., 157. *Memoria o inventario de todo lo que se entregó a Antonio Martínez de la Vega, guardarropa del duque de Alba*, 1666. ADA., 158, no. 13, *Inventario de las alhajas, tapicerías, cuadros y otros objetos vinculados a la casa de Alba*, 1777.

[597] ADA, 302-4. *Inventario e descrittione delli Mobili, suppellitili, Massarite, bronzi e robba e dell antica e moderna pittura e scultura dell Exccmo. Sigre. Don Gasparo de Haro et Guzman, Ambasciatore ordinario e straordinario in Roma*, MDCLXXXII (1682).

[598] ADA, C.221/no. 2. *Inventario de cuadros, tapicerías del conde-duque y del marqués de Liche.* 1692-1693.

dated 1687 lists a few pieces with luxurious mountings and lacquered pieces as well, such as:[599]

- A cane made of Indian reed with two mountings of wrought gold, one that serves as the tip and the other, larger one, as the handle, an eight-sided figure of lapis lazuli, the whole cane decorated with seventy-eight pink diamonds embedded in silver.
- A round tobacco case made of reed from India
- A small varnished wooden plate from China.
- A small wooden box from China containing several relics and other boxes
- A small box with fine ornamentation from India.
- A small wooden box from China.
- Two fans with wooden handles from China.
- A few wooden boxes from China.
- A round wooden box from China with flowers holding four pieces of ink from China.
- Another small wooden box from China, in which there is a cameo with the head of an Emperor.
- A chestnut tobacco holder from India with silver filigree.
- Fifteen reed spoons from India, painted red and gold, used with chocolate.
- A wooden box from China with nothing inside.
- A small wooden trunk from China with nothing inside.
- Sixteen fans with handles from China with several letters.
- A wooden box from China with a lot of small boxes.
- Two wooden boxes containing two Chinese fans.

Finally, Documentary Appendix 2 lists other inventories of household goods that contain ceramics, East Asian porcelains, and other exotic items belonging to other members of the nobility in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty.[600]

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[599] ADA, 217-12. Inventario de bienes redactado en Nápoles a la muerte del marqués del Carpio, 1687. The inventory of the Marquis of Carpio can also be found in AHPM, Protocolo 9819, fols. 1079–90: '*Un bastone canna India guardita d' oro intagliato con il puntuale pure d' oro intagliato con il manico di lapislazzaro ottangolare in detto manico, e guarnitione e puntale vi sono diamante a f aciette numero stantotto in tutto fra grandi e mezzani*; *Una tabacchiera tonda di canna d' India*; *Un piattino di legname della China inverniciato*; *Una caseta di legno dello China con varie reliquia et altre cassette*; *Una scatoletta con una galantería dell' India*; *Un cassettino di legno della China*; *Due ventagli con manichi di legno della China*; *Alcune cassette di legno della China*; *Una caseta di legno della China tonda con fiori, che vi sono quattro pezzi d' inchiostro della China*; *Un altra cassettina di legno della China, nella quale vi e un cameo d' una testa d' Imperatore*; *Una tabacchiera di castagna d' India con filagran d' argento*; *Quindici chucchiere di canna d' India colorite rosse, et oro per cioccolata*; *Una caseta di legno della China nella quale non vi e cosa alcuna*; *Un bauletto di legno della China, che non vi cosa alcuna*; *Sedici ventagli con manichi della China con diverse carte similmente della China*; *Una caseta legname della China, che vi sono dentro molte cassettine*; *Due cassette di legno nelle quali vi sono due ventagli della China*'.

[600] Other seventeenth-century collectors included: Duke of Monterrey, Admiral of Castille, Earl of Benavente, Prince of Esquilache, Marquis of la Torre, Jerónimo Villafuerte Zapata, Jerónimo Funes Muñoz, Suero de Quiñones. See Fernando Jesús Bouza, 'Coleccionistas y lectores. La enciclopedia de las paradojas', in *La Vida Cotidiana en la España de Velázquez*, p. 248. The collection of Juan de Espina y Velasco was very important at the time, as he assembled a collection of paintings, drawings, engravings, furniture, (reliquaries, cabinets, coffers,

### 3.5. *Chinese Porcelain for Merchants and Other Individuals*

To establish if the merchants of Seville had any special interest in collecting Oriental porcelain, research was conducted in the Provincial Historical Archive of Seville (AHPS) to gather information about their inventories of household goods.[601] Clearly, along with the nobility, merchants made up one of the most dynamic groups as far as collecting artistic objects were concerned. This part of the research began with the work by Jesús Aguado de los Reyes who analysed the society in Seville in his book *Riqueza y Sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XVII*. He devoted an entire chapter to the merchants of Seville, analysing 165 inventories, although he did not publish them in their complete form. According to his study, 23 important merchants in Seville had a patrimony of between 165 and 25 million *maravedíes* in the seventeenth century. The estates of merchants Fernando López Ramírez and Pedro Jalón amounted to more than 100 million *maravedíes*; therefore the study began with the post-mortem inventories of these important merchants.

Fernando López Ramírez, who lived in San Bartolomé and was married to María de Arellano, traded in all types of merchandise from the Indies 'Royal and Ducal merchandise, *pesos*, gold and silver bars, pearls and any other thing that came or might have come to me by boat, whether galley or any other kind of boat, from any place whether provinces or harbours in India'.[602] There is a remarkable number of paintings in the inventory of this merchant' possesions, made after his death on 18 November 1625, but only two 'silver bowls from China that weighed 1 mark, seven ounces and four *ochauas* [one eighth of a mark], along with three other bowls with their white silver handles that weighed two marks, six ounces and four *ochauas*; and three other bowls with their white silver handles that weighed two marks, six ounces and four *ochauas*.[603] The descriptions are, once again, not very clear, even though, judging by the weight mentioned, they appear to be silver items or Chinese porcelain mounted in silver. Besides these pieces there was also 'a white tablecloth embroidered with silk and gold and lined in crimson from China, appraised at twenty *ducados*'.[604] Unfortunately, there are no other items from East Asia in the inventory, the total value of which was 124 milion silver *maravedíes*.

Pedro de Jalón was another important merchant who died in May 1641.[605] Here, there is also a paucity of Oriental objects; the only item listed being 'A gold cord from China that weighs thirty-eight and a half *castellanos*, with the *castellano* worth twenty *reales*, a total of seven hundred *reales*; and another chain from China with twenty loops that weighs two hundred and nine *castellanos* at twenty *reales*, totalling four thousand and eighty *reales*'.[606]

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boxes) and different materials such as ivory, wax, bronze, silver. Porcelain is not mentioned. María Luisa Caturla, 'Documentos en torno a don Juan de Espina, raro coleccionista madrileño', in *Arte Español*, no. 6, Madrid, 1963.

[601] The Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPS) classifies documents according to notaries and not trades, compounding the difficulty of finding merchants in the preserved inventories. The book by Jesús Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y Sociedad en la Sevilla del Siglo XVII*, Seville, 1994, provided important information regarding the specific numbering of these bundles. Juana Gil-Bermejo García studied and published a list of traders from Seville in the 1640s, titled 'Mercaderes Sevillanos (II): Una relación de 1640'; it can be found in *Archivo Hispalense*, no. 188, Seville, 1978, pp. 25–52.

[602] AHPS, Legajo 10155, Fols. 624–984. 18 May 1637. Seville. Partición de los bienes de Fernando López Ramírez, vecino de la collación de San Bartolomé, marido de María de Arellano. 1625: *mercadurías reales y ducados, pesos, barras de oro y plata, perlas y qualesquier otras cosas que a mí me ayan benido y binieren en flota o galeones o otras naos de qualesquier partes y probinssias y puertos de las yndia*'.

[603] The Spanish original transcription of Fol. 658: '*Dos escudillas de plata de la china que pessaron vn marco y siete honca y quatro ochauas*, y *otras tres escudillas con sus asas de plata blancas que pesaron dos marcos seis honzas quatro ochaua*'.

[604] Translation of the original document is: '*Una sobremesa de china blanca bordadas de seda y oro forrada en carmesí en treinta ducados y otra sobremesa de china enbutida de sedas de colores y oro en veinte ducados*'.

[605] AHPS, Sección Protocolos 21, vol. 1, Legajo 14560, fols. 500–617v.

[606] AHPS, Legajo 14560. 1642: '*Un cordón de oro de china que pesa treinta y ocho castellanos y medio a veynte reales el*

Pedro Morera also traded with the Indies.[607] He focused primarily on buying and selling cloth, so a large quantity appears in his account books. He also sold leather from Caracas and Mexico and traded cocoa as well. The most abundant items in his inventories were wrought silver, tapestries and wall hangings, paintings and sculptures. There were also several items from China such as textiles and furniture but no porcelain.[608]

Another of the merchants researched was Lope de Tapia. According to documents, this merchant bought and sold 'Items from the Indies that come in galleons' and sold Spanish wine and oil in Mexico. The inventoried items included numerous jewels (household silver and gold), furniture, linen, art (canvasses, copper paintings, paintings, crosses, altarpieces), slaves, horses, cloth, clothing, weapons, carriage, barrels of wine, oxen, and mares. He also had some things from China but very few compared to the rest of his possessions.

- [Fol. 934v] Pottery and ceramics from China were appraised with glass and totalled 250 *reales*, VIIIUD.

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*castellano*, *montan setecientos y setenta reales U770* f. 518 rº y *Otra cadena de china con veynte bueltas que pesó ducientos y nuebe castellanos a veynte reales castellano monta quatro mil y ciento y ochenta reales 4U180*'. f. 518 rº

[607] AHPS, Sección Protocolos 3, vol. 2, Legajo 1811, fols. 1369–1601v.

[608] '73. Three blue pieces of damask from China, two pieces of damask of two and a half *varas* sold to Don Diego Cuello for one *ducado* per *vara* for a total of three hundred fifty and seven and a half *reales*. [Fol. 1396v] 74. Another piece of blue, red, and white damask from China, eighteen *varas*, number one hundred thirty-two. Sold at eleven *reales* per *vara*. [Fol. 1396v] 100 A complete outfit made of damask cloth from China, black and white with flowers, lined with taffeta, with silver at one hundred thirteen, number 113. Sold from Captain Fernando de Saavedra for two hundred and eighty-six *reales*. [Fol. 1402] Sold to Captain Fernando de Saavedra for two hundred and eighty-six *reales* = 9724 *maravedíes* [Fol. 1452] [Fol. 1451v] 101 Another outfit, black, and from China and *colunbino* [?], lined with violet taffeta, number one hundred fourteen. This outfit was sold for twenty-eight *ducados*. [Fols. 1401v and 1451v] 106 A morning outfit from China made of gold taffeta, number one hundred nineteen. This was sold for fifty *reales*. [Fol. 1402] It was torn from age. Because it was old and torn it sold for 50 *reales* and is worth 1700 *maravedíes*. [Fol. 1452v] Outfit and doublet made of damask from China that sold for 88 *reales* and is worth 2992 *maravedíes*. [Fol. 1453] Farthingale made of damask from China that sold for 44 *reales*. [Fol. 1453v] The list of wooden items includes: 143 A pine desk that serves as an altar and has a front-piece made of white damask, from China, with a handrail and large gold end-pieces. [Fol. 1408v] Household items: 188 Six dozen delicate Talavera plates from Portugal, number one hundred sixty-nine [Fol. 1416] 189 Three larger plates, one hundred seventy [*maravedíes*?]. [Fol. 1416] 190 Another 190 porcelain plates, some larger than others, and two dozen fine bowls from Portugal, number one hundred and sixty-one'. As can be seen, these last items were not appraised. The original Spanish transcription is: *73. Tres pieças de damasquillo de China, azul. Dos piezas de damasquillo en treyntta y dos baras y media se bendieron a don Diego Cuello a ducado la vara y monttaron treçientos y* çincuenta *y siette reales y medio*. f. 1396v; *no. 74. Otro pedaço de damasco azul, colorado y blanco de China con diez y ocho baras inventariado en el número ciento treinta y dos. Bendiose a onze reales bara*, f. 1396v; *no. 100 Un auito* (*hábito*) *entero de damasco de China blanco y negro a flores, aforrado en tafettán platteado a el número* çiento *y treze. Bendiose del capitán Fernando de Saauedra en duçienttos y ochentta y seis reales*, f. 1401. *Se vendió al capitán Fernando de Saavedra en 286 reales = 9.724 maravedís f. 1451*v. *no. 101 Otro* áuito *de China negro y colunbino, aforrado en tafettán bioletta del número* çiento *y catorçe. Este* áuito *se bendido en veintte y ocho ducados y le están cargados en la quenta de marauedís al número*. F. 1401v y f. 1451vto; *no. 106 Vna ropa de leuantar de la China de tafetán dorado del número* çiento *y diez y nuebe. Esta se bendió en* çinquenta *reales* f. 1402. *Estaba roto por ser vieja se vendió en 50 reales y vale 1700 maravedís f. 1452* v. *Ropa y jubón de damasco de China* que *se vendió en 88 reales valen 2.992 maravedís*, f. 1453; *Verdugado de damasquillo de China vendido en 44 reales valen 1496 maravedís, f. 1453*v. En las cosas de madera figuraba: *no. 143 una messa de pino que sirue de alttar con vn fronttal de damasco de la China blanco con passamanos y punta de oro grandes*. F. 1408 v.; Del menaje: *no. 188 Seis dozenas de plattos finos de Talauera de Portugal del número* çiento *y sessenta y nuebe* f. 1416 r; *no. 189 Tres dosenas de plattos más grandes del número* çientto *y settenta*, f. 1416 r; *no. 190 ottra dosena de plattos de borselanas, vnas mayores que otras y dos dozenas de escudillas finas de Porttugal del número* çiento *y sesenta y uno*, f. 1416 v.

- [Fol. 935v] Eight damask cushions from China at thirty *reales*, totalling eight thousand, one hundred and sixty *maravedíes*, VIIIIUCLX.
- [Fol. 938v] Twelve head coverings made of very light material at eight, IIIUCCLXIIII, D.
- [Fol. 938v] Two sets of silk from China at fifty *reales*, IIIUCCCC.
- [Fol. 939] A piece of blue and yellow Chinese damask at ten *ducados*, IIIUDCCXL.
- [Fol. 939] Two pieces of crimson Chinese damask at ten *ducados*, VIIUCCCCLXXX.[609]

Everything from China was assigned directly to Lope de Tapia's wife, Ana de Briones.

One of the most important collections in Golden Age Seville belonged to the merchant, Juan Vicentelo, called the Corsican (the famous 'El Corzo' of Seville) on account of his foreign origin.[610] With business contacts in Peru and Panama, this wealthy merchant was the prototype of the typical trader in Seville. Aware that in Seville classical tastes were synonymous with prestige and status, he collected objects and decorated his house in imitation of the nobility who liked 'to dress their houses in the style of Roman houses'. He managed to assemble a fine collection of artistic objects. Notable among the items on the 1599 inventory are the statues found in his palace-home and a type of *Kunstkammer*, which was on an upper floor and was used as an office for his business affairs. The Corsican decorated this room with interesting, exotic objects obtained through the contact he had had with distant regions. Thus, there were numerous glass, porcelain and Indian ceramic objects, objects from China, large silver cups, writing desks from Germany, a gold bronze clock with a figure of a Turk, columns and pyramids made of jasper and marble, and four small statues.[611] When Vicentelo died, his widow, Mayor de Toledo, waited patiently for the fleets from the Indies to arrive with silver before auctioning off the objects in her house because, she said, 'there is not enough money in this city to buy what I have here which includes glass, pottery, and porcelain items'. However, in the inventory of goods published by Enriqueta Vila Villar,[612] not a single item of porcelain or pottery is mentioned.

Lastly, Don Tomás de Mañara was another of the great merchants in the city who had devoted his business interests mainly to gold and silver and other exotic items from the Indies, establishing important business contacts in Italy. His primary activity, however, was serving in Seville as an agent to important bankers in the Court. Tomás Mañara established himself in Seville, purchasing a palace-house decorated with Carrara marble for 13,000 *ducados* (4,745,000 *maravedíes*) in 1623,[613] which was remodelled for 20,000 *ducados*. The chapel that formed part of the house was decorated with great opulence as is stated in the inventory of goods.[614] Neither is the rest of the house unworthy because it was decorated with tapestries from Brussels, luxurious imported furniture, Chinese screens,

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[609] AHPS, Sección Protocolos 21, vol. 5, Legajo 14437, (fols. 895–1036), Fol. 935v: '*Los barros y losa de la China se tasso con los vidrios todo en 250 reales VIIIUD*; Fol. 934v: *Ocho coxines de Damasco de la China a treinta reales, total de ocho mill y* çiento *y sesenta maravedís VIIIUCLX*'; Fol. 938v: '*Doce tocas de la China de espumillas a ocho reales, IIIUCCLXIIII*; Fol. 938v: *Dos mazos de seda de la China a* çinquenta *reales, IIIUCCCC*'; Fol. 939: '*Vna pieça de Damasco azul y amarillo de China en diez ducados, IIIUDCCXL*'; Fol. 939: '*Dos pieças de Damasco de la China azul y carmesí a diez ducados, VIIUCCCCLXXX*'.

[610] Enriqueta Vila Villar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara: Tipos y arquetipos del mercader con América*, Seville, 2010 (3rd edition), pp. 256–57.

[611] Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura Sevillana*, Seville, 2005, pp. 243–44. Archivo de la Audiencia Provincial de Sevilla, Sección Histórica, Legajo 142, fols. 885–86v.

[612] Vila Villar, 2010, pp. 256–58.

[613] Vila Villar, 1991, p. 165.

[614] Quoted in Vila Villar, p. 165. Inventario de bienes de Tomás Mañara (Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla, Escribanía de Hermenigildo de Pineda, vol. 2, fols. 847–53. 1649).

paintings, gems and a great many wrought silver pieces. His son, Miguel de Mañara, maintained the family patrimony and continued his father's businesses. Several Chinese porcelain fragments were found in excavations carried out at the house. Archaeologists dated four of them as belonging to the Ming dynasty, with one from the Qing dynasty, (Chapter 4, pp. 161-62).

To conclude I would like to mention other members of Spanish society who, according to inventories of their possessions, owned Chinese porcelain objects.

The first inventory pertains to the Archbishop of Seville[615] and was found while studying the assets of the House of Osuna of which he was a member; as mentioned earlier, aristocratic families usually held the most important archbishoprics and bishoprics in Spain. The inventory studied belonged to the Cardinal Don Gaspar de Borja Velasco, (1580–1645) who was Cardinal of Toledo, Archbishop of Seville and Toledo, and Viceroy of Naples. He was the son of Francisco de Tomás de Borja Aragón Centelles, VI Duke of Gandía, and Juana Enríquez de Velasco Aragón. The goods treasured by this important member of the clergy varied from tapestries, beds, hangings, canopies, covers, rugs, clothes, cassocks, doublets, paintings, images of saints, reliquaries, chests, tables, but also included pieces of porcelain such as:

- Two cups of fine porcelain from the Indies.
- Four bowls (*escudillas*) of porcelain from India.
- Six bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) from India to hold chocolate.
- Seven decorated porcelains, large and small, in the shape of bowls from China.
- Six small plates of the mentioned porcelain.
- Six porcelains in the shape of bowls of the same [material].
- Twelve fine porcelains from China mounted in silver.
- Three porcelains from India just over a quarter [of a *vara*], one larger than the others and the medium-sized one with mounts on the foot and two handles of gilded silver.
- Another porcelain from India with the mentioned mounts.[616]

We have seen that porcelain was an imported good used by the Spanish Crown, the nobility, the clergy and some merchants. Its use is also documented in the inventories of goods of other individuals belonging to lower levels of society who had the resources to buy Chinese porcelain or were very well connected to important members of society who had the means of acquiring it. The monk Lorenzo de Monserrate owned one of the most interesting collections that he had in his monastic cell in the El Escorial when he died on 16 February of 1577.[617] He bequeathed the pieces to the king, asking that they be transferred to the convent, the hospital and the school along with other ceramics from Talavera and other 'kitchen pots' (*cacharros de cocina*). He had an interesting collection that included *Kinrande* style porcelain with gold leaf applied over the glaze, mounted blue-and-white porcelain and some ordinary blue-and-whites. This inventory is one of the most detailed found. His collection consisted of:

- [Fol. 40] Thirty-five *búcaros* of red clay, large, medium and small of different types.
- Seven trinkets (*brinquiños*) of the mentioned clay.

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[615] AHN, Sección Nobleza, Fondo Osuna. Caja 1040. 1646. It is a copy of the original inventory in the Gandía Archive. Dated 1646.

[616] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 49.

[617] Almudena Pérez de Tudela discovered this inventory when working on her Ph. d., thesis on Cardinal Granvela in AGP, Patronatos, San Lorenzo, Caja 82, no. 5 (entrega tercera [third delivery]), fols. 40–42.

- A porcelain dish painted on top in red and gold with a gilded ewer.
- A blue-and-white vase with lid.
- A blue-and-white bowl with an open silver foot.
- A large gilded bowl.
- Another large blue-and-white bowl.
- A porcelain *búcaro* with a neck made in the shape of a gourd.
- [Fol. 41] A porcelain bowl of the size of the ordinary ones covered in gold and blue on a silver foot.
- Another medium-size scarlet and gilded porcelain.
- A wide scarlet and gilded porcelain made in the shape of a stand.
- Eight painted and gilded porcelain plates.
- Six small round blue-and-white plates with low feet.
- Thirteen blue-and-white plates.
- A small blue and with plate.
- A small blue-and-white bowl (*albornia*).
- A porcelain bowl a little larger than the ordinary ones, gilded and scarlet.
- Another one [bowl] a little larger, blue-and-white.
- Three blue-and-white porcelain bowls of the size of the normal ones.
- Two porcelain stands.
- Two blue-and-white cups.
- Fifteen porcelain bowls of the size of the normal ones, painted and gilded.
- Four porcelain cups smaller than the above, blue-and-white.
- Another two small blue-and-white cups.
- Four blue-and-white porcelain plates.
- A porcelain salt, its lid shaped as a triangle.
- Four small gilded porcelain sauceboats.
- Twenty blue-and-white porcelain sauceboats.
- Another ten porcelain sauceboats.
- [Fol. 42] A white dish with a fine glaze.
- Two basins (*almofias*), one painted in blue and the other in white with the mentioned fine glaze.
- Four small painted cups of the mentioned fine glaze.
- Seven small round bowls (*caçolillas*) for preserves.
- A small painted bucket (*cubetilla*) with a lid.

• A white ewer with its glued broken handle.[618]

Unfortunately, none of these pieces is currently preserved in the Monastery of El Escorial.

Juan de Herrera (1530–97) was the architect and principal designer of the El Escorial, 30 miles northwest of Madrid. He conceived the building as an enormous rectangular precinct enclosing a Royal palace, a monastery, and a church. The cornerstone was laid in 1563 and the complex was finished in 1584. The period of its construction corresponded to the years of the Catholic Reformation after the Council of Trent, and the building's astonishing severity and sobriety was balanced with a beautiful Renaissance palace overlooking the gardens. It would appear from his inventory of 1597 that this humanist had a small collection of antiques, with objects of varying origins. Some were collected for medicinal purposes, such as a piece of bezoar or rhinoceros leather, but other objects are of more interest here such as a coconut from the Indies with silver mounts and a bead chain, a green stone with the face of an idol, a marble box with an oval lid turned on a wheel, an Indian tray lacquered in black and gold, and various porcelain items such as:

• Three large blue-and-white porcelain plates from the Indies, of half a *vara* in diameter and two medium-sized ones.

• Nine blue-and-white porcelain plates, four porcelain plates in gold, blue-and-white.

• Three large blue-and-white porcelain bowls (*aljufanyllas*), of a fourth of a *vara* in diameter.

• [Fol. 31] Three porcelain bowls (*aljufaynyllas*), one larger than the other two, of a fourth of a *vara* in diameter.

• A very large porcelain bowl of half a *vara* in diameter.

• Three blue-and-white porcelains.

• One scarlet and gilded.

• A broken white and red porcelain sauceboat.

• Four small bowls (*aljofaynyllas*) of a *sesma* in diameter, blue-and-white.

• A vase (*ruçiadera*) with six hollow and curved pipes of blue-and-white porcelain from which water is poured.

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[618] AGP, Patronatos, San Lorenzo, Caja 82, no. 5 (entrega tercera [third delivery]), fols. 40–42: '*Treinta y cinco bucaros de varro colorado grandes medianos y pequeños de differentes hechuras, siete brinquiños del dicho varro, Una fuente de Porcelana pintada por encima de colorado y dorado con Aguamanil dorado Una olla azul y blanca con tapador todo de porcelana, una porçelana escudilla azul y blanca con un pie de plata abierto Una porçelana grande escudilla dorada, otra porçelana grande escudilla azul y blanca; Un Bucaro de Porcelana con cuello de hechura de calabaça Una Porçelana escudilla del tamaño de las ordinarias f. 41: y cubierta de oro y azul con pie de plata dorado, otra porçelana mediana y colorada y dorada Una Porcelana ancha a manera de Taza dorada y colorada, ocho platos trincheos de porçelana pintados y dorados, Seis platonçillos chicos açules y blancos repulgados a la redonda con pies baxos Treze platos trincheos de porçelana azul y blanco, un platillo de porçelana azul y blanco, una albornia chiquita azul y blanca, una porçelana escudilla un poco mayor que las ordinarias dorada y colorada Otra un poco mayor azul y blanca, tres escudillas de porzelana del tamaño de las ordinarias açules y blancas, dos taças de porcelana açules y blancas, quinçe porçelanas escudillas del tamaño de las ordinarias doradas y pintadas quatro taças de porçelana mas pequeñas que las de arriba de açul y blanco, otras dos taçillas chiquillas azules y blancas, quatro platicos de Porçelana azules y blancos, un salero de porçelana con su tapador en Triangulo, quatro salserillas chicas de Porçelanas doradas Veinte salserillas de porçelana açul y blanca, otras diez salserillas de Porçelana blancas, una fuente blanca de vedriado fino f. 42 Dos Amofias la una pintada de açul y la otra blanca del dicho vedriado fino quatro taçillas pequeñas pintadas del dicho vedriado Siete caçolillas pequeñas redondas para conservas Una cubetilla pequeña pintada con su tapador, un aguamanil blanco con el assa rompida y pegada*'. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela who kindly pointed out this document in the Archivo de Palacio.

- A gilded and scarlet porcelain ewer.
- Another blue-and-white ewer shaped as a bird.
- Three porcelain *brincos*, gilded and blue, one is a bird, the other a snake and the last one a vase with a boy lying on top.
- A large tray from the Indies lacquered in black and gold.[619]

As can be seen, this inventory includes porcelains that are identical to those owned by King Philip II, especially the blue-and-white porcelain vase with six hollow and curved pipes. (see fig. 35).

Another artist of the Spanish court was Giacomo Nizzola (sometimes writen Nizzolo), who was also called Jaconet da Trezzo, or Jacopo da Trezzo and Jacometrezo (Trezzo sull'Adda, c. 1515 – Madrid, 1589). He was an Italian sculptor, medallist, lapidary and silversmith, trained in Milan and active in different cities including Brussels, London, Madrid and El Escorial where he worked for Emperor Charles V and after him for Philip II of Spain. His inventory of 1589 records 'eight porcelain plates' inside a pine chest and 'three porcelains from the Indies of Portugal, one of them gilded and scarlet inside' in a small coffer.[620] The inventory of Diego de Silva Velázquez and Juana Pacheco of 1661 was published a few years ago.[621] This famous painter had only a few exotics from the Indies: a bowl with silver handles, a rhinoceros-horn cup, two coconuts mounted in silver from the Indies and a tray (dish) from the Indies.

Finally, I would like to note that these are just few examples of people who were related to the court who possessed Chinese porcelain; however, it is clear that this section could be extended to include other individuals who may have used or collected Chinese porcelain. Anastasio Vega Rojo reported that in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez, 'there was a porcelain in the shape of an ewer, scarlet and gilded, two porcelains shaped as cups with gilded silver pedestals, and another with a gilded foot, as well as nine other large and small porcelains'.[622] Future research will complete the task of analysing the possessions of other strata in Spanish society to seek out Chinese porcelain and other exotic items.

### 3.6. *Appreciation, Use and Display of Chinese Porcelain*

In the previous chapters we have seen how the elite used exotic objects and orientalia during the 16th and 17th century. In fact the acquisition of exotic objects in Spain had a long history. In the first century

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[619] '*Tres platos grandes de porzelana, azules y blancos, de las Indias, de media bara de mediámetro y dos medianos menores.- nueve trincheos de porzelana azules y blancos.- quatro trincheos de porcelana, oro, azul y blanco, -tres aljufanyllas de porcelana azules y blancas, de vna quarta de medyámytro* - [Fol. 31] *tres aljufaynyllas de porziolana, la una mayor que las otras dos y las dos de vna quarta de deámytro. - Una escudilla de porcelana muy grande, de casi media bara de diámetro - tres porziolanas azules y blancas, la una colorada y dorada - una salzerilla de porziolana blanca y colorada y quebradam - cuatro aljofaynyllas pequeñas de vna sesma de diámetro, azules y blancas. - una ruçiadera de porziolana azul y blanca, con seis caños torçidos por do sale el agua. - un aguamanyl de porçiolana colorado y dorado. - otra aguamanyl blanco y azul de porziolana, hecho un páxaro. - tres brincos de porziolana dorados y azules, que el vno es vn pájaroy el otro vna serpiente y otro vn baso echado vn nyño enzima. - una bandexa de la India grande, laquada de negro y oro*'. Luis Cervera Vera, *Inventario de los bienes de Juan de Herrera*, Valencia, 1977, p. 147.

[620] Mercedes Agulló, *Documentos para la historia de la escultura española*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 320 and 324: '*otro arca de pino, en que abia seys platos de porçelana/ otros dos platos de porçelana...*' and a small coffer with: '*tres porçelanas de la India de Portugal, la una dorada y colorada por dentro*'.

[621] Carlos Baztán Lacasa (ed.), *25 documentos de Velázquez en el archivo histórico de protocolos de Madrid*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 30–62.

[622] Vega Rojo, 1996, p. 64.

AD, Hispania-born poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (Martial) (40–104) described the abundance of exotic and luxury objects flowing into Rome from the whole known world: pottery, furniture, silks, rhinoceros horns. Later, during the Renaissance, Lisbon, Madrid and Seville rivalled the ancient Roman Empire in splendour as all kinds and Oriental commodities were introduced to the Iberian harbours from Africa, Asia and the New World to be distributed among the governing elite.[623] In his book *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, Robert Finlay comments that Chinese porcelain was:

> A cultural cynosure, a nexus where art and commerce converge, drawn together by an artifact that in some measure incarnates and articulates the beliefs, customs, and mentalities of those who make, purchase, and esteem it. Positioned at the intersection of everyday life, commerce, and art, porcelain vessels were often simultaneously functional wares, profitable merchandise, and treasured possessions.[624]

While it is true that, as Finlay says, many worlds are condensed in a piece of porcelain, that same piece of porcelain can also be studied from different specific viewpoints, including the historic, geographic, economic and the artistic. In this last chapter I will examine Chinese porcelain as a channel of information for learning about the customs of an era by zooming in on certain concrete aspects: the appreciation, use and display of Chinese porcelain in Spanish society during the Habsburg reign. In previous chapters I used historic documents such as post-mortem inventories, to analyse the presence of Chinese porcelain in different social sectors of Early Modern Spain, the welcome Chinese porcelain received on its arrival and its distribution. Through appraisals and auctions (*almonedas*), we have learned the prices that porcelain and other exotic objects fetched, but we have also learned of their relationship with other luxury items. In this context we have seen that Chinese porcelain did not rank highest among the most valued objects in the inventories. Early Spanish society prized materials for what they were and, as now, precious stones and metals like gold and silver fetched the largest sums. Their value was calculated by weight, although in some cases quality was prized as well.[625] In the sixteenth century, gold, silver and precious stones were more important than artistic beauty. The fine arts, manifested primarily in painting and sculpture, only began to gain appreciation in the seventeenth century. In different sectors of society, wrought silver was a fundamental part of one's personal wealth, because it constituted an investment during a century noted for constant currency depreciation. In fact, from the fifteenth century onward, an item of furniture called the *aparador* or credenzas abounded, generally as the showcase for pieces of this sort and other luxury items. It was set up on special days, as may be seen in the painting by Pedro García de Benabarre, Hero's Banquet[626] and *L'Histoire du Grand Alexandre* (figs. 40 and 41).

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[623] Jesús Sáenz de Miera, 'Curiosidades, maravillas, prodigios y confusión: Posesiones Exóticas en la Edad de los Descubrimientos', in *Las Sociedades Ibéricas y el Mar*, Lisbon, 1998, pp. 133–65.

[624] Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, Berkeley and Los Ángeles, 2010, p. 11.

[625] It is hard to get a realistic picture today of exactly how much value was attached to these objects at the time. Jesús F. Pascual Molina discusses how the records tell us that the term '*bello*' (handsome) was not used as an aesthetic description, but rather as a synonym for 'rich'. The same thing happens with '*bueno*' (good). So, the salient feature of a piece of work was its material value. The greater the material value, the more important the work was to its owner. Beauty was identified with luxury, and luxury was linked to power. Clothing, for example, became a way of externalising and publicly displaying the wearer's status, hence the effort to go about as richly adorned as possible; see Jesús F. Pascual Molina, 'Lujo y exhibición pública: el arte al servicio del poder en las recepciones a doña Juana y don Felipe', in *Juana I en Tordesillas: su mundo, su entorno*, Valladolid, 2010, pp. 305–24.

[626] As Miguel Ángel Zalama explains: 'When traveling in the first half of the sixteenth century, Philip and Joanna of Spain carried their belongings with them, not only for security reasons, but also because parts of the royal treasure were actually used at each stopover. Silverware was the most important object for their meals and banquets and was laid out at their first sojourn in Burgos'; see Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'Joanna I of Castile: the Inventory of the Queen's Artistic Property', in *Checa Cremades*, 2010, vol. 1, p. 883. Tapestries and dinner services were routinely unpacked and displayed in the stately homes where the monarchs took up residence. It was an old custom with Spanish kings and queens that went back several generations.

Fig. 40. Pedro García de Benabarre, *Herod's Banquet*, tempera, stucco reliefs and gold leaf on wood, c. 1470. Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Inv. no: 064060-000.





Fig. 41. Anonymous, *L'Histoire du Grand Alexandre*, oil on board mid-fifteenth century. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.

An *aparador* was a sideboard, sometimes stepped, that was covered with a cloth, on which silver dishes and other objects were displayed.[627] The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) defines this object as 'the set of treasures, dishes, glasses, ewers and other rich items that are placed on tables on their stands, to be used when necessary, to serve as decoration, not only at princely tables, but also flanking the Altars of Churches during solemn functions'.[628] An *aparador* was therefore a simple table that was covered with shelves and rich tablecloths and tapestries, on which deluxe showpieces (generally made of silver and gold) were arranged. Although no specific reference to Chinese porcelain on an *aparador* has been found, such objects might well have been displayed in this way. Indeed, pottery and glass objects are part of the display in the still life by Juan Bautista de Espinosa dated 1624 (fig. 42). The tables of the powerful were very closely associated with gold and silver dishes in this era, when people were obsessed with constantly broadcasting what they considered their rightful rung on the social ladder.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth, Madrid celebrated, in the words of Bennassar, a 'fiesta of extravagance'.[629] A very popular saying by author Francisco de Quevedo, who lived in Madrid in those days, remarked 'One is what one represents'. As Amaya Morera comments: 'Royalty and nobility resorted to ostentation as a means of underlining their high

[627] In his account of the banquet that the Duke of Lerma offered the British ambassador, Pinheiro da Veiga described how the duke had three *aparadores* manufactured for the occasion, one for cups and ordinary silver, another one for dishes and plates made of gold and enamel, and a third for crystal and coloured crystal mounted in gold. It is likely that a similar structure would have been used to hold porcelain as well. Pinheiro Veiga, Bartolomé, 'La corte de Felipe II', in J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 2, Valladolid, 1999, p. 761.

[628] *Diccionario de Autoridades*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1979, p. 324.

[629] Bartolomé Bennassar, *La España del Siglo de Oro*, Barcelona, 2004, p. 124.



Fig. 42. Juan Bautista de Espinosa, *Still Life with Silver Objects*, signed and dated 1624. Oil on canvas, 98 x 118 cm. Masaveu Collection, Oviedo, Asturias. Inv. no unknown.

status and setting themselves apart from the general populace. Wealth alone did not guarantee high status: In order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. Wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence'.[630] The display of luxury was used to maximum effect in Baroque Madrid, most especially in public celebrations. Appearance was paramount in a society that lived beyond its means.[631] It is highly unlikely that anyone who could afford a silver service would have switched to a Chinese porcelain set, even an imported one, at least not for their main service. As some surviving pieces show, the major houses would probably have used Talavera porcelain emblazoned with its noble owners' coat of arms for the second-best service or services for the use of their retainers.[632] Both Spanish ceramic specialists María Antonia Casanovas and Natacha Seseña agree that unfortunately 'very few commonplace household items have survived in Spain, a country somewhat cavalier with its personal effects'.[633]

Since classical antiquity items of precious metalwork and pottery have been associated with the quality of craftsmanship and relegated to the category of 'minor arts'. As mentioned earlier, among the minor arts the value and price[634] of gold and silver took precedence over the value of ceramics. Inventory

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[630] Quoted by Amaya Morera, *El escaparate, un mueble para una dinastía*, Ph.D. diss., Madrid, 2010, p. 229, quoting T. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, Mexico, 1974, p. 9.

[631] Since the times of Charles V pragmatic voices had railed against luxury. In 1609 an attempt was made to restore a balance to the kingdom's accounts and reform court vices with laws curtailing waste and luxury among the aristocratic classes. In 1626 Fernández de Navarrete published his *Discursos políticos sobre la gran consulta que el Consejo hizo al Señor Felipe III*, in which he discussed excess in buildings and personal adornment. Bennassar, 2004, p. 119.

[632] Javier Portús Pérez, 'Que están vertiendo claveles', in *Revista Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Series VII, Historia del Arte, vol. 6, 1993, pp. 255–74. The third duke of Albuquerque allowed his servants to use Talavera earthenware with his coat of arms. Portús, 1993, p. 259.

[633] María Antonia Casanovas, 'Ceramics in Domestic Life in Spain', in Gabin, Pierce and Pleguezuelo, 2003, pp. 49-75 quoting Natacha Seseña, *Los disparates de la comisaria: Vida cotidiana en tiempos de Goya*, Madrid, 1996, p. 12-14.

[634] The *price* or *prices* paid for an item in an auction or shop, which is implicit in a work that is for sale, is one thing; we assign the *appraisal value* to a work or piece after careful examination, on the basis of certain parameters in which sale is not implicit. Paradoxically, we use contemporary art market prices in appraisals.

appraisals of pottery usually valued items according to any gold or silver mount they might bear. Unadorned porcelain usually came last on the list of low-cost household goods, although, as mentioned before, the three *reales* (102 *maravedíes*) that a blue-and-white plate cost on average in the late sixteenth century was relatively expensive compared to the cost of basic products like a kilogram of bread (9.82 *maravedíes*) or a kilogram of lamb (80 *maravedíes*).[635] An example of this attitude is a remark in the late seventeenth century in the inventory of the belongings of Charles II, the last Habsburg monarch, in which 'the pieces were not appraised as they had more of a sentimental than an intrinsic value'.[636] Marco Spallanzani, who worked on the inventories of the great Florentine and Venetian families, also stressed that Chinese porcelain was very cheap compared to other luxury materials like silver and textiles. In Renaissance Italy a piece of Chinese porcelain cost somewhere between half a florin and three florins, the average piece costing about one florin, while a silver bowl might cost 30 or 40 florins, 20 times as much. As Maura Rinaldi comments in the light of Spallanzani's work, not everyone in fifteenth-century Italy could buy Chinese porcelain, but among those who could, it ranked as one of the lowest luxury items, being perhaps regarded more as a curio than as a work of art.[637] Notwithstanding its low status, porcelain was appraised very differently according to model and decoration. We have seen that in Philip II's inventory, an average blue-and-white dish was appraised at three *reales* or 102 *maravedíes*, far too much for ordinary citizens to pay. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a kitchen worker at the palace earned about 33,000 *maravedíes* a year.[638] Ordinary people used objects made of local earthenware or wood.

Even so, Chinese porcelain did belong to the 'market in curios or exotic items' and therefore obeyed the law of supply and demand. Pieces could be assigned a value in themselves, but the added costs of shipping and distribution counted, too. When setting a price of an object, the intrinsic qualities involved in the object's making, i.e., the quality of the body, the transparency of the glaze, the blue of the cobalt oxide, the luminosity of the enamels and gilding and the design counted much less than the extrinsic value involved in the added cost of shipping and distribution. Clearly, a factor such as the time spent making it added no value to the piece. In Golden-Age Spain, the exotic provenance of an object was appreciated, but as an extra feature; exotica were comparable to glasswork or rare materials like coconuts and ostrich eggs. A piece of Chinese porcelain was worth, in market terms, whatever the buyer was willing to pay, and remained unknown until the sale was made. Anyhow at all events, as we have seen, there were contemporary appraisers specialising in Chinese porcelain, like Juan Saiz, 'merchant of porcelain and other things from China', and Bernardo de Bonadilla, 'shopkeeper of China objects and glass'.[639] They determined the value of different objects, as shown in some of the appraisals in the Documentary Appendices to this dissertation. Chronicles state that during the sixteenth century, Chinese porcelain was 'cheap', mainly because abundant production flooded the markets of New Spain, Peru, Spain and Portugal.

In his fascinating article, historian Javier Portús analyses pottery in the context of Spanish Golden-Age literature.[640] He highlights the numerous references to pottery and the contradistinction between the terms *plata* (silver) and *barro* (clay), linked to high and low social hierarchies, respectively.

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[635] I am grateful to Saúl Pérez-Juana for this information from his book *Ficción y Realidad en el Siglo de Oro*, Alcalá de Henares, 2005, pp. 22–23.

[636] Documentary Appendixes 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, signatura 240.

[637] Spallanzani, 1997, p. 136. Thanks to Carlo Galimberti for his help with the Italian translations from this book. Rinaldi, 1989, p. 58.

[638] One pound of beef 16 maravedíes and one chicken for 64 maravedíes in 1620. For other prices see Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 17.

[639] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 13. From the 1661 inventory of the Marquis of Montealegre.

[640] Portús Pérez, 1993, pp. 255–74.

He, too, tells us that silver was always associated with the powerful, and pottery with the underprivileged, but he notes that the use of pottery was associated with qualities such as humility, dignity and virtue. Regarding the status of pottery in Golden-Age literature, it seems that the different types of wares were not held in the same regard or used by the same social strata. A Mexican *búcaro*, a pot from Talavera or Alcorcón and a piece of Chinese porcelain were not regarded as having the same value. Although in inventories, pottery objects figured last and were sometimes jumbled together or listed with similar values for different vessels, Portús maintains that Chinese porcelain was more esteemed than the rest. And yet it is curious that one of the Golden-Age literary references to Chinese porcelain that Portús cites is actually put in the mouth of a Portuguese draper, the hero of an anonymous ballad, who promises his lady love 'spices from the Indies, the scents of Lisbon and the clays of China'.[641] In Portugal, as in the northern European countries, there was probably more of an appreciation for Chinese porcelain than in Spain, given the very large number of pieces still existing there to this day. For instance, according to Rinaldi, about 75 per cent of all *Kraak* wares in the world are preserved in Dutch collections.[642] Portugal and the Netherlands were the main importers of Chinese porcelain.

The most numerous objects found in archaeological excavations are made of pottery, especially in urban contexts. Pottery was an artifact of daily use, used in cooking, storage and carriage, for both foods and goods. Hence, it first had a functional significance and only later took on a social significance. Fragments of Chinese porcelain are found within this context, but only rarely when compared to the abundance of other kinds of pottery, like earthenware and tin-glazed ceramics. Eating was a very important activity in palace etiquette and in the homes of the cream of society, and the presence of porcelain shards confirms that porcelain was used for this and other needs. María del Carmen Simón Palmer, who studied the diet and dining habits of the Spanish Court, says that Royal sets of porcelain were not used until the Bourbon dynasty in the early eighteenth century, and that during Habsburg rule 'the poor ate off clay, and kings and queens off gold and silver'.[643] And yet, throughout this dissertation we have seen that various members of the royal family did use pieces of Chinese porcelain for different purposes, such as drinking *consommé*, or eating fish or desserts. It is true that there was no official royal service of Chinese porcelain, but Philip II's collection of Chinese porcelain might have been used for dining on occasions. Pieces used for different purposes are mentioned as belonging to his collection such as containers for oil and vinegar or for scented water. A Talavera service is mentioned in a lunch offered to poor people in the palace, and porcelain of an unreported type is mentioned as the tableware offered to the Prince of Landsgrave when he came to Madrid in 1618 during the reign of Philip III.[644]

Late in 1624 the Duke of Neuburg, accompanied by a train of 67 people, arrived in Madrid, and the Royal Quartermaster was ordered to provide the party with a house and a large silver service. The latter was delivered by King Philip IV's treasurer and included four pieces of porcelain, although no further details on the porcelain pieces were provided.[645] On another occasion, in 1626, Cardinal Francesco Barberini stayed at the Royal Palace in Madrid (in the Treasury House or *Casa del Tesoro*), and the Countess of Olivares offered a banquet that was attended by the chronicler Cassiano del Pozzo. After recounting a long list of delicacies, he tells us that the guests used porcelain bowls with lobed silver edges on fine silver plates containing 'snow' (crushed ice) to chill the food.[646] Jean Muret, a French diplomat in Spain between 1666 and 1667, described the use of porcelain at a dinner party in the following way: 'At dinner we were offered

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[641] Portús Pérez, 1993, p. 272.

[642] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 66.

[643] Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 65.

[644] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[645] *Ibíd*, p. 23.

[646] See footnote 497.

a small bowl of porcelain full of *consommé* on top of a dish. I thought that it was brought to drink and took it to my mouth; but before I tasted it felt the heat and left it, to the laughter of my companions'.[647]

However, the loveliest praise for the use of porcelain that we know of from the era comes from the pen of Lope de Vega and is to be found in his play *Del mal lo menos* (*The Lesser of Two Evils*), where Monzón describes the medical bleeding of a princess due to illness:

> 'He applied China porcelain / and I did likewise:
>
> And you could see carnations come out / in that snowy garden'.[648]

One product revolutionised the customs of seventeenth-century Spanish society: chocolate. In the words of Spanish historian Fernando Díaz-Plaja: 'This product from the Indies conquered the metropolis so thoroughly that it became indispensable fare for Spanish high society, because its price placed it beyond the reach of workers. Gentlemen and ladies drank chocolate for breakfast, served in bed with sponge cakes on the side; in addition, when they made their round of afternoon visits, the thing to do was for the host was to offer chocolate and for the guests to take home any leftover cakes. Some attempts were made to sell chocolate publicly in the street, but this was forbidden in 1644, with a warning that chocolate could be sold only in tablets or bars. It was not a beverage for lay society. Communities under monastic vows loved chocolate so much that its consumption on fast-days became an issue'.[649] The Archbishop of Seville had six porcelain bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) for chocolate, as mentioned in his inventory, and we know that members of the nobility frequently used *jícaras* or small Chinese porcelain cups, because such vessels were mentioned alongside chocolate pots and chocolate itself in their inventories. Chocolate services in general were called '*recados de chocolate*' (chocolate equipment or service). The 1642 property inventory of the Marquise of Hinojosa included a chocolate service with 10 small chocolate trays from the Indies, two gourds from the Indies painted in various colours, a porcelain bowl from China with a gilded bronze foot and a large number of items from China: writing desks inlaid with mother of pearl, a bed lacquered in a checkered pattern with white and crimson gauze hangings, and several screens from China.[650] In the 1644 inventory of the Marquis of Cadereyta, a pine sideboard was recorded as being opened and found to contain different types of porcelain and five small cups for chocolate.[651]

Madame d'Aulnoy, who visited Spain at the end of the seventeenth century, described a party held by a princess:

> We had tea in the house of the princess where eighteen maids appeared carrying silver trays full of dry sweets wrapped in paper […] Chocolate was served afterwards, each porcelain cup held on an agate plate mounted in gold, with a box of the same [material] filled with sugar. […] There were a few ladies that ate small bits of *arcilla sigelada*.[652] They have a great liking for eating that clay that makes their stomachs swell and their skin yellow. If one wants to please them it is essential to present them with those *búcaros*, which are also called *barros* [clays]; their confessors give a penance that consists of spending a whole day without eating them. They said that [the clay] has many properties and does not suffer poison and cures many diseases.[653]

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[647] José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 3, Valladolid, 1999, pp. 712–13.

[648] Portús Pérez, 1993, p. 273.

[649] Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La vida española en la España del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1994, p. 167.

[650] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 6.

[651] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 9.

[652] *Terra sigilata*. The author refers here to court ladies' custom of eating small pieces of *buccaro* or red earthenware from Portugal or the Indies.

[653] José María Díez Borque, *La Vida Española en el Siglo de Oro según los Extranjeros*, Madrid, 1985, p. 72.

Fig. 43 Tiles decorated with a "Xocolatada" (making chocolate), San Ginés, Chocolate shop. Madrid.



In Velázquez's painting *Las Meninas* (Maids of Honour, 1656), the maid-of-honour María Agustina Sarmiento kneels to offer the princess, on a gold tray or salver, 'water held in a little red jug or *búcaro*'. *Búcaros* were highly appreciated, not only because they cooled and scented the water, but also because the drinker would generally nibble on the vessel after drinking; this produced a narcotic effect in ladies.[654] Historian Matías de la Mota Padilla wrote in 1742 that Mexican *búcaros* from Tonalá were 'held in higher esteem than crystal, than china and more than Alcora cups'.[655] As can be seen in the inventories in the Documentary Appendices to this dissertation and also in the paintings of the period, there is a considerable number of both Portuguese and Mexican *búcaros*.

Daily life for princesses of the House of Habsburg was influenced by the customs of the Moslem converts to Christianity known as *moriscos* (Moors), and the fact that they had *morisco* maidservants until the *moriscos* were expelled from Spain by Royal decree (*Expulsión de los moriscos*) in 1609 should not be overlooked. Of *morisco* origin was the ladies' custom of sitting on the floor on a low platform (*estrado*) covered with carpets and cushions which occupied most of the floor space (fig. 44). Women covered their faces with shawls or fans imported from China and used wall-hung tapestries and Japanese *Namban* export furniture such as cabinets, writing desks, trunks, storage chests and coffers and the traditional charcoal braziers for heating. In the middle of the seventeenth century two new elements were introduced: Oriental screens[656] (cited quite frequently from that point on) and display window cabinets (*escaparates*), which started being used at the turn of the seventeenth century.

In one of her accounts of the Alcázar Palace, Madame d'Aulnoy described an *escaparate* which contained pieces of porcelain: 'There I found escaparates or display glass cabinets which are a sort of closed cupboards with large windows full of the rarest objects you can imagine: amber, porcelains, rock crystals, bezoar stones, coral branches, pearls, gold filigrees and other valuable things' (fig. 45).[657] These curio cabinets fit well with the European fashion at the time, which go back to the earlier Western interest for art cabinets (*Kunstkammer*) with an encyclopaedic array of strange and interesting objects.

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[654] The strange habit of eating small bits of ceramic is explained in Natacha Seseña, 'El búcaro de las Meninas', in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 39–48.

[655] Quoted by Seseña, 1991, p. 47.

[656] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 84: in 1676 the Duchess of Medina Sidonia had a large screen with twelve panels from China with paintings and gold decoration, a little damaged; Documentary Appendix II, Document 16: in 1647 the Countess of Olivares had a screen with eight panels with gilding and trees and figures made in China, and another one with eight panels enhanced in gold and painted, from India. The 1668 inventory of the Duchess of Albuquerque, Ana Enríquez de Cabrera (Documentary Appendix 2, Document 14) includes a screen two and a half *varas* (approximately seven feet) tal with eight panels, painted in the Indies with many birds and animals, for 300 *reales*. See Amaya Morera's Ph.D. dissertation, where she mentions several screens on the low platform (*estrado*) in the inventory of the Countess of Bailén, 1644, 'four screens from the Indies, two large and two small with figures in the Indian manner gilded with colours' in the inventory of the Earl of Monterrey, 1653; and from the inventory of the goods of the Marquise of Masibrandi, 1656: 'a small screen from Japan', Morera, 2010, p. 350.

[657] José María Díaz Borque and José García Mercadal, *La Sociedad Española y los Viajeros del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1975, contains several accounts of Madame d'Aulnoy's *Relation d'un voyage en Espagne*, written in 1691.



Fig. 44. Reconstruction of an *estrado* from the exhibition *No fueron solos* in the Naval Museum, 2012, Madrid, with a blue-and-white Chinese *Kraak* bottle on the left table.

From the property inventories of different ladies of the Spanish nobility we know lavish furnishings such as this contained all kinds of small objects, including pieces of porcelain, lacquer work and other exotic items. In 1638 a variety of pottery cups and *búcaros* were kept in the Duchess of Sessa's *escaparate*,[658] although we do not know their exact provenance. The Marquise of Hinojosa had, among a very large number of silver pieces, a Chinese porcelain basin with a gilded bronze foot, appraised at 33 *reales*;[659] the Marquis of Santo Floro owned a small tray from China,[660] seven small red trays from Japan, a casket from Japan, a round box of mother of pearl and gold from Japan and another small box from Japan.[661] In 1679 the Duchess of Feria had eight magnificent *escaparates* full of all kinds of objects, predominantly containers and figurines made of different materials such as silver, coral and crystal, plus the following exotic curios: 'a little varnished casket from Yndia painted with many-coloured flowers with two silver hinges appraised at 32 *reals*; two black gourd cups from India with feet, handles and lids of silver filigree, 80 *reals*; two matching spiral seashells from Yndia with a long-stemmed foot and two handles of silver filigree, 96 *reals*'. The total appraised worth of the objects in the duchess's eight *escaparates* was 43,159 *reales*, and research for this dissertation uncovered the striking fact that there was no porcelain listed among the broad array of objects.[662] The 1684 list of property of the Countess of Oñate, however, describes 'two drawers... full of pottery; three *escaparates* full of large and small pieces of Guadalajara pottery; two *escaparates* with pottery embellished with silver and jewels; two *escaparates* containing cups (*jícaras*) and cups embellished with silver; two *escaparates* with black and red *jícaras* and pottery from India; two *escaparates* with pottery from India'.[663] A list pertaining to an individual of the lower nobility, Gregorio Altamirano, Knight of Santiago, records the existence in 1679 of two *escaparates* 'with pottery, porcelain items and jet [a hard black mineral that can be polished and is used in jewellery]'.[664] Other members of Spanish society had pieces of pottery and *jícaras* that were 'fine, and of several kinds and sizes', as listed as among the pos-

[658] Morera, 2010, p. 49.

[659] *Ibid.*, p. 274. Inventario y tasación de bienes de la Marquesa de la Hinojosa, 1642. AHPM, 7671, fol. 1002 (Inventario), fol. 1028 (Tasación).

[660] *Ibid.*, p. 274. Marqués de Santo Floro, 1654. Inventario. AHPM, 6047, fol. 104.

[661] *Ibid.*, Marquesa de Masibradi, 1656. Inventario. AHPM, 6952, fol. 489.

[662] For the complete contents of these eight *escaparates*, see Morera, 2010, pp. 510–24.

[663] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[664] Morera, 2010, p. 270.



Fig. 45. Display window cabinet from the Spanish art market. Madrid. In Amaya Morera, *El Escaparate, un mueble para una dinastía: Ostentación y Devoción en el Madrid de los Siglos Modernos*, Ph.D. diss., vol. 2, no. 58, Madrid, 2010. Dated by the author to between 1690 and 1720.*

sessions of Juan de Morales, a Royal Council attorney, on his death in 1704. Of joiner Alonso García de Oñate we know that in 1670 he owned 'an *escaparate* of glass, pottery and knick-knacks'. This type of furniture was used in Mexico, too. Merchant Lope de Osorio's was owner of ten lions, two little horses and a small heron made of china. A Mexican trader's wife, Teresa Retes, had two *escaparates* with little lions and 66 small pieces of china.[665] In these *escaparates* were kept not just highly expensive trinkets (*brincos* or *brinquiños*), but also pieces whose value was more sentimental than monetary.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the numerous built-in cupboards that appear in descriptions of the private rooms of various noble homes (fig. 46). The inventory of Iñigo López de Mendoza, IV Duke of El Infantado, which was drawn up between 1564 and 1566, mentions large cupboards built into the wall in the hall of the 'ordinary room', which were locked because they held 'a large quantity of glass from Venice and from other parts and many pieces of Florentine and foreign and Portuguese pottery'.[666] The wooden doors the cupboards are presumed to have had are not mentioned, though. Again we find glass and pottery from different provenances were mixed together in this inventory description. The following is a description of some of the property of the VI Duke of Béjar, Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor, in 1619: 'Near the wall on the left of the architrave, there are forty-two porcelains from China, some larger than others. On the same architrave there are forty-eight large and small, scarlet and gilded ceramics placed on top of each other, the said ceramics there comprise eighteen white ceramics and fifty-five small white ceramics. On top of a jug standing on the mentioned architrave is a bowl from China with a silver foot and handles, on a gilded lacquer tray'.[667] The inventory continues with other pieces of porcelain from China that were probably displayed in the same place. Finally, the inventory of Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of El Infantado, mentions a 'third' chamber where there was a larder (*alacena*) that contained porcelains from China. The document specifies the quantity found on each shelf but does not mention shapes or decorations.[668]



Fig. 46. Larder with pine, walnut and iron doors. Enclosure, lower chamber, Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Carrión de los Condes (Palencia, Spain). Photograph kindly provided by Casto Castellanos.

[665] Berenice Ballesteros Flores, 'El menaje asiático de las casas de la élite comercial del virreinato novohispano en el siglo XVII', in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, vol. 6, no. 20, April–June 2008, pp. 59–112.

[666] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 26.

[667] Documentary Appendix 2, Document 37.

[668] Documentary Appendix, 2, Document 53.

* Photograph kindly provided by Amaya Morera.



Fig. 47. Blue-and-white porcelain garden seat, reign of Emperor Zhengde (1506-21). Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo

# 4. *THE PORCELAINS: SHARDS AND EXTANT PIECES*

## 4.1. *Archaeological Finds in Spain*

Archival history and archaeology are two very different ways of investigating the past. History has traditionally been composed of written accounts and other archival material, and therefore tends to focus on the lives of elites (those people and the events associated with them that were considered worthy of being written down). But archaeology often provides a less socially discriminate view of a period. Archaeological remains – often left by people from across the social spectrum and engaged in broad range of activities – are therefore related to everyday lives not just of the elite, but of society as a whole. Finds from recent excavations in Spain have revealed a number of fragments of Chinese porcelain distributed throughout the peninsula, with the exception of the provinces of the Basque Country, which have not yielded any shards yet. Madrid (seat of the Court) and Seville (main trading city) – for centuries the most important and densely populated cities in Spain – have yielded a considerable amount of shards unearthed at various sites. The Region of Galicia, situated along the Atlantic coast of Northwest Spain, has yielded a significant number, as this area participated in the Portuguese overseas expansion, and traders of different nationalities were estab-




**Fig. 48. Distribution of excavated porcelains.**

lished in different ports on the Atlantic coast. Most of the shards in this chapter are dated between the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. However a small number of them are earlier or later – beyond the scope of this work, in fact – but have been included to complete the picture of the presence of Chinese porcelain in Spain. Finally the text is organised from south to north and east to west, starting from the port of Seville, following the entrance route of Chinese porcelain to the peninsula and finishing in the northwest in region of Galicia.

### 4.1.1 *Andalucía*

#### 4.1.1.1. *Seville*

From the beginning of the colonial trade (1503) until the transfer of the Casa de la Contratación to Cádiz in 1717, Seville was the only port (conected to the sea by the river Guadalquivir) in Spain authorised to trade with the 'Indies'. Convoys arrived from the Americas loaded with Chinese porcelain and the pieces were then distributed throughout the peninsula. From the sixteenth century, and due to commercial relations between Europe, America and Asia, there was a prosperous economic climate that resulted in a number of transformations that would affect this city. There was an important renovation of the city in the sixteenth century, involving the construction of numerous buildings, both civil and religious, such as convents, monasteries and palaces. Consequently, a number of shards of Chinese porcelain have been found in the city. Most of the shards are preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Seville, except for a small group, which is kept in the Convent of San Clemente.[669]

*a. Historical monuments of the Cartuja of Seville, Monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas*



Fig. 49. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *Saint Hugo in the Refectory*, 1655. Oil on canvas, 262 x 307 cm. Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Seville.Inv.no. CEO174P.

A shard of Chinese porcelain dated to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, was recovered during the renovation works at the Monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas on the Isla de la Cartuja (La Cartuja Island), situated on the Guadalquivir River. In Moorish times the site was a pottery area honeycombed with pits where clay of very good quality was extracted. After the capture of the city by Christians in the thirteenth century, it became the Chapel of Santa María de las Cuevas and in the fifteenth century the Archbishop of Seville founded a Franciscan monastery there. It was on this site that Christopher Columbus probably planned his first voyage to the Indies. At the end of the fifteenth century, San Bruno's Order was established in the monastery and the life of the *cartujos* monks was captured in Zurbarán's paintings, which incidentally also depict Chinese porcelain of the seventeenth century. (This painting and porcelain are described in chapter 4. 4. Chinese porcelains on Spanish Paintings).

[669] Unfortunately it was impossible to research or photograph this last group.



Fig. 50. Detail showing the Chinese porcelain bowl, upside down between other terracotta bowls. Probably Transitional, 1630–50. Decorated in underglaze blue.

In 1840 the Liverpudlian merchant Charles Pickman bought the abandoned monastery and converted it into a ceramic and porcelain factory. The site continued to produce ceramics until 1982. Several pieces made by the Pickman factory dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are described in an unpublished catalogue that was consulted on the premises (*Conjunto monumental de la Cartuja de Sevilla. Catálogo de piezas de loza y biscuit*, 1986 and 1989). Interestingly, the catalogue states that a Chinese shard of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries was found in a rubbish dump near the monks' cloister. The piece (inv. no. C-436) had a file attached (file no. 344/10) with a description of the shard. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the file and the shard are unknown.[670]

### *b. Palace-house of Diego Almanza and Tomás and Miguel Mañara*

Several fragments of Chinese porcelain were found in the Almanza-Mañara's Palace. The excavations took place on the site of a Renaissance palace-house renovated by the sculptor and architect Diego López Bueno in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1623, Tomás Mañara Leca y Colona, a wealthy merchant of Italian origin (Corsican) who made a fortune trading with the American continent, acquired the building from Diego Almanza, another important merchant, and renovated the house to compete with the palaces of the Sevillian nobility of the time. Both the Almanzas and Mañaras families were traders involved in the American trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tomás Mañara had been to the Indies several times and became one of the most notable and prominent figures of the city in the seventeenth century, forming part of a alliance of wealthy merchants grouped in the so-called University or Consulate of the Sea (*Universidad de Mareantes o Consulado*).[671] In 1627 Miguel de Mañara, his son, was born in this palace and, due to the premature death of his two brothers, was the solo heir to his father's immense fortune. He occupied different public offices, but was better known in the city as a benefactor of the Hospital de la Caridad (Charity Hospital). After Miguel de Mañara died in 1679 without descent, the house remained uninhabited and was rented out during the eighteenth century.

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[670] Mr. Eduardo Camacho, Technical Advisory of Artistic, Cultural and Documental Heritage of the Cartuja, mentioned File 344/10 '*Informe sobre los fragmentos de una pieza china* (*finales del siglo XVI-XVII*) *encontrado en el basurero del Claustro de Monjes* (*C-436*) *padres jesuitas-Misión del Japón*'. After an intense search the document could still not be found.

[671] Diego Oliva Alonso, *Casa-palacio de Miguel Mañara*, Seville, 1993, pp. 311–12

It is possible that both merchants imported and used Chinese porcelain, as the archaeological excavations have revealed a considerable quantity of fragments. Five shards, in a good state of preservation, were found on this site, four dated to the Ming and one to the Qing dynasty. The director of the excavation Diego Oliva described the pieces as:

> The Ming pieces consist of a base and part of the sides of a small plate and on the obverse two concentric circles which contain a flower with small leaves, and on the back, two concentric circles with Chinese characters. The back of the plate is decorated with a scroll of lotus flowers. Another plate is adorned with scrolls of various plants in blue beneath a slightly bluish glaze. The third shard is the bottom and side of a cup for *sake*, and although the decoration has deteriorated, it seems to depict a landscape. The last Ming piece is a small plate of *café au lait* porcelain dating to the end of the Ming dynasty.[672] There is another plate decorated with a pomegranate on the obverse in red and gold inside a thick blue circle, also decorated with plant scrolls. Around it there are other pomegranates with their leaves and fruits. The back is undecorated.'[673]

In the inventory of goods drawn up after the death of Tomás Mañara dated 24 May 1648, '*Inventario de bienes a la muerte de Don Tomás Mañara*' in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla, the scribe, Hermenegildo de Pineda y Collantes, described the following Oriental objects:

- A tablecloth (*sobremesa*) from China of no use but for burying children.
- Two screens from China that are on the dais.
- Extravagant objects.
- Two display cabinets (*aparadores*) one with scented waters and the other with pottery.[674]

*c. Site of San Juan de Acre, Convent of the Order of Malta (Sta. Clara Street)*

Several shards of Chinese porcelain were found at the site of San Juan de Acre. In 1248 after the conquest of Seville by Ferdinand III, the building was given to the Military Order of the Knights of San Juan de Acre in appreciation for their help and assistance in seizing the city from the Arabs. The cession of the land was ratified on 20 December 1253 by King Alfonso X of Castile (23 November

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[672] This was most probably a Qing shard.

[673] Oliva Alonso, 1993, p. 91: '*En la casa Mañara se han podido rescatar cinco piezas de porcelana semi completas en buen estado de las cuales cuatro pertenecen a la dinastía Ming y una a la dinastía Qing, continuadora de la anterior. Las piezas Ming son un pequeño plato muy fragmentado que se conserva el fondo y algo del arranque de las paredes. En el anverso dos círculos concéntricos enmarcan una flor rodeada de pequeñas hojas; en el reverso dos círculos, un sello con caracteres chinos. La pared exterior del plato está decorada con una cenefa de flor de loto formando roleos. Otro fondo de plato, sobre un blanco levemente celestón, desarrolla una decoración vegetal en azul formando roleos. La tercera pieza es el fondo y parte de la pared de una tacita para el sake. Apenas se puede apreciar la decoración pero parece ser un motivo paisajístico. La última pieza Ming es un platito de porcelana llamada café o lait. Atribución finales de Ming, o comienzos del siglo XVI. Hay otra pieza más de porcelana, que se trata de un plato cuya decoración en el anverso está compuesta por una flor de granado en tonos rojos y dorados, inscrita en un grueso círculo en azul a su vez decorado con roleos dorados. En torno a* él *hay cuatro flores de granado con sus hojas y el fruto. El reverso no presenta decoración posterior probablemente*'. After several visits to the Archaeological Museum in Seville, the archaeologist responsible for the excavations confirmed that the Chinese shards were missing and thus impossible to study for this dissertation.

[674] Oliva Alonso, 1993, p. 482: '*Otras sobremesa de China vieja que no sierve si no es para prestarla para el entierro de niños- Dos biombos de la China, para tapar el estrado que están oy en uno. Cosas extravagantes. Otros dos escaparates, el uno questa con aguas de olor y el otro con cossas de varro*'.

1221 – 4 April 1284). From that moment until the Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizabal in 1837, the convent and the gardens remained the property of the Order. During the middle of the sixteenth century part of the land was sold to a guild of silk merchants, which was one of the most important trading communities at the time due to the increase in the population of Seville around the 1550s. Based on the high number of shards and the documentary evidence, the seventeenth century was the most prosperous time in the history of the site. The eighteenth century was a period of decline that was intensified in the second half of the century as a result of the transfer of the Casa de la Contratación and the Consulado from Seville to Cádiz in 1717.[675] Several shards were recovered from this site, dating from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Two of them are classified as *Kraak*-type porcelains, such as the neck of a pear-shaped bottle decorated with dots and inverted petals on the rim (fig. 51),[676] which is a simplified version of the bottle in the Naval Museum in Madrid (fig. 52), and a small fragment of a plate decorated with high-peaked mountains (fig. 53). The next shard (fig. 54) is dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722) in the Qing dynasty and is decorated with a geometrical diaper motif near the rim, with flower scrolls outlined in blue with washes. The rim in enhanced with an iron-brown decoration. The last four shards are later (figs. 55, 56, 57, 58), dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. There are four shards of a plate decorated in underglaze cobalt blue with a chrysanthemum spray, an Imari cup with bamboo branches, two small shards with simple strokes; and the rim of a cup with a decoration of bamboo branches.



Fig. 51. Shard of a neck from a blue-and-white bottle. *Kraak* porcelain, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-L53*4.



Fig. 52. A complete pear-shaped bottle with similar type of decoration salvaged from the *San Diego,* c.1600, Wanli reign. H: 27.5 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7296.

[675] Araceli Rodríguez Azogue and Vicente Aycart Luengo (eds.), *San Juan de Acre, la historia recuperada de un barrio de Sevilla*, Seville, 2007, pp. 215–32.

[676] Maura Rinaldi classifies this type of neck in the pear-shaped bottles (shapes I.1); see Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989, p. 167.

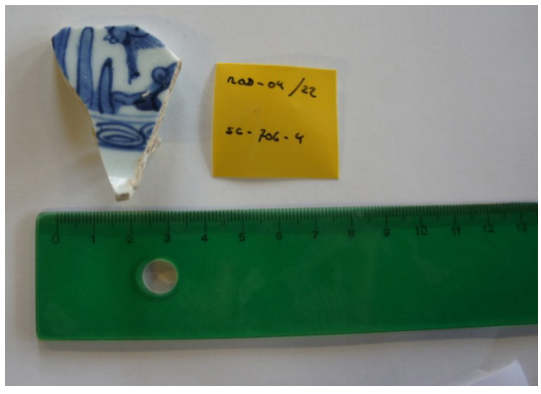


Fig. 53. Shard of a blue-and-white plate decorated with a riverscape. *Kraak* porcelain, late sixteenth early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-706-4.



Fig. 54. Shard of blue-and-white cup with an iron-brown rim, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-245-5.



Fig. 55. Shards of a plate decorated with a chrysanthemum flower, c. 1750, Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-216-4.



Fig. 56. Shards of blue-and-white porcelain, eighteenth century(?), Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-851. 72.



Fig. 57. Shard of a cup in Chinese Imari enamels, first quarter of the eighteenth century. , Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-806-14.



Fig. 58. Shard of blue-and-white porcelain, c. 1750, Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-109-110.

### *d. Convent of El Carmen*

The building was founded in the middle of the fourteenth century (1358), after which it was inhabited by Order of the Carmelites for five centuries. It was plundered during the French invasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in 1835 the monks were finally secularised.[677] In the nineteenth century the building was used to lodge the 'Granada' infantry regiment. Only three shards of Chinese porcelain have been preserved from the excavations at the convent (figs. 59, 60, 61, 62). They are decorated in underglaze cobalt blue with a branch of pomegranates, plums and leaves, and dated to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.[678] The decoration is executed in a refined way. Due to the small size of the rest of the shards it is very difficult to determine their exact shape, decoration and date.



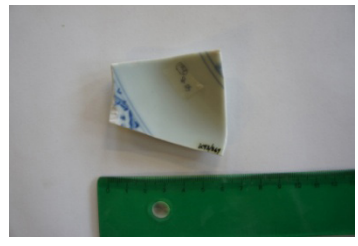


Fig. 59. Blue-and-white shard, c. 1600, Wanli-reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC- 93/569.



Fig. 60. Two shards of a bowl. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/133.

Fig. 61. Blue-and-white shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/922.





Fig. 62. Blue and white shard, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/369.

[677] Pilar Somé Muñoz, Rosario Huarte Cambra, 'La cerámica contemporánea en el Cuartel del Carmen (Sevilla)', in *SPAL: Revista de prehistoria y arqueología de la Universidad de Sevilla*, no. 4, 1995, pp. 229–50.

[678] Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, Florentino Pozo Blázquez & Diego Oliva Alonso, *Análisis Arqueológico: El cuartel del Carmen de Sevilla*, Seville, 2002, p. 229.

### *e. Royal Monastery of San Clemente*



Fig. 63. Shards recovered during the excavations at the Royal Monastery of San Clemente, Seville. No inventory number.

Unfortunately the photograph above (fig. 63) was the only material available for the study of the porcelain shards yielded in the Monastery of San Clemente.[679] They were recovered from a stratum dated from the 1450s to the 1632, but this dating of the stratum is unreliable, as some shards are dated later. At top left, shards of a plate with a foliated rim decorated with a peach spray of the *Kraak* type, and other blue-and-white shards probably dating to the Wanli period. The polychrome and underglaze-blue shard is of the *Kinrande* type and is decorated with ribbons and overglaze red enamel, implying a similar gold decoration as the piece in the British Museum (fig. 63a). A small shard with part of a chrysanthemum flower could have been for the South-East Asian market but it is difficult to be more precise. Two fragments at bottom right are later, probably Kangxi, one being part of a cup with a diaper border; the other one is decorated in brown enamel. The fragment showing four characters might be Kangxi, c. 1700. The mark translates as 長春出番 (*changchun chufan*) – 'everlasting spring'. The single character mark on the cup is probably 福 (*fu*), 'good fortune'.[680]



Fig. 63a. Dish with underglaze blue, overglaze red and gold *Kinrande* decoration, second half of the sixteenth century, Wanli reign. H. 3.5 cm, D. 19 cm. British Museum. Inv. no. 11:138A.

[679] I am very grateful to Alfonso Pleguezuelo for sending this photograph of the shards to me. Alfonso Pleguezuelo, Rosario Huarte, 'Las cerámicas de la edad moderna', in Miguel Ángel Tabales, *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente. Una propuesta arqueológica*, Seville, 1997, p. 130.

[680] I am very grateful to Christopher Hollifield for translating these characters.

### *f. Hospital de las Cinco Llagas*

For many centuries this building was considered the most important after the cathedral. Catalina de Ribera founded it as a hospital in 1500 for woman in need. The architect Martín de Gainza began its construction in 1543 with a cruciform layout based on a Milanese hospital of the same period, but the final structure is attributable to architect Hernán Ruiz II, designer of the belfry of La Giralda.[681] All the shards at this site are dated later, to the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the Kangxi period (1662–1722). They are from blue-and-white cups decorated with floral sprays (figs. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68). Fig. 69 is a shard of a Dehua cup, the so-called prunus blossom type, decorated with plum blossoms in relief.

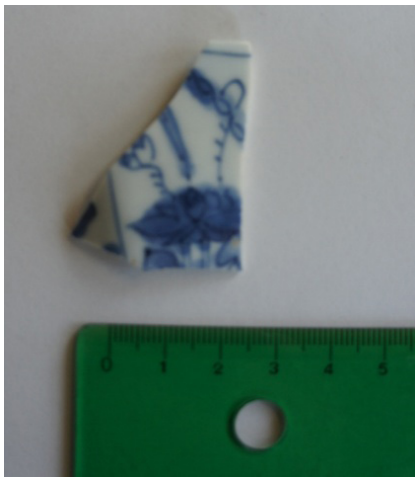


Fig. 64. Shard of a cup decorated with a lotus spray, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/973/91.



Fig. 65. Shard of a cup with part of a floral spray, c.1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/92.



Fig. 67.Shard of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/911.

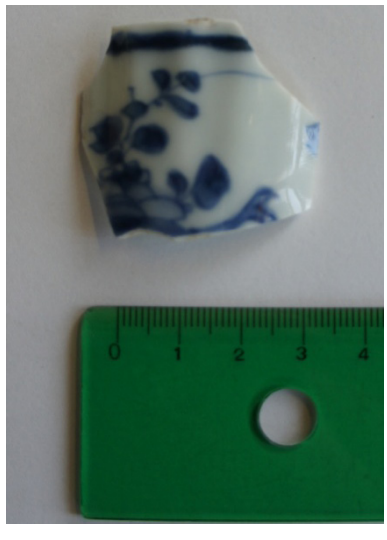


Fig. 66. Shard of a rim of a lobed cup with part of a lotus spray, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1A/410/25.



Fig. 68. Shard of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/93.

[681] Rosario Huarte Cambra, 'Los materiales del registro: Cerámica moderna y contemporánea', in Secretaría General del Parlamento de Andalucía, *Arqueología y Rehabilitación en el Parlamento de Andalucía. Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el Antiguo Hospital de las Cinco Llagas de Sevilla*, Seville, 2003, p. 350. This article dates the shards to the Ming dynasty (1356–1644).



Fig. 69. Shard of a prunus blossom-type cup, 1700 c. Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1A/910/26.



Fig. 70. Cup with a silver cover and stand. Dehua with silverwork, 1690–1710, Kangxi reign. Private collection, Mexico. From McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 75.

### *g. Archaeological excavation in the underground railway at San Fernando Street (Station Puerta de Jerez, Line 1)*

Several shards of Chinese porcelain were unearthed in an old dump behind the old city wall during the construction of the underground railway. Unfortunately most of these are very small and it is therefore impossible to know the exact shapes or decorations. However, most are certainly *Kraak* porcelain fragments with a characteristic decoration of stylised rock decorations, floral and peach sprays and pine trees and part of a dotted *sika* deer (figs. 71–80).



Fig. 71. Shard with peach. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/309.



Fig. 72. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/59.



Fig. 73. Shards with pierced rock and a small part of a dotted *sika* deer, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Inv. nos. 04/17/373 and 04/17/374. Plate in the Naval Museum, D: 20 cm Madrid. Inv. no. 7353.

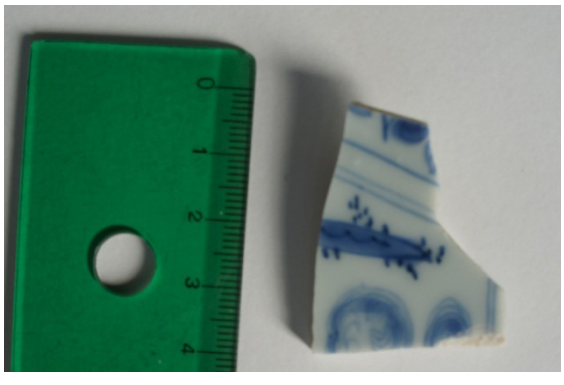
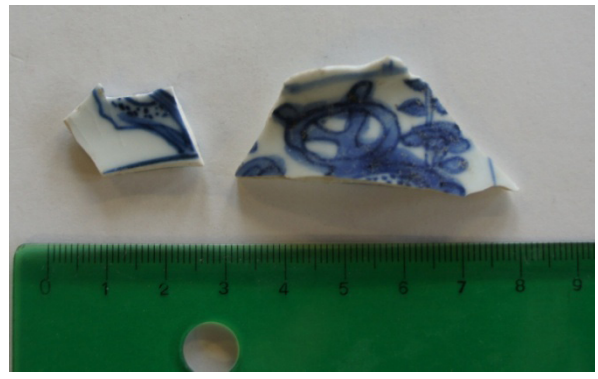


Fig. 74 Blue and white porcelain shard, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/646.



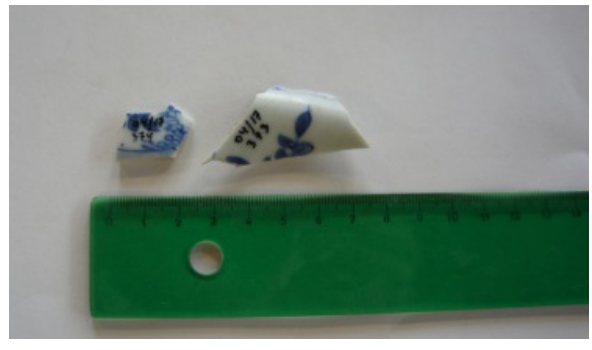




Fig. 75. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/422.



Fig. 76. Shards with a panel with a flower spray. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/399, 04/17/402, 04/17/400.

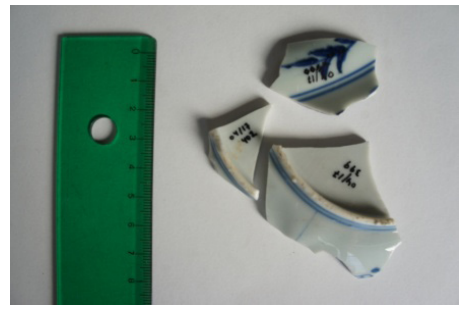




Fig. 77. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/023.



Fig. 78. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/582.



Fig. 79. Shards decorated with pine branches and stylised rock and part of a dotted *sika* deer, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. One had no inventory number. Inv. no. 04/17/1463.



Fig. 80. Plate salvaged from the *San Diego,* c. 1600, Wanli reign. D. 20.3 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7332.

### *b. Convent of Santa Clara*

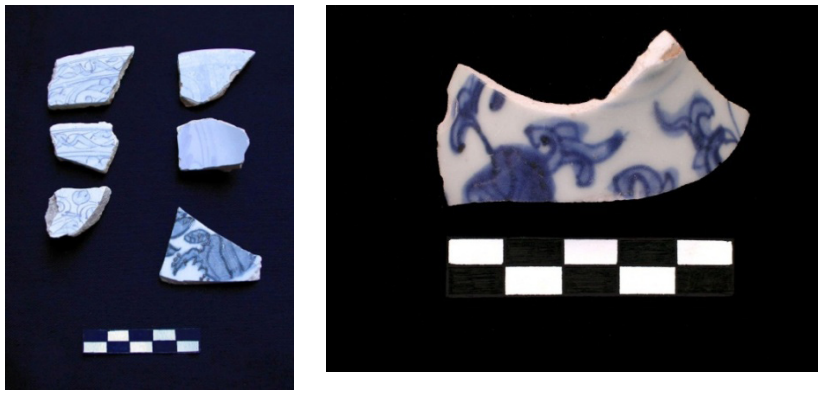


Fig. 81. a and b. Shards decorated with a tortoise, and another with scrolls 1580-1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. No inventory number.

The convent was originally a Mudejar-style palace constructed in the thirteenth century after the Christian conquest of the city. After the death of the owner, Don Fadrique, King Sancho IV (1258–95) donated the building to the nuns of the Order of Saint Clare. Several renovations were carried out during the Renaissance that extended the palace. Archaeological excavations at the site recovered two shards: one decorated with a tortoise, and another with floral scrolls both probably dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century (fig. 81).

### *i. Palace of Altamira*

Don Alonso López de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, Duke of Béjar, was the resident of this palace. During the second half of the sixteenth century, ownership was transferred to his son, the first Marquis of Villamanrique, but he would be divested of these properties due to incompetent management during his administration of the Viceroyalty in Mexico. The palace was transferred to another branch of the family, the Marquises of Ayamonte, who established their residency in Madrid. Excavations at the palace yielded two fragments of Chinese porcelain: a lid of a *guan*-type vase and the bottom of a cup. Unfortunately neither shard could be found.[682]

### *j. Alameda de Hércules*[683]

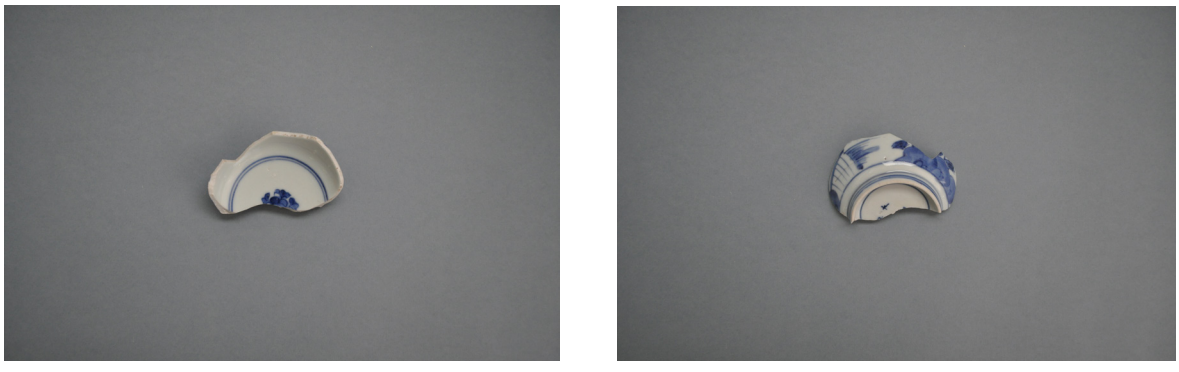


Fig. 82. Shard of a bowl. Late 16th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ07/21-U.E. 98-Nº Inv. 56.

These shards (figs. 82 and 83) were found at the Alameda de Hércules site close to the old Feria Lake, an inlet on the Guadalquivir River that was drained in the sixteenth century. They were recovered from a domestic site reclaimed with landfill material that was occupied from the fourteenth century. The cup is decorated with a landscape on the outside and a stylised flower spray on the inside; part of a mark is visible.[684] The shard in (fig. 83) corresponds to a dish decorated with a lotus blossom and a scroll.

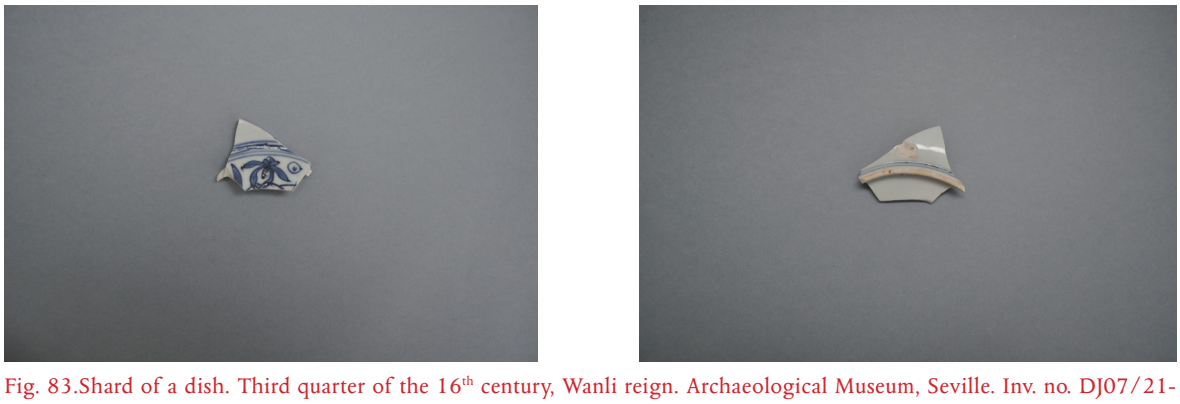


Fig. 83.Shard of a dish. Third quarter of the 16th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ07/21-U.E. 23-Nº Inv. 18.

[682] Diego Oliva, *Restauración del Palacio de Altamira*, Seville, 2005, p. 273.

[683] I am grateful to Manuel Camacho Moreno archaeologist from the Archaeological Museum, Seville, who provided these photographs.

[684] See fig. 220, a small bell-shaped cup with slightly flared rim decorated with a riverscape, H. 6 cm. Baur Foundation, Geneva. Inv. no. FB. CM. 2004. QH93. In Crick, 2010, p. 316, pl. 228.

### *k. Convent of San Agustín*



Fig. 84. Blue and white shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SA 405-D.

The shard belongs to a *Kraak* dish decorated with a landscape. The fragment was found in the convent with material mixed from different periods.[685]

## 4.1.1.2. *Carmona*

### *Convent of the Immaculate Conception*




Fig. 85. Shards with floral sprays, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ 06/43.



Fig. 86. Bowl in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. c. 1600, Wanli reign. D. 14.2 cm, H. 8.5 cm. From McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 99. Inv. no. 1965-1.

These two shards (fig. 85) were found in a dump at the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in the town of Carmona during archaeological excavations between July and December 2006.[686] The shards correspond to a bowl decorated with six panels containing flower sprays dated to between 1595 and 1605. A similar bowl with silver mounts – which bears the stamp of the silversmith Minne Sickes of Leewarden and is dated 1632 – is preserved in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden (the Netherlands).

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[685] See Juan Manuel Campos Carrasco, José Lorenzo Morilla; José Escudero Cuesta and Fernando Amores Carredano, 'Excavación en el antiguo convento de San Agustín (Sevilla)', *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 1985 III*. Seville, 1987, pp. 361-267.

[686] Under the direction of Inmaculada Carrasco Gómez. I am grateful to Elisabeth Conlin and Pilar Lafuente for bringing this shard to my attention.

### 4.1.1.3. *Almería*



One of the earliest evidences of the presence of Chinese porcelain in Spain, and perhaps in Europe, is dated to around the end of the tenth or eleventh century. From the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907), hard-fired ceramics were much sought after objects because this material was exclusive and was not produced in the rest of the world. At the end of the Tang dynasty and Five Dynasties era (907–60), the Middle East became one of the most important markets for Chinese ceramics, and Muslim traders acted as intermediaries in this commerce, as important communities had already settled in China's most important cities and ports. From the tenth century onwards, a white type of porcelain known as *Xing*[687] was exported to distant places such as the city of Samarra in today's Iraq or to Fustat in Egypt,[688] from where perhaps it incidentally reached Spain and the Omeyan Caliphate of Abderramán III (912–61). A few shards of a white ware were unearthed in the archaeological excavations at the *Alcazaba* – from the Arabic *al-qasbah*, قصبة, meaning 'citadel' of Almeria[689] – decorated over the glaze with a gilded Cufic inscription 'Al-Muk lillak', probably executed in Spain (fig. 87).[690]

Fig. 87. Shard of a whiteware bowl with Cufic decoration with the inscription 'Al-Mulk lillah' in the Conjunto Monumental de la Alcazaba de Almería. Probably *Xing*-ware, c. tenth century. Museo Arqueológico de Almería. Inv. no. 2819.

[687] Generic term used during the Tang dynasty for the wares elaborated in Linchen, Hebei Province, and characterised by their white clay and slip applied under the glaze to emphasise the whiteness of the wares. Wood, London/Philadelphia, p. 99.

[688] On these finds B. Gyllensvärd, 'Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat. I', in *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1973, no. 45, pp. 91–119; and B. Gyllensvärd, 'Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat. II', in *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1975, no. 47, pp. 93–117.

[689] In 995 Almería was designated a *medina* ('city') by Caliph Abd-ar-Rahman III, and the construction of the defensive citadel, located in the upper sector of the city began in this period. The *alcazaba* was had walls and towers as well as squares, houses and a mosque. This important building was also the seat of the local government, commanding the city and the nearby sea.

[690] Juan Zozaya, 'El comercio de al-Andalus con el Oriente: nuevos datos', in *Boletín de la Asociación de Orientalistas Madrid*, Madrid 1969, p. 197. In this archaeological report the author explains the characteristics of a number of shards including a drawing of a *bi*-type footring (a *bi* is a flat jade ring of unknown significance made in China from the Neolithic period) of another shard from the same piece. A shard with this type of foot could be related to the so-called Samarra wares made at the *xing* kilns in Henan province, although excavations at *Ding* kilns at Quyang, Hebei province, have also unearthed bowls of this type. However, the thinness of the body and the type of rim of the only shard preserved do not match this type of Samarra ware, which was thicker and had a rolled rim. According to the curator of the museum in Almería, the only fragment preserved today is the illustrated example; unfortunately, the other shards have disappeared. We also have to take into account the southern regional copies of whitewares made in the Guangdong kilns. Over 80 Song-period kilns have been identified in Guangdong, the majority in the vicinity of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River, which imitated Song green, white and *qingbai* types, and were exported to south-east Asia and the Middle East; see John Guy, 'The Intan Shipwreck: A 10th-Century Cargo in South-East Asian Waters', in *Song Ceramics. Art History, Archaeology and Technology. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 22, London, 2004. There is no agreement on the type of white ware this shard could be from. In an essay written in 1993, Juan Zozaya catalogued the piece as *qingbai* and dated it to the thirteenth century; see Juan Zozaya, 'Importaciones casuales en Al-Andalus: las vías de comercio', in *Actas IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, vol. 1, Alicante, 1993, pp. 119–38. However the colour of the glaze does not have the characteristic blue hue that is a characteristic feature of *qingbai*. The small size of the shard makes it is very difficult to date precisely or identify the manufacturing kiln.

### 4.1.1.4. *Malaga*

*Site of the Alcazaba*

Chinese porcelain shards were found by archaeologist Manuel Casamar in the remains of the Alcazaba in Malaga, which was a Moorish fortification built in the middle of the eleventh century.[691] In 1487, the Catholic Kings captured the city from the Moors, and raised their standard at the Homenaje Tower in the inner citadel.

Several pieces were found dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The first shard (fig. 88) is part of a *Kraak* dish of the early 17th century decorated with a peony and leaves inside a four-sided bracketed medallion and a border that includes several diapers and flowers, including a lotus scroll. The decoration on the *cavetto* consists of narrow panels (which usually contained beaded pendants although they are not possible to see here) and ogival borders.[692] The exterior has the same decorative scheme as the front with large panels and narrow sections. Kiln sand or grit has adhered to the footrim indicating that these pieces were fired on a bed of sand.

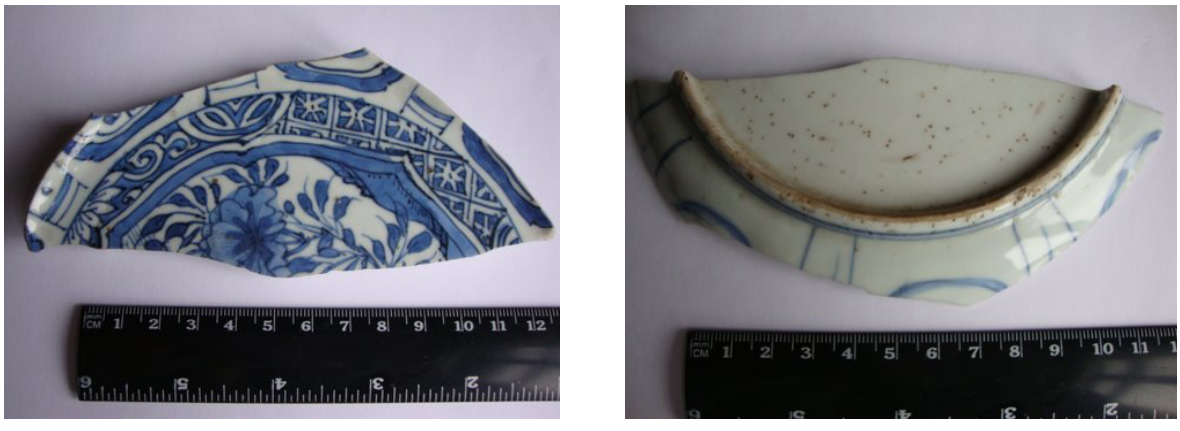


Fig. 88. A shard of a dish decorated with a peony and petals inside a four-sided bracketed medallion, early 17th century, Wanli reign. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 324.

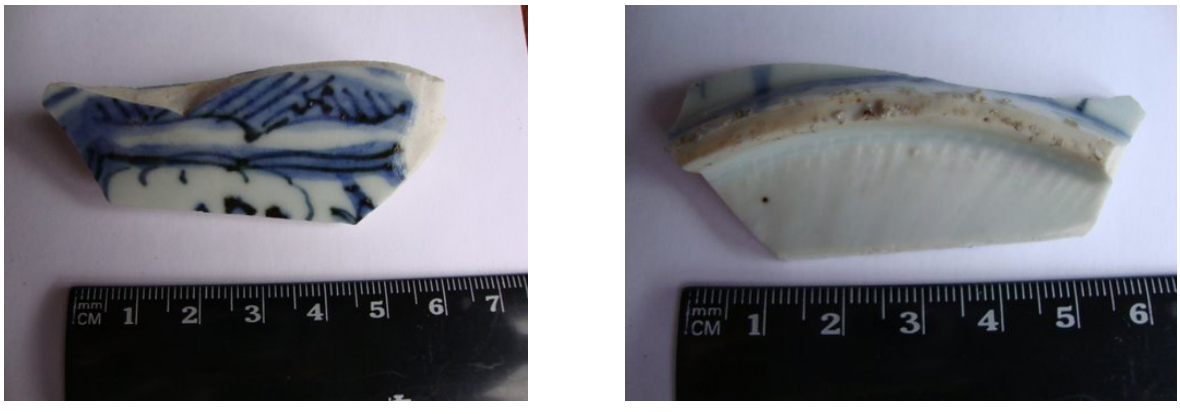


Fig. 89. Shard of a dish, early 17th century, Wanli reign. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 327.

[691] These shards are now kept in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid.

[692] Rinaldi dates this type of dishes from 1595 to 1650 and classifies them in the Border VII group, Rinaldi, 1989, pp. 95–96.

The second shard (fig. 89) is a also very small fragment of a *Kraak* porcelain dish of about the same date, decorated with a bracketed border and a diaper pattern. Chatter marks are clearly visible on the base as is the grit adhering to the footring. The sketchy decoration of the ground, the colour of the cobalt blue, and the fine body and bluish glaze, characteristic for *Kraak* wares. The other shards are blue-and-white Kangxi from a cup and Imari decorated with a pine tree. (fig. 90, 91 and 92).

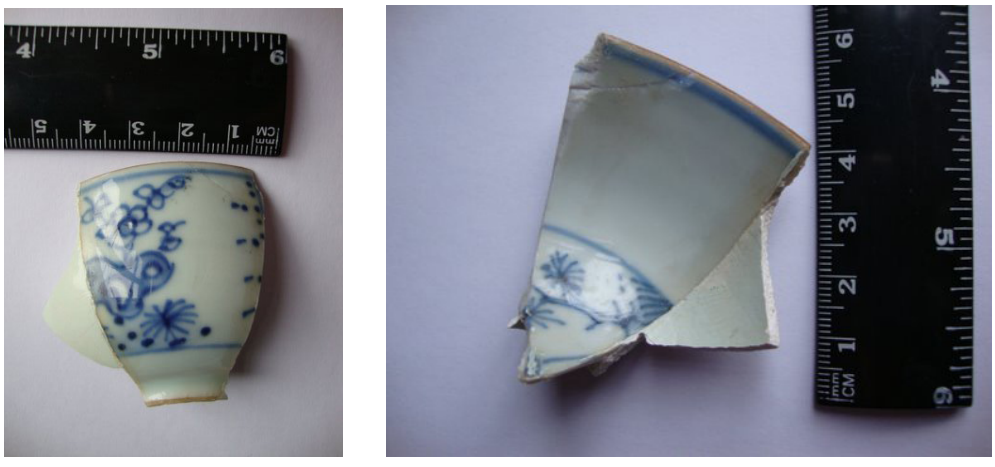


Fig. 90. Shard of a cup. Kangxi reign probably late 17th century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 327.



Fig. 91. Shard of a cup. Kangxi reign probably late 17th century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 346.

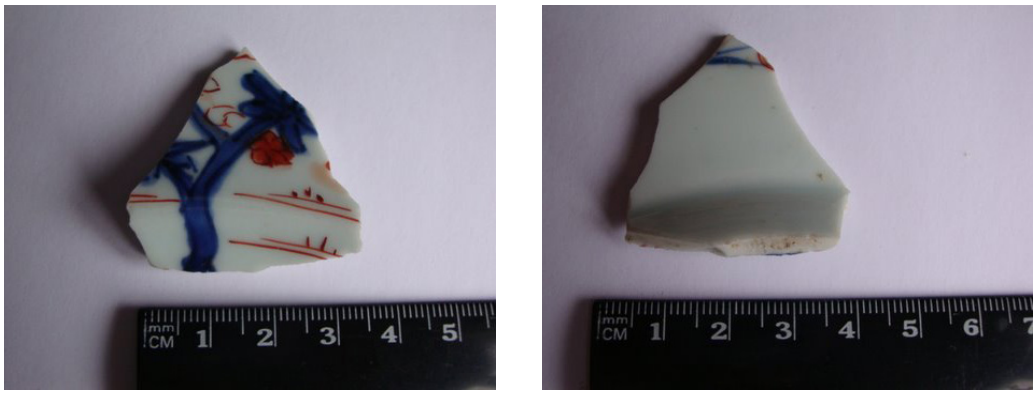


Fig. 92. Chinese Imari, first half of the eighteenth century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 326.

### 4.1.2. *Murcia*

*Excavations in the neighbourhood of San Bartolomé*

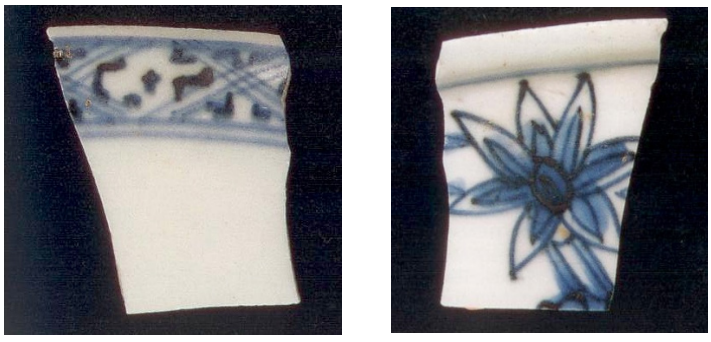


Fig. 93. Shard of a bowl, second half sixteenth, Centro de Estudios Árabes y Arqueológicos 'Ibn Arabí', Murcia. Inv. no. M76-1-2-171.

Only the shard illustrated above (fig. 93) was found in the remains of a cesspit in a house in the neighbourhood of San Bartolomé in Murcia that had belonged to a wealthy trader of Genoese origin during the sixteenth century.[693] The shard is decorated with a diaper border and a lotus flower. A very similar bowl in the Topkapi Saray Museum (fig. 94) has the same decoration and shape, with a slightly flared rim and decorated with a lotus spray with leaves and a diaper border around the rim. It is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.[694]



Fig. 94. Bowl, second half sixteenth c. Wan-li reign. Topkapi Saray Museum, Istambul. Inv. no. TKS 15/2105. From Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 719, ill. 1264.

[693] P. Jiménez and J. Navarro, *Platería 14. Sobre cuatro casas andalusíes y su evolución* (*siglos X-XIII*), Murcia, 1997, p. 53

[694] See also Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Cerámicas de Importación: Series y Cronología', in *Manual de Cerámica Medieval y Moderna*, Alcalá de Henares, 2011, pp. 273–304.

### 4.1.3. *Autonomous Region of Valencia*

#### 4.1.3.1. *Alicante*

##### 4.1.3.1.1. *Denia*

*Recoveries from the Marineta Cassiana*

The Bay of Marineta Cassiana is a small semi-circular cove between the southern part of the port of Denia and the Faralló. This bay has been a very important port since Roman times. Archaeological excavations carried out in the area by the Museu Arqueològic of the City of Denia yielded 784 ceramic shards and some iron and glass pieces. Most of the shards recovered were Spanish, Italian, English and Dutch, but a small group of Chinese shards were also found among them. Unfortunately, due to the small size of the shards the exact type of shape and decoration cannot be determined, but general characteristics such as body, glaze, pigment and border were examined to date them. As can be seen below, the broad chronology of the shards ranges from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[695]

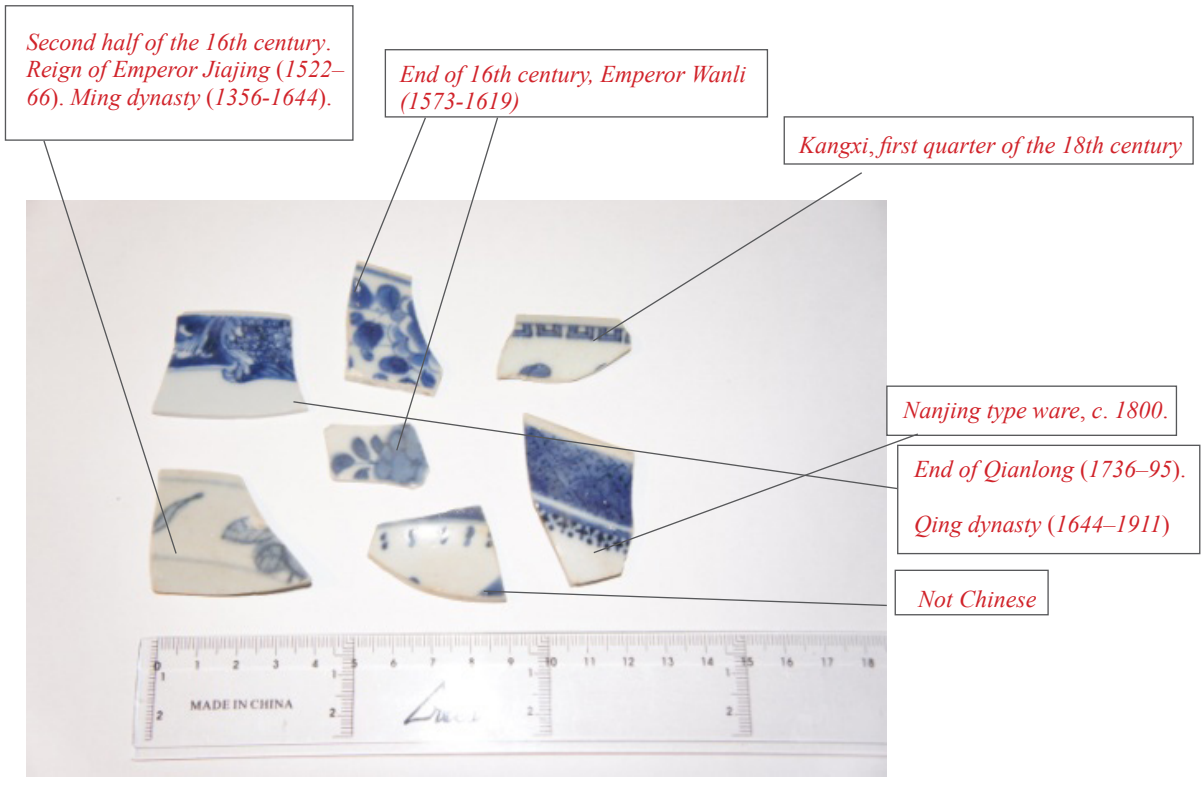



Fig. 95. Group A. Museo Arqueológico de la ciudad de Denia. These fragments were not inventoried.

[695] Emili Moscardó Sabater, '2000 anys d'historia d'un fondejador. El registre ceràmic de la Marineta Cassiana. Dènia', in José Pérez Ballester & Guillermo Pascual (eds.), *Comercio, Redistribución y Fondeadero. La navegación a vela en el Mediterraneo, Actas V Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología Subacuática*, Valencia, 2007, pp. 349–61.

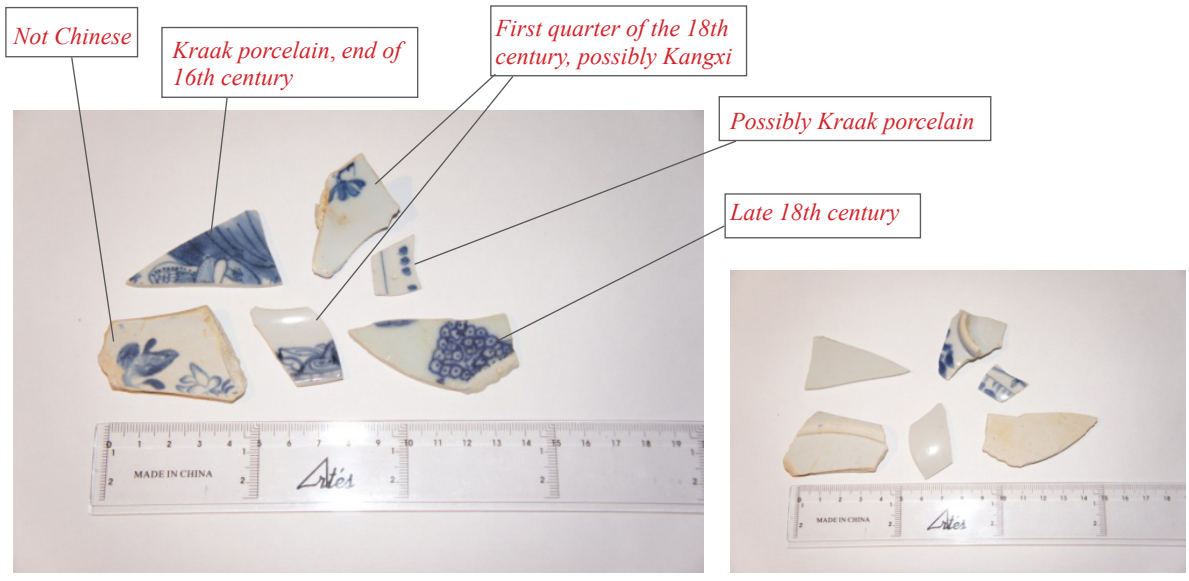



Fig. 96. Group B. Museo Arqueológico de la ciudad de Denia. These fragments were not inventoried.

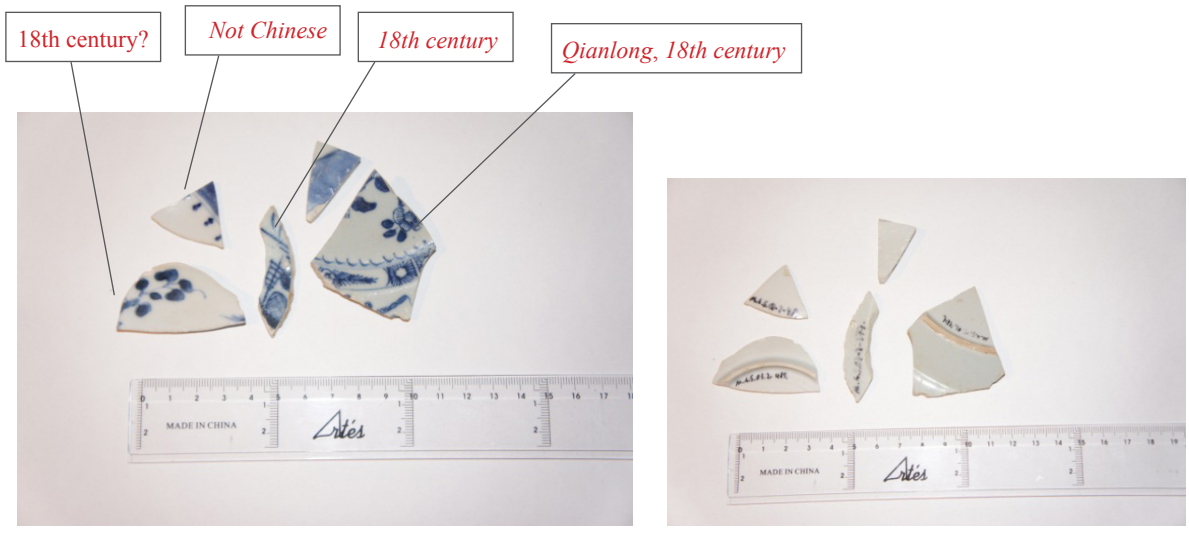



Fig. 97. Group C. Museo Arqueológico de la Ciudad de Denia. Inv. nos. M.A.S. 03.2.415; M.A.S. 03.2.414; M.A.S. 03.2.770; M.A.S. 03.2.377; M.A.S. 03.2.483.

### 4.1.3.2. *Valencia*

#### 4.1.3.2.1. *Cullera*

Like the *Xing*-type shard with Cufic inscription from Almería (see p. 173), two shards of the *Xing*-type (fig. 98) have also been unearthed in a castle in the town of Cullera (Valencia) that correspond to fragments of the rims of bowls excavated in the Torre Mayor (tower) of the mentioned castle. Both of them are an opaque white porcelain that, according to several authors, could be dated to the Tang and the Five Dynasties or Northern Song dynasties.[696] The first shard (fig.98. C11/15) has been classified as a *Xing*-variant of the *samarra*-type bowls that are characterised by a white kaolin-rich body ('the whitest whiteware'), a transparent cool greenish glaze due to a high firing temperature, and an everted rim.[697] The second fragment (fig. 98. C22/7) from a finer body, also with an everted rim, could be a later product of the *Ding* type as the glaze has a slightly yellowish tinge.

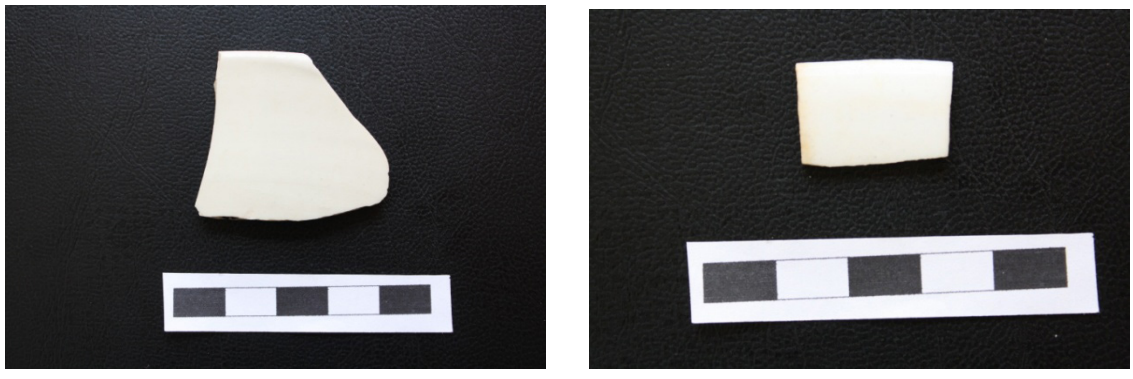


Fig. 98. Shards recovered from the Castle of Cullera. Valencia. Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cullera, Valencia. Inv. no. C11/15 (35 x 32 mm by 4 mm thick) and 22/7 (22 x 15 by 2 mm thick).

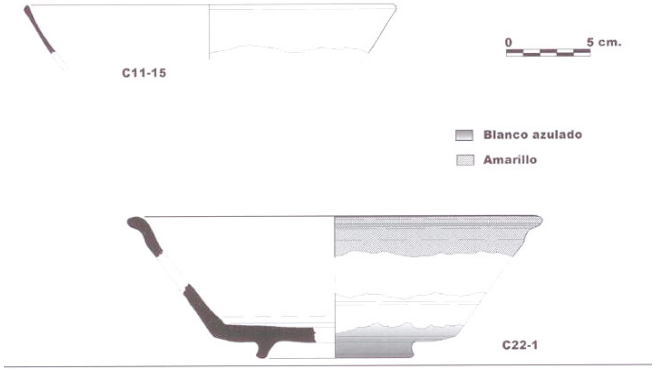



Fig. 99. Drawing of shards C11/15 and C22/7 in M. Rosselló, 'Cerámicas emirales y califales de la torre Celoquia y los orígenes del Castillo de Cullera', in *Qulayra* 2, p. 13. Two shards illustrated above correspond to the rims of bowls; it was not possible to examine the shard from the foot.

[696] 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.), *The Influence of China on World Ceramics, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia* 24, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London, 2009, pp. 123–41; M. Rosselló, 'Cerámicas emirales y califales de la torre Celoquia y los orígenes del Castillo de Cullera', in *Qulayra 2*, Cullera, 2006, pp. 7–34..

[697] Wood, 1999, p. 99.

### 4.1.3.2.2. *Valencia (capital)*

Other shards were unearthed in the city of Valencia during archaeological excavations at the Royal Palace. Formerly an Arab *almunia* or pleasure house for the caliphs, it became the residence of the kings of Aragon between the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, after important renovation works converted it into a palace. It was the residence of the kings for long periods during the Middle Ages, and of the viceroys and general captains of Valencia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[698] The finds in Cullera and Valencia underpin the importance of Spanish Mediterranean ports in the commercial trade with Asia and the role of Sharq al-Andalus, the Valencian territory in the Muslim Era.[699]

One shard found in the Royal Palace corresponds to a *Ding*-type dish decorated with a moulded decoration of a peony spray, a key-fret and a comb motif (fig. 100). A piece in the Baur Collection (Geneva) (fig. 102) is decorated with a similar pattern of phoenixes flying amongst lotus and peonies in low relief. The key-fret band would be called 'Greek Key' in the West; however, on closer inspection, the band is composed of individual squared spirals. Elegant phoenixes on a ground of peony scrolls was a popular motif on domestic but also on exported wares, as this shard shows. Moulded decorations, influenced by textile decorations, were introduced at the *Ding* kilns in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, being compact, precise and more complex.[700]

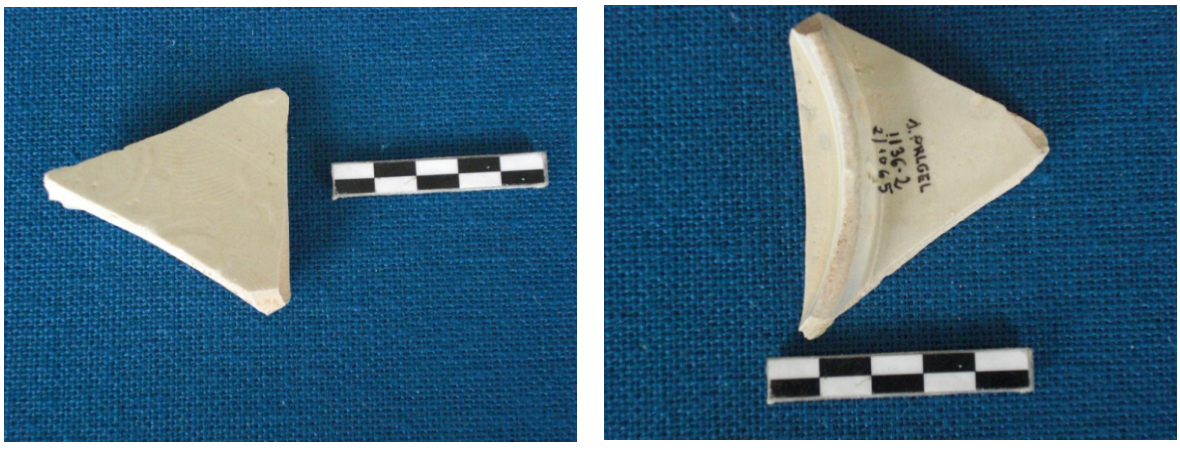



Fig. 100. Shard of *Ding*-type plate. Recovered from the excavations of the Royal Palace at General Elio Street. Valencia, stratigraphic level 1136-2. Stoneware with lime glaze and moulded decoration. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia. Inv. no. 1PRLGEL 1136-2 2/1065.

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[698] I am grateful to Josep Vicent Lerma for his help in the Servicio Municipal de Arqueología, Valencia. From 1540 the palace was residence of the Dukes of Calabria, Fernando of Aragon and Germana de Foix. In 1599 Philip III celebrated his marriage to Margaret of Austria in this palace, arriving on 19 February and staying until 4 May, later returning to the town of Denia in the company of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquess of Denia and future Duke of Lerma.

[699] Coll Conesa, 2009, p. 124.

[700] Rosemary E. Scott, *Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. A Guide to the Collection*, London, 1989, pp. 41–42. There is a bowl with a similar decoration in the Sir Percival David Collection, now in the British Museum, inv. no. PDF 108.

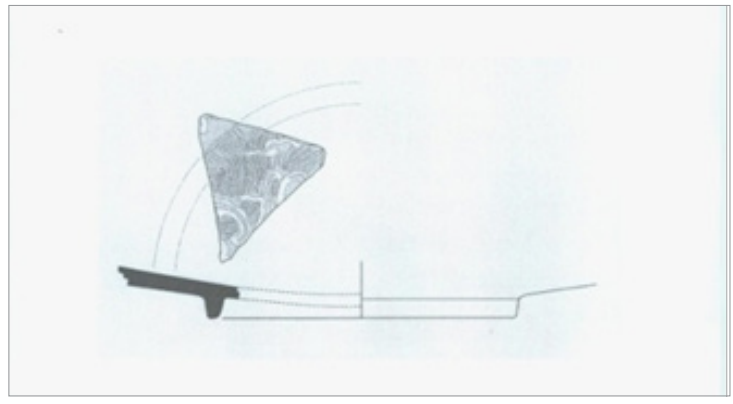


Fig. 101. Drawing on the shard of fig. 100, with a moulded decoration on the inside of the plate. By Josep Vicent Lerma. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM).





Fig. 102. *Ding*-ware dish with a moulded decoration, with a copper alloy band around the rim, D. 29 cm. Baur Collection, Geneva. Inv. no. 161.

Contacts between Spain and the Middle East were not broken off after the Christian conquest of the Spanish territories, because of the Crown of Aragon's interest in the east of the Mediterranean Sea, where dukedoms were established in Athens and Neopatria[701] (in 1377 the title of Duke of Neopatria was assumed by King Peter IV of Aragon), and ties were strengthened through royal marriages, facilitating trade relations between these two remote areas. During the same excavations at the Royal Castle a fragment of the rim of a *Longquan* celadon piece was unearthed, dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (fig. 103). The dish had a flat, bracket-lobed rim. Similar dishes can be found in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul although most of them have a lightly raised edge.[702]

[701] The Duchy of Neopatria was one of the Crusader States set up in Greece after the conquest of the Byzantine Empire during the Fourth Crusade. It was situated in Central Greece, centered on the city of *Neai Patrai* (modern Ypati) in the Spercheios Valley, west of Lamia.

[702] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 1, p. 357, ill. 481.

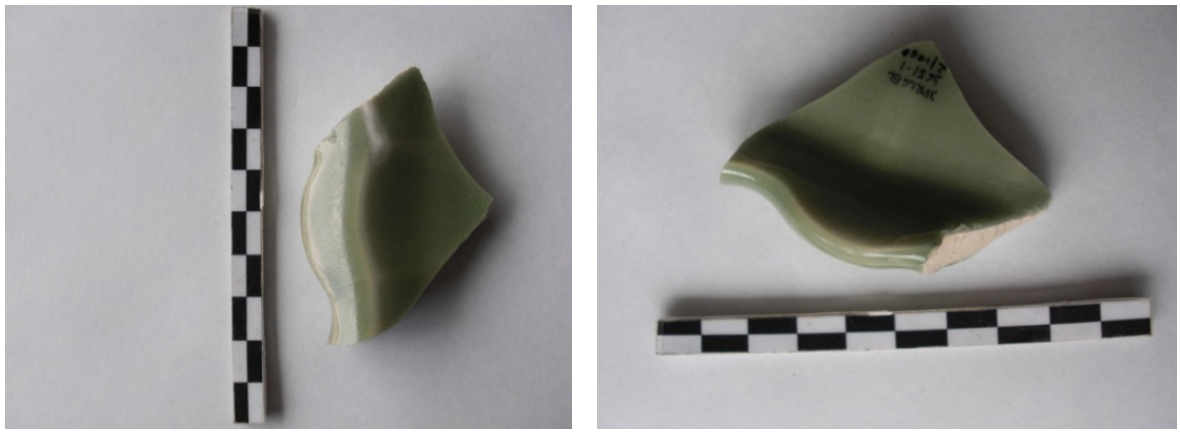


Fig. 103. Shard of a *Longquan* celadon, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, recovered during the excavation of the Royal Palace, General Elio Street, stratigraphic layer 3651-1. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM). Inv. no. 3PRLGEL 3651-1, 2/1066.

Another greenware shard (fig. 104) was also excavated in Valencia but in a different location. The main purpose of the excavation was to study the remains of a group of Islamic dwellings erected inside the city wall in today's Cisneros Square by Abd al-Aziz in the ninth century that were occupied from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Ceramic objects found included local earthenware with an overglaze green and manganese decoration, oil-lamps, casseroles, pitchers and pots, and the mentioned Chinese shard of an object that would have arrived as a valuable and exotic gift. The fragments in (fig. 104) were excavated in an Almohade[703] context of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As we can see, it is the base of a *yue*-type dish decorated with incised scrolls of flowers incised in the *cavetto*.[704] The grey stoneware body is quite compact, the glaze greenish and thin. The base and splayed footrim are fully glazed, and have spurmarks made by the stand on which it was fired.[705]

[703] From the Arabic, *Almoahedun*, a Berber Muslim dynasty that flourished in Africa and in Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[704] Jeannette Rose-Albrecht, 'Les Potiers d'al-Andalus ont-ils eu connaissance des grès chinois dès l'époque médiévale?', in *Taoci*, no. 4, December 2005. See also J.V. Lerma, 'Las cerámicas importadas', in *L'arqueologia fa cuitat: les excavacións de la plaza de Cisneros*, Valencia, 2000.

[705] There is a *yue* bowl with an incised decoration and the same type of foot with spurmarks in the Sir Percival David Collection, now in the British Museum; see Scott, 1989, pp. 35–36, ill. 17.

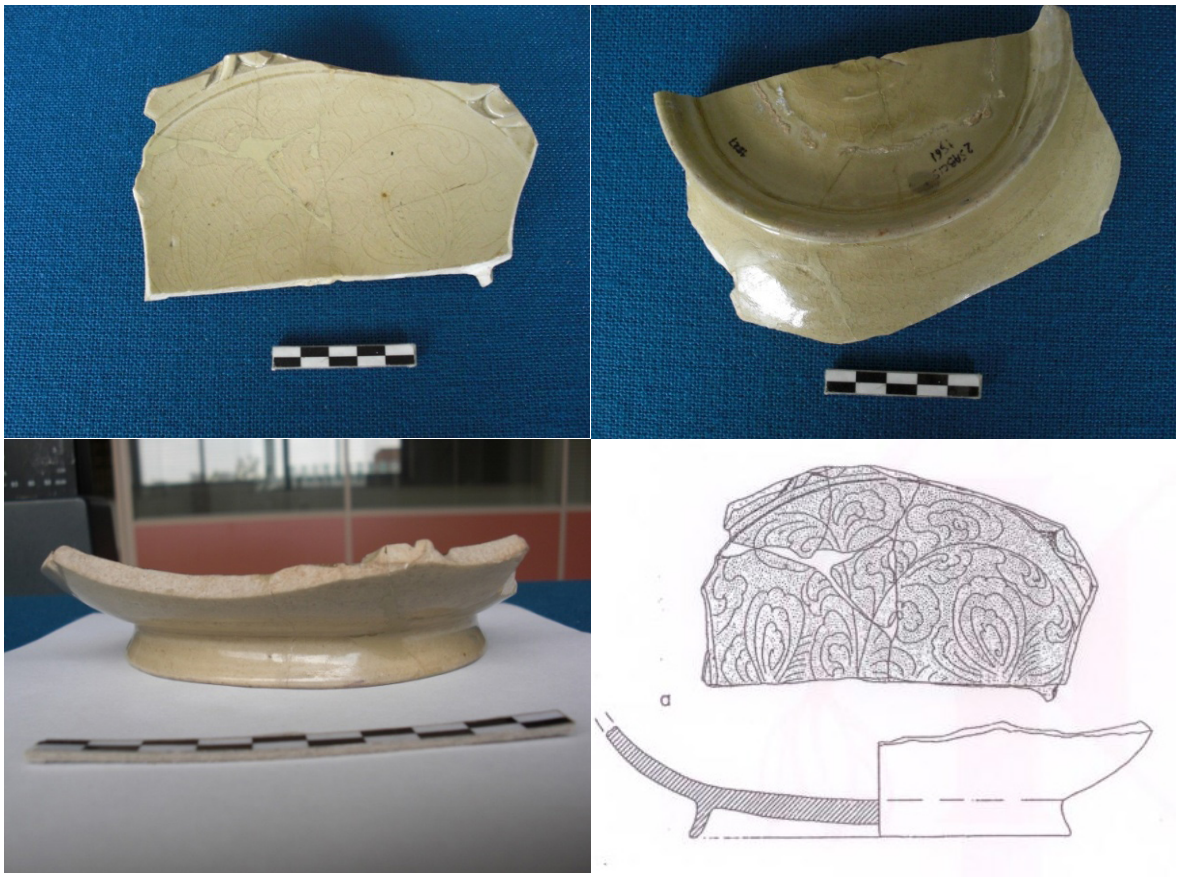


Fig. 104. Shard of a *yue*-type celadon dish from the excavation at Cisneros Square, 6 Sabaters Street. L. 14 cm, W. 8 cm. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM). Inv. no. 2SABCIS 1561.

Although of a later date, other shards found in Valencia (fig. 105) were excavated in the San Miguel de los Reyes Monastery, formed by two cloisters and a church. The Duke and Duchess of Calabria, Fernando de Aragon and Germana de Foix, commissioned the monastery from the architect Antonio de Covarrubias in 1546 to serve as their family crypt. The shards – which are about 5 centimetres long and can be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620) – correspond to the base of a blue-and-white porcelain cup decorated with flowers and petals on the inside. On the base a *shou fu* or 'good luck' mark is inscribed. They were located in stratigraphic level no. 1057, in an area where a wooden crane had originally been installed to build a library in the monastery. The shards were found together with blue and gilded tin-glazed earthenware from Manises (Valencia).[706] This type of plate was of the export type dating to the Wanli period at the end of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately the shard is lost and only this picture was available for this study.

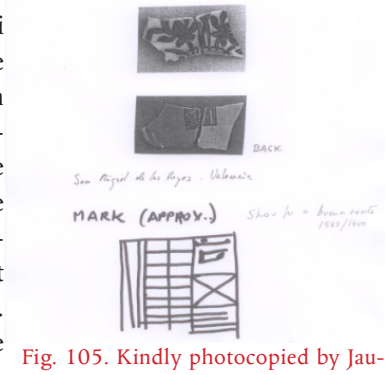



Fig. 105. Kindly photocopied by Jaume Coll Conesa, director of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica y de las Artes Suntuarias 'González Martí', Valencia. The shard disappeared during the excavation.

[706] I am grateful to Víctor Algarra who kindly provided me with his excavation notes.

### 4.1.4. *Balearic Islands*

#### 4.1.4.1. *Palma de Mallorca*

Three shards were found in the Can Bordils at no. 9, Almudaina Street. The first two are a from matching blue-and-white cup and saucer dated by the archaeologist to the Kangxi period (1662–1722); the third, of a plate, is decorated with *famille rose* enamels. Unfortunately I could not access the photographs of the shards.[707]

### 4.1.5. *Catalonia*

#### 4.1.5. 1. *Barcelona*

Most of the shards found in the city of Barcelona are preserved in the Museu d'Història de Barcelona (MUHBA) and correspond to several archaeological excavations. The most important was carried out in the Born area, known from the nineteenth century as the 'market of Born', in which more than 3100 ceramic, glass, metal, stone and organic objects were unearthed that dated from medieval to modern times. Other excavations have yielded fragments of Chinese porcelain in other parts of the city that mainly correspond to convents of various orders during the Habsburg period. Barcelona, along with Seville and Cádiz, was a mayor trade centre and its port served as a stopover for ships heading south to Cádiz, Seville, Lisbon, and northwards to Mediterranean France and Italy. Trade between Barcelona and France, especially Marseilles, would intensify because of the Pact of Ceret, signed in 1640, by which Catalonia received military support from France, separating itself from the Spanish Crown. Catalonia was recovered in 1652, but the war against France lasted until the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees that sanctioned the annexing by France of Roselló, Conflent, Vallespir and a part of the Cerdanya region.

##### *a. Market of Born*

The site corresponds to the urban development of the neighbourhood of Ribera, the maritime district, from the fourteenth century until its destruction in 1714 after the War of Spanish Succession. Archaeologists could identify the network of streets and the remains of houses and palaces thanks to the excellent state of the site. Historian Albert García Espuche studied the history of the site where the Chinese fragments were found.[708] The location was a single property owned by the merchant Antoni Riera during the last quarter of the sixteenth century (it was formerly owned by the merchant Joan Moragull), but it was rented out to another merchant called Juan Gual, who died in 1586. Antoni Riera then sold the property to Onofre Boxadors, who died in 1619. There is a long inventory of goods belonging to this last merchant, but no mention of Oriental items.[709] At the end of the seven-

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[707] Elvira González Gozálo, 'Las porcelanas chinas de Can Bordils de Palma', in *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueológica Luliana*, no. 52, 1996, pp. 295–302.

[708] Albert García Espuche, *La ciutat del Born. Economia i Vida Quotidiana a Barcelona* (*segles XIV-XVIII*), Barcelona, 2009; and by the same author, 'La Definición Social del Espacio Urbano. Del territorio a la casa. Sobre la Decisiva Transformación de Cataluña en los siglos XVI y XVII', in *Historia Social*, no. 58, Barcelona, 2007, pp. 71–95. I appreciate the assistance provided by Julia Beltrán de Heredia and Nuria Miró from the Museu d'Historia de Barcelona (MUHBA).

[709] García Espuche, 2009, pp. 71-95.

teenth century the site was the residence of Jan Kies and Arnold de Jager, Dutch consuls in Catalonia. They had relations with King Charles II of Spain and both were awarded honorific titles. Another merchant named Antono Oliach, whose great wealth is revealed in his *post mortem* inventory drawn up in 1703, lived in this house at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Finally, the house was rented in the eighteenth century to the apothecary owner Vicent Duran who, according to the inventory of his goods, owned many Chinese porcelains such as 48 bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*), 29 white *jícaras* from China, and seven tea bowls and tea plates from China.[710]

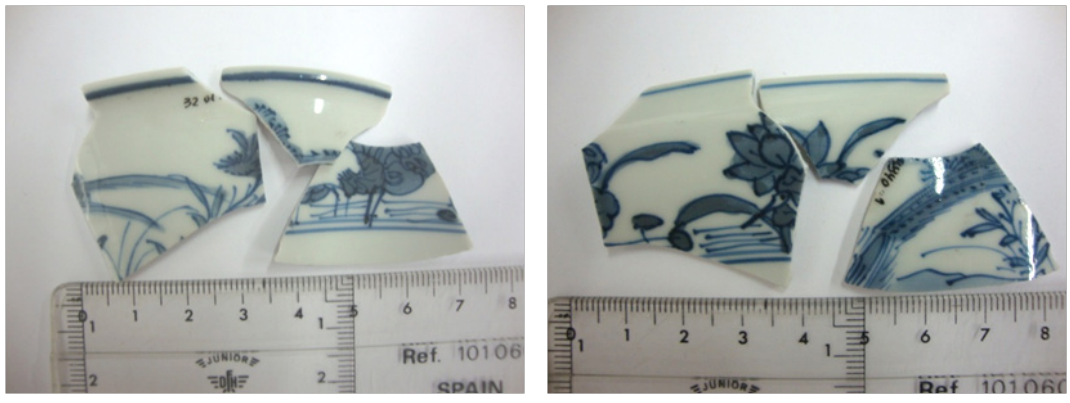


Fig. 105. Shards of a bowl, late sixteenth century, Wanli reign. Mercado del Born, . Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 32.01-3825.



The first shards found at this site are from a bowl decorated with a scene that seems to extend all around, with very fine ornamentation, with a pond with lotus flowers; the other side is decorated with flower sprays (fig. 105). The quality of the porcelain of this bowl is very good and the painting is very well executed. The rim is not everted or foliated, a rare feature for late sixteenth-century export bowls.[711]

The second piece (fig.106) is a blue-and-white shard of a dish ornamented with a sketchily drawn lotus flower with a blue wash over it, placed on top of a round medallion with a flower. On the back, part of a double circle that corresponds to a mark from the Kangxi period (1662–1722), c. 1700.

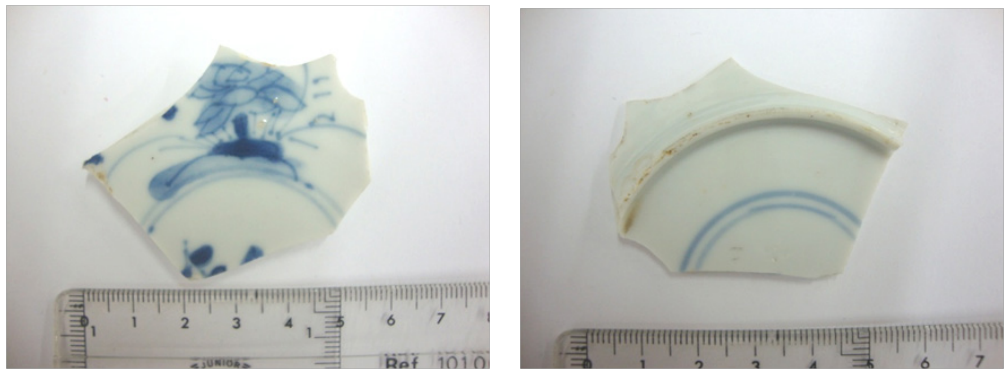


Fig. 106. Shards of a dish. Mercado del Born, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona. Inv. no. Born-91 303. UE 8610.

[710] García Espuche, 2007, p. 337.

[711] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 138.

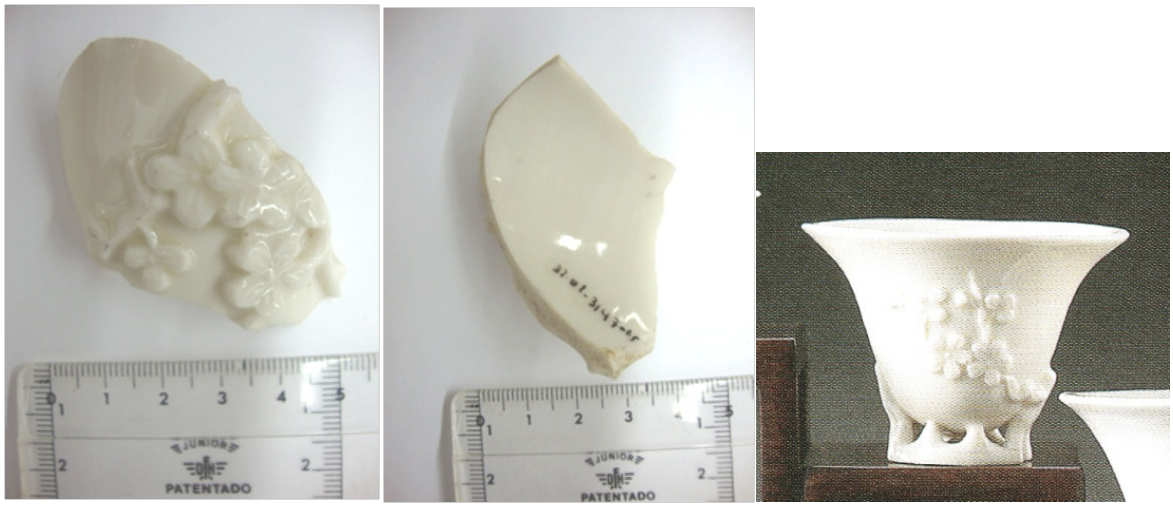



Fig. 107. Shards of a cup. Mercado del Born. *Blanc de Chine* magnolia cup, mid-seventeenth century. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 32-01 UE 3147 dif.15.

Fig. 108. Magnolia cup. From Kerr & Ayers, *Blanc de Chine. Porcelain from Dehua*, Richmond, 2002, pl. 122.

Shards of a libation cup that was shaped as magnolia flower with a tapering profile and decorated with plum blossom stems in high relief were also found at this site (fig. 107) This type of cup was very popular in Europe in the late seventeenth century and appears in a Western still life painting by Leonard Knyff dated 1681.[712]

Another shard (fig. 109) is from a cup with fairly straight sides and a round rim, decorated with a peony spray inside a double ring, the outside with figures and peony sprays. The piece is dated c. 1700,[713] and has a 'sheng' (聖, 圣) mark inside a double circle ('sheng' can mean 'sage' or 'holy').

[712] Patrick J. Donnelly, *Blanc-de-Chine. The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien*, London, 1969, pl. 27A; Rose Kerr & John Ayers, *Blanc de Chine. Porcelain from Dehua*, Richmond, 2002, pl. 122. There are several magnolia blossom cups listed in the Burghley House inventory of 1690; one of them is described as a 'sugar Cupp'; 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*, Lincolnshire, 1983, p. 89.

[713] The fragmentary motif left might be part of the dress of a 'long Elisa', see comparable cups in Fritz W. Grosse, *Die blau-weissen asiatischen Porzellane in Schoss Favorite bei Rastatt,* Schwetzingen, 1998, figs. 85-90.




Fig. 109. Shards of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Mercado del Born. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 26355.

### *b. Convent of Saint Teresa*

The Carmelite Convent of Saint Teresa was founded in 1588 by a group of nuns from Pamplona (Navarra). The prioress and founder was Caterina de Rocabertí (Estefania de la Concepción). Construction of the first church began in 1601 and it was inaugurated in 1608. A new one was built in 1674. The building is known today as Puríssima Concepció de Nostra Senyora, or Santa Teresa. Archaeological excavations at the site yielded a number of shards, some dating to the sixteenth century and others to the late seventeenth century. The first shard (fig. 110) corresponds to a blue-and-white bowl decorated with an elephant carrying a lotus flower that supports a double circle with the 永 *yong*, 'eternity' character. On stylistic grounds this piece can be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620), a date confirmed by the stratum in which it was found, which is dated to the early seventeenth century.[714]

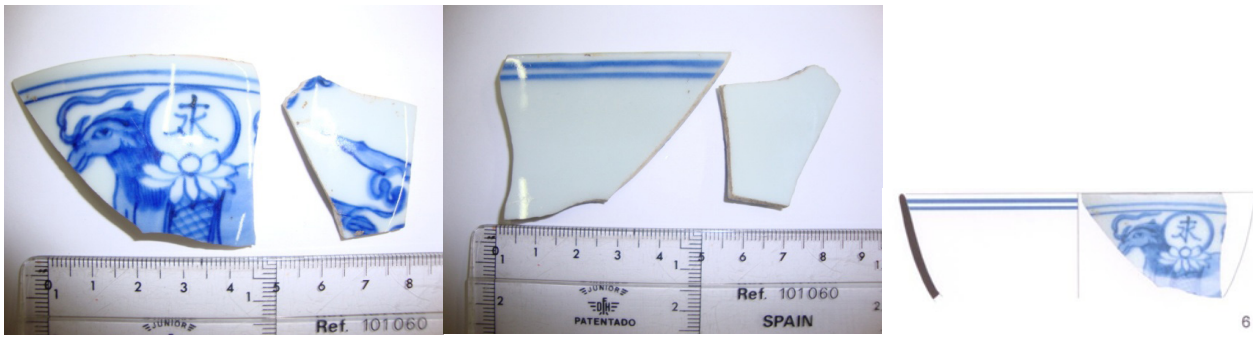



Fig. 110. Shards of a bowl, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Found in the Convent of Saint Teresa, Plaza de la Villa de Madrid. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona. Excavation number 009/01-A520-38, excavation number 009/01, Stratigraphy unit A520, diferencial 38.

[714] Julia Beltrán de Heredia and Nuria Miró i Alaix, 'Importacions orientals i imitacions locals a "la façon" de Liguria: noves troballes ceràmiques a la ciutat de Barcelona', in *Arqueología Medieval*, nos. 4/5, Barcelona, 2008–9, pp. 100–15, and 'Aportación al estudio de las cerámicas finas del Mediterráneo Oriental, Siria/Egipto y China en Barcelona', in *Italia, medio es stremo oriente: Commerci, trasferimente di technologie e inlussi decorativi tra basso Medioevo ed età moderna, ATTI, XL Convegno internazionale della Ceramica*, Savona-Albisola Marina, 2007, pp. 129–39

The second piece (figs. 111 and 112) corresponds to a Chinese *Imari*-type saucer three centimetres high and dated to the second quarter of the eighteenth century; it is decorated with floral motifs in iron-red enamel and underglaze cobalt blue with a band of simple four-petalled flowers around the rim.[715]

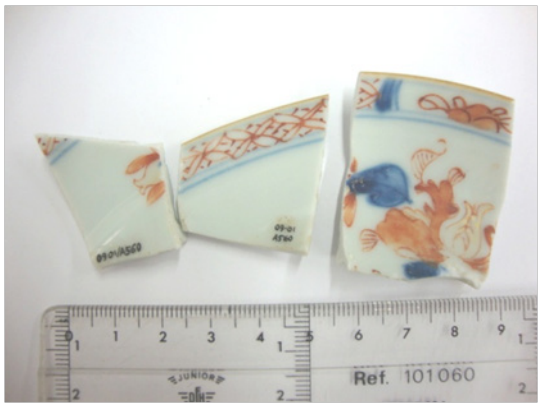



Fig. 111. Shards of a saucer from the Convent of St. Teresa, 1730-40. Villa de Madrid. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. O9/01 UE A 560.

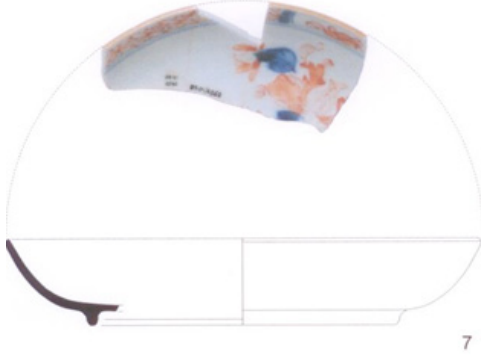




Fig. 112. Saucer, c. 1730–40. From Jean McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 123.

### *c. Calle Robadors*

This shard (fig. 113) was recovered during the excavation of a house dating from the medieval to the modern period. The dish is ornamented with a riverscape with pagodas around a central circular medallion, the rim ornamented with a diaper pattern in a silvery-blue cobalt blue. On the base a blurred *zhuanshu* mark inside a double ring. On stylistic grounds the piece is dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722).[716]



Fig. 113. Shards of a dish from Calle Robadors, , c. 1700., Kangxi reign. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 125/0U-20633.

[715] A plate with a similar decoration is in Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 710, pl. 1221.

[716] Josep Cruells was the archaeologist in charge of this excavation. I am grateful to him for providing the shards before publication.

### *d. Pedralbes Monastery*

The archaeological excavations at the Pedralbes Monastery have yielded several shards of Chinese porcelain.[717] The building was a convent of the Order of Saint Clare, founded in 1326 by Queen Elisenda de Montcada, who was married to the Aragonese King Jaume II. Of Gothic style, no expense was spared on its construction and furnishing thanks to the generous endowment of the Montcada family. A large fragment of a dish was found, dating to the Jiajing period (1522–66) (fig. 114 and 115), It is decorated with a flower scroll on the foliated rim, stylised lotus blossoms on the *cavetto*, the main decoration being (three) cranes flying around four cloud motifs. The reverse is decorated with galloping horses inside oval medallions and the underside of the rim is ornamented with flowers.[718] As can be seen in the closely related dish in the Amaral Cabral Collection (fig. 116), there is a mark on the base of the piece inside a double circle reading 永保長春 *yong bao chang chun* ('eternal protection and long lasting spring').



Fig. 114. Shard of a dish. Jiajing reign (1522-66). Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona. Inv. no. MMP-116.288.

Fig. 115. Idem.



[717] J. Bassegoda Nonell, *La cerámica popular en la arquitectura gótica*, Barcelona, 1983, although he wrongly dates it to the fourteenth century.

[718] For similar pieces, see Pinto de Matos, 1997, pp. 72, 73, 74; and Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 616.



Fig. 116. Dish, second quarter 16th c. D. 26.2 cm. From Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, *Azul e Branco da China. Porcelana* âo *Tempo dos Descobrimentos. Colecçâo Amaral Cabral*, exh. cat., Lisbon 1997, pp. 72-73.

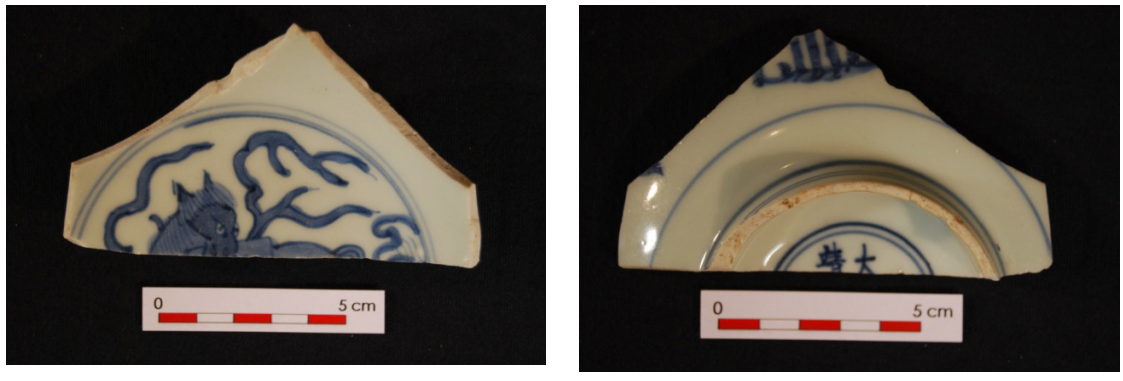



Fig. 117.Shard of a bowl. Jiajing reign (1522–66). Inv. no. 051-10.35.212. Shards preserved in the Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

The next shard (fig. 117) found at the monastery is part of a bowl also dated to the Jiajing period (1522–66). Only part of the mark is visible – the upper part of the fourth-character, 靖, indicates that the mark should be 嘉靖, with the complete mark being 大明嘉靖年製 (*da ming jiajing nian zhi*, i.e., 'Made during the Jiajing reign of the Ming Dynasty'). Only the bottom of the bowl is preserved but we can see that it was decorated with a *qilin* among flames, probably in a landscape. A similar piece is found in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul.[719]

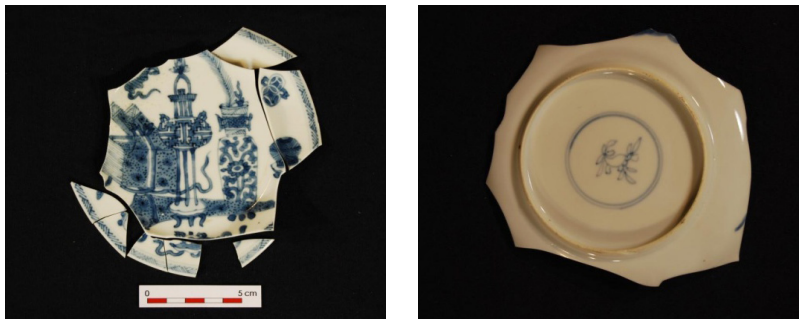


Fig. 118. Shards of a dish, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051-10-35118., Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

[719] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 647, fig. 989.

The shard in fig. 118 was excavated from the same monastery and corresponds to a dish decorated in the popular sapphire cobalt blue from the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The shard is ornamented with some of the 'Hundred Antiquities'. The base has a mark consisting of two simplified flowers inside a double ring. An edict was issued in 1667 during the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) forbidding the use of his mark on porcelain in case it broke. This resulted in the use of a number of 'good luck' symbols such as flowers or the artemisia leaf, among others. From the same period are the bowls decorated with a lotus spray on the bottom with a diaper band around the rim. The base of the bowl has a mark consisting of a solid lozenge with tassels and ribbons, one of the 'Eight Treasures', which is also an auspicious symbol (figs.119 and 120).

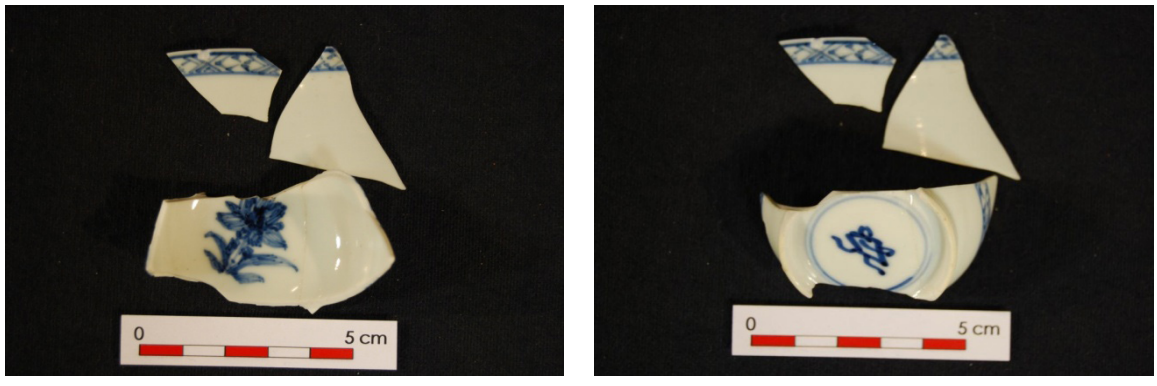



Fig. 119. Shard of a bowl, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051-10-35123. Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.




Fig. 120. Shards of a bowl., c.1700, Kangxi reign, Inv. no. 051-10.35.121. Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

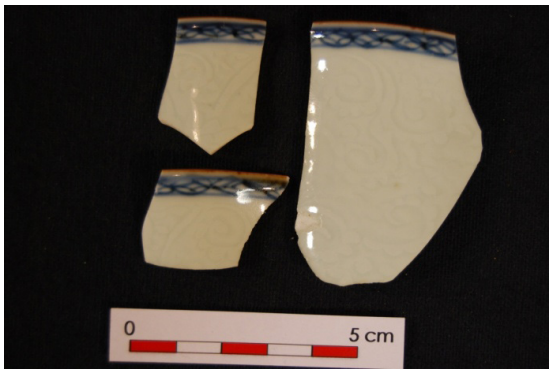



Fig. 121. Shards of a bowl., c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051.10.35.126. Pedrabes Monastery, Barcelona.

Another group of shards is also dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722). They are part of a bowl decorated in iron oxide on the rim and incised floral scrolls on the body, with a cobalt blue diaper band around the edge (fig. 121).

The last two shards (fig. 122) are part of a bowl of a later date, the porcelain decorated over the glaze with Meissen-style rococo decorations in gold and red enamels that date to the 1740s (Qianlong period, 1736–95).

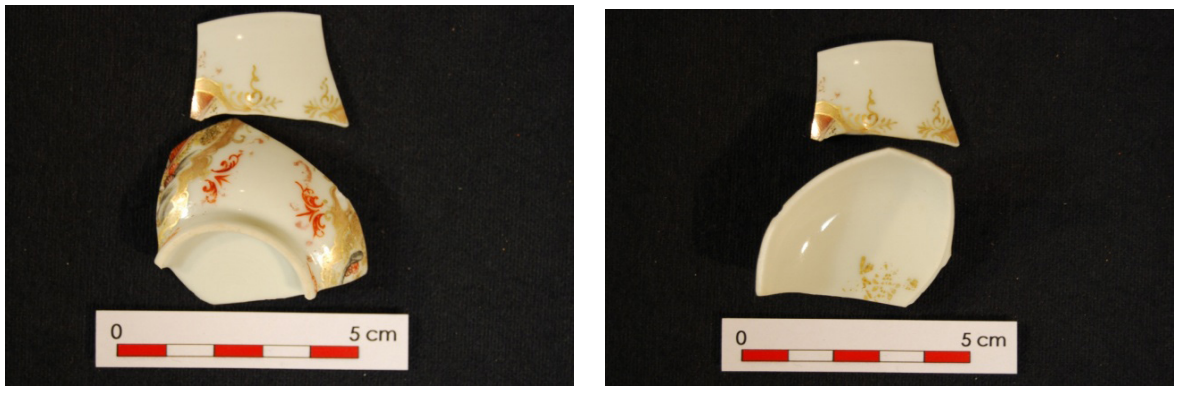



Fig. 122. Shards of a bowl, c.1740, Qianlong reign. Inv. no. 051.10.35.124. Pedrabes Monastery, Barcelona.

### *e. Convent of the Dominican Fathers of Saint Catherine*

The Saint Catherine (Santa Caterina) market was the site of a Dominican convent. The convent of the Dominican preachers of Barcelona was a monastic foundation founded by Bishop Berenguer de Palou (Bishop of Barcelona between 1212 and 1241). On his return from Rome and Bologna, the bishop established a close relation with the Dominicans in Italy and requested the foundation of a religious house in the city of Barcelona. Shards of Chinese porcelain were found in the convent. The first is part of a chocolate cup decorated in Chinese Imari with flowering branches that dates to the late Kangxi period (1662–1722) (fig. 123 and 124). The other shards are blue-and-white, and ornamented with sketchily drawn flowers, dating to the 1730s (fig. 125).

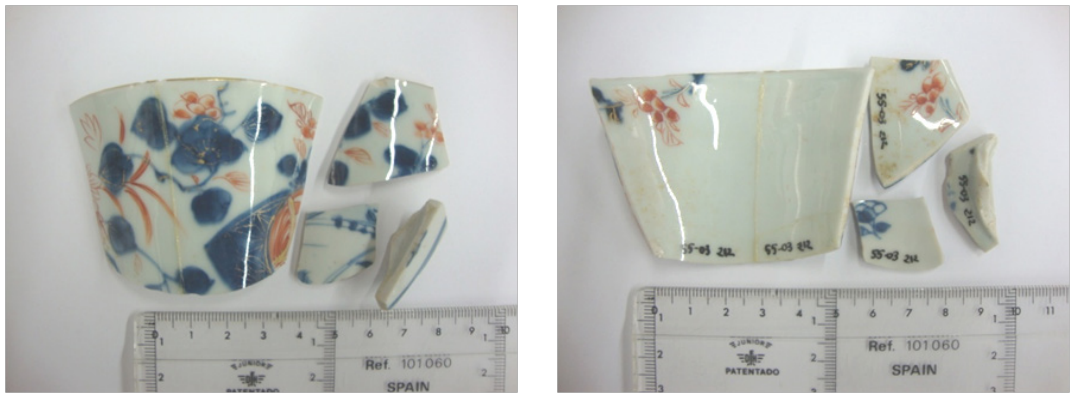



Fig. 123. Shards of an imari cup., 1710-20, early Kangxi reign. Inv. no. UE 212 055/03. Valldonzella 9-11; Montealegre 10. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona.



Fig. 124. Chocolate cup, Chinese Imari, c. 1710-20, Kangxi reign. H. 8 cm, D: 8.4 cm. Inv.no. 1951-0107. Groninger Museum, Groninger.

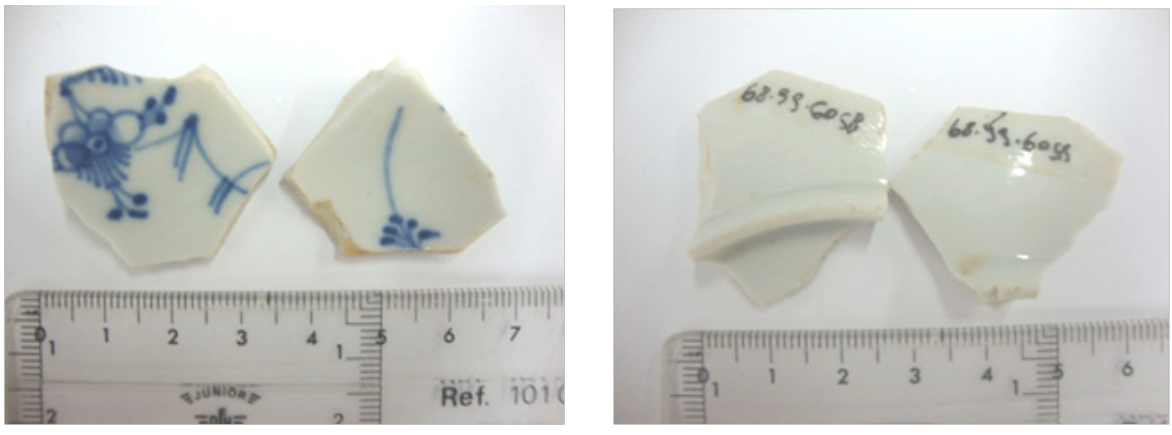


Fig. 125. Inv. no. UE 6058 068/99. Santa Caterina market. Kangxi (1662–1722) or Yongzheng (1723–25). Museu d'Historia de Barcelona.

### 4.1.6. *Autonomous region of Madrid*

Most of the fragments in the Autonomous Region[720] of Madrid are preserved in two museums: Museo de los Orígenes (Madrid) and Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid (Alcalá de Henares). Other shards are kept in the depots of the Royal Palace of Madrid, which was built by King Philip V on the location of the old Alcázar of the Habsburgs.[721] The shards in these collections are from several archaeological excavations at different sites in Madrid: the Plaza de Oriente and the Plaza de la Armería, where the remains of the Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs were excavated; the site of Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor, where archaeologists carried out the excavation of a palace and its gardens dating to the seventeenth century; the Plaza de los Carros, the site of the remains of different houses dating from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century; a house on the Plaza de la Marina; and finally the remains of two convents: the Trinitarias and the Nuns of Constantinople.

Most of the fragments are of *Kraak* porcelain objects, which were apparently used by the Court in the Alcázar, as well as in the houses of aristocrats or civil servants related to the Court, and finally of porcelain objects used in the convents.

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[720] Power in Spain was decentralised in 1978 and the country was divided into *Comunidades Autónomas* (Autonomous Regions) that replaced the old regions (*regiones*).

[721] This new palace directly faces the cathedral across the *Plaza de Armas* (Square of the Royal Armoury).

### *a. Shards excavated from the remains of the Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs (Royal Palace of Madrid)*

The Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs was converted from a medieval residence into a palace under Emperor Charles V.[722] Philip II continued the work and emphasised the decoration of the building, for which he hired craftsmen from Italy, France and the Netherlands. The rest of the Habsburgs kings (Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II) continued introducing new improvements to the palace. King Philip V of Bourbon ascended to the throne of Spain in 1700. The Habsburgs' Alcázar, austere in comparison to the French palace where the new king had grown up, went through several restructurings but it burned to the ground on Christmas Eve, 1734. King Felipe V ordered the construction of a new building in the same place that was completed in 1764 and occupied by King Charles III of Spain. A few years ago, during renovations to this Baroque and Neoclassical palace, some shards of Chinese porcelain were found in the Plaza de Oriente and Plaza de la Armería, both very close to the palace grounds:

#### *Archaeological Site of Plaza de Oriente*

The first shard recovered during excavations at the Plaza de Oriente – located directly in front of the present Royal Palace – is from a Jingdezhen *Kraak* plate decorated with the 'ducks-in-a-pond' motif (fig. 126). This decoration was very popular at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. It is not possible to establish the exact type of border around the central decoration, but the decoration of lotus and acquatic plants in a pond resembles the decorative style used on plates at the beginning of the seventeenth century during the reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1619), a contemporary of Philip II (1527–98) and Philip III (1598–1621) of Spain.[723] The quality of the cobalt is very good; the decoration is executed in a refined way




Fig. 126. A shard of a plate found during the archaeological excavation at the Plaza de Oriente, where the remains of the Habsburgs' Royal Alcázar were excavated., *Kraak* porcelain, c. 1600, Wanli reing, Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 2/43/36.

[722] For publications about the Royal Palace in Madrid, see: Jose Luis Sancho, *Palacio Real de Madrid*, Madrid, 2004; Jose Luis Sancho, Gabriel Moya, Carlos Martínez Shaw, María Antonia Loste Rodríguez and María Jesús Serviá Reymundo, *Palacio Real de Madrid*, Madrid, 2005.; José Luis Sancho, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales*: *catálogo histórico de los palacios, jardines y patronatos reales del Patrimonio Nacional*, Madrid, 1995.

[723] This was possibly a border decoration type VI as characterised by Maura Rinaldi in *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, pp. 83 and 95. Regina Krahl has some examples with a similar decoration; see Krahl & Ayers, vol. 2, pp. 766, 767.



Fig. 127. *Kraak* plate with decoration of ducks in pond. Border VI, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris). D. 21 cm, H. 3 cm. No inventory number.The ornamentation in the centre is very similar to that of the shard of Fig. 126.

Fig. 128. Shards of a monochrome white bowl, early seventeenth century. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. P.O. 3 192 8.





Other fragments from this period (fig. 128) were found during archaeological excavations in 1992 and 1996 at the Plaza de Oriente and the Calle Bailén (the street that runs between the Palace and the Plaza). A huge quantity of Spanish ceramics was unearthed along with some Chinese porcelain. The recovered fragments are of very high-quality porcelain without impurities in the body and glaze. The shape – a white bowl on a high foot – is known from the late 16th and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. There are no traces of decorations on the shards.[724]

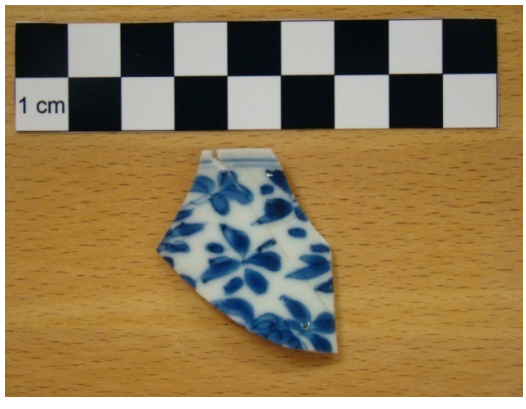






Fig. 129. Shard of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*), c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares. Madrid. Inv. no. 1/1/10.

[724] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol.2, cat. nos. 1666-1668, 1671, 1672, 1674-1676 for comparable white bowls on a high footring.

The next shard (fig. 129), also related to the Habsburg Alcázar but of a later date, is part of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*) manufactured during the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The body is white, the glaze is very fine, and the decoration is in the characteristic sapphire blue without impurities. The decoration on the outside is of peonies and simple petals, with a diamond diaper border around the inside rim.[725]

### *Archaeological site of the Plaza de la Armería*

Several Chinese porcelain shards dating to second half of the sixteenth century/early seventeenth century were unearthed during renovation works at the Museum of the Spanish Royal Collections situated in the Plaza de la Armería, near the site of the old Habsburg Alcázar and the buildings linked to the palace. The excavation took place in June 1999 and February 2000 and yielded around 800 pieces of pottery that were stored in the palace's storage room.[726] Eight shards (figs. 130, 132, 133, 134, 135 and 136) are from one large fishbowl of excellent quality, decorated with a flaming, scaly dragon (the number of claws is unfortunately not visible) chasing a flaming pearl above a lotus pond. Around the rim of the bowl, a narrow register ornamented with a classic scroll and pendant square panels with pending roundels surrounded by clouds. This last motif of the circles within the lotus-leaf panels is an unique feature that seems to be unrecorded in the literature on porcelain of this period. The same type of decoration appears around the base of the object. The Topkapi Saray Museum has a bowl with a similar lotus pond that is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century (fig. 131).

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[725] For related cups see Christiaan J.A. Jörg and Michel Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck. The Hallstrom Excavation*, Singapore, 2001, p. 58-9; fig. 36.

[726] Archaeologist Saúl Pérez-Juana, who was responsible for the classification of the materials at the time of the excavation and who specializes in ceramics, took notes of the findings as follows:

> A fragment of Chinese porcelain painted in underglaze cobalt blue was found in area no. 2 of the mentioned excavation, at strata level no. 1021, and classified and assigned inventory number A2/1021/14. In area no. 3, at strata level 2033, and assigned inventory number A3/2033/1, three shards of a large blue-and-white vessel, the thickness of the body being 1.69 centimeters and the diameter of the mouth around 50 centimeters, which must have been a large fish bowl with a straight edge and a flat rim. It was decorated with stylized floral designs beneath banners (simplified lotus petals?) with a central circle (the sun?) surrounded by clouds. Below this decoration were several five-clawed [on the shards I consulted the number of claws could not be seen] dragons flying among clouds above a landscape with a river and aquatic plants such as lotus. Another register of banners was painted around the foot. The rest of the decoration consists of schematic clouds, and below the rim, a floral scroll between two lines, above a band of banners, similar to the one running around the base of the fishbowl. Another three blue-and-white shards were found in area no. 3, strata level 2034, that were assigned the inventory number A3/2034/1. These shards probably correspond to the previous piece and were decorated with the head of a dragon with a flaming pearl and another five-clawed dragon. These three fragments correspond to a large open shape, of which part of the decoration consisting of flying dragons over a landscape with lotus plants has survived. The rest of the decoration is of a flaming pearl and a frieze of banners (simplified lotus petals?), similar to the ones on the top of the piece. In the same area no. 3, at strata level 2103, the base of a blue-and-white dish was found and inventoried with no. A3/2103/12; it was decorated with a bird (a crane?) flying above water, with flowers, leaves and lotus buds. The foot of the plate was decorated with three parallel lines; the exterior of the piece, on the bottom of the cavetto, has a decoration of clouds.

I am grateful to Álvaro Soler and Juan Ramón Aparicio, from Spanish National Heritage, for providing me with the photographs of the shards for this study



Fig. 130. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th, Wanli reign, Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2033.



Fig. 131. Blue-and-white bowl in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul. Inv. no. TKS 15/2559. From Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 680.



Fig. 132. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A34.2033.1c.

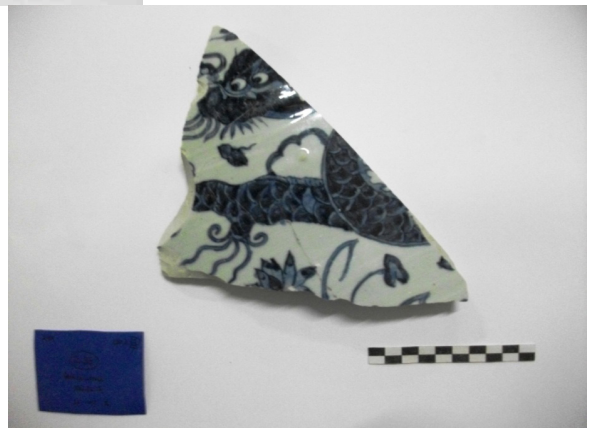
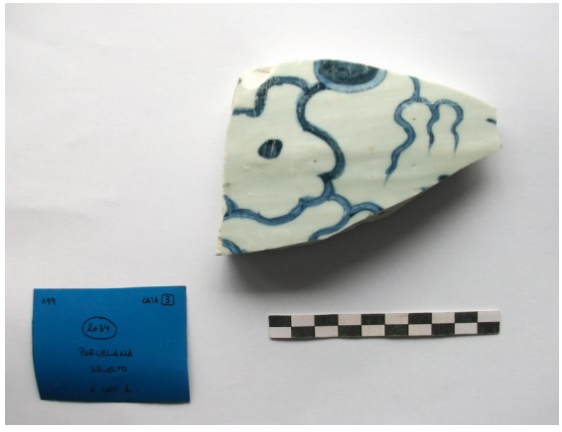
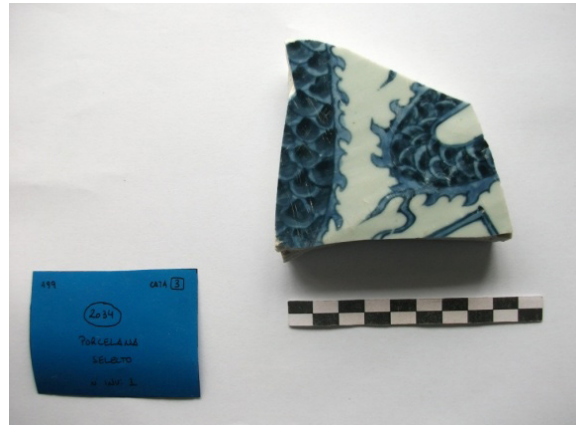


Fig. 133. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2033.1e.





Figs. 134 and 135. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3.2034.1a.



Fig. 136. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3.2034.1g.



Fig. 137. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2103.12a.

Another blue-and-white shard (fig. 137) belonging to the base of a saucer-dish decorated with a partly hatched ground and flying cranes possibly dated to the second half of the sixteenth century was also found;[727] and finally, a very small shard of a *Kraak* piece, appears to be decorated with the back of a mottled deer in a landscape (fig. 138).



Fig. 138. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2104.29a.

[727] See Krahl & Ayers, 1986, plate TKS 15/2328, p. 611.

## *Other Archaeological Sites in Madrid*

### *a. Site of the Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor*

A small shard (fig. 139) was found in the archaeological excavations carried out at the Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor site in 1985.[728] The main objective of the excavation was to study the remains of the Islamic wall, but the remains of a palace garden built during the modern age in the same pit were discovered that yielded several ceramic, glass and bronze objects. This particular piece is decorated with branches of leaves of the type found on *Kraak* dishes dating to the early seventeenth century.

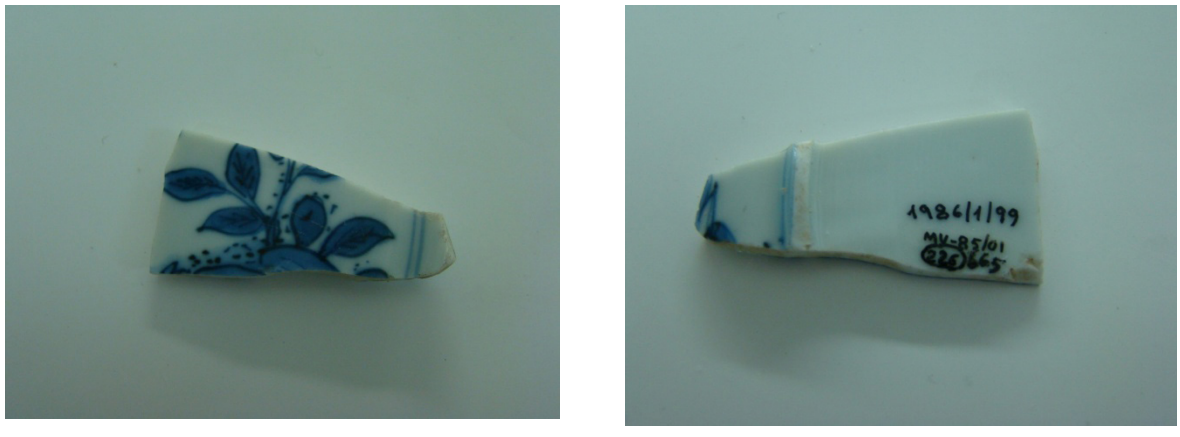



Fig. 139. A shard of a plate decorated in underglaze blue. Early seventeenth century, reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1620). Museo de los Orígenes. Casa de San Isidro, Madrid. Inv. no. 1986/1/99 M.V-85/01 226 665.



Fig. 140. Detail of a *Kraak* dish with branches of leaves redolent of the early seventeenth century, 1616–30. D. 53.2 cm. National Museum, Singapore. From Rinaldi, 1989, p. 101.

[728] Manuel Retuerce Velasco, 'Informe sobre la excavación arqueológica efectuada en el solar de la Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor', in *Villa de Madrid*, Madrid, 1985, vol. 4, no. 86, pp. 53–72.

### *b. Archaeological site of the Plaza (Square) de los Carros*

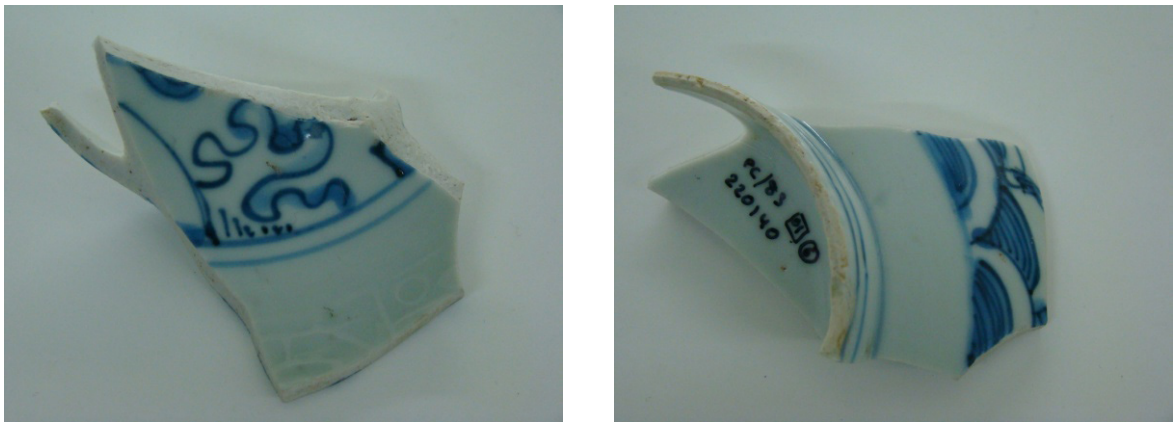


Fig. 141. A shard of a blue and white bowl. Early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Museo de los Orígenes, Casa de San Isidro, Madrid. Inv. no. PC/83 01 6 220140.

A shard of a bowl (fig. 141) was found during the archaeological excavation carried out in the Plaza de los Carros in 1983, which yielded the remnants of a number of houses dating from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth centuries. It was found with other Spanish ceramic fragments and complete pieces in a cesspit.[729] The bowl, on a high foot, was decorated with segmented waves on the outside and freely drawn ribbons on the inside.[730]

### *c. Archaeological site of the Plaza (Square) de la Marina Española*




Fig. 142. Shard of a plate with a flattened rim, Jiajing reign (1522–66). Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. No inventory number.

A shard was recovered during the archaeological excavations of a house in the square, Plaza de la Marina Española (fig. 142). The plate is rather thick and covered with a greyish, rather 'fatty' glaze. The foot ring inclines to the interior and has kiln sand adhering to it. A square mark is painted on the base in underglaze blue, *fu gui jia ji*, which can be translated as 'a fine vase for the rich and hon-

[729] See the archaeological report in L. Caballero, C. Priego and M. Retuerce, 'Madrid: barrio histórico. Informe de las excavaciones arqueológicas efectuadas en la plaza de los Carros', in *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileña*, Madrid, 1984, pp. 171–90.

[730] A similar bowl in Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 747, decorated with panels with galloping horses with flames above waves in panels adorned with tassels and joined by pearl strings.

ourable'. In the centre there is a phoenix standing on a rock with a small bird in flight. There is a simple scroll around the central decoration; the *cavetto* is undecorated. The decoration around the rim comprises auspicious Daoist symbols among ribbons such as the castanets Cao Guo jiu and the gourd of Li Tieguai, two Daoist Immortals; the symbols alternate with peach branches. On the outside of the rim small flowers with dots. Similar pieces are known in the Casa Museo Anastacio Gonçalves in Lisbon, in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, among the pieces recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* that sank in 1613 in St. Helena Bay, and elsewhere (see fig. 143).[731]



Fig. 143. Related plate from the Amaral Cabral Collection, circa 1550. Lisbon. D. 19.5 cm, H. 3 cm, from Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, 1998/1, p. 81, pl. 20.

*d. Archaeological site of the Convent of the Trinitarias (Calle Huertas 39/Lope de Vega 10)*

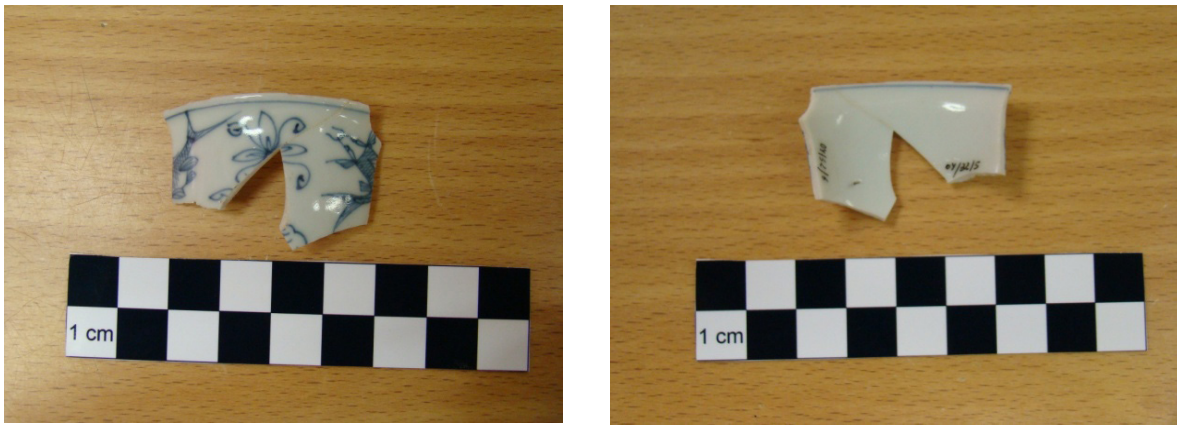



Fig. 144. Shard of a stem cup decorated with carp among aquatic plants, 1600–20, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 04/32/5; 04/32/6.

[731] Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *A casa das porcelanas. Cerámica chinesa da casa-museu del Dr. Anastacio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 60-61; Krahl & Ayers, 1986, pp. 621, 622; C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel, *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw*, Amsterdam, 1982, pp. 186-187; Pinto de Matos, 1997, pp. 80-81.

The Convent of the Trinitarias – situated on the old Cantarranas Street, between Huertas and Lope de Vega streets – was founded by King Philip III in 1612. This convent was once home to Isabel, daughter of the famous writer Miguel de Cervantes, and Marcela, daughter of the playwright Lope de Vega, who became Prioress of the convent. The shard (fig. 144) was found in a cesspit during the excavation of the convent's gardens along with Mexican *búcaros*[732] and a coin dated to 1609 that was minted during the time of Philip III. The shard corresponds to the rim of a bowl made of very fine porcelain, with no impurities, and decorated with carp among aquatic plants and flowers. The cobalt blue is very light and the decoration is sketchily done (pencil style), showing the various attitudes of the fish. A simple line drawn around the rim completes the decoration. This type of decoration is usually seen on tea bowls, stem cups (see below) and tazzas. Similar pieces were found in the wreck of the *Witte Leeuw* that sank in 1613.[733]



Fig. 145. Stem cup with underglaze blue decoration, 1600–20, Wanli reign. H. 9 cm, D. 8.8 cm. British Museum. London. Inv. no. OA 1928.7-19.1. From Harrison-Hall, 2001, pl. 11:7.

Another two shards were found during the same excavation (fig. 146) that correspond to the centre of a *Kraak* porcelain plate decorated with the popular scene of two deer in a landscape surrounded by radiating panels of equal segments divided by a single line.[7734] The compartments in the *cavetto* and rim of closely related pieces are filled with sprays of flowers and include butterflies and birds and suchlike, although these motifs are not all visible in the shards.[735] The exterior of the piece is divided into simple compartments that contain butterflies or insects. The decorations are outlined in cobalt blue with washes in the interior of the motifs, the pigment being of very good quality. The glaze has a bluish tinge and the foot has very little kiln sand adhering to it.

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[732] *Búcaro*: From the Covarrubias dictionary (1611): A type of container (*vaso**) made of red clay that comes from Portugal. The shape has a belly and for that reason people call it *búccaro* or *bucca* (swollen cheek); can also have a Greek origin in the word *bouxepos, buqueros*, which translates as 'in the form of an ox horn'. From the Autoridades dictionary (1726): A fine and scented vase from which water is drunk. There are *búcaros* of different types and shapes. Some come from the Indies and are highly appreciated and very precious.

[733] Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 160; Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London 2001, p. 279; Cinta Krahe, 'El coleccionismo de porcelana china en España: de curiosidad real a mercadería de exportación', in *Orientando la Mirada*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2009, pp. 23–34.

[734] Saúl Pérez-Juana del Casal, *Ficción y realidad en el siglo de Oro. El Quijote a través de la arqueología*, Alcalá de Henares, 2005, p. 45, fig. 6.

[735] Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *A Casa das Porcelanas. Ceramica Chinesa da Casa-Museu del Dr. Anastasio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 111 and 113, ills. 44 and 45; Rinaldi, 1989, p. 86.




Fig. 146. Centre of a *Kraak* plate, Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, China, 1600, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 04/32/3; 04/32/4.

### *e. Site of the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople (Excavation site on Juan de Herrera Street)*

Another shard was found in Madrid at the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople, at the excavation site on Juan de Herrera Street. The convent was founded in 1479 by *comendador*[736] Pedro Zapata of Medina de las Torres. In 1616 the architect Alberto de la Madre de Dios made some alterations to the building. Originally the building had six shops on the lower level, which opened to the Calle Mayor, the main trading centre of Madrid at that time. In 1836 the convent was demolished with the enactment of the Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal, who was prime minister under Queen Isabel II of Spain.[737] The piece (fig. 147), a *klapmuts* of the *Kraak* type, is decorated on the inside and outside with wide panels separated by narrow ones. It is very difficult to figure out the decoration, which appears to be a landscape with insects, possibly butterflies.[738]



Fig. 147. Fragment of a *klapmuts* of Kraak porcelain, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares. No inventory number.

[736] *Comendador*: Knight-commander of a military order who wears a habit and has the Royal land grant (*encomienda*) of a military order..

[737] I am grateful to Saúl Peréz-Juana for this information.

[738] Rinaldi, 1986, p. 120, pl. 127, categorises this type of *klapmuts* in Group I, c. 1595–1610.

## 4.1.7 *Castilla La-Mancha*

### 4.1.7.1. *Cuenca*

#### *Convent of the Angélicas of the Order of San Francisco*

The only shard of Chinese porcelain found in the city of Cuenca so far appeared in the Convent of the Angélicas of the Order of San Francisco, which was devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe and Conception.[739] The building, under the protection of the chapter of the Cathedral of Cuenca, was founded on 4 September 1561 by Don Constantino Castillo, *comendador* of the town of La Mota and canon of Cuenca. Most of the ceramic fragments – 1,423 ceramic shards – excavated on the site were found in a back yard that was used by the convent as a rubbish dump. Many of the shards were Spanish ceramics of the Talavera type, with others from Teruel, Delft, Genova and Tonalá (Mexico) that date from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Only one Chinese porcelain shard was found at the site: a fragment of a *Kraak* dish (fig. 148) with a decoration of peach sprays and flowers in the large panels and beaded pendants in the narrow sections.[740] The quality of the piece is very good and the decoration executed in a refined way. For a related dish, see fig. 149.

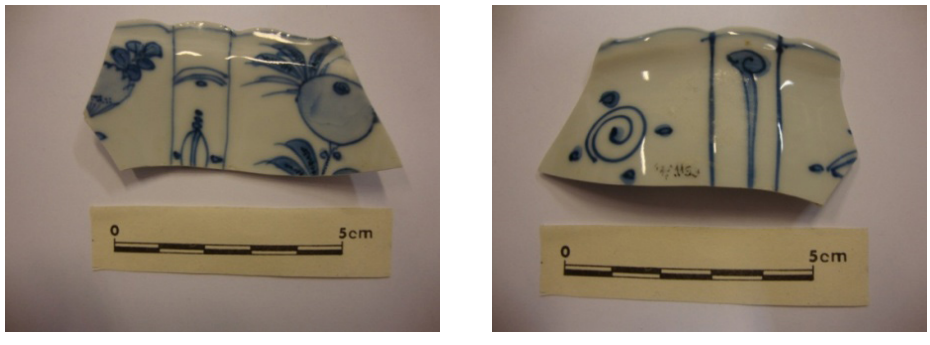



Fig. 148. Shard with flower and peach sprays in the large panels and beaded pendants in the narrow sections. The underside follows the same panel divisions with sketchy drawn symbols, *Kraak* porcelain, early17th century, Wanli reign, Museum of Cuenca. Inv. no. AA/02/17/1153.



Fig. 149. Blue-and-white dish decorated with peach sprays and flowers and beaded pendants in the narrow panels. From the *San Diego* shipwreck, 1600. D. 20 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7345.

[739] I am grateful to Manuel Casamar for his advice on this piece.

[740] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 88, pl. 68.

### 4.1.7.2. *Toledo*

#### *Convent of Las Capuchinas*





Fig. 150. Japanese blue-and-white plate, c. 1660-80. Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo. Inv. no. 28765.



Fig. 151. Shard of a plate, 1710-20, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 28.705, Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo



Fig. 152. Shard of a plate., ca. 1750, Qianlong reign. Inv. no. 28.708. Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo.

These three fragments come from the Convent of Las Capuchinas in Toledo. María Lorenza Lonc or Longo, widow of a high-ranking civil servant in the times of the Catholic Kings founded the institution in the late fifteenth century. In 1538 Pope Paulo III included this community in the Order of Saint Clare. The Convent of the Capuchinas was established in 1632 in Toledo and around 1664 a group of nuns, with the help of the Cardinal of Toledo, decided to found a convent in Mexico City. These pieces were probably sent from Mexico to Toledo, although the exact date of their arrival in Toledo is not known.[741] The pieces are currently preserved at the Museum of Santa Cruz, which was an old hospital founded by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza at the beginning of the sixteenth

[741] For the history of this convent in Mexico see the Ph.D. dissertation by Emilia Alba González, *Presencia de América en Toledo*: *Aportación cultural y social* (*el establecimiento de las capuchinas toledanas en Nueva España*), Madrid, 1998. http://eprints.ucm.es/2484/1/H0036401.pdf

century to take care of orphans and the infirm. Matilde Revuelta, the director of the museum, bought the pieces from the nuns in the 1970s.[742] Figure 150 shows part of a Japanese Arita blue-and-white plate, copying Chinese *Kraak* porcelain,[743] decorated with 'sunflowers' (actually peaches) and symbols in panels. The central motif is a grasshopper on a rock surrounded by flowering plants in a riverscape. This motif was very popular on these wares, which are dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. This piece is unmarked, but three spur marks are clearly visible. The reverse is decorated with sketchily drawn circles and lines. The red and gold plate is dated 1710-20 (fig. 151) and the *famille rose* dish (fig. 152) around 1750. Both are decorated with the same type of decoration that consists of a garden with a fence and peonies behind a pierced rock. The dish in figure 151 has an overglaze decoration in varying shades of red enamel, of the 'rouge de fer' type showing aquatic plants round the rim; the piece in figure 152 exhibits the popular *famille rose* decoration. The *cavetto* of this last piece is decorated with a gilded spearhead motif, the foliated border with flower sprays and insects.

### 4.1.8 *Castilla-León*

#### 4.1.8.1 *León*

Most of the shards recovered are preserved in the Museo de León situated in the Plaza of San Marcos.[744] Chinese porcelain shards were recovered from several excavation sites:

*a. Archaeological site at nos. 13 and 15 Calle Caño Badillo*

The archaeological excavation in Caño Badillo Street took place before a new building was about to be constructed. There was no reference to a historic building on this site. A small shard dating to the late sixteenth century is decorated on the *cavetto* with part of a pine tree (fig. 153). A second shard dating to the middle of the eighteenth century is painted with a diaper band on the *cavetto* and shows part of a landscape (fig. 154).

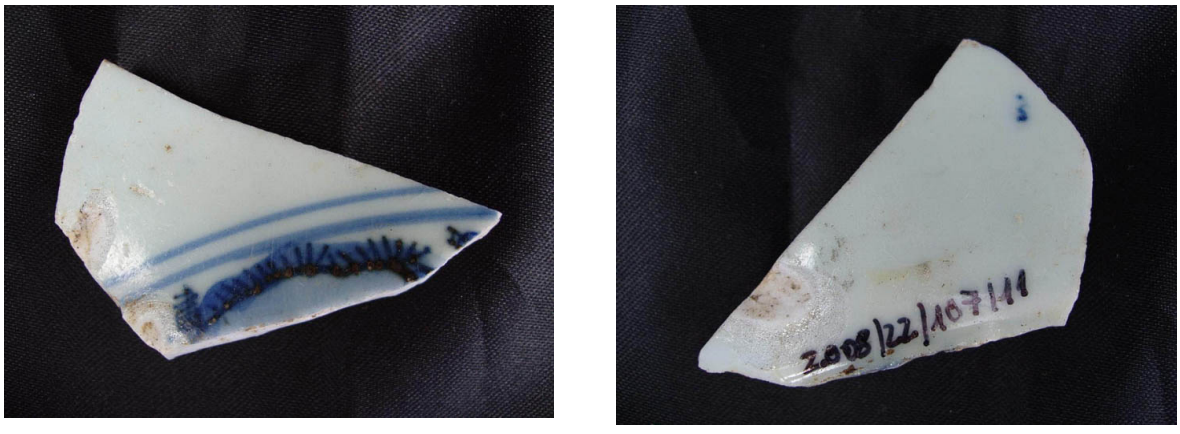



Fig. 153. Blue and white *Kraak* shard, late 16th century, Wanli reign. Museo de Léon, León. Inv. no. 2008/22/107/11.

[742] I am very grateful to Antonio Pareja, Rafaél García Serrano for this information and to Alfonso Caballero Klimt, director of the Museum of Santa Cruz.

[743] Maura Rinaldi, 1989, p. 228. A similar plate is illustrated on pl. 287.

[744] I am very grateful to Manolo García Garrido, curator of the Museo de León, for his help during the preparation of this chapter.





Fig. 154. Blue and white shard. Inv. no. 2008/22/107/12. First half of the eighteenth century. Museo de León, León.

### *b. Fragments recovered during excavations at the San Isidro site.*

Archaeologist Antonio García Bellido found several shards at the San Isidro site in the city of Leon while he was working on the remains of the Roman wall of the city. They are part of a dish with a flat foliate rim, the well undecorated but fluted and the centre decorated in a greyish blue cobalt, the decoration being executed in a free, swirling and flowing style (fig. 155). Floral motifs or Chinese characters in narrow panels are reserved on the lattice background on the rim.[745] Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the decoration in the centre of the dish although similar small lobed-rimmed dishes in the Baur Collection in Geneva are decorated with a *qilin* (mythical animal) framed by rocks, clouds and flames in the central medallion.[746]





Fig. 155. Shards of a small dish, early sixteenth century. Museo de León, León. Inv. no. 1989/02. Fig. 156. Two dishes, early sixteenth century. Baur Foundation, Geneva. Inv. no. FB CM 2004 QH56 FB CM 2004 QH57; From Crick, 2010, p. 274-75.

[745] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 586, ill. 799.

[746] Crick, 2010, p. 274.

### *c. Site of the Palace of Conde de Luna*

This excavation was carried out by Fernando Miguel Hernández and Victorino García Marcos in 2007. This palace was constructed in the fourteenth century by Don Pedro Suárez de Quiñones and his wife, Doña Juana González de Bazán, and was extended during the Renaissance by Doña Catalina Pimentel. Unfortunately the blue-and-white shard is so small that is not possible to date it with any accuracy (fig. 157).

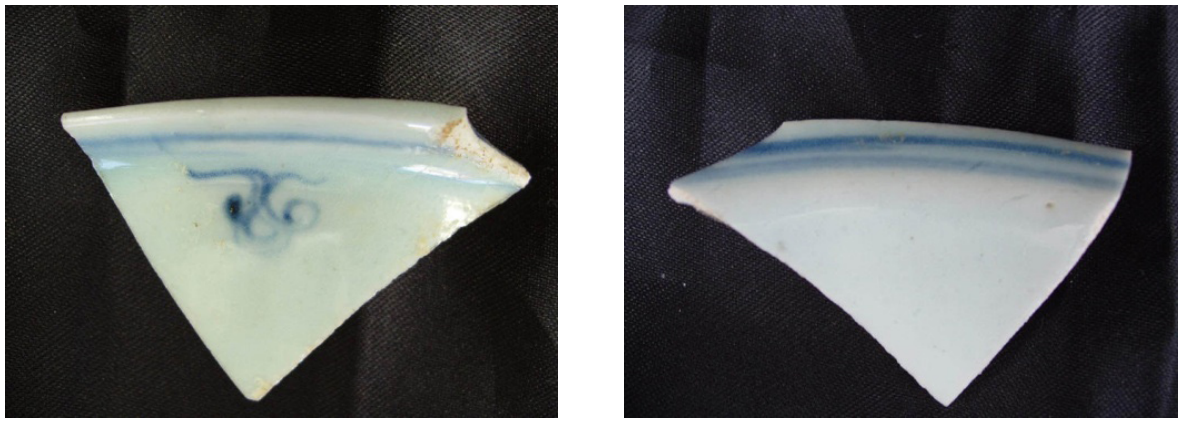


Fig. 157. Blue and white shard. Inv. no. 2007/34/318B/45. Museo de León. León.

### *d. Site of the Monastery of Carracedo*

The Monastery of Saint Mary of Carracedo was an abbey and palace complex near the town of Carracedelo, in the province of León. Founded in the tenth century by the Benedictine order, it is located close to the pilgrimage route Camino de Santiago in Northern Spain. In 1138, the Infanta Sancha, sister of Alfonso VII of León and Castile, helped rebuild a monastery on the site. The monastery gained prominence and control of land, and also housed a Royal palace. In 1203, the monastic order switched to the Cistercian order, also calling itself the *Monasterio de Santa María de Carracedo*. The monastery continued to be active during the modern era until the sacking that took place during the Napoleonic Wars. The abbey was closed in 1835. Fragments were found of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*) on a high footring for drinking chocolate, with an underglaze blue decoration of lotus plants, datable to the late seventeenth century (fig. 158). Another porcelain shard from this excavation is so small that it is impossible to date and identify it (fig. 159).

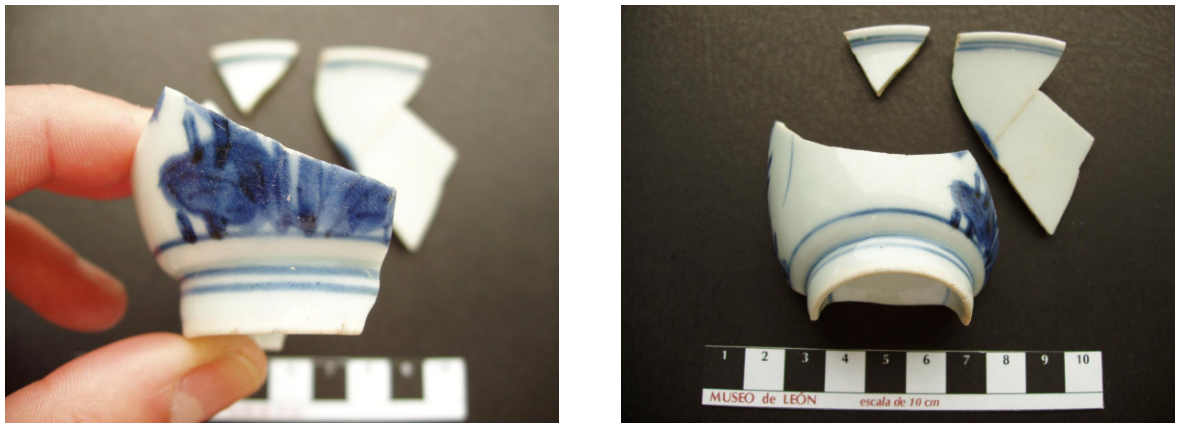



Fig. 158. Possibly seventeenth century. Museo de Leon, Léon. No inventory number.




Fig. 159. Unidentified shard, Chinese porcelain. Museo de Leon, Léon. No inventory number.

### 4.1.9 *La Rioja*

#### 4.1.9.1. *Nájera*

*Fortress of Nájera*[747]

The fortress of Nájera is located on a hillside between the historic town of Nájera and the castle of La Mota. The castle, overlooking the town of Nájera, served as a Moorish fortress from the eighth to the tenth centuries. As the northernmost bastion of what is today the region of La Rioja, it was of key strategic importance to the Moorish defences. Archaeological excavations on the sides of the hill confirm that the Muslims living in this enclave were not confined to the castle walls on the top of the hill. Having successfully driven out the Moors from Nájera in 923, the kings of Navarre proceeded to reconstruct and extend the castle, erecting a palace on the site that would be used as a royal residence. In 1495 King Henry IV donated the castle of La Mota to Pedro Manrique, Count of Treviño. The donation was subsequently confirmed by King Ferdinand the Catholic in 1476.

In 1520 a group of *najerinos* rose up against the Duke of Nájera, sacked the city and seized the noble's three castles, including the castle of Malpica, forcing the governor to take refuge in the castle of La Mota. They then sacked the fortress and mounted a brutal attack on Nájera. However, the conflict was short-lived, and Antonio Manrique de Lara swiftly retook the town, reconstructing and embellishing the fortress in the style of other important contemporary Spanish palaces. At the end of the sixteenth century the dukes of Nájera abandoned the fortress. The building started to deteriorate and by 1659 was on the verge of collapse.

Archaeological excavations started in 2002 but were initially limited to a very small area corresponding to the paved sixteenth-century public access way. Remains of the palace, including red and polychrome tiles of different techniques, were found near the fortress gate. A great quantity of miscellaneous materials was unearthed from a twelve-metre incline, including masonry, mortar, plaster, metal, tiles and sixteenth-century crockery. The three porcelain shards (figs. 160,161,162) correspond to

[747] Javier Ceniceros Herreros, 'Cerámica con vidriado estannífero del Alcázar de Nájera (La Rioja)', in *XV Reunión Anual de la Asociación de Ceramología*, Navarrete (La Rioja), 2010, pp. 168-184.
I am grateful to Javier Ceniceros Herreros from the Museo Najerillense for providing me with his article and with the photographs of the shards.

*Kraak* dishes decorated with a pair of ducks or geese swimming in a lotus pond. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the type of border used in the decoration of the first shard. They all date to the last quarter of the 16th century The second (see for a reference fig. 163) is part of the footrim of another *Kraak* piece, and the third is part of a foliated rim.

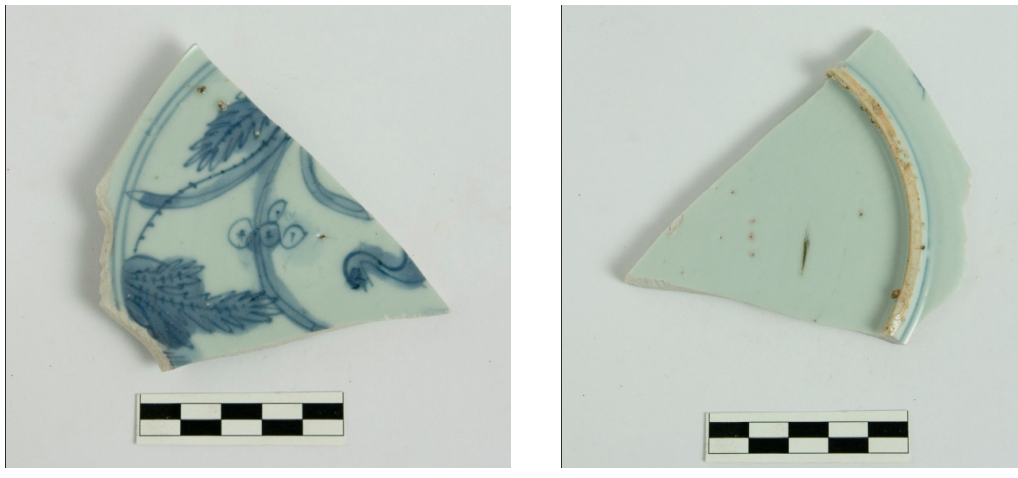


Fig. 160. Blue and white shard of a dish. Late 16th century, Wanli reign. Inv. no. 12-05-4611. Museum of Nájera.

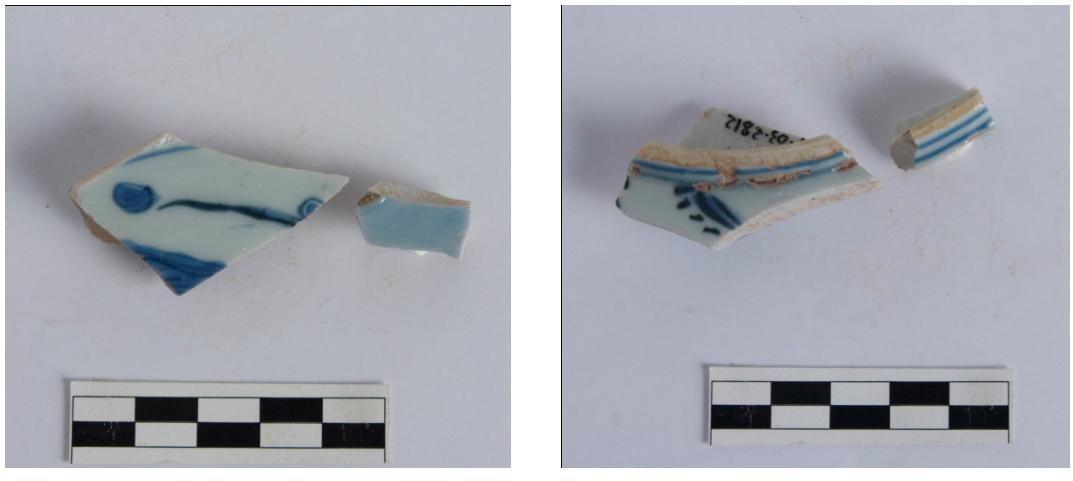


Fig. 161. Blue and white shards. Late 16th century, Wanli reign Inv. no. MHAN 07-03-2812. Museum of Nájera.

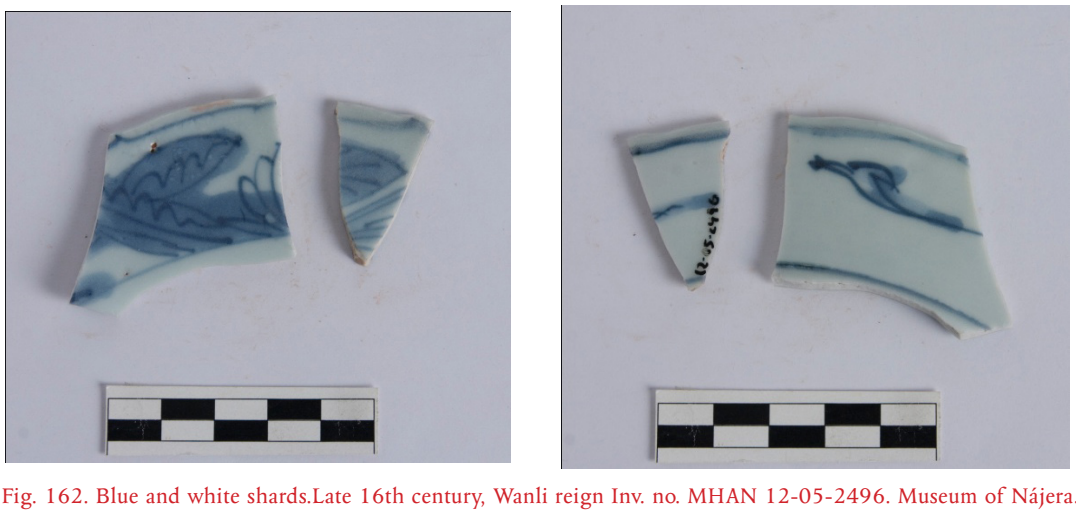


Fig. 162. Blue and white shards.Late 16th century, Wanli reign Inv. no. MHAN 12-05-2496. Museum of Nájera.



Fig. 163. *Kraak dish*, 4th quarter of the sixteenth century. D. 20 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7353.

### 4.1.10. *Aragón*

#### 4.1.10.1. *Zaragoza*

A celadon shard (figs 164 ,165, 166) was found in the Aljafería Palace, a building of the Hudi dynasty in the city of Zaragoza.[748]The second sultan of this dynasty, Ahmad ibn Suleyman, ordered the palace built in 1065 after the victory over the Christians. When the Cordoba Caliphate fell into decline, in the middle of the eleventh century, the Abbasid and Fatimid ascendancy over Al-Andalus brought about the adoption of new elements in art and the importation of silks and ceramics via Egypt from China. The shard could perhaps date from after the occupation of the city by Al-Mustain I from 1038-39 to the conquest by the Almoravids in 1110, as it was produced during the Northern Song (960–1279) or even Jin (1115–1234) dynasties.[749]



Fig. 164. Shard of a *yaozhou*-type celadon bowl, eleventh century. The interior of the piece with a carved decoration of lotus flower and leaf scrolls. Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Zaragoza. Inv. no. ALJ 93, CON. Photograph: José Garrido Lapeña.



Fig. 165. Exterior of the piece in fig. 141. Both images from B. Cabañero and C. Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoza', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, p. 255.

[748] Bernabé Cabañero and Carmelo Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoza', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, pp. 253-68.

[749] Cabañero and Lasa, 2003, p. 261.

The shard is from a *yaozhou*-type of celadon bowl of about 21 centimetres in diameter. The delicately carved decoration shows lotus flowers among scrolls. It was probably made at the Chengguan kilns. A similar bowl in the Freer and Sackler Galleries is decorated with a lotus scroll (fig. 166).



Fig. 166. *Yaozhou*-type bowl with moulded decoration. Northern Song or Jin dynasty, twelfth century. Stoneware with celadon glaze H. 6.5, W. 21.1 cm. Freer and Sackler galleries, Washington D. C. Inv. no. F1919.91.

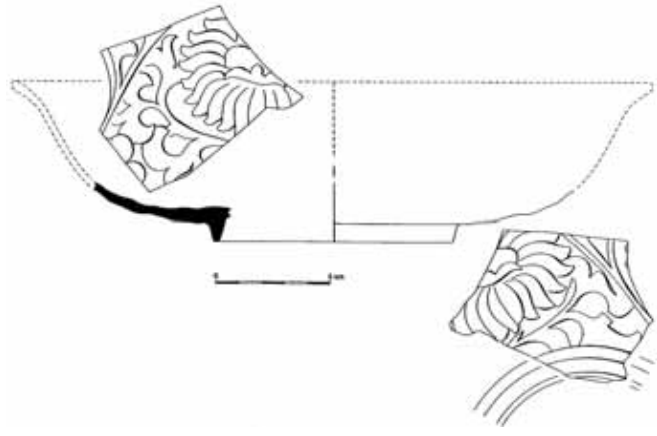


Fig. 166.1. Drawing by Juan Ángel Peralta and Alfredo Blanco Morte from B. Cabañero and C. Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoz', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, p. 255.

### 4.1.11. *Galicia*

The Spanish Autonomous Region of Galicia is situated along the Atlantic coast of Northwest Spain. The proximity to Portugal meant that this region indirectly participated in the overseas expansion of their Portuguese neighbours and in the trade of goods from East Asia. Therefore an important number of Chinese porcelain shards have been found in the port cities of Bayona, Vigo and Pontevedra. In addition, a number of shards have also been discovered inland in cities such as Santiago de Compostela and Orense. Atlantic coastal trade between Galicia and Portugal was very important, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when merchants from Galicia were established in Lisbon and other areas like Porto, Viana do Castelo and Aveiro. Galicia imported sugar from Portuguese colonies that it sold to the northern Asturias province and the Basque region.[750]

[750] Etsuko Miyata Rodríquez, 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated form Northwest Spain (1)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, June 2008, pp. 8–10; and 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (2)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, July 2008, pp. 6–8. Also by the same author, an unpublished essay 'Chinese Ceramics from Spain: Their Significance in the 16th-Century Atlantic Coastal Trade', which she kindly handed to me in Seville in 2010. I am very grateful to her for drawing my attention to the shards found in Galicia.

### 4.1.11.1. *Pontevedra*

#### *a. Bayona*

This port had strong trade relations with Portugal during the reign of Philip II, as a large number traders from different nationalities had established links with Portugal and its products from the Far East.[751]

#### *Site of Palma de Bayona*



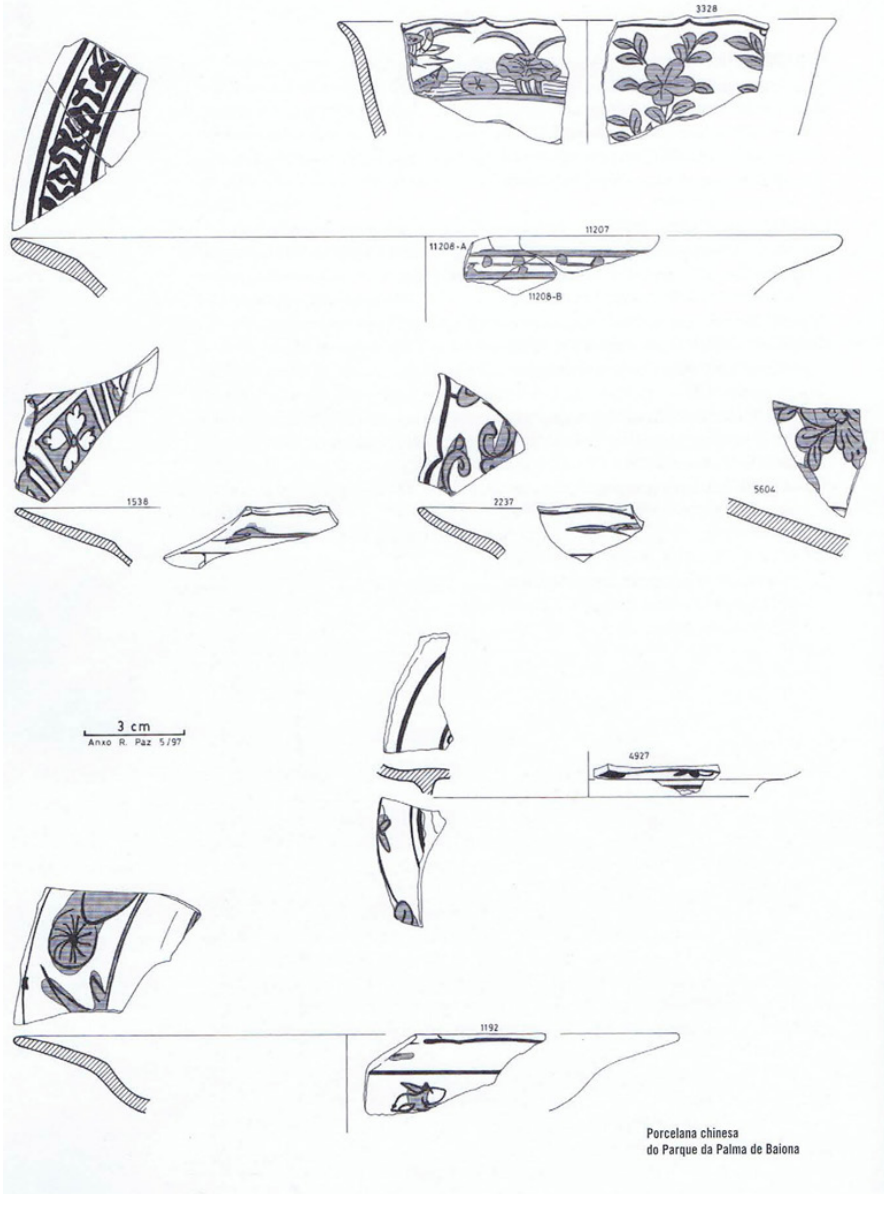
Fig. 167. Shards excavated at the Palma de Bayona site. Early to late 16th century. See fig. 168.

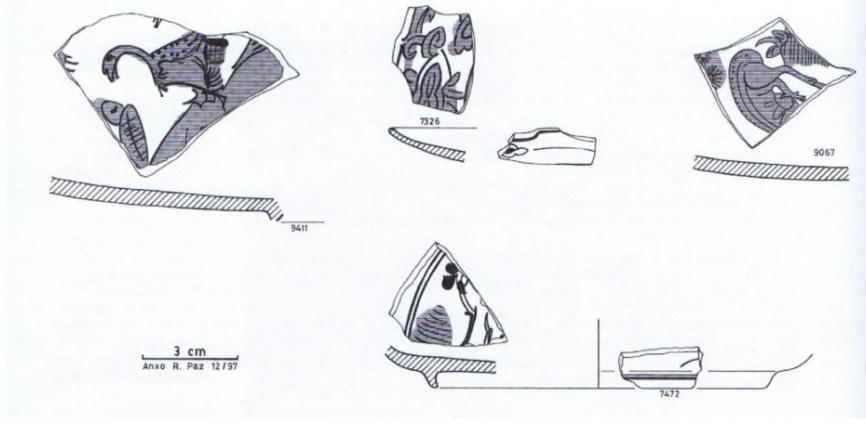
Thirteen pieces were found at the Palma de Bayona site in the city of Bayona during excavations in 1992 in the fort that surrounded the old city of Bayona.[752] Some of the shards are early, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as the shard of a rim decorated with a diaper pattern that was usually accompanied by cartouches containing Chinese characters, similar to the fragments found at the San Isidro site in León (see fig. 155). All the other shards from this site are typical *Kraak* porcelain decorated with motifs popular in the late sixteenth century early seventeenth centuries such as ducks on lotus ponds, spotted deer or pines trees. These shards are from bowls and dishes.

[751] Museo do Mar de Galicia (ed.), *Até o Confín do Mundo: Diálogos entre Santiago e o Mar*, Vigo, 2004, pp. 237.

[752] Vicente Caramés Moreira and Fátima Cobo Rodríguez, 'Porcelana chinesa de dinastía Ming procedente do Parque da Palma de Baiona,' in *Castrelos*, no. 13, 2008, pp. 96–106.

Drawings of the shards of fig. 167. and some shards from the same site, not in fig. 167. (see also fig. 169).



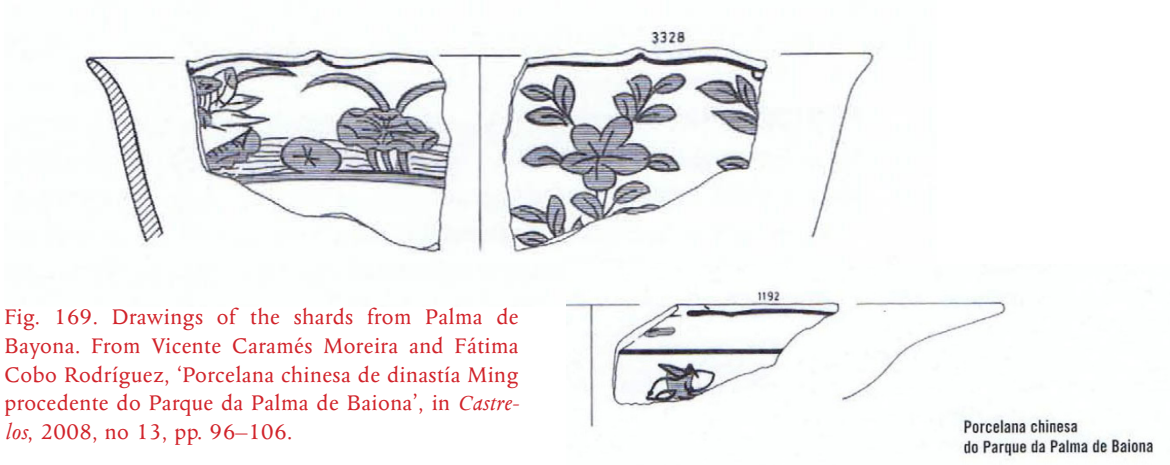



Fig. 169. Drawings of the shards from Palma de Bayona. From Vicente Caramés Moreira and Fátima Cobo Rodríguez, 'Porcelana chinesa de dinastía Ming procedente do Parque da Palma de Baiona', in *Castrelos*, 2008, no 13, pp. 96–106.

## *b. Vigo*

### *Site of Calle Hospital*

Three Chinese porcelain shards were excavated at this former military hospital and convent. The military hospital was constructed in the nineteenth century over a Franciscan convent dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. The convent was destroyed by a fire that broke out when Sir Francis Drake attacked the city of Vigo in 1589. The pieces were found near the wall structure together with German salt-glazed stoneware dating before the site was demolished in 1589. The first shard is a typical *Kraak* dish with a pointed bracketed medallion below a floral scroll with flowers and leaves (fig. 170). This type of decoration can be dated to the early Wanli period.




Fig. 170. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. 95. Shard of a plate with floral decoration inside a foliated border surrounded by a scroll. Museo de Vigo.

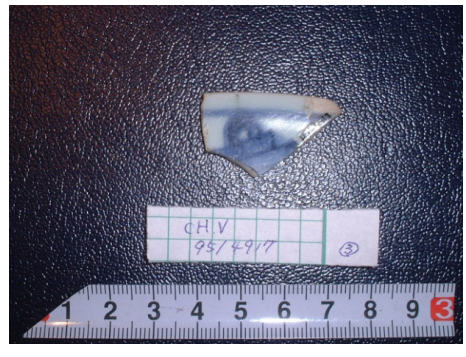



Fig. 171. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. CHV 951/4917. Blue-and-white shard decorated with part of a pair of books, an auspicious symbol. Museo de Vigo.




Fig. 172. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. H 95/ 7486. Shard decorated with a *lingzhi* (Fungus of Immortality) motif. Museo de Vigo.

The other two shards (figs. 171 and 172) are also *Kraak* porcelain, both fragments of a rim decorated with auspicious symbols, a *lingzhi* motif and a pair of books, one of the so-called 'Eight Treasures'.

### 4.1.11.2. *Orense*

#### *a. Site of the Castle of Maceda*

The Castle of Maceda (Orense) was a medieval fortress that was renovated during the sixteenth century as a residential palace. A few shards were discovered in the courtyard during archaeological excavations in 2003.[753] Due to their small size it is difficult to know the exact type of shape and decorations (fig. 173). What is clear is that all are of *Kraak* wares ornamented with panels, dots, and petals that date to the late sixteenth / early seventeenth centuries.

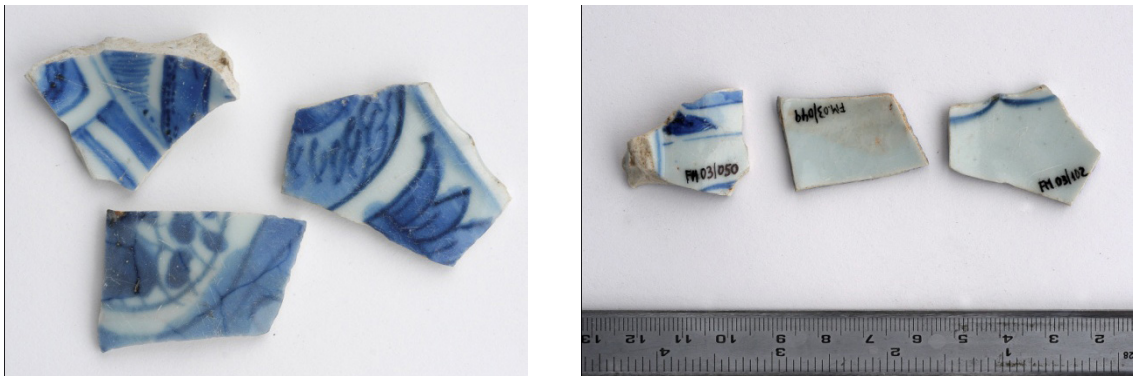


Fig. 173. Shards from the Castle of Maceda decorated with panels, dots and leaves. *Kraak* porcelain, late 16th century-early 17th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. fm 03/050, fm 03/049, fm 03/102.

#### *b. Episcopal Palace*

The building in which the Archaeological Museum of Ourense is housed was the former Episcopal Palace, the building of which commenced in the first third of the twelfth century on the orders of Bishop Don Diego II (1100–32). This Gothic building, which had five or seven towers, was later augmented with Renaissance and Baroque elements that enlarged and enriched the building to the present state. Several shards of Chinese porcelain were unearthed during renovation works in the palace. The first shard is part of a foliated rim of a *Kraak*-type dish dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth centuries. One side of the shard is decorated with a *ruyi* band, the other with a running horse (fig. 174).

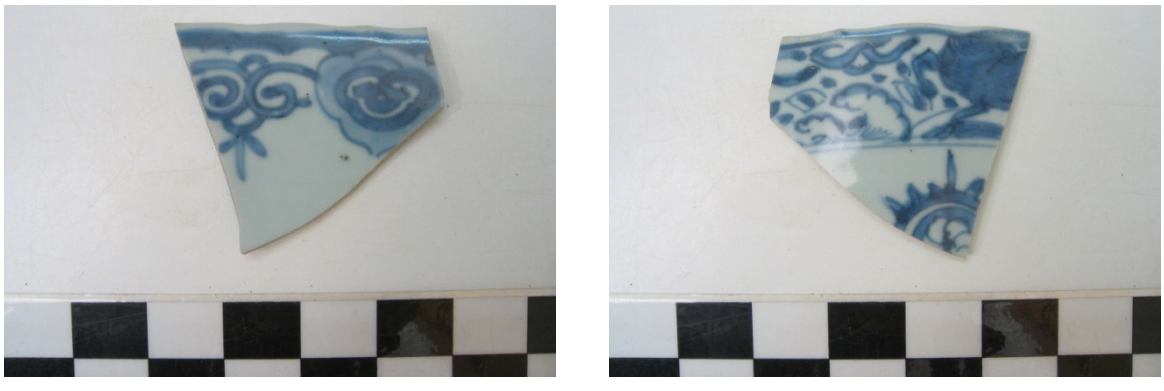


Fig. 174. Shard decorated on the inside with a *ruyi* (cloud motif) band, with a flying horse on the exterior., *Kraak* porcelain, c.1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. DX-1005/32.

[753] Undertaken by María Jesús Iglesias Darriba in July 2003.



Fig. 175. Shard of a small coffee cup., 1730-40, Yongzheng-Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. DX-1005/33.

The other shard is part of a small coffee cup with a handle that would have had a matching saucer, produced circa 1730–40. It is decorated with an *Imari*-type decoration with underglaze cobalt blue and red and gold enamels. The rim has a diaper band; the rest of the decoration shows a landscape and flowering plants.

### 4.1.11.3. *La Coruña*

#### *Santiago de Compostela*

An important number of shards were found in the province of La Coruña, in particular in the city of Santiago de Compostela. The shards are preserved in the Museo de las Peregrinaciones.[754] This city was an important pilgrimage centre and home to many religious orders with monasteries, churches and convents from medieval times. In the second half of the sixteenth century relations between Santiago de Compostela and Portugal was very close due to intense trade (especially in sugar) and therefore it is most likely that the these pieces arrived in Santiago via Portugal. A large number of *Kraak*-type shards were found in the Dean's Residence (Casa del Deán).

#### *Dean's Residence (Casa del Deán)*

Forty-two fragments were excavated at the Casa del Dean site on Rúa do Villar (Villar Street) at the rear of the Cathedral of Santiago. Three houses stood on the site that were bought by the town council and demolished in the eighteenth century to make space for a new building. The land and a private house had previously belonged to the sister of Canon Benito Méndez de Andrade, Mencía de Andrade. In 1571 it was administered by the town council and then given to the Foundation of the Chapel of San Pedro de la Catedral. Cardinal Antonio Espínola then lived in the house until 1647, followed by Canon Ignacio Sanz del Castillo, but Archdeacon Miguel de Vena is mentioned as its inhabitant in 1658, 1691 and 1696.[755] As we can see from figures 176 to 203, almost all of the shards are from *Kraak* porcelain dating from the late sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Only one piece is marked (fig. 178) – part of a bowl with an inscription on the base inside a circle meaning 永保長春 or *yong bao chang chun* ('everlasting Spring and eternal protection'). As we

[754] I am grateful to curator María Isabel Pesquera for her help in the Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

[755] The third house was privileged (with rights granted by charter) by the town hall to Canon Juan García between 1477 and 1479. Afterwards scribe Juan Pérez de Alen and María Pérez lived there between 1553 and 1556. In 1555 the new owner was Juan Rodríguez. In 1560 the property was again privileged by canons to the scribe Pedro de Zaldíbar and Catalina de Seoane. In 1578 the town hall gave it to Juan Pérez Dalén and a Maria Pérez, who lived there until his death. This information is from the unpublished dissertation by Maria Luisa Castro Lorenzo, *La vajilla de lujo en Santiago de Compostela en los siglos XVI y XVII: aportaciones de la arqueología*, Santiago de Compostela, 2006, p. 68.

can see from the photographs most of them are very small and difficult to date precisely, but from the motifs, most of them can be dated from the last quarter of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Different *Kraak* motifs can be recognised in the shards such as part of a lion with stylised *ruyi* clouds (fig. 177), overlapping petals (fig. 186), a stylised rock on a foliated border (fig. 188), narrow borders with dots typical of the divisions on *Kraak* plates (fig. 189), part of a *sika* deer decoration (fig. 191), equal panels decorated with floral sprays (fig. 192), a molded plate with a narrow panel with dots and diaper and part of an panel in reserve (fig. 184), part of an oval panel of the so-called *meizande* style (fig. 184), peaches and part of a tree trunk (fig. 182), a seascape with pagoda (figs. 179, 190 and 203), a gourd motif and horses' legs (fig. 193), pine branches with spirals in the background (fig. 195).

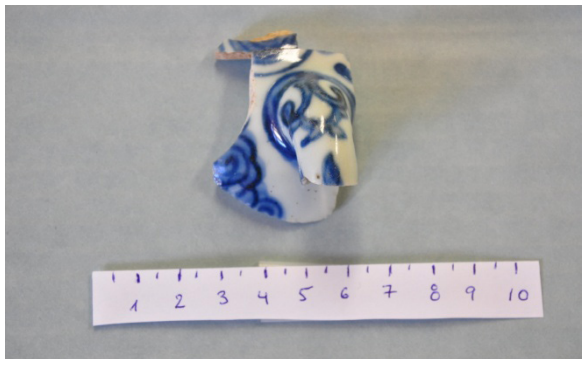


Fig. 176. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1. D-800; CD.04.3595,7980; 06/c29/b1/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.



Fig. 177. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.3765,7986,7992; 06/c29/B1/2. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

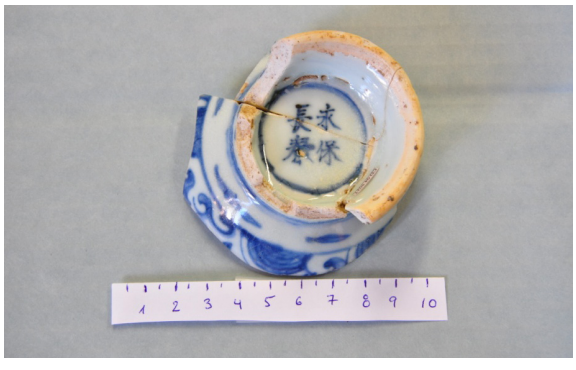


Fig. 178.Blue and white porcelain shard with mark. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04. 197,3595,5027,7980,7982; 06/c29/b1/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

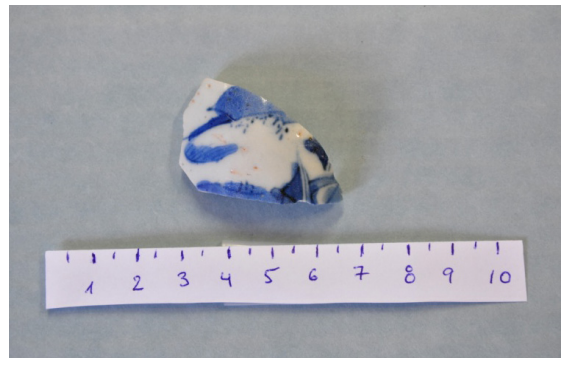


Fig. 179. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800/823; CD. 04.7979; 06 c29/b1/3. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

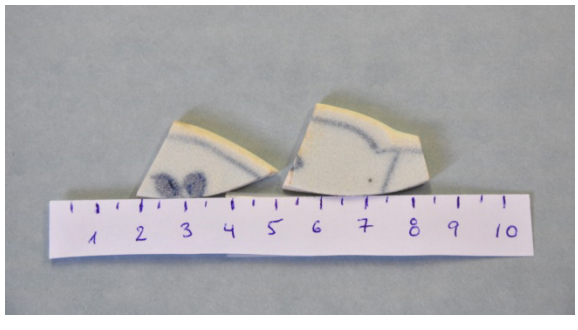


Fig. 180. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.190-191; 06/c29/b1/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

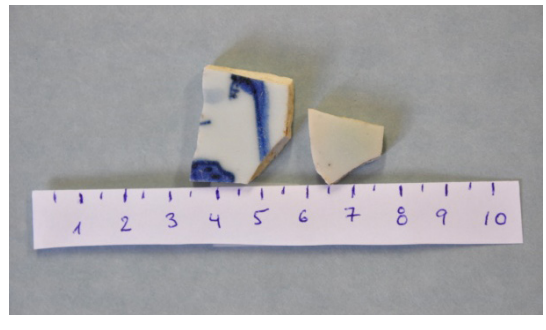


Fig. 181. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.194.195; 06/c29/b1/9. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

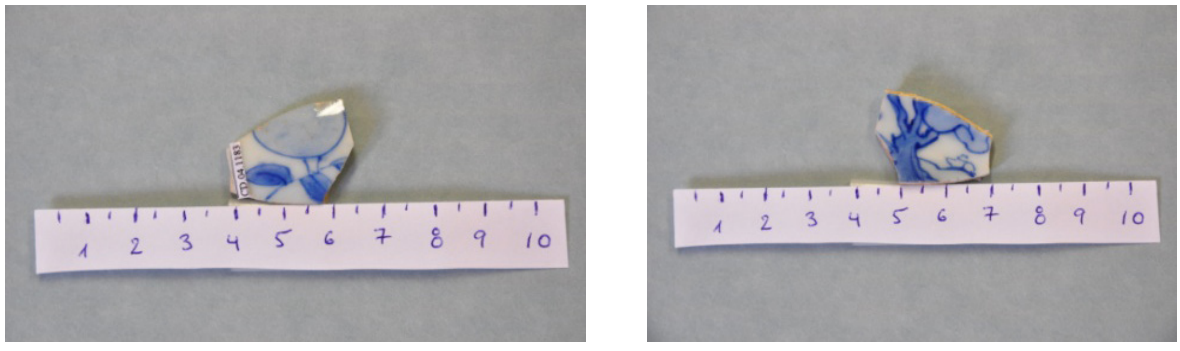


Fig. 182. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. O4.1183; 06/c29/b1/12. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

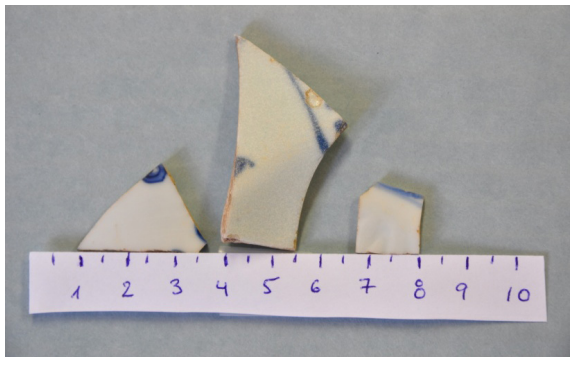


Fig. 183. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.1615-1616-1618; 06/c29/b1/15. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

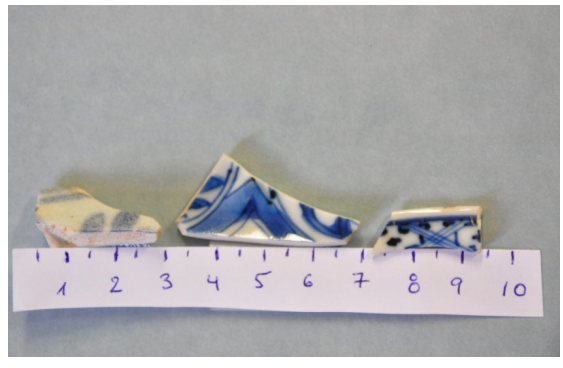


Fig. 184. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.187-189; 06/c29/b1/5. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

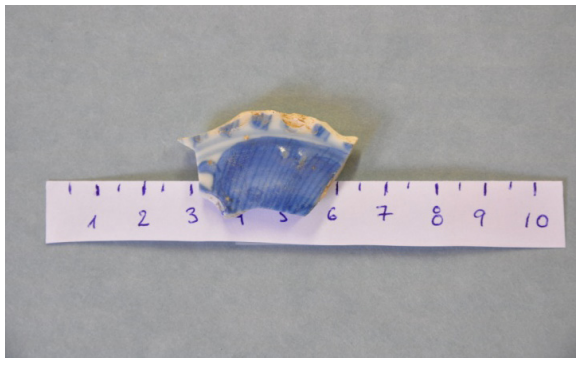


Fig. 185. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.193; 06/c29/b1/8. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

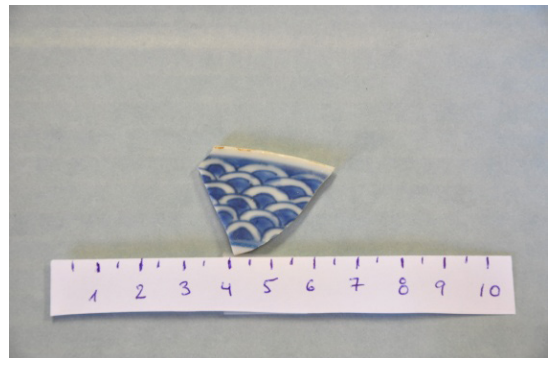


Fig. 186. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.O4.589; 06/c29/b1/11. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

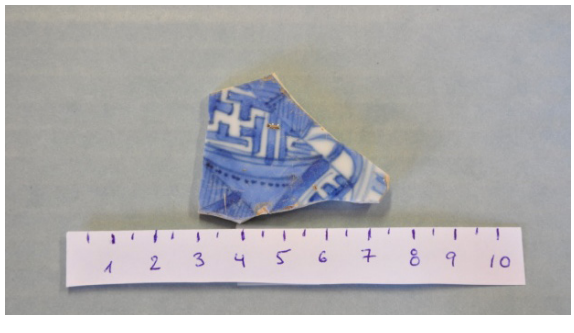


Fig. 187. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.192; 06/c29/b1/7. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

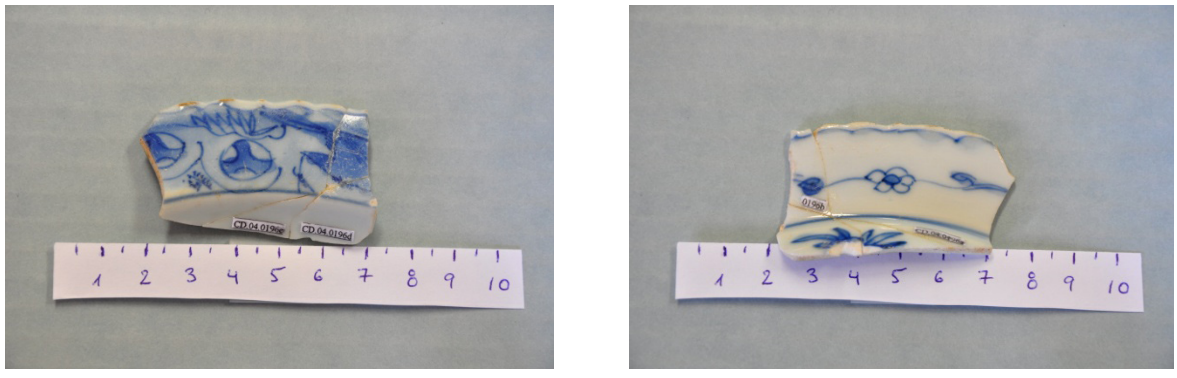


Fig. 188 (and underside). Shard of the rim of a dish. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04. 196.a-d; 06/C29/b1/10. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

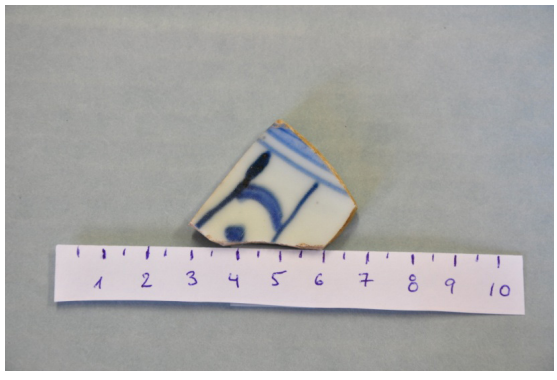


Fig. 189. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.1334; 06/c29/b1/13. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

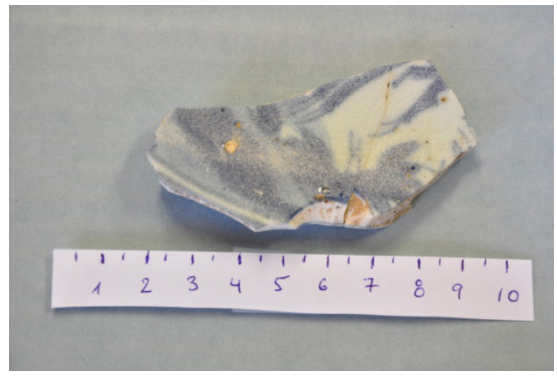


Fig. 190. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7975, 7981; 06/c29/b3/3. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

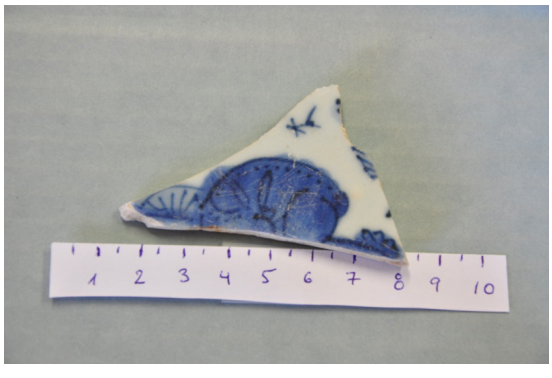


Fig. 191. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7984; 06/c29/b3/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

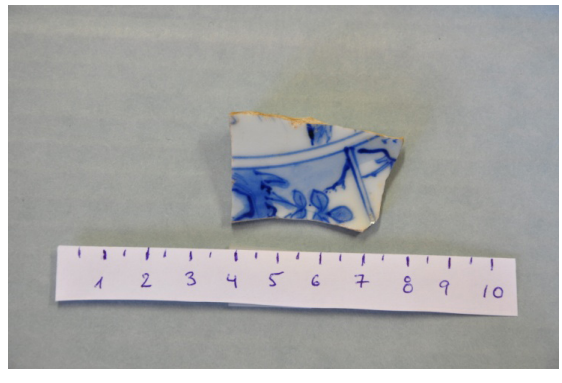


Fig. 192. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7988;06/c29/b3/9. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

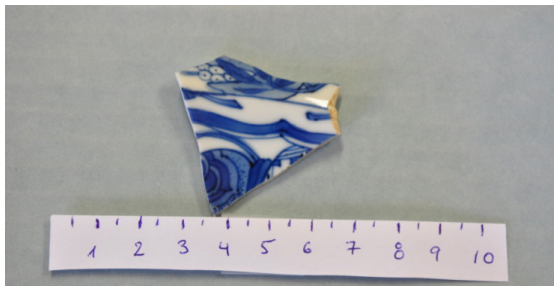


Fig. 193. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7983;06/c29/b315. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

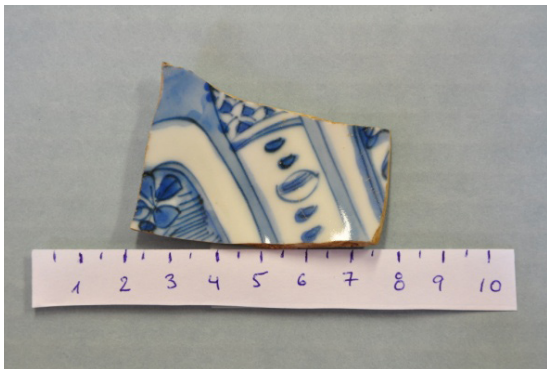
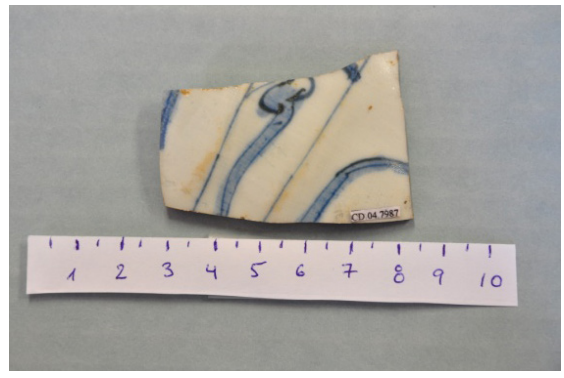



Fig. 194. (and underside). Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7987; 06/c29/b3/8. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

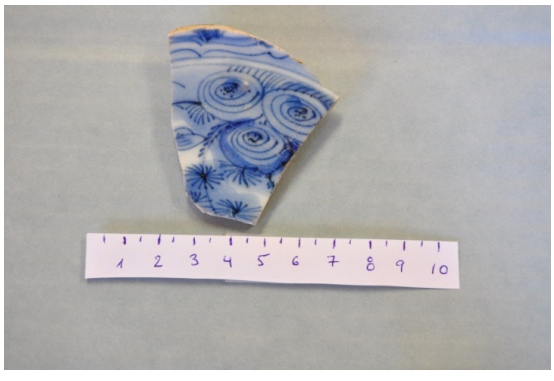


Fig. 195. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7977; 06/c29/b3/4. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

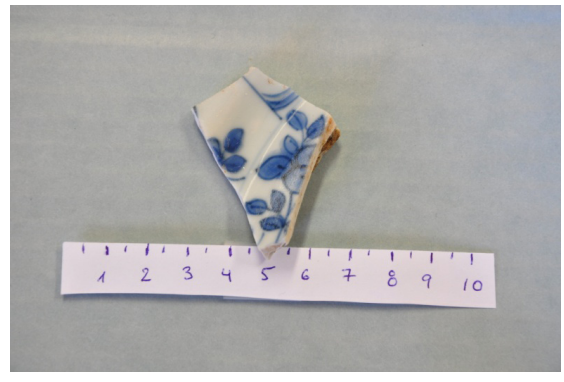


Fig. 196. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7985; 06/c29/b3/7. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

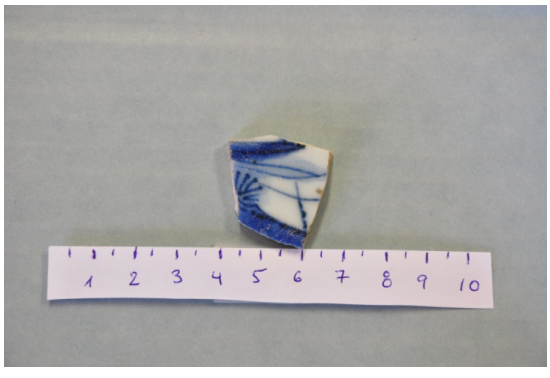


Fig. 197. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.3599;06/c29/b2/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

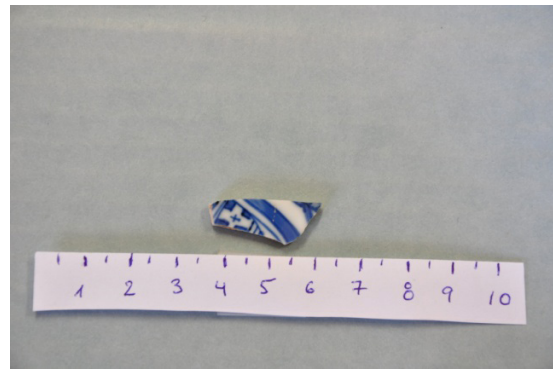


Fig. 198. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6019;06/c29/b2/12. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

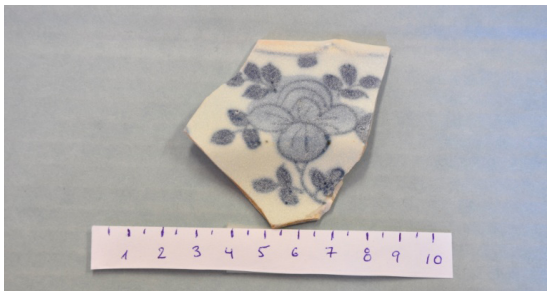


Fig. 199. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6279;06/c29/b2/15. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

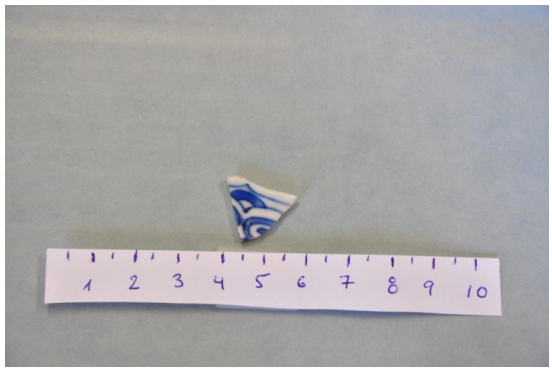


Fig. 200. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.5451-5452;06/c29/b2/11. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

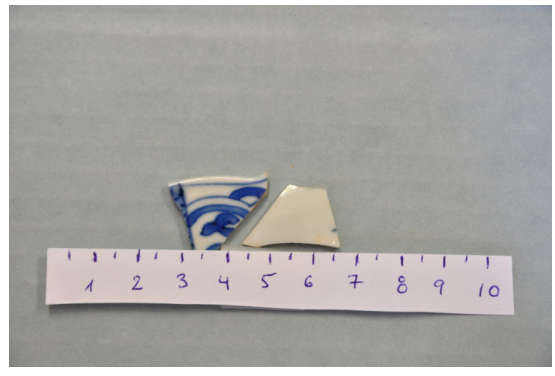


Fig. 201. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6039;06/c29/b2/14. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

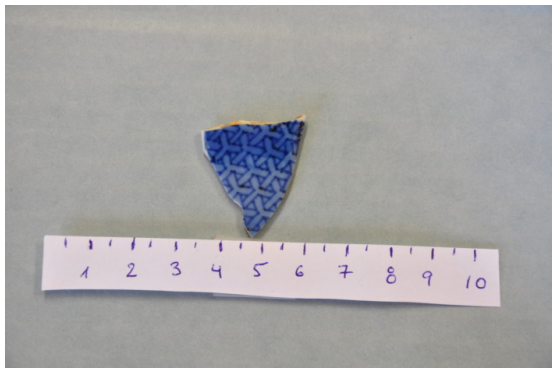


Fig. 202. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.1617; 06/c29/b2/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

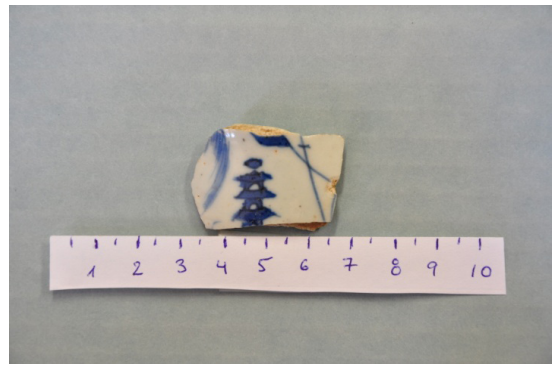


Fig. 203. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.5450; 06/c29/b2/10. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

### 4.2. *Shipwreck Finds*

Porcelain from shipwreck finds, either salvaged by commercial companies or by marine archaeologists is another source of information, in particular if these precious 'time machines' have been left intact and their historical data could be preserved. Their cargoes can tell us much about the trade of different types of export porcelain at the time, about the intended distribution on different markets, the way porcelain was packed and transported; sometimes even information on the owners can be gathered.[756] Compared to Portuguese shipwrecks, however, there is a remarkable absence of Spanish shipwrecks - a gap that undoubtedly will be filled in the future.[757]

Furthermore, not all of these Spanish cargoes have been salvaged according to the rules of maritime archaeology and studied properly. Most are documented only by preliminary published or unpublished reports, or not at all. Among the better known shipwrecks that yielded porcelain, the following should be mentioned:

- *San Felipe*: This galleon sank in 1576 off the coast of Baja California. American and Mexican archaeologists recovered several *Kraak* plates and bowls and a few *Kinrande* pieces.
- *San Agustín*: This 200-ton galleon that left Manila in July 1595 but sank in Drake's Bay the same year. Mostly *Kraak* porcelain shards were recovered.
- *Santa Margarita*. This ship sank in 1601 near the Island of Rota in the Northern Mariana Islands. Recoveries from this wreck include a number of complete vessels and thousands of shards of *Kraak* porcelain.
- *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*: A large galleon that sank in 1638 off the southern coast of Saipan in the Mariana Islands.[758] This wreck site was known since 1674 when a Spanish expedition recovered 36 cannon. A large number of shards was recovered, mostly of *Kraak* and transitional wares.[759]

Apart from the Conception, that had a mixed cargo of Jingdezhen export wares,[760] all these vessels

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[756] Christiaan Jörg described the tension between commercial and academic interests and warned against recklessly destroying the data concealed in such 'time machines', see his *The Geldermalsen. History and Porcelain*, Groningen, 1986, pp. 6-7.

[757] For shipwreck finds see Roberto Junco, 'The Archaeology of Manila Galleons', in The MUA Collection, accessed 5 November 2012, http://www.themua.org/collections/items/show/1535; and the M.A. diss. by the same author *Periplo de la Porcelana China en Nueva España. Arqueometría y Arqueología histórica en la Costa Grande de Guerrero*, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, 2006; Roberto Junco and P. Fournier, 'Del celeste imperio a la Nueva España. Importación, distribución y consumo de la loza de la China en el periodo Ming tardío en el México virreinal', in Chen, et al. (eds.), *La Nueva Nao: De Formosa a América Latina*, Taipei, 2008; George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico*, Los Angeles, 1997; Frank Goddio & Monique Crick, *San Isidro Archaeological Excavation,* Manila, 1996, [unpublished excavation report in the National Museum of the Philippines]; Frank Goddio & Evelyne Jay, *Discovery and Archaeological Excavation of a 16th century Trading Vessel in the Philippines,* Manila, 1988; Jean-Paul Desroches, Fr. Gabriel Casal and Franck Goddio, *Treasures of the San Diego*, New York, 1996. See also Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific. With an Annotated List of the Transpacific Galleons 1565-1815,* Central Milton Keynes, 2011.

[758] W. Mathers and N. Shaw, *Treasure of the Conception. The Archaeological Recovery of a Spanish Galleon*, Hong Kong, 1993.

[759] Maura Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Load of the Conception', in William M. Mathers, Henry S. Parker & Kathleen S. Copus, (eds.), *Archaeological Report. The Recovery of the Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Conception*, Sutton, 1990, pp 397-470.

[760] It is remarkable indeed that the types of transitional porcelain in this cargo - mainly small bowls and some closed shapes - are not found in archaeological excavations in Spain and maybe they were destined for Middle America or other markets.

carried mainly variable amounts of *Kraak* porcelain and/or some pieces of Guangzhou ('Swatow') or local southern Chinese wares. This is conform what could be expected and as far as is known, no extraordinary or unexpected types were found. A detailed discussion of these finds, therefore, being the field of specialists on Chinese export porcelain, will distract from the main goal of this thesis, i.e. to give a survey of porcelain used in Spain. As an example, however, an exception should be made for the cargo of the San Diego, first because it is well-documented, secondly because I have given reference-illustrations from this cargo throughout the text of this thesis and thirdly, because an important part of the pieces recovered from that wreck are currently preserved in the Naval Museum in Madrid[761] and are regarded as part of Spain's cultural heritage.

The *San Diego*: sank off the coast of Fortune Island in Nasugbu, Batangas provinces. It was a trading vessel of about 300 tons that was made in Cebú. Governor of the Philippines at the time, Antonio de Morga, requisitioned the ship from traders Luis de Belver and Anton Thomas. On 14 December 1600, the fully laden *San Diego* engaged with the Dutch warship *Mauritius*, under the command of Admiral Olivier van Noort. The Dutch were interested in establishing direct trade links with the East as they had been denied access to the exotic markets in Lisbon, but on this occasion they clearly intended to seize the Manila galleon *Santo Tomás* that had been loaded with a million and a half of pesos of silver in Acapulco. Although the San Diego had been rapidly outfitted for a military mission, its decks and holds contained porcelain. This shipwreck yielded a total of about 1,200 porcelain pieces and other stoneware containers from southern China and South-East Asia together with Spanish and Filipino ceramics, other items like Japanese sword guards, glass and bronze objects, a gold and ivory crucifix and many other artifacts. The Chinese porcelain was probably bought in the Manila Parian (market) the year or just a few months before it was sunk. They were found underwater in lots, piled up according to shape and decoration and showed no sign of use. Most of the pieces were tableware; only a small number were for medical or hygienic purposes. Most common were small plates (62 in the Naval Museum Collection, Madrid) of about 20





Figs. 204-205. Blue-and-white dish and plate. The dish decorated with objects from a scholar's desk. c. 1600. D: 30.8 cm. The plate with a bird on a rock. D. 20.4 cm. From the *San Diego*. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. nos. 7501 and 7544.

[761] This collection was acquired by the Spanish Cultural Administration in 1999. The author prepares a catalogue of the collection.





Fig. 206-207. Blue-and-white garlic-head bottles, one decorated with naturalistic and auspicious motifs. c. 1600. D. 27 cm. The other with cranes and lotus among an all-over formal scroll. c. 1600. D. 26 cm. From the *San Diego*. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. nos. 7300 and 7301.

centimeters in diameter, decorated with the popular deer-in-a-landscape motif. The plate (fig. 205) is a rare example decorated with a solitary eagle seen in three-quarters, symbolic of the hero who has risen to the heights. Plates by far outnumber bowls (25 bowls in the Naval Museum Collection, Madrid). Other shapes represented in the Naval Museum in Madrid include serving dishes (9 pieces from 28 to of about 45 centimetres in diameter). Figure 204 has a wide, slightly oblique brim with a polylobulated outline, decorated with trapezoidal radial panels, and containing varied motifs such as floral branches and symbols of good wishes, including the double gourd bottle (characteristic of Daoist immortal Li Tieguai), a bamboo tube (a type of wind instrument, characteristic of another of the Eight Immortal Taoists, Zhan Guolo), the ruyi (a symbol of realized wishes and good luck), and, lastly, several books representing knowledge of the past and erudition.The centre of the piece is decorated with motifs related to the world of the literati, including a brush container, a decorative folding screen or divider and a square table with convex legs and double lateral crosspieces, on which antique artifacts have been placed. The balustrades in the background add depth to the scholar's study. As in most dishes found in the San Diego, the central motif is framed by trefoils or ruyi over geometrical reticles. The underside of the brim is radially divided into lobulated panels containing simple floral motifs.The decoration on this dish illustrates the developing cultural environment in China during the second half of the 16th century. The economic growth at the time fostered the development of the art market, encouraging a considerable number of individuals to start collecting different kinds of artifacts, and even creating specific rooms within their domestic spaces for the learned person to evoke his millennial culture. It is worth noting that the same phenomenon developed simultaneously within the sphere of European collecting, giving rise to the creation of the so-called Kunstkammers or "cabinets of wonder". The Topkapi Palace in Istanbul owns a dish very similar to the one exhibited at the Naval Museum of Madrid.[762]

The variety of the San Diego cargo is remarkable and testifies to the appreciation for a wide assortment of good quality that apparently was saleable. Their excellent condition made it possible to use several pieces as comparison for excavated shards in the preceding section, or as references for objects mentioned in the inventories discussed. The collection in Madrid includes garlic-head and pear-shaped bottles (decorated with different motifs such as dragons, symbolic patterns and cranes and lotus among an all-over formal scroll reserved in white, fig. 207), Guan-type jars (2), kendi [763] – a drinking bottle for water without a handle and is held by the neck – and small boxes for condiments. It is unusual that no Kinrande porcelain was found on the San Diego.

[762] Krahl and Ayers, 1986, p. 773, il. 1466.

[763] Of the four *kendis* in the Naval Museum in Madrid one has a long spout and the other three have bulbous spouts.





Fig. 208. *Wucai* bowl decorated with a five-clawed dragon. Only the underglaze blue decoration and remains of green enamel are visible. c. 1600. D. 15.4 cm. From the *San Diego*. Mark: Da Ming Wanli Nian Zhi. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7484.

### 4.3. *Extant Pieces in Spanish Churches and Convents*

Taking into account the information gathered in the Spanish archives, archaeology in Spain, shipwrecks and taking as reference historic and extant pieces preserved in collections in other foreign countries, we can infer the type of porcelain vessels that were used in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty. Most of the pieces were blue-and-white *Kraak* porcelain[764] made in Jingdezhen (province of Jiangxi). *Kraak* or *Kraakporselein* was a term coined by the Dutch for a type of blue-and-white ware produced from around 1565–70 until 1650, the peak of production being from about 1585 to 1640. *Kraak* porcelain is distinguished by the prevalent arrangement of its underglaze blue decoration into panels that usually radiate to a bracketed rim, and have often unglazed patches where the glaze has retreated during firing. We also have to take into account other types of blue-and-white ware originally elaborated for the domestic markets during the Wanli (1573–1620) and Transitional (1620–80) periods that could have been exported. Some of the blue-and-white wares have been enriched with gold leaf in China (see fig. 209).

Polychrome porcelain or *Wucai*, literally 'five colours', was a popular type of decoration consisting of underglaze blue and overglaze enamels (iron-red, yellow, green, aubergine and black, this last colour fixed to the high-fired glaze under translucent enamels). The blue was used for specific elements in the decoration as a guideline for the subsequent enamelling. *Wucai* was produced at Jingdezhen and other kilns in southern China in Fujian province, and although this style was elaborated for the domestic market from the middle of the sixteenth century, pieces were also exported to Japan and South-East Asia during the Wanli period (1573–1620), and from the 1650s to Europe.[765] A bowl decorated with parts of prowling dragons in underglaze blue (fig. 208), still with traces of red and green enamel, was found in the wreck of the *San Diego*, which sank near the Philippines on 14 December 1600.[766]

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[764] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London 1989; Idem, '*Kraak* Porcelain. The History and Classification of Dishes', in *Heritage*, no. 8, National Museum, Singapore, 1986, pp. 1–15; Jorge Welsh (ed.), *Kraak Porcelain. The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries*, London and Lisbon, 2008; Christiaan J.A Jörg, '*Kraak*porselein', in *Antiek*, vol. 25, no. 2, Aug/Sept, 1990, pp. 53–64; Jessica Harrisson-Hall, *Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London, 2001; Christine Van der Pijl-Ketel, '*Kraak* Type Porcelain and other Ceramic Wares Recovered from the Dutch East Indiaman the "Witte Leeuw", Sunk in 1613', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 67, 2002–3, pp. 91–98.

[765] Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Famille Verte. Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels*, Groningen 2011, p. 10.

[766] Currently in the Naval Museum in Madrid.

Finally porcelain decorated with gold leaf in the *Kinrande* style was also exported to Spain. *Kinrande* is a Japanese term that can be translated as 'gold brocade' and this type of pieces have a gold leaf decoration, usually of floral scrolls. These gold brocade designs were applied with a light adhesive to the transparent glaze on the white ground, to underglaze blue decorations, to overglaze iron-red and green enamel pieces. Bowls were the most usual shape but other pieces have survived, including ewers, double gourd bottles and figures.[767] The inventories mention a large number of pieces with gilt decoration and most probably this gilding was applied in China, since pieces arrived in the Philippines already gilded and there is no documentary evidence of any payment to a Spanish gilding workshop in the palace bills consulted in the General Archive of the Palace.

We will also have to include Japanese porcelain exports to Spain from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Around 1645 the structured trade in Chinese export porcelain came to a halt due to the devastating civil wars and was replaced by irregular shipments by private traders. Japan started exporting porcelain even though its manufacture there had only begun in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, when 'porcelain from the Indies or China' are mentioned in in Spanish inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century these could have been Japanese as well. The first large order by the Dutch for the West was placed in 1657, although the VOC also bought porcelain for the inter-Asian market. Consequently, Japanese pieces could have arrived in the Philippines and Macao either via the Dutch who had the Western monopoly on the Japanese trade from 1639, or via the Chinese, who also had a trade settlement in Nagasaki. In addition to Japanese underglaze blue porcelain (see a blue-and-white shard in the Museum of Santa Cruz in Toledo, Chapter 4.1.7.2, fig. 150), Japanese potters were already using enamel colours to decorate porcelain from circa 1640 onwards.

A new phase commenced in China at the beginning of the 1680s when Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) ordered the restoration of Jingdezhen and production resumed. Porcelain decorated in underglaze blue was still dominant at the beginning of the Kangxi period but a new type decorated in enamel colours with various shades of green proved very popular and was later classified as '*famille verte*'[768]. Apart from *famille verte*, export porcelain could also be decorated in other enamel colours. One of the most popular was Chinese *Imari* [769]. Imari is the name of the port in southern Japan, from where porcelain from the Arita kilns were exported on a large scale in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term is used to refer to a type of porcelain usually decorated in underglaze blue and a predominantly red overglaze enamel palette with gilding. To summarise, at the end of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, there must have been a mixed bag of porcelain in Spain: production from kilns in Arita (Japan) and

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[767] See Harry Garner, 'Chinese Export Art in Schloss Ambras', in *Second Hills Gold Medal Lecture, The Oriental Ceramic Society*. London,1975; Seizo Hayashiya, *Chinese Ceramics from Japanese Collections: T'ang Through Ming Dynasties*, Tokyo, 1977; Fujio Koyama, *A Selection of Outstanding Kinrande Porcelains in Japanese Collections*, Tokyo, 1967. See other *Kinrande* porcelain in the Baur Collection, Geneva, in: John Ayers, *The Baur Collection*, vol. 2, Geneva, 1969, pls. A 171, A 172, A 173, A 174, A 175, A 176, A 177, A 178, A 179, A 180. Also in Seizo Hayashiya and Henry Trubner et al., *Chinese Ceramics from Japanese Collections*, New York, 1977, pp. 92–99; Fujio Koyama, *Red Decorated Wares of the Ming Dynasty: Kinrande*, Tokyo, 1967; Tokyo Nezu Gallery, *Kinrande*, Tokyo, 1982

[768] *Famille Verte* is a French term coined by A. Lacquemart and E. le Blant in 1862 in their treatise *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commercial de la porcelain*. For this type of ware, see Jörg, 2011.

[769] For Imari porcelain see the following publications: Luisa Ambrosio, *Kakiemon e Imari giapponesi nel Museo Duca Di Martina di Nápoli*, Naples, 1984; John Ayers, *The Baur Collection: Japanese Ceramics*, Geneva, 1982; John Ayers, Oliver Impey and J.V.G. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe*, London, 1990; Nishida Hiroko, *Japanese Export Porcelain During the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1974; Peter Pantzer, *Imari Porzellan am Hofe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*, Dusseldorf, 2000; Christiaan J.A, Jörg, *Fine and Curious: Japanese Porcelain in Dutch Collections*, Amsterdam 2003; Eva Ströber, *La Malade de Porcelaine – East Asian Porcelain from the Collection of Augustus the Strong*, Berlin 2000.

Jingdezhen (China), and wares from other Chinese kilns such as Zhangzhou, so-called Swatow wares (Guangdong province),[770] and wares from Dehua[771] (Fujian province), and Yixing (Zhejiang province).

I would have liked to end this chapter by examining a number of extant pieces, but unfortunately only three complete pieces have been found so far, all in the possession of religious organisations. I am sure, however, that pieces of Chinese or Japanese porcelain will be found in the future that will help us expand our knowledge of Chinese porcelain during the Habsburg dynasty.

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[770] Jorge Welsh (ed.), *Porcelana de Exportaçao de Zhangzhou, A porcelana conhecida por Swatow*, London, 2006; Sumarah Adhyatman, *Zhangzhou* (*Swatow*) *Ceramics*: *Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries found in Indonesia*, The Ceramic Society of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1999; Helen Espir (ed.), 'The Discovery of Kilns Making Swatow Type Wares at Pinghe in Fujian Province', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 60, London, 1997, pp. 37–46: Barbara Harrison, *Swatow in the Princessehof*: *The Analysis of a Museum Collection of Chinese Trade Wares from Indonesia*, Leeuwarden, 1979; Hessel Miederma, 'A Typology of Swatow Dishes', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 34–85; Museum of Oriental Porcelain in Osaka, *Gosu akae*: *Swatow ware* (*Chugoku toji shirizu*), Osaka Shiritsu Toyo Toji Bijutsukan, 1990; Rita C. Tan (ed.), *Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines*, Manila, 2007.

[771] See fig. 107 in Chapter 4.1.5. Archaeological finds in Spain from the Mercado del Born, p. 186. Inventory no. 32-01 UE 3147 dif.15, of a *Blanc de Chine* cup dating to the mid-seventeenth century in the Museu d'Història de Barcelona.

*Bowl with gilded silver mounts in the Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca (Zaragoza)*



Fig. 209. Blue-and-white Chinese bowl with gold leaf decoration applied over the glaze. Late 16th century. H. 7.7 cm, D. 10.5 cm, base 3.8 cm. Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca, Zaragoza. No inventory number.

The bowl (Fig. 209) has a very fine white body of very good quality and a transparent and glossy glaze without impurities. It is decorated under the glaze with cobalt blue, with a plum tree branch with birds, and a band around the foot with a stylised lotus panel decoration.[772] The interior of the bowl is ornamented with a flying, long-tailed phoenix. The commendation mark 精藝 ('masterpiece') is written within a square in underglaze blue. The decoration of the piece was enriched with a gold leaf decoration,probably applied in China, that consists of pine-like sprays and other incised details and leaves scattered around the central decoration; much of the gold has been worn away, however. Porcelains with gilt decorations are frequently described in Royal inventories.[773] A blue-and-white

[772] The bowl was published by Professor María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, head of the Department of Art History at the University of Zaragoza, 'Una porcelana Ming con guarnición de plata sobredorada de taller alemán en la iglesia de Santa María de los Corporales de Daroca (Zaragoza)', in *Artigrama*, no. 21, 2006, pp. 719–46.

[773] See for instance vol 2, doc. 20, p. 42; fol. 834; doc. 27, p. 93: no 22-23.





Fig. 210-211. Blue and white bowl dated 1600 with mounts made in Augsburg. H.9.5 cm. D. 18.3 cm Fig. 211. Blue and white bowl dated 1600 with mounts made in Augsburg. H. 7.6 cm and D. 14 cm. Both mounts made in Augsburg, c. 1600. Residenz Münich, inv. nos. Res. Mü. K.V. b. 433 and Res. Mü. K.V.b. 387. From Friederike Wappenschmidt, "…. Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen". Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstkammerinventar von 1598" in Diemer, 2008, p. 308.



Fig. 212. Leather case for the bowl of Fig. 209, in the Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca, Zaragoza. No inventory number.

bowl with a dragon and a gilt decoration originally from the Vienna *Kunstkammer* of Archduke Ferdinand II is now preserved in the Kunsthistoriches Museum.[774] According to María Isabel Álvaro Zamora the bowl in Daroca has a silver gilt mount elaborated by the German silversmith Philipp Benner,[775] who worked in Augsburg from 1608 to 1610. The foot-mount rises from a tapered plain ring and is decorated with masks. The handles are cast as demi-figures and double scrolls. This ornamentation is characteristic of the late Mannerism style. The addition of the silver mounts made it look like a wide-mouthed beverage vessel called a *bernegal* (see glossary) that was very popular in silver at the time.[776] The mount has a jagged ring around the silver foot, which proves that it was silver tested at the time. It is also very probable that the silver was over-gilded later. Fire-gilding was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth,centuries; this expensive technique would not have included the interior of the silver base.[777] Two similar Augsburg mounts can be found on Wanli blue-and-white bowls from the Münich Residenz.[778] (Fig. 210 and 211).

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[774] Trenk & Vassallo e Silva, 2001, p. 43, fig. 3. See also the blue-and-white bowl with silver handles from the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century in the Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection, Oporto, Portugal, in *Exotica*, p. 212, fig. 94. The shaped case for this object, made of very thin wood and covered in leather, has also been preserved.

[775] Helmut Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede*, 1529–1868, vol. 3, Nov., Munich, 1980, pp. 138–39. Philipp Benner was born around 1580 and was approved as master silversmith in 1608. He died in 1634. I am grateful to Javier Montalvo, professor at Universidad of Alcalá for his suggestions on this matter.

[776] See the Radziwill *bernegal* made of gold, enamels, rubies, diamonds and emeralds, Nuremberg or Salzburg, c. 1600, in H. Bunner, *The Treasury in the Residenz Munich*, Munich, 1975, p. 41.

[777] The interior of the silver base could not be checked, of course. I am also grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande for her advice on this piece.

[778] Friederike Wappenschmidt, "…. Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen". Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstkammerinventar von 1598" in Diemer, 2008, p. 308.

Fortunately, this very important piece in the church of Daroca preserved with its original leather case that is embellished with *repoussé* gilt floral motifs that follows the shape of the bowl (fig. 212).

Maria Isabel Álvaro Zamora, who carried out the research in the parish registry, did not find any documents or inventories recording the acquisition of the piece. The earliest mention dates to the nineteenth century. On 18 October 1852 an inventory by the general vicar and governor of the diocese in the registry includes 'Paramento del Altar Mayor' (Paraments of the High Altar) in the silver section. Nowadays this bowl is used as a chalice during the Feast of Corpus Christi (Corporales), but in 'the old days', according to the documents the officiating priest used it as a purification cup.[779]

Another mounted bowl, the celebrated 'Trenchard Bowl' in the Victoria & Albert museum in London is interesting because of its supposed Spanish provenance. The story goes that in 1506 Philip the Fair, King of Spain (1478–1506) and his wife Joanna 'the Mad' gave it to Sir Thomas Trenchard of Wolverton, Dorset, in gratitude for his hospitality after their ship wrecked off Weymouth in 1506.[780] However, the silver mounts are hallmarked 'London 1599/1600',[781] while the bowl itself is from the Jiajing period (1522–66). Therefore the story cannot be true. The mounts of the Trenchard Bowl are more elaborate than those on the Corporales bowl and concur with the northern European style of mounts at the time.[782] Other pieces with similar 17th mounts are preserved in the Hallwyl Museum in Stockholm and Peabody Essex Museum in Salem (U.S.A).



Fig. 213. The Trenchard Bowl, the mounts hallmarked London 1599/1600, made during the Jiajing period (1522–66). D. 23.6 cm. H. 13.9 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Inv. no. M.945-1983.

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[779] Álvaro Zamora, 2006, p. 720

[780] R. L. Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, London, 1923, p. 57; see fig. 3, 'from Mrs. Lane's Collection'. Hobson dates the mounts incorrectly to c. 1550, but he must have noted the discrepancy between the dates. Soame Jenyns, discussing this bowl in his *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1988 (2nd ed.), p. 182, raises the question of the differences in dating between the mounts and the porcelains they embellish.

[781] Philippa Glanville, 'Chinese Porcelain and English Goldsmiths c. 1560 – c. 1660', in *Victoria and Albert Museum Album*, vol. 3, London 1984.

[782] A bowl with silver mounts, dated to c. 1585 and related to the Trenchard Bowl, is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv.no. 44.14.3. A cowcup without panels decorated with a deer in a landscape, with very simple silver handles and stand, is in the Fondation Custodia (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris, (Inv. 8251) see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 158. See Orvar Karlbeck, *Catalogue of the Collection of Ceramic Art of China and other countries of the Far East at the Hallwyl Museum*, Stockholm, 1949, pl. 19, inv.nº. VIII: B..b. d.I and Sargent, 2012, p.110, cat. 30.

*Garden seat in the Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo.*



Fig. 214. Blue-and-white porcelain garden seat, reign of Emperor Zhengde (1506–21). H. D. 63 cm. Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo. No inventory number.

The second documented piece of Chinese porcelain in situ is in the Capuchinas Convent in Toledo which was mentioned earlier when discussing the origin of the ceramic fragments preserved in the Santa Cruz Museum (see p. 205). Amazingly an intact porcelain garden seat is still among the convent's possessions. Most probably, it arrived with other exotic items and handicrafts from China and the Philippines in the annual consignment to Toledo from their sisters in Veracruz (Mexico). Another possible origin could be the bequest of Cardinal Pascual de Aragón (d. 1677). Nevertheless this second option is less likely, as most of the pieces were from Naples, where the cardinal and his brother had been viceroys.

The garden seat is in the form of a drum, a typical sixteenth-century shape, with two bands of studs in relief imitating those securing the skin of a drum that divide the body into three tiers (fig. 214). The upper part is painted with a trellis diaper, the middle with four lions playing with a brocade ball and two moulded monster-masks in applique. The lowest part has a panorama of mountains and sea, a metaphor for longevity and welfare. On the top, four lotus motifs surround an unglazed peony decoration in openwork (see fig. 47). The unglazed interior is hollow; it does not have a base. An identical piece, acquired in the Philippines, is preserved in The Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong,[783] while similar seats are also found at the Capital Museum in Beijing.[784]

[783] Hong Kong, *Yuan and Ming Blue-and-white Ware from Jiangxi*, 2002, ill. 73.

[784] Capital Museum (ed.), *Selected Ceramics from the Capital Museum*, Beijing, 1991, p. 127, pl. 118

### *Bowl found in the Convent of Saint Clare of Astudillo, Palencia*



Fig. 215. Blue and white bowl. Early seventeenth century, reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1620). D. 13 cm. Convent of Saint Claire of Astudillo, Palencia. No inventory number.

The third item is a Chinese porcelain that was found during renovation works in the well of the Convent of Saint Clare of Astudillo (Order of San Francisco). It was founded by María de Padilla, who was known to be King Pedro I the Cruel's lover. From a noble family from the city of Astudillo she decided to raise the monastery there in the mid-fourteenth century (1356). Having the consideration of 'Royal Monastery', the institution was later occupied by nuns who belonged to the nobility or important Castilian families. It is a very simple bowl (fig. 215), decorated on the outside with flower roundels with a fruit spray in the centre and petal panels around the base.[785] A double ring is painted around the lip and the base.[786]

[785] Cinta Krahe, 'En la España del siglo XVI porcelana china', in *Galería Antiquaria*, vol. 22, March 2004, no. 225, pp. 40–46

[786] Similar bowls are in Krahl and Ayers, 1986, vol 2, pp. 790–91, pl. 1538, 1540.

### 4.4. *Chinese Porcelain on Spanish Paintings*

Research into Chinese porcelain in Habsburg-era Spanish paintings has focused on paintings classified by subject: religious paintings, still lifes[787] and flowers, and genre works, with special attention commanded by the pictures painted by Velázquez during his time in Seville. There were four main subjects in the religious paintings analysed for this study: the last supper, the baptism of Jesus, the adoration of the Magi, and the death of the Virgin Mary (as she is generally depicted as being offered a vessel with water on her deathbed). Logically, there have also been detailed studies of Biblical meal scenes, because they immortalise different types of recipients, from rough bowls to elaborate services.[788]

Still lifes and paintings of flowers have come in for special analysis, because even in their era they formed a genre of their own, albeit only a minor one compared to the great number of religious paintings. However, Oriental pieces might still be found in still life depictions of vessels and household goods. According to Peter Cherry, the great specialist in Golden-Age Spanish still life painting, these compositions were a painter's exercise in imitating inanimate objects that 'subtly' reflected reality. Although many works were based on perfectly recognizable real models, the original objects cannot be entirely reconstructed from the painted versions. Accordingly, some objects may appear in a somewhat distorted form.[789] In addition, the still lifes by Spanish painters are much less opulent and grandiose than the Flemish and Italian, whose ornate interiors included costlier foods and a great many more exotic touches. Spanish still lifes are noted for being austere, quiet and formal.

The paintings produced by Velázquez during his time in Seville between 1617 and 1623 have also been analysed. Velázquez was the first Sevillian artist to do genre work, and his efforts in that area broke the bounds of the ordinary in the context of Spanish painting in the first third of the seventeenth century. Spanish collectors became accustomed to imported genre scenes, but the only Spanish genre specialists to arise were Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617/18–1682).[790] None of their works show any Chinese porcelain objects.

As we shall see, a search for Chinese porcelain in Spanish paintings in a great many publications[791]

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[787] The Spanish word for 'still life' is *bodegón*. According to Covarrubias' dictionary, a *bodegón* is a group of 'basement or ground-floor cellar containing the wine cellar, where prepared food is available, and drink to go with it, for those who have no one to cook their food for them.' The *bodegón* was therefore an establishment frequented by humble folk that served light food, in contrast to the alimentary opulence shown in some Flemish and Italian scenes of the same genre. Still life painting was consolidated in Madrid and Toledo as an independent genre at the end of the sixteenth century, led by Sanchez Cotán and Van der Hamen.

[788] For example, the luxurious silver service with a sideboard in Alonso Vázquez, *Lázaro and the Rich Epulón*. This painting's current whereabouts are unfortunately unknown, but a reproduction is printed in Peter Cherry, *El bodegón español en el siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1999, p. 31.

[789] Cherry, 1999, p. 33.

[790] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[791] The following publications were consulted in the search for Chinese porcelain in 16th- and 17th-century Spanish paintings: Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Juan de Arellano 1614-1676*, Madrid, 1998; Museo del Prado, *Lo fingido verdadero. Bodegones españoles de la colección Naseiro adquiridos para el Prado*, Madrid, 2007; Museo del Prado, *Pintura española de Bodegones y floreros de 1600 a Goya*, Madrid, 1983; Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, *Zurbarán. IV Centenario*, Seville, 1998; William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *El bodegón español de Velázquez a Goya*, Madrid, 1995; Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Thomas Yepes*, Madrid, 1995; Rafael Valls Limited and Caylus, *Naturalezas muertas de los siglos XVII al XIX*, exh. cat., London and Madrid, 2003 and 2004; William B. Jordan, *La Imitación de la Naturaleza. Los bodegones de Sánchez Cotán*, Madrid, 1992; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1993; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Carlos II*, Madrid, 1996; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1994; Francisco Fernandez Pardo,

yielded scant results compared to the variety of Chinese vessels in, for example, Flemish, Dutch and Italian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings. A number of works have nevertheless been selected, although the features of form and decoration of some of the porcelain objects shown in the paintings may be arguable.

### *Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608)*



Fig. 216 . Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608), *Last Supper*, 1595. 266 x 409 cm. Oil on canvas. No inventory no. Cathedral of Córdoba, Córdoba.[792]

Rosemarie Mulchay et al., *Navarrete el Mudo, pintor de Felipe II*, Logroño, 1995; Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Ignacio de Ries*, Madrid, 2001; Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, *La memoria recobrada. Pintura valenciana recuperada de los siglos XIV-XVI*, Valencia, 2005; Werner Beutler, *Vicente Carducho en El Paular*, Cologne, 1998; Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Luis Tristán 1585-1624*, Madrid, 2001; Leticia Ruiz Gómez (ed.), *Juan Bautista Maino 1581-1649*, Madrid, 2009; Fernando Benito Domenech, *Los Ribalta y la pintura valenciana de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1987; Emilio Orozco Díaz, *El pintor Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán*, Granada, 1993; Salvador Salort Pons, *Velázquez en Italia*, Madrid, 2002; Mindy Nancarrow and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Antonio del Castillo*, Madrid, 2004; Javier Portús Pérez, *Fábulas de Velázquez*, Madrid, 2007; Arsenio Moreno, *Zurbarán*, Madrid, 1998; Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla (ed.), *Juan de Roelas h. 1570-1625*, Seville, 2008; Ministerio de Cultura and Fundación Juan March, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo 1617-1682*, Madrid, 1982; Enrique Valdivieso, *Historia de la Pintura Sevillana*, Seville, 1992; Ministerio de Cultura, *Pintura española de los siglos XVI al XVIII en colecciones centroeuropeas*, Madrid, 1981; Enrique Valdivieso and Juan Miguel Serrera, *Pintura Sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1985; Diego Angulo Iñíguez and Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Madrileña, primer tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1969; Idem, *Pintura Madrileña del segundo tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1983.

[792] I am grateful to Julian León and his nephew for making this painting available to me to examine.



Fig. 216a. Detail of fig. 216 with Chinese porcelain.

Many Golden-Age painters used still life in their religious paintings when it suited the story, especially in the case of Biblical meals. In his 1638 treatise *El arte de la Pintura*, artist and art theoretician Francisco de Pacheco mentioned this particular *Last Supper* because the objects depicted in it are exceedingly opulent, and spectators risked being distracted from the main subject of the title (fig. 216).[793] Indeed, the ornate bronze objects are the first things the eye is drawn to in the painting, while the dining ware on the table is much plainer. At the far right are several objects that are possibly of Chinese provenance.

The first vessel is a bell-shaped cup (fig. 216a) with a flared rim decorated with a floral circular medallion inside panels, with floral scrolls at the top and around the base. The second is a cup with a straight rim decorated with similar medallions and scrolls. Each bowl is placed on a blue-and-white saucer with a floral scroll on the round border, a white *cavetto*, and a floral spray in the centre. The dating of the painting is 1595 but according to our present knowledge, this type of cup and saucers was introduced in the 1670's/80's at the earliest - the design on the cup and saucer seems more Kangxi, c. 1700 -, so perhaps our information on *Kraak* ware around this period needs to be re-examined. On the left, behind some oranges, is a plate with flared round sides, decorated with a geometric pattern.

[793] Jonathan Brown, *La Edad de Oro de la pintura en España*, London, 1990, p. 117.

### *Juan van der Hamen (1596–1631)*

Juan van der Hamen was a second-generation Spaniard born into a Flemish family, the youngest of the three children of Juan van der Hamen, originally from Brussels. He was the main court painter of still lifes from 1620 to 1630.[794] One of his paintings, dated 1621, is a copy of the style of Frans Snyders. The still life is painted on wooden board, a base that afforded the painter a greater richness of colour and a more sensual way of handling his subject, in imitation of the northern European style of painting (fig. 217). In the centre is a wicker basket overflowing with ripe fruit and birds, the basket flanked by *Kraak* porcelain plates, one full of cherries, the other with plums. The segmented area of the decoration is very clear, with narrow panels containing small, knotted tassels and large panels containing flower sprays. Unfortunately, since the painting belongs to a private collection, a colour photograph could not be obtained for a more detailed analysis.



Fig. 217. Juan van der Hamen, *Still Life with Fruits, Two Plates with Fruits and Six Birds*, signed and dated, 1621. Oil on board, 57.21 x 100.3 cm. Private collection. From Cherry, 1999, p. 151.

In 1627 Juan van der Hamen signed this still life (fig. 218 ) in which he combined artichokes, flowers and various glass and porcelain vessels, arranging them on several different planes in a masterly blend of the taste for detailed, individual object description that flourished in the genre's early days in Spain and a compositional cleverness that makes this one of the most elegant still lifes of its time. The shapes, sparkling highlights and textures of the clay and glass vessels heighten the arrangement's refinement and delicacy. Next to the vase on the right filled with pink peonies, the artist has placed a Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish with cherries. The dish is of a type that has a straight, slightly flared, foliated edge. The panels on the gently curved *cavetto* are decorated with drop-shaped medallions that contain sunflower sprays. The underside is divided into segments by thin lines that frame groups of pearls and dots. A similar plate (fig. 219), is decorated with sunflower motifs in drop-shaped panels and 'ducks-in-a-pond' motif in the central medallion. Another piece is preserved in the Kobe City Museum. This piece has a rare six-character Wanli (1573–1620) mark on the base.[795]

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[794] Cherry, 1999, p. 150

[795] Blue-and-white *Kraak* plate in Kobe City Museum (D. 34.8 cm, H. 5.8 cm). In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 110.




Fig. 218. Juan van der Hamen, *Still Life with Artichokes, Flowers and Glass Vessels*, signed and dated 1627. Oil on canvas, 81 cm x 110 cm. Inv.no. PO7907. Prado Museum, Madrid.





Fig. 219. Blue-and-white saucer dish. D. 35 cm. From Welsh, 2008, pp. 126–29.



Fig. 220. Antonio Pereda (1611–78), *Still Life with* an *Ebony and Marquetry Table Cabinet*, signed on one of the boxes: 'Pereda f' c. 1652. Oil on canvas, 80 x 94 cm. Inv. no. GE 327. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

### *Antonio de Pereda (1611–78)*

The still life with an ebony cabinet by Antonio Pereda (1611-78) in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg is signed and dated 1652 (fig. 220). In this painting the artist arranged a number of objects have been arranged on a sumptuous red cloth, outlined against an olive green background.[796] On the table stands a bone or ivory *contrepartie* marquetry cabinet[797] with one drawer half-open from which a cloth droops. Numerous objects have been arranged on top of the cabinet, including two red ceramic vessels of the so-called *enchinado* type (which are decorated with small fragments of quartz in the shape of small flowers) from Tonalá, Mexico, a transparent glass vessel and a dark glass vessel with silver mounts (of European origin), and an Italian bowl. In the right foreground there are some wooden boxes, some cakes on a piece of paper and a piece of cheese. Next to them is a Talavera pottery vase with two handles (*jarro frailero*, or Monk's jar), which corresponds to the tricoloured type (elaborated in the last third of the sixteenth century and first third of the seventeenth century).[798] To the left, on a silver tray, is an arrangement of spoons and bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*). In front are a blue-and-white *jícara* probably Dutch Delftware, and a small lustreware bowl from Manises dating to the first third

[796] Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *D. Antonio de Pereda* (*1611-1678*) *y la pintura de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1978, pl. 18 and 19.

[797] I am grateful to Casto Castellanos for the exact description of the cabinet in this painting.

[798] I am grateful to Ángel Sánchez-Cabezudo for identifying some of the ceramics in this painting.

of the seventeenth century. Behind these ceramics stands a slightly larger, tall cup with a spreading mouthrim, which seems to be of a much finer body. The damaged rim is decorated in underglaze blue with a zigzag border inside; the outside is also painted in blue, probably with a landscape (the available digital images do not allow a better identification). One is tempted to regard this tall cup as a piece of Chinese porcelain, given the thinness, the spreading rim and the border design. More or less comparable tall cups or beakers are known from the early Kangxi period, of c. 1665–90, but as the painting is dated 1652, we have to place this example in the Shunzhi period (1644–61) or earlier. In fact recent studies by Teresa Canepa will show that these type of cups were already being made about 20 years earlier. Juan de Zurbaran depicts very similar cups on two still lifes that are even earlier, both being dated 1640 (figs. 228, 230, see pp. 246-47). There, one of the cups clearly is decorated with an all-over riverscape, matching the example depicted by Pereda.

According to Portús, this painting was sent to Russia with a companion piece, *Bodegón con reloj*, also signed and dated 1652 (fig. 221).[799] *Bodegón con reloj* is more exotic in composition and more symbolic in content. It was moved to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow in 1930. Dominating the centre of the painting is a clock carried on a satyr's shoulders, whose face bears the legible inscription 'Claud Railler/Á Paris,' a reference to a famous Parisian clock manufacturer. In front of the clock there are conch shells, nuts and red ceramic vessels, or *boccaro*, also probably from Mexico, and a piece of white Triana terracotta pottery on a Chinese blue-and-white dish with a flat rim, decorated on the rim with a probable decoration of ducks among acquatic plants and a white *cavetto*.[800] The underside bears the typical birds-on-branches and flowering plum branches. This type of dish was often decorated with deer in a landscape in the centre. The clock and the conch shells are associated with the concept of *vanitas*, a theme that later became the primary motif in Pereda's still lifes. The difference between the two still lifes may not be mere chance. While one shows the value of life, the other alludes to the fragility of life and the fleetingness of time. There is another pair of still lifes in Pereda's oeuvre that plays on the same antithesis: one with vegetables and kitchen utensils, the other with fruits (1651; both in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon).

Another painting by Pereda's, entitled *Two Figures in a Kitchen* (fig. 223), is a very naturalistic, densely coloured piece with clear brushwork. It shows a kitchen scene in an extremely untidy interior that has a symbolic meaning: The broken pottery and the overturned bronze saucepan refer to the loss of virtue. To the right, in the foreground, a servant who has been washing dishes from a banquet pauses in her work and imploringly addresses a young man, who seems from his dress to be a soldier. The table is crowded with the remains of an opulent meal and all kinds of vessels made of different materials, silver, bronze, glass, pottery and wood. Some of the pottery vessels might be Chinese, while others might be tin-glazed pottery copies of imported Chinese porcelain. The broken dish on the floor, for example, imitates the typical panelling of *Kraak* porcelain, perhaps Talavera or Delft, due to the thickness of the body. Inside a huge glazed earthenware bowl is a blue-and-white plate with compartmentalised decorations, probably Chinese, and there are also several polychrome and white bowls. Completing the assortment are a glazed stoneware jug from Germany, a Venetian glass goblet and two small terracotta vessels (*boccaro*), of the sort made in Portugal and Mexico. The magnificent platters and the worked silver pitchers placed to the right are quite eye-catching.

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[799] Description of the painting by Javier Portús in the catalogue of the exhibition in the Museo Nacional del Prado, *El Hermitage en el Prado*, Madrid 2011, p. 212, fig. 213..

[800] According to M. Rinaldi, it is a border II-type dish; see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 76.



Fig. 221. Antonio de Pereda (1611–78), *Still Life of a Clock*. Oil on canvas, 80 x 94 cm. Dated 1652. Inv. no. unknown. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



Fig. 222. Dish decorated with two deer in a landscape, with ducks among acquatic plants on the flat rim, late 16th century. D. 20.7 cm. Maura Rinaldi Collection. In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 78, pl. 53.





Fig. 223. Antonio de Pereda (1611–78), *Two Figures in a Kitchen*, 1650–65. Oil on canvas, 192 x 238 cm. Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd. Inv.no. 1421752. In the collection of Spanish pictures given to King Louis-Philippe by Frank Hall Standish; bought by the 1st Lord Penrhyn soon after the sale of Louis-Philippe's collection in 1853. From Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Amelia López-Yarto, Wilfredo Rincón García, *El Arte en tiempos de Guerra*, CSIC, Madrid, 1999, p. 280.

### *Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)*

The iconographic content of this image (Fig. 224) chimes perfectly with the stories about the childhood of Mary and Christ that Spanish monks and nuns wrote during the second third of the seventeenth century. In this composition, the child Mary is posed as if asleep, although she is really deep in a spiritual dream. She wears a blue mantle that symbolises hope and fidelity, and her red gown represents love and royalty. She is depicted in a dark atmosphere, perhaps at some time around summer in Seville, early in the afternoon, when the windows are shut to keep the heat out. Everything around the Virgin Child is utterly simple and exquisite, and the room is decorated only with a rush-bottomed chair and a Chinese bowl with some flowers: the rose, a symbol of love; the five-petalled red carnation, the five wounds of Christ and fidelity; the lily, virginal purity.[801] The bowl in the painting is one of the most delightful and typical of all *Kraak* bowls a comparable dating to c. 1600. The outside is divided into ten panels framed by a single line. In each panel there is a deer that is either white or spotted, the latter believed to represent a *sika* deer. In China the deer is a symbol of long life and considered the only animal capable of finding the fungus that, according to legend, bestows

[801] Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, *Zurbarán*, Seville, 1998, p. 222.



Fig. 224. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *La Virgen niña dormida*, 1664. Oil on canvas, 110 x 93 cm. Fundación Santander Central Hispano Collection, Madrid. Inventory number unknown.





Fig. 225. *Kraak* bowl with deer in the Naval Museum, Madrid, from the San Diego wreck, c. 1600. D. 14.2 cm. Inventory nº.7471.



Fig. 226. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *Saint Hugo in the Refectory*, c. 1630-35. Oil on canvas, 262 x 307 cm. Inv. no. CE 0174p. Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

immortality. Zurbarán painted the sleeping child Mary twice; one painting is in the Banco Santander Central Hispano Collection, the other is in the Cathedral del Salvador in Jerez de la Frontera.

Zurbarán's next work, *Saint Hugo in the Refectory* (fig. 226) was painted in 1630-35 when the Carthusian Prior Blas Domínguez commissioned a series of works for Nuestra Señora de las Cuevas de Triana, Seville, and the members of the Carthusian Order founded by Saint Bruno. In this painting Zurbarán used a highly geometric composition on three planes. In the foreground stand Saint Hugo and the page; in the middle ground, the meal with jugs, bowls, loaves of bread and knives in an orderly frontal arrangement predominated by Talavera pottery jugs bearing the shield of the founder of the Carthusian monastery in Seville, Archbishop Gonzalo de Mesa. In front of each monk is a pottery bowl containing the monk's food and bread. An upside-down Chinese porcelain bowl, perhaps covering some spice or salt, and the jugs with the shield are the foremost items on the table. The Chinese bowl's decoration consists of a branch of flowers and a simple scroll around the foot.[802] The sides of this piece are fairly straight, the lip rim is round, and the footring is straight. This transitional bowl could be dated to the second decade of the seventeenth century. The table setting is completed with a number of shared knives for cutting bread or meat. They help break up the arrangement, which might prove monotonous if not livened up by something to disturb the symmetry. Each friar has a

[802] Compare similar designs in Butler, 2002, figs. 2 and 26. In these two examples however, the footring is wider that the bowl in Zurbaran's painting.

loaf of bread in front of him, which he would break at mealtime, and two friars shared one jug. On the rear plane, Saint Bruno (in the centre) and the rest of the order's founding monks are coming out of a dreamlike state, heads lowered, paying no attention at all to the recent arrivals. On the wall is a painting (which looks more like a window into Heaven) showing Mary with Baby Jesus and Saint John the Baptist; this reminds us that they are the Order's two main protectors. The painting's reading is clear: After abstinence, silence is the Order's other great custom. The painting originally hung in the sacristy of the Monasterio de la Cartuja de Santa María de las Cuevas, Seville, but it is now on display in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla.

### *Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49)*

Juan de Zurbarán's still life with a teapot, bowls and sliced oranges (Fig. 227 ) reflects the custom of drinking orange water, a typical beverage in Golden-Age Spain. Although the container the painter has depicted is a Chinese teapot decorated with plum branches, such a teapot would not have been used for tea, but for orange water. Orange water is in fact visible in the bowls. In addition, at the Spanish Court and in society at that time, fruit was eaten candied, not fresh; so the sliced oranges would necessarily have been used to make the refreshing beverage. Another Chinese bowl contains chunks of sugar, which would have been used to sweeten the beverage, indicated by the small spoon on the tablecloth. On the cake stand, inside a crumpled piece of paper, the artist has placed a number of glazed pastries. Marie Louise of Orléans, Charles II's first wife, used to drink cool summer beverages such as lemon water, cinnamon water, frozen milk and orange water.[803] The artist probably changed the pieces' original colouring; the original teapot was most likely the darker stoneware of the Yixing kilns. If this assumption is correct this would be the earliest depiction of Yixing ware in an European context. The exact date of this painting is unknown.



Fig. 227. Juan Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life of Fruit and Porcelain,* 1620–49. 36.3 X 62.8 cm. Oil on canvas. Cincinnati Art Museum. Inv. no.unknown. From McClure Mudge, 2000,p. 71.

[803] Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 35. I am grateful to Saúl Pérez-Juan for his comments on this matter.



Fig. 228. Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life with Chocolate Service*, signed and dated 1640. Oil on canvas, 40 x 75 cm. Inv. no. unknown. Museum of Oriental and Western Art, Kiev.

One of Juan de Zurbarán's most innovative paintings is the *Still Life with Chocolate Service* (Fig. 228), dated and signed 1640, when he was just 20 years old. Unlike his father, given to orderly compositions, Juan chose a more intuitive, asymmetrical grouping with items in front of and behind each other. As can be observed, this painter saw painting as an artistic *tour de force* in which he depicted the different qualities of the objects he had chosen. The pieces are arranged on a black background, with the chocolate beater on the right in an unstable equilibrium. The painter reflects on the different materials of the depicted objects. In this context, the most interesting pieces are the two tall, narrow, bell-shaped cups or beakers (*jícaras*) which, given the title of the still life, were used for drinking chocolate. One is decorated with a river scene covering the entire surface, a motif that was used quite often on Transitional porcelain of c. 1625–45. The other cup, on the right, shows the characteristic elements of a *Kraak* decoration with leaf- and flower sprays in vertical panels. As discussed previously (fig. 220, p. 239), such tall, bell-shaped cups seem to be unrecorded in the existing literature. Not only the cup with the Transitional-style riverscape is a novelty, but such a tall *Kraak* style cup is unknown as well. The best comparison is a lower and wider *Kraak* cup or bowl as illustrated by Rinaldi (see fig. 229), but it is obvious that the cup depicted by Zurbaran is different, even if we keep in mind that a painter might exercise some freedom in depicting a model. Furthermore, the shape is a logical one for drinking chocolate, as this beverage was foamy.

Thus, we have found not only a new shape in Transitional style, but also in *Kraak* style. It is suggested here that the reason why the shape is not yet represented in the existing literature is because most *Kraak* and Transitional porcelain collections are located in Northern Europe, based on Dutch and English imports. At that time, drinking chocolate was fashionable in Spain, in its colonies and in Portugal, but not yet in the north, and therefore it is likely that Spanish traders asked for specific shapes. These were widespread in chocolate-drinking countries, but not elsewhere and thus did not enter the northern collections assembled later. Finally, in Zurbaran's *Still Life with a Bowl of Chocolate*, also dated 1640 (fig. 230), a third version of the tall chocolate cup or *jícara* is shown, decorated with an all-over pattern of leaf sprays on the upper half, and a border of stiff leaves(?) around the foot. Here again, the thin material greatly resembles Chinese porcelain, while the high footring with a blue circle is another indication of a Chinese origin. The shape is similar to the preceding Transitional and *Kraak* cups, but here the type of decoration is another puzzle, because it is unknown on porcelain from this period. As Zurbarán very carefully and naturalistically depicts the objects in his paintings, we should not immediately assume that he changed the decoration to something he preferred. Unless more documentation becomes available, we can assign this combination of shape and decoration to the novelties in Transitional porcelain, too. In this still life the objects are again arranged on a black background. The central piece is a silver *salvilla* with a bowl with handles, filled with chocolate; on the left a copper jug and a chocolate beater, on the right a red ceramic vessel *bucaro*. The cups undoubtedly connect to Chinese shapes, but the decoration is clearly not Oriental. It might be an example of the fashion among painters to not reproduce a model faithfully, but to change the decoration as they saw fit for the composition, colour scheme or atmosphere.



Fig. 229 . Bell-shaped cup with steep walls decorated with flowers and birds and narrow panels that contain pendent bows. D. 9.7 cm, H. 8 cm. Custodia Foundation (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris. Inv. no. unknown. VII.3. In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 158.



Fig. 230. Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life with a Bowl of Chocolate, or Breakfast with Chocolate,* dated 1640. Oil on canvas, 52 x74.5 cms cm. Inv.no.unknown. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archeologie, Besançon.



Fig. 231. Francisco Herrera el Mozo (1627–85), *Still Life with Rabbit and Mortar*, c. 1660–70. Oil on canvas, 65 x 98 cm. Inv. no. unknown. The painting was in the collection of Pietro Lorenzelli in Bergamo. From Jordan and Cherry, 1995, p. 97.

### *Francisco Herrera el Mozo (1627–85)*

Although the authorship of this painting is disputed, one of the artists suggested as its creator is Francisco Herrera el Mozo (Herrera the young).[804] Herrera el Mozo trained in Seville and Rome and was elected president of the Academy of Painting of Seville in 1660. The objects making up this still life (fig. 231) are a *Kraak*-type porcelain bowl on the right, a metal jug and a pot with handles, a skimmer spoon for olives, a mortar and a rabbit half hanging off the edge of the display surface. These objects emerge from the darkness in a balanced group. Unfortunately, since the painting's current whereabouts are unknown, its details cannot be studied further. As we can infer from the shape of the Chinese *Kraak*-type bowl the sides are fairly straight and the lip rim is round while the decoration on the outside consists of peony flower sprays inside narrow panels with knotted bows. A similar bowl was recovered from the Hatcher junk (1643–46) although the rim is foliated and slightly everted (fig. 232).



Fig. 232. *Kraak* bowl decorated with peony and insect panels. D. 13.2 cm. From Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 35.

[804] Jordan and Cherry, 1995, p. 97.

## *Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74)*



Fig. 233. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Florero y cuenco de cerámica*, signed 'P de Camprovin'. Oil on canvas, 77 x 58 cm. Inv.nº.PO7917. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Pedro de Camprobín was a most prolific painter of still lifes, and his success shows in the great number of his works listed in seventeenth-century Seville inventories. He worked in Seville in the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, and he depicted blue-and-white Spanish pottery influenced by Chinese wares and Chinese vessels in some of his works. In *Florero y cuenco de cerámica* (*Flower Vase and Ceramic Bowl*) he displayed his love of minor details such as the butterfly and the petals on the table (fig. 233).[805] The central vessel is a magnificent bronze vase containing a chromatic bouquet of flowers next to which is a blue-and-white bowl. The shape and radial decoration of the bowl seem to be derived from *Kraak* bowls, though the three-lobed panel ornamenting it is not typical of Chinese decoration. A carnation has been placed in the bowl, which is filled with water. Three other paintings by Camprobín include somewhat Westernised versions of Chinese pieces. *Dish with Apricots, Plums and Cherries* includes on the right a bowl with a flower sprays, filled with water in which two flowers stand and a larger bowl decorated with petals (fig. 234). *Still Life with Fruits and Flowers* has a blue-and-white jar decorated with a flower spray, its shape more or less related to the Swatow type jarlets found in the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) (fig. 235).[806] The last painting, *Dish with Fruits* (fig. 236) has a radial ornamentation inspired by *Kraak* porcelain, although the artist has transformed the decoration and adapted it to his own taste. Camprobín's paintings evoke the luxurious mode of life of Seville's aristocracy, and although Camprobín learned his craft in Castille, he reflected in his still lifes the influence of the local tradition exemplified by Zurbarán's work, especially in his use of blue-and-white porcelain vessels containing flowers.



Fig. 234. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Dish with Apricots, Plums and Cherries*, signed and dated 1652. Oil on canvas, 36.5 x 46.5 cm. Inv. no. unknown. Naseiro Collection. Published by Cherry, 1999, pl. XC.

[805] Javier Portús, 'Florero y cuenco de cerámica', in *Lo fingido verdadero. Bodegones españoles de la colección Naseiro adquiridos para el Prado*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 72–73.

[806] Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 210.



Fig. 235. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Still Life with Fruits and Flowers*, signed and dated 1646. Oil on canvas, 37 x 47 cm. Private collection, Madrid. Published in Cherry, 1991, pl. XCI.



Fig. 236. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Dish with Fruits*, signed and dated 1656. Oil on canvas, 54.5 x 75 cm. Private collection.

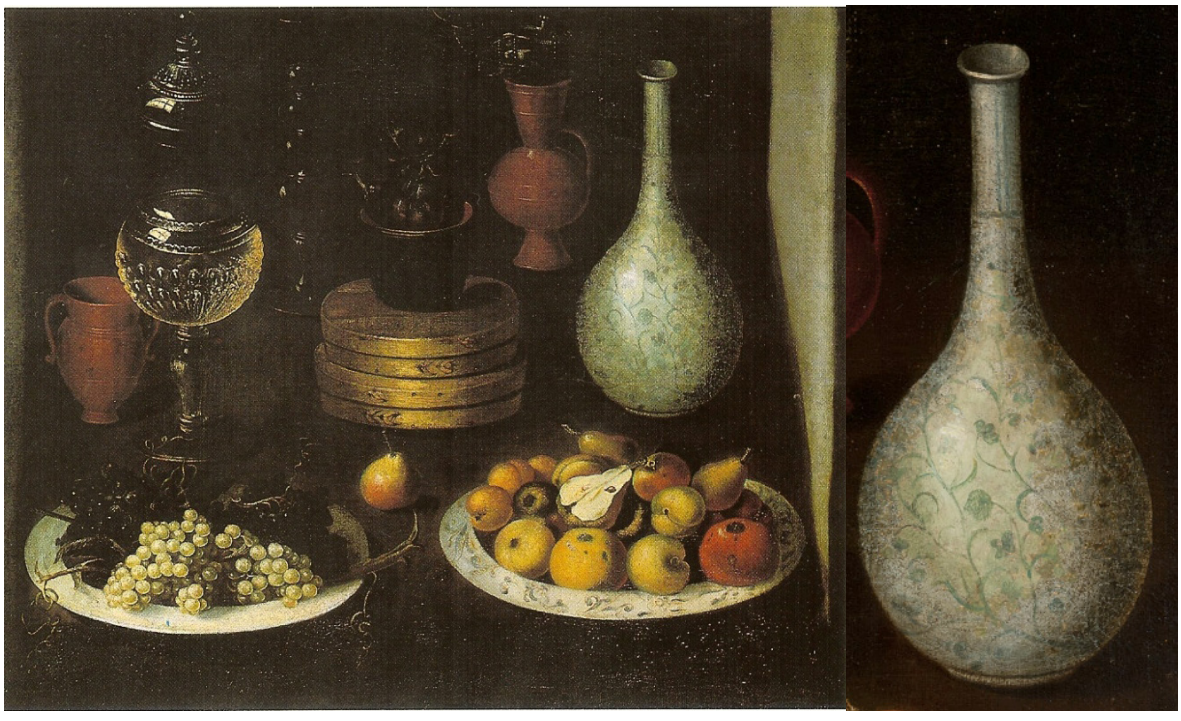


Fig. 237. Anonymous, *Still Life with grapes, pears, glass and boccaro.* 1625. Oil on canvas, 70 x 83 cm. Inv.no. unknown. Santander Central Hispano Collection.

### *Anonymous Spanish Painters of the Seventeenth Century*

The last works are two anonymous paintings that probably include two Chinese pieces mixed in with other objects made of different materials. In the first painting, the artist has placed two plates, made by the Spanish potters of Talavera de la Reina and filled with fruit, in the foreground. Behind them, standing out against a dark background, are *boccaro* from Tonalá, Mexico, dark glass objects, and a Venetian-style lidded glass goblet of the style known as *façon de Venise*. Venetian glass was the most highly prized glass in the latter half of the fifteenth century, throughout the sixteenth century and for a good part of the seventeenth. Although the Venetian authorities did all they could to prevent the glass-blowing techniques of Murano from being divulged (glass-blowers could not leave the island without permission, on pain of death), glassworks gradually appeared elsewhere in Europe that made glass of the same type, *façon de Venise*. It was a colourless, delicate, fine-walled glass. It might bear a decorative appliqué of cordons, like the piece in the painting.[807] On the right the artist has placed a tall, pear-shaped bottle with a long, narrow neck and a spreading mouthrim. It is decorated with an all-over design in blue of a complex, upwards winding flower spray. Like the bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) in the preceding pages, this is a puzzling piece and identification is problematic. The shape could very well have been derived from pear-shaped *Kraak* bottles that sometimes have a spreading mouthrim too, although such bottles do not have such a long neck. The vertical pattern on the neck could also be derived from *Kraak* models but an all-over floral decoration does not exist on *Kraak* wares. As a decorative style the continuing floral spray is known in much sturdier versions of late 14th- to early 15th-century porcelain, but those wares usually have decorative bands closing the design and the flower sprays are less 'thin' and less randomly distributed over the surface. Nor is such a bottle shape known for the early Ming. In this case, therefore, we could assume that the painter loosely based himself on a Chinese, 'exotic' *Kraak* bottle, but exaggerated the shape and invented a

[807] I am grateful to Susana Arbaizar for her comments on the glass in this painting.

similarly 'exotic' decoration, probably guided by textile patterns such as those seen on Indian chintz or Oriental embroideries. In doing so, the artist is a representative of the fashion among painters to not reproduce a model faithfully, but to change the shape and the decoration as he saw fit for the composition, colour scheme or atmosphere.

In the second anonymous painting (fig. 238), known as *El bodegonero*, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, a *bodega* owner holds a bowl full of soup over a table covered of an array of foods. Next to the food, on the right, one can dimly see a small bowl with a blue-and-white decoration and a floral scroll around the rim. Beside it is a *klapmuts* bowl full of a type of doughnut cake with a compartmentalised decoration.

To conclude, it is clear that the study of paintings has proved to be very fruitful in establishing additional knowledge about Chinese export wares in a Spanish context. New types of wares from the first half of the seventeenth century have been identified, specifically made for Spanish customers. In general, the porcelains depicted on paintings confirm the archaeological evidence that mostly *Kraak* wares were used in well-to-do Spanish households, even if they had become old-fashioned in the second half of that century.

Fig. 238. Anonymous, *El bodegonero*. Dated 1610-1625. Oil on canvas, 100 x 122 cm. Inv. no. sk/a/2962. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.





Fig. 239. Detail of fig. 212, with a blue-and-white *klapmuts* and bowl. The decoration of the piece, although not clear, appears to consist of ogival panels and hanging bows.



Fig. 240. Steep-walled *klapmuts* decorated with ogival panels with flower sprays and narrow panels with beaded pendants. 1595-1610. Troesch Collection, Switzerland. D: 10.5, H: 5.6 cm. From Rinaldi, 1989, pl. 130, p. 122.



# 5. *CONCLUSION*

Initially, this research aimed to give a survey of Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain (1517-1700), a topic that despite its intrinsic interest had only been addressed by art historians in passing. In addition, such a study promised to contribute significantly to an understanding of the role Spain played during this period in the interactions between East and West in the arts and material culture. Thanks to the few published property inventories[808], a considerable amount of porcelain is known to have existed in the collections amassed by the Spanish royal family, the nobility and private individuals with the means and interest to collect porcelain. However, it soon became clear that the Habsburg collections currently in the hands of the Spanish National Heritage authorities included no pieces of porcelain. Therefore, it was necessary to broaden the scope of research and look at the wider role that Chinese porcelain played within Spain's material culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inevitably, this gave rise to a series of reflections: what did the Spanish during the Habsburg period think of Chinese porcelain? How was it categorised within the culture? What were its distribution and consumption patterns? And above all, what happened to it that outside of the records so few traces of it can now be found in Spain? The answers to each of these apparently simple questions proved to be anything but straightforward.

First of all, it is important to acknowledge that the history of Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain did not occur in isolation. It must be considered within the broader context of the Habsburg empire and it must also be examined within the entirety of Spain's material culture in this period, particularly with regard to Spanish taste for exotic imports. It is a story that requires an interdisciplinary approach.

For the research, the primary sources from Spanish archives provided first-hand, direct evidence of the status that Chinese porcelain held within Habsburg society. However, methodological problems immediately arose when it was discovered that modern and contemporary sixteenth/seventeenth century definitions of 'porcelain' diverge markedly. Furthermore, of the numerous inventories consulted, very few list Chinese porcelain in any great amount compared to the numbers of other art objects, such as silver, or paintings. With regard to the terms for porcelain itself, the terminology used to describe the shape and decoration of objects was also frequently unclear, their exact meanings having in some cases been lost, preventing a clear vision of what the pieces in these descriptions were like. This last problem was partly solved by an etymological comparison of these terms in two dictionaries of the time (Covarrubias and Autoridades), and has resulted in a Spanish-to-English glossary that may have a wider use in the field of the decorative arts.

This study, however, also provided evidence of how porcelain was viewed in Spain during the Habsburg period. The Spanish classified objects of Oriental export art as *bujerías*, or knick-knacks (*miudezas* in Portuguese), and listed them as such in documents of the period, the porcelains being lumped together with lacquered writing desks or boxes, jewellery, semiprecious stones, fans, ivory etc. This term, used to embrace porcelain and other exotica, meant, according to the 1726 Autoridades

[808] Sánchez Cantón, 1956-59, vol. 2, pp. 265-80; Fernández Bayton, 1975/81/85, vol. 1. p. 222; Urquízar Herrera, 2007, p. 156; Cervera Vera, 1977, p. 147.

dictionary, something 'of low price or value but made with care and grace, usually given to ladies and children'. This not only indicates a link between the feminine and porcelain at the time but it is also clearly pejorative (or at least condescending); sometimes porcelain and other exotica were even referred to as *bagatelas* – 'mere trifles'[809]. It is true that – apart from Philip II and a handful of other men – Chinese porcelain and other exotica are frequently the possessions of female members of the court and nobility. And woman could play a very important role in this period in establishing new fashions and consumer habits. In addition, most Chinese porcelain from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain has been found in convents – whether as surviving whole pieces or excavated as shards, an interesting sociological fact that deserves further study.

By connection, for some Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, porcelain and other exotica had the connotation of simply a *souvenir* of travels or of 'curious items', instead of being considered and priced as a luxury item as it was in northern Europe at this time. Even now in Spain, a *jarrón chino* (Chinese vase) means something superfluous and of no practical use. Thus, the etymological evidence all pointed towards Chinese porcelain as having a fairly low profile and value in Spanish society during the Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – a conclusion that has been borne out (with notable exceptions since value lies in the eyes of the beholder) by evidence from other areas of this research. In addition some documents in the Archive of the Indies reveal that merchants sending Chinese crockery from the port of San Juan de Ulúa (Veracruz, Mexico) to Seville, would use almost any term to refer to porcelain goods from East Asia – sometimes they did refer to them as *porcelana*, but more often they were just *barro* (clay) or *loça* (tin-glazed pottery). It is clear that they were not very clear about and probably not very concerned with the particular qualities of the goods they were handling.

Chinese porcelain evolved from being relatively rare curios in the first half of the first part of the sixteenth century to become the everyday *bujerías* of the inventories, especially after the Portuguese established a base in Macao in 1557[810] and the Spanish settled in Manila in 1571. From 1573 regular trade (through the Manila Galleon) was established between the Philippines and New Spain, greatly enriching the material cultures of Spanish America. And trade in exotica and orientalia from China, the Philippines and Mexico became even more regular after 1580, with the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. Although the Spanish authorities tried to limit the trade of Chinese porcelain and other exotic products in Mexico to rein in competition with products produced in the Iberian peninsula (and also to stop the tremendous drain of American silver back to Asia), until 1620-30 (when the Ming dynasty began its slow collapse and trade patterns started to change), Chinese goods must have arrived in New Spain in abundance. This is confirmed, for instance, by the cargo carried by Spanish merchant ships like the *Santiago* and the *San Juan*, which in 1573 carried 22,300 pieces of 'fine gilt china and other porcelain wares.' [811]

Unfortunately, it was impossible to quantify how much was actually transported by Spanish ships because shipping records only list boxes or bundles, the contents of which were described only very generically, if at all. In addition, a great deal of trading was clandestine and therefore left no trace in any records. The information provided by these records was therefore insufficient to enable a reliable year-by-year survey of Chinese porcelain exports or to outline price developments. Archaeological

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[809] Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia. Vida cotidiana en la corte de Valladolid,* Valladolid, 1989, p. 105.

[810] It is clear that Portugal imported a much larger amount of Chinese porcelain than Spain, especially after Macao was established as their permanent foothold in the East. However porcelain also came to Spain via Lisbon. In fact, Chinese *Kraak* influence on Talavera pottery came from the pieces coming from Portugal into Extremadura in Spain.

[811] Schurz, 1985, p. 30.

excavations in Mexico and in the other Spanish colonies in Central and South America have yielded an important amount of shards of Chinese and Japanese porcelain and a thorough investigation of sixteenth and seventeenth century inventories and appraisals of goods in the different cities of Spanish America will eventually demonstrate the extent to which Oriental exotica played a part in the households of the Spanish American colonies. The role and appreciation of Oriental porcelain in these societies is largely unknown and urgently needs further research.

What published records and archaeology of the period clearly reveal is that Chinese porcelain was plentiful and cheap both in the Philippines and Mexico, with considerably less of it continuing onwards to Spain. While Chinese porcelain was the second most important cargo in the Manila galleon (from Manila to Acapulco), it was only a minor component in the cargoes of the so-called Fleet of the Indies (about 20 merchant ships), that almost every year did the second part of the journey across the Atlantic from Veracruz to Seville. Their cargo included mixed commodities of Asian and American products. But for Spanish traders silver was clearly the most important and profitable commodity, as were different raw materials such as cochineal or indigo for dying, ginger or sarsaparilla for medical uses and new plantation products such as tobacco, sugar and cocoa, all of which were becoming very popular products in Spanish markets during the second half of the 17th century. Among the luxury items, pearls and gems from the New World were the most important trade items, and Chinese porcelain clearly figured as a very minor import to the Iberian peninsula. According to historian Jose Luis Gasch-Tomas[812], who made a comparative study of probate inventories of the elites of Mexico and Seville from 1580 to 1630, twenty-five per cent of Mexican inventories contain Chinese porcelain but only ten per cent of the inventories from Seville register porcelain. It is clear that supply and demand for Chinese porcelain was low in Spain in comparison to its demand in the Spanish Americas.

Research has also thrown up a great deal of information about how porcelain and other Orientalia were commercially dispersed in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries once they did arrive there – especially from Seville to the royal capitals of Madrid and Valladolid. It is inescapable to conclude, after analyzing a large number of documents, that the claim by some authors that porcelain 'flooded' the peninsula in 'great quantities, around 40,000 to 60,000 pieces per year,'[813] cannot be substantiated in the inventories, where Asian exotica are in fact relatively scarce. For example, according to a recently published investigation into the trade in Chinese silk[814] – the most important Asian commodity – in Mexico and Seville between 1580 and 1600, the total amount of Chinese silk in stocks of Mexican textiles was about 20-25%, while only 2% was registered in Sevillian stocks. It tells us that the arrival in Spain of galleons loaded with Asian products from Mexico did not trigger the same kind of mania for Orientalia as it did in Portugal, England and the Netherlands. Although it would need more investigation, one possible reason for this is the generally conservative and closed nature of Spanish society following the centuries of the Reconquista and the fact that Spanish aesthetic models came from Italy and from the Moorish art tradition deeply rooted in the south of Spain.

In addition to investigating ships' records and trade patterns, one of the main goals of the research was to establish what collections were amassed in Spain during the Habsburg reign. This was done by using four different primary sources: archives, archaeology, still life paintings and the study of a

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[812] I am grateful to Jose Luis Gasch-Tomás for the information taken from his unpublished article *Southeast Asia and New Spain in the making of World History. The Manila Galleons and the Circulation of Asian Goods in the Hispanic Empire, c. 1565-1650.*

[813] Crick, 2010, p. 40.

[814] Jose Luis Gasch-Tomás, "Los textiles de los galeones de Manila. Notas para la historia del consumo a la luz de la nueva historia trans-nacional", in Daniel Muñoz Navarro (ed.), *Comprar, vender y consumir. Nuevas aportaciones a la historia del consumo en la España moderna*, Valencia, 2011, (pp. 55-76), p.70.

few extant objects found in-situ. An exhaustive search was carried out for contemporary descriptions of porcelain and other Oriental exotica in literature and valuations and appraisals in published and unpublished inventories of royal, aristocratic, bourgeois and other individuals in Spain.

The first Spanish Habsburg, Emperor Charles V (Charles I of Spain) had very few pieces of porcelain registered in his inventory (just two plus another two mentioned as belonging to him in his son Phillip II's inventory). Further research in Lille into inventories held there of the emperor's possessions in the rest of the empire would be needed to determine the finality of that statement – but certainly in Spain he did not seem to have indulged in any passion for Oriental exotica. As far as the Spanish Habsburg kings are concerned, it is Philip II who stands out in contemporary records for his porcelain. He had a deep interest in non-Western cultures, a porcelain collection of over 3,000 pieces, the ability to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese lacquer and the habit of sending gifts of Chinese porcelain to his daughters, family and members of his court. The porcelain listed in his inventory is the first among the Spanish Habsburgs to be grouped in an independent section as 'Porcelains, glazed pottery, *búcaro*s, and pottery,' further classified according to their place of manufacture, which included China. The Chinese porcelain in Philip II's collection was very varied; he had it displayed in the New Tower of the Alcázar, where the king had his glass collection as well. He obtained his pieces through different channels, for himself or for his close family, and also sent porcelain as Royal gifts to his Habsburg relatives in Vienna, Prague, Munich and Innsbruck. In this context, the connection between Spain and other branches of the Habsburg families throughout Europe would be an interesting subject for future studies.

King Philip III's interest in porcelain seemed to be largely limited to its use as tableware, for instance for serving *consommé* or fish. We also know he continued his father's tradition of sending gifts of Chinese porcelain: to his sister at the court in Turin and to Archduchess Maria of Bavaria in Barcelona, who received 100 porcelain vases in June 1599. It is noteworthy that during his reign the royal collection began gradually to diminish – probably in part due to these gifts, but also, since the porcelain was in everyday use, it was prone to breakage (though new porcelain would appear in the inventories to replace the broken pieces). This last issue is, in fact, one of the most interesting discoveries obtained from the inventories, because they disclose how the porcelain was manipulated, used and damaged. Although many pieces were sold at auction during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we can follow some of the pieces that are identified in early inventories, for instance certain cauldrons or jars. They had suffered a lot by the end of the Habsburg period, when they are described as broken (inventory of King Charles II). This information should prove useful to any future researcher interested in tracking the 'life' of objects in the Habsburg collections, such as the earthenware David and Goliath group which is regularly mentioned and gradually gets increasingly damaged (appendices, pp. 43, 75, 84, 93, 111,116,120,123,128). Furthermore, during the economic crises of the seventeenth century, porcelain, silverware and other goods started to be smuggled out and sold by the palace's servants, *in lieu* of their unpaid wages. Equally, porcelain was given as vessels containing royal gifts of food to nearby convents and monasteries – the same religious institutions where archaeological excavations have uncovered shards of Chinese porcelain.

King Philip IV is famous for assembling one of the most impressive collections of paintings and sculptures, most of which still serve as the core collection of the Prado Museum while other elements of it are to be found in several palaces of the Spanish National Heritage. Unfortunately, however, a complete inventory of the king's *objets d'art* has not been found. There are nevertheless fragmentary inventories (drawn up eleven years before his death in 1665) that list Chinese porcelain, one with a section entitled 'Porcelains from India of Portugal.' By then, his grandfather Philip II's original collection of porcelain had suffered sale at auction, dispersal as legacies and gifts, breakages and replacements, and the overall quantity of Chinese porcelain remaining in the royal collection would

have been much reduced and mixed in with European ceramics. Some pieces showed up again in the 1674 inventories, from the regency of Queen Mariana of Austria (1665-1675), but curiously, the appraiser neglected to assign them any value at that time.

One of the most interesting sources related to the reign of Philip IV deals with the confiscation on the part of the crown in 1656 of 2,774 pieces of Chinese porcelain by the Duke of Medinaceli from the trader Juan Vangel (of the Southern Low Countries?), who was smuggling them into the city of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cadiz. This large group of pieces seems to have vanished from later royal inventories.

The 1701 inventory of King Charles II, the last Habsburg, mentions several pieces of porcelain. These were not only listed in the records of the *guardajoyas* (Keeper of the Jewels, *garde des joyaux*), but also in other palace departments, like the Bureau of Foods and Sauces. In general, he and his court used Oriental porcelain for various domestic purposes. Descriptions of late-seventeenth-century porcelain reveal the new decorative trends for porcelain, including three-coloured *Imari* and *famille verte*. Beginning in Charles II's reign, Chinese exports in the inventory were joined by Japanese wares, although it is impossible to tell them apart on the basis of the inventories. Chocolate was very popular in Spain in the last third of the seventeenth century and the inventories of the king's first wife, Marie Louise d'Orlèans and other members of the aristocracy, confirm this passion for chocolate with records of large numbers of Chinese cups (*jícaras*) for drinking chocolate. Queen Marie Louise d'Orlèans (appendices, pp. 103-7) had a collection of Chinese porcelain that she kept locked away in a cabinet in the Room of the Tower (probably referring to a Tower on the Queen's side of the Alcázar) under the safe guard of her lady-in-waiting, the Marquise of Cadereyta (and presumably away from the pilfering hands of the servants). The Marquise remained in charge of keeping the keys to the collection after Marie Louise's death in 1689. It is clear that Marie Louise herself held her porcelain in very high regard.

Individual members of the aristocracy mirrored the sporadic enthusiasm for Chinese porcelain as expressed by the royal household. A handful of noblemen clearly admired objects of this sort, but the inventories of many others do not mention porcelain at all. Again, the general preference was for other objects, in particular silver. Unlike elsewhere in Europe, porcelain failed to capture the imagination of many of the period´s great aesthetes. One of the most important art collectors from the reign of Phillip III (1598-1621), Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma (1553-1625), was the King's *valido* or Royal favorite, and the most powerful noble during the first decade of the 17$^{th}$ century in Europe. His palace at Lerma (Burgos) was decorated with great magnificence. In 1601 the government issued sumptuary laws (proscribing conspicuous consumption of luxury goods) and the Duke urged wealthy Spaniards to buy 'services of tin-glazed pottery' *(barro vidriado*) instead of silver ones. But he certainly did not suggest purchasing Chinese porcelain – which is strange as it was relatively inexpensive, a better quality of ceramic and available either through merchants in Seville or Lisbon. And indeed the Duke´s own inventory revealed very few pieces of Chinese porcelain, and some of those were recorded as being broken and smashed. Perhaps the Duke promoted tin-glazed pottery because it was a domestic product and thus he encouraged the production of Talavera pottery and not foreign imported porcelain.

One superb collection of Chinese porcelain did enter the registers, that of the Prince of Éboli, Don Ruy Gómez de Silva, who assembled many exotic items and porcelain 'from the Indies of Portugal' (appendices, pp.131-45). Several others had Chinese porcelain in their cabinets. The Duchess of Alba had in her palace of Alba de Tormes (Salamanca) a cabinet full of glass and pottery in 1573. Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Priego, had in 1606 a cabinet in his palace of Montilla, Seville, full of fine glass and pottery from Portugal and some pieces from China (appendices, p. 245 and Urquízar Herrera, 2007, p. 156). Unfortunately, the detailed inventory of this collection has not been

'discovered', but it is recorded that these pieces were given as dowry to one of his daughters. The Marquise of Velada also had a Chinese porcelain and glass cabinet in her palace in Ávila in 1616 and in 1653 Don Juan Alonso de Pimentel, Count-Duke of Benavente, had in his palace in Valladolid a Chinese porcelain cabinet. In the inventory dated 1619 of the VI Duke of Béjar, Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor, pieces are described on shelves, in fixed arrangements on walls bellow architraves but other nobles place Chinese porcelain in larders (*alacenas*) like Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of El Infantado, or window-display cabinets or *escaparates*.

And aside from about 20 blue-and-white bottles preserved in non-Spanish or private collections decorated with the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon, no actual pieces of Chinese or Japanese porcelain survive from the 16th and 17th centuries that can be definitely connected with any Spanish individual or institution.[815] The only specially commissioned piece from a Spanish client still surviving was ordered by a Spanish noble, the Marquis of Cañete, while he was in Peru serving as Viceroy from 1590 to 1596. (fig. 7).

Because most of the documents found in the archives are simply inventory lists, sometimes without any appraisal of the porcelain items, it has not been not possible to give a development of the prices of the pieces in these collections in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition any evaluation of price would be further complicated by the constant fluctuation of the currency and of the price of metals during the Habsburg period. However, by comparing the valuations and prices that are given for other luxury commodities, some idea of porcelain's value at different points during the Habsburg period can be achieved. According to Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's account of 1585, Chinese porcelain was so cheap in China that for four *reales* "they give you 50 pieces". On the other hand in 1596, two years before king Philip II's death, princess Isabella Clara Eugenia, bought 6 bowls and 6 plates of Chinese porcelain for 4 and a half *reales* each and by comparison she paid two *reales* for one pound of fibre to wrap these porcelains up, two *reales* for a wicker basket and two *reales* to pay the King's muleteer for one day to transport the porcelains. Almost two decades later a plate, appraised in 1620 (appendices, p. 213, from the inventory of Juana de Córdoba Aragón, Duchess of Frías), was valued at 6 *reales*. Possibly, the devaluation of the *real* due to economic fluctuations was the determining factor in the change in value. A comparison by an economic historian of these prices with the constantly fluctuating price of silver over these two centuries might allow a more precise valuation of those pieces within the Spanish market at the time they were sold, but it would still remain an estimate and probably not more exact than what the above research has revealed.

The value of porcelain during most of the Habsburg period seems to have been fairly notional, reaching a high point with the collecting passions of Phillip II and members of his court, while being worth not nearly as much before his reign and decreasing steadily after it. Some appraisals of Chinese porcelain in inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries clearly reveal that sometimes porcelain was not given a separate value unless it had been fitted with a silver gilt mount – prompting the conclusion that the real value was considered to be attached to the metal mount instead of the piece of porcelain. And with certain inventories, the lack of valuation is actually made explicit: in the inventory of 1701 of King Charles II, the porcelain pieces were not valued because they had at this stage a more sentimental than 'an intrinsic' value (it is unknown whether the pieces in his inventory included those of his wife's collection). That 'sentimental' value also gives a clue as to why there are no pieces remaining from the Habsburg royal collections, since in the end the objects that have the best chance of being preserved from generation to generation are those with an economic and not

[815] So far there is no documental evidence to know whether the *Guan*-type blue-and-white jars decorated with the emblem of the Augustinian Order – the double-headed eagle over a heart pierced with arrows beneath a coronet dated circa 1575 and found in several public institutions – and the blue-and-white bottles decorated with the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon were ordered for the Spanish or Portuguese market.

merely a sentimental value. The varying fortunes of the later Spanish Habsburgs and their Bourbon successors, as well as palace fires, economic crises in the royal household and several wars, are the reason that very little – even of those items that did have an economic value, such as jewellery – can´t be traced to the Habsburg reign, and certainly nothing breakable and with only a 'sentimental' value.

Archaeological findings divulge the same story about Chinese porcelain as given by the above-mentioned inventories. Very few Chinese porcelain shards have been unearthed in archaeological excavations, compared to the huge quantities of terracotta and tin-glazed pottery. What is more, the Chinese porcelain shards found are very ordinary, indicating mass production. Most of them are fragments of what is known as *Kraak* porcelain, made in the last third of the sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth centuries. Quite surprising is the lack of shards of the better quality polychrome porcelain of the *Kinrande* type (gold brocade) - only one piece in the monastery of San Clemente – especially when there are so many descriptions of gilt porcelain in the inventories, or of Transitional porcelain (1620–80) (only in paintings). No shards of commissioned objects decorated with Western elements, the so-called *chine de commande*, or of porcelain in the *famille verte* style have been found either. From the geographic point of view, so far no Chinese porcelain shards at all have been found in the area of the Basque Country of northern Spain.

Yet other sources for analyzing the material substance of daily life in the Habsburg period were literary sources and paintings reflecting Oriental porcelain. Research of a number of paintings of the period (religious paintings, still lifes, flower and genre paintings) reveals very little evidence of Chinese porcelain. Vessels of silver, bronze, crystal and pottery predominate in all genres, especially in still lifes. Most often depicted are the *búcaros* imported from both Mexico and Portugal, and Spanish pottery from Triana and Talavera. On the rare occasion where Chinese porcelain appears in these paintings, we do get an insight in to how it was being used in everyday life. We find plates and bowls holding fruits, sauces or flowers; we find them up-side down in the monks refectory table during dinner; they are to be used later in the meal for drinking chocolate; or they sit on a crowded kitchen table surrounded by other utensils together with fruit, meat, fish or game. Wherever we see a piece of porcelain in one of these paintings, it usually is being used as a vessel for daily use in a domestic environment. Two pictures from Antonio de Pereda illustrate very well the everyday use of porcelain ware at the time and the wear and tear they were subjected to: the broken cup in *Still Life with an Ebony and Marquetry Table* (fig. 220) or the dishes on the floor in *Two Figures in a Kitchen* (fig. 223). The paintings provide a wealth of information on the day to day life in the Habsburg period as well as revealing hitherto unknown wares from the first half of the seventeenth century, specifically made for Spanish customers. In general, the porcelains depicted in the paintings confirm the archaeological evidence that mostly low-quality *Kraak* wares were used in Spanish households, no matter their wealth or station: primarily vessels intended for domestic use, such as plates, bowls and especially bell-shaped cups or *jícaras*. There is even some indication that by the second half of the century they were considered old-fashioned.

In essence, the research has demonstrated that, in general, Spanish society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries placed a relatively low value on Chinese porcelain and when it was used, it was identified with women and the home. However, there were a handful of enthusiasts interested in porcelain, ranging from the royal family itself down to the bourgeoisie. The research has also provided insights into Spanish tastes of the period for luxury products like silver or more humble goods such as earthenware. This has been the first time that such a detailed survey of one item (i.e. porcelain) has been given in the context of Spanish material culture and hopefully the results will stimulate other researchers to use a similar approach. Another interesting study would be a comparison of the *objets d'art* of the Spanish Habsburg king's inventories, although some lists are not preserved in their entirety. Although there have been several studies addressing the issue of the

art-trade connections between Spain and other European countries, it would also be very interesting to carry out a comprehensive research on the collecting policies for 'minor' objects such as porcelain among the different Habsburg families in comparison to their Spanish relatives.

This dissertation has addressed the history of Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain through various aspects, such as appropriation, distribution and consumption. Because Habsburg Spain was a society that had easy access to exotic products and liked pomp and ceremony, one of the reasons that Chinese porcelain from the era is so scarce might be the royal family's and aristocracy's preference for ostentatious luxury and religious opulence. This is revealed in their choice of items. Costly materials like gold and silver, precious stones, pearls and tapestries testified to and were expressions of their noble lineage and were good vehicles to show-off wealth and prestige in religious and lay use. Precious metals were certainly the best for extolling divinity and royalty, and they also had the virtue of being easily re-shaped as bullion or coin if circumstances required. As a consequence of this, it is also interesting to highlight that no pieces of domestic silver are extant in the royal holdings from the Habsburg period; only religious objects of gold and silver have been preserved because they were in the safekeeping of religious communities.

Starting in the eighteenth century, with the departure of the Habsburgs and the arrival of the new French dynasty of the Bourbons, interior decoration in Spain underwent a transformation. For an eighteenth-century Spaniard, a palace without porcelain, the 'new white gold,' would be inconceivable. Porcelain was re-valued, rose in status and became an indispensable part of luxury furnishings and for table services. But if the Spanish nobility finally gave Chinese porcelain pride of place in their interiors, they did so in imitation of the great Bourbon model in matters of aesthetics, France.

To summarize, this research and its dissertation fills a gap in the history of the introduction of Chinese porcelain to the European markets of the early modern period. It reveals the presence and value of porcelain in different Spanish communities during Spain's so-called Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While studies have been made of the role of porcelain in other European countries (such as England, the Netherlands, France), Habsburg Spain had until now not been examined. It is my hope that this research might lead to further discoveries. I am sure that even today there are pieces in the most unlikely of places, which in time will come to light and will provide further knowledge about Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain.





## 6. *GLOSSARY*[1]

Most of the terms have been translated from the *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española (Thesaurus of the Castilian or Spanish Language)* compiled by Don Sebastian de Covarrubias in 1611 (COV), the *Diccionario de Autoridades* published in 1726 (AUT), and very few from the modern *Summa Artis* (SA), the *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la lengua Española* (RAE), and *Collins Spanish dictionary* (CS). Sources are included in brackets after each definition; occasional comments by the author appear at the end of a definition to further clarify meanings. An asterisk after a Spanish term indicates that it is defined in the appropriate place in this alphabetical glossary. Alternative spellings and plural and diminutive forms as they appear in the Spanish Transcriptions are included in brackets after the main entry.

**ABAHADERA (Avahadera):** Container used to inhale steam. (COV) In Philip II's inventory: 'Twelve porcelain *escudillas** of different sizes that are *abahaderas*'. This object must have been similar in shape to a bowl.

**ABRAZADERA:** A type of ring made of iron, silver or any other metal, used to hold an object together. It is used to join and unite one thing with another. Derived from the verb *abrazar* [embrace], because it 'embraces' the objects on which it is applied. (AUT)

**AGALLONADO (sing. Gallón; pl. Gallones)**: 1. Work that decorates the *bocel**; in some schools of architecture a convex moulding with a section of a quarter of a circle. Each *gallón* consists of a quarter of an oval placed between two leaves, which, repeating the same shape gradually becomes narrower until joining at the bottom. 2. Decoration that in former times used to be placed on the ends of silver. (AUT) In English: gadroon; ornament carved on the edges of either a flat or curved surface that resemble short convex or concave flutes or ruffles. It is common in Elizabethan work, Italian Renaissance work and all styles influenced by Italy.[2]

**AGNUS DEI (Agnusdei):** Holy relic, which is blessed by the Pope and consecrates the first year of his pontificate. The *Agnus* is the lamb that symbolises God. *Agni* were made of wax in moulds of different sizes and were presented to the Pope to be blessed. (COV)

**AGUAMANIL (pl. Aguamaniles, Aguamanyles, Aguamanos; dim. Aguamanilete)**: Elongated ewer of Islamic origin with a handle and spout. (COV)

**ALABASTRO**: A type of stone that naturalists include among the white marbles, but consisting of a softer substance. Apparently, when the stone is extracted from the mines, it can be cut with a knife like half-finished [unpolished] marble. When exposed to air this material acquires its solidity and perfection. (AUT) Alabaster.

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[1] Many thanks to Casto Castellanos for some of his art terms in his unpublished essay *Antología de términos de platería, joyas, metales, peltre, piedras preciosas, porcelana, barro, vajilla, vidrios, varios*, Madrid, 1984; and to Amaya Morera for some of the terms used in her Ph.D. dissertation *El escaparate. Un mueble para una dinastía*, Madrid 2010. Their terms were also taken from the Covarrubias and the Autoridades dictionaries.

[2] Joseph Aronson, *The Encyclopaedia of Furniture*, London, 1965, p. 235.

**ALACENA (Alhacena):** A built-in cupboard with doors and shelves to keep and store things inside. Wooden portable *alhacenas* are also made and are called *escaparates*★ or *armarios* (wardrobes). According to Father Alcalá, the word comes from the Arabic term *hacina*, with the addition of the article *al* and the *e* substituted with an *i*. In Córdova it is called a *taca,* from the verb *tacar*, which means 'to close' […]. (AUT) A food cupboard.

**ALBAHAQUERO (Albaquero)**: A plant or flowerpot generally used to grow basil (*albahaca*) (COV/AUT)

**ALBORNÍA (Albornyas):** Rough, round and large bowl (*escudilla*★) made of clay on a potter's wheel. In some inventories *albornía* is used to describe a plate without a rim (*trincheo*★) (COV)

**ALCARRAZA (Alcarrosa; dim. Alcarracilla):** Jug with one or two handles, made of white clay that contains some salt residue. There is a great amount of this type of clay around the city of Toledo. This kind of jug is decorated with 'pinches' of clay. In Arabic they are called *carrasetum,* derived from the verb *carese*, which means to pinch. (COV) Porous and fired for a short period of time, these containers have the property of allowing a certain amount of water to seep into the clay. This evaporation cools the greater quantity of the same liquid that stays inside. (AUT)

**ALCARROSA: See ALCARRAZA.**

**ALCUZA:** Ordinary container used to transport oil from the larder to the kitchen, where it is used for cooking and to make candles. Also known as *azeytera*★. (COV)

**ALECHUGUINADO (Alechugado):** Arranged in the shape of lettuce leaves, similar to the *valonas* [ruffs] that were used before the *golillas* [also a ruff] were introduced, so they were called *alechugados* or 'shaped as a lettuce'. (AUT) Any material arranged in the shape of lettuce leaves, resembling ruffs.

**ALGALIA**: Sweat of an *algalia* cat. According to Father Guadix the word comes from the Arabic term *galietum* that translates as 'a pricey thing'. An unctuous substance with a consistency similar to honey that is used in perfumery. (AUT) Civet: a substance with a strong smell, obtained from a civet or a cat that lives in Central Africa or Asia, and is used in perfume.

**ALHAJA:** In a household the *alhajas* were the valuables that made up a woman's dowry such as tapestries, furniture, silver, jewellery and so forth. (COV) A generic term that is given to anything of some value, and more specifically to all things used to adorn households or people. (AUT)

**ALJOFAINAS (Aljofaynas, Aljufanyllas):** Generic term for dish from Arabia that are shaped as a half-sphere with a rim. Used for washing hands. (COV and AUT) A shallow dish, of large diameter that is used to wash the face and the hands. (RAE)

**ALMOFÍA:** Clay or metal container, wider at the mouth, used to wash hands. It has the same shape as the *aljofaina*★. According to Father Guadix, the word comes from the Arabic term *mufeide,* which means 'to spill' or 'to open', adding the article *al* and thus becoming *almufeide or almofía.* (AUT)

**ALMONEDA:** A public sale of objects carried out at the orders of the judiciary and before a scribe, with a public minister who calls aloud the name of the object that is put up for sale and the starting price, so that people can bid against each other, raising the price. It is also called an 'auction' because the public minister shouts out the prices in a loud voice, but in Valencia it is called *encante.* The *almonedas*★ of the Treasury or of public funds, such as war booty, were sold in the town square by thrusting a stake into the ground and placing the objects for sale around it. (COV) In Spain *almonedas* or auctions were frequently conducted to pay off debts by all members of society, including kings.

**ANACARADA (Anacardo):** Fruit of a tree that grows in East India, having a shape and colour similar to that of a bird's heart. When it is fresh the juice looks like blood. There is a white pip in the middle of the fruit that is a shaped like an almond, which if eaten fortifies the memory. (AUT)

**ANTECÁMARA:** Anteroom, a room where people wait before entering the main chamber. (COV)

**ANAQUEL**: Shelves made of plaster or wood on which glasses, plates or other objects are placed. (AUT)

**AOVADO (Aobado)**: In the shape of an egg, oval. (AUT)

**APARADOR:** Sideboard, cupboard or table in which dishes or other objects are stored. The gold and silver dishes are also referred to as *aparador*. The King of France gave the *Gran Capitan* (Great Captain) an *aparador* of gold and silver dishes. (COV) Cupboard, *dressoir* or buffet.

**ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS**: The place where documents, such as wills, notary deeds, or other certificates issued by the notaries or scribes are kept safe.

**ARROBA:** *Arroba* comes from *rub*, an Arabic term that means 'a fourth part'. The weight of an *arroba* is equivalent to 11,502 kg. (RAE)

**ARRODILLADOS:** Ceramic figures.

**ARTESA:** Kneading trough. A long narrow open container that animals eat or drink from. (CS)

**AZAFATE:** Tray for serving tea. (COV)

**AZEYTERA:** Clay or tin containers of different shapes and sizes, with narrow mouths, in which the oil is poured for daily use. Also called *alcuza.* (AUT)

**AZUFAIFAS (Axufaynas):** Open and shallow glazed clay container or bowl, used to wash hands. *Axufaynas* have a thick round rim. Also called *almofía**. (COV)

**AZUMBRE:** A unit of volume to measure liquids such as water, wine, vinegar or milk, equal to an eighth of an *arroba**. *Zumbre* is the Arabic term, but in Spanish the prefix '*a*' was added. (AUT)

**BACÍA (Vacía, Bacín, Bazía**; **dim. Bacinica)**: Round deep container or dish with a wide mouth in which other dishes were washed. Also used by the barber and called a *bacía de barbero*. (COV) A barber's bowl, a shaving bowl.

**BACIADERO:** Not in the historic dictionaries consulted. Nowadays it has the meaning of a small pot.

**BADANA (Vadana):** The soft hide of a ram or a sheep. (AUT)

**BANASTO:** Large wicker basket, also made using fine, twisted wooden sticks. *Banastos* can be of different sizes and shapes. (COV)

**BAQUERO:** See **VAQUERO**.

**BAQUETA (Vaqueta):** The hide of an ox or a cow**.** The hide of a calf was used to upholster seats and seat backs. (AUT)

**BARA:** see **VARA**.

**BARREÑUELO (Barreño):** Coarse clay bowl used to hold liquids and for other purposes such as washing, bleeding, etc. The terms come from the *barro** or clay that is used to make this type of bowl. (AUT)

**BARRIL (pl. Barriles):** A clay container with a large lower part and a narrow neck. The term may derive from the material of which it is made, clay, although those made of wood in various sizes and shapes are also so named. They were used to transport or store different liquors and goods such as olives, marinades, gunpowder, wine, water and oil (AUT) Jar.

**BARRO:** Mud made from earth or clay mixed with rainwater that is specifically blended for different uses such as making walls, bricks, iron bars, pots, adobe and other things. Covarrubias states that this term comes from Arabic *barr*, which means 'uneducated countryside'. (AUT)

**BASO or BASSO (Vaso):** Generic term for any container or cup used to hold liquids. Some *vasos* are used in *aparadores** and on tables, and these are called *vasos de honor*, 'honour glasses or goblets'. (COV) (From Lat. *vasum*). Large or small size concave piece, made to hold something. Vessel made of metal, glass or any other material, of cylindrical shape, which is used to drink. (RAE)

**BAXILLA (Vaxilla):** Dishes and cups stored in an *aparador**. The tableware of princes and gentlemen were made of gold and silver, and many individuals ostentatiously displayed their wealth at weddings and other occasions. In Rome, according to Fenestela, the censor Cayo Fabricio insulted the senator Publio Cornelio Rufino by ostentatiously using silver tableware weighing more than ten pounds at a dinner party, which was the standard reserved for serving the nobility. A *baxilla de camino* was a portable porcelain set. (COV)

**BEJUCO:** Climbing plant characteristic of the tropical regions. (RAE)

**BENERGAL (Bernegal, Vernegal):** Wide-mouthed vessel for drinking water. This name is frequently used in Toledo. The word comes from the Arabic word *berr* that translates as 'earth', thus meaning 'a vase made of earth', but they were also made from silver. (COV) A jar that holds filtered water. (RAE)

**BERNEGAL DE BOCADOS:** A *bernegal** with indentations. This word is not in the historic dictionaries consulted.

**BESTIÓN**: Beast.

**BENTTURINA:** See **VENTURINA**

**BICHA**: See **VICHA**.

**BIOMBO**: A type of furniture that consists of several articulated panels arranged alternatively at two levels. (SA)

**BOCADOS**: Bites. (CS) Indentations.

**BOLLÓN (Bollones)**: Spherical or oval projections on silver objects achieved by the *repoussé* or embossing techniques. (RAE)

**BOTE:** Round vase or jar made of glazed clay, with identical [parallel?] sides, the name of which is derived from the apothecaries (*boticarios*) where they were used to store different ointments, spices or drugs. The Italians in the Classical period called this type of vase an *alabastrum.* (COV)

**BOTIJOS (Botijones, Botijillas, Botijas, Botijón):** Drinking jug with a spout. (COV)

**BOQUILLA:** Diminutive of mouth; small mouth. (AUT)

**BRAHON (Brahones):** A ring-shaped fold, which, in ancient apparel, surrounded the upper part of the arm. (AUT)

**BRINCOS (Brinquiños, Brinquinos):** 1. A small jewel used by women as headgear. *Brincos* were also silver or gold necklaces that moved and jumped around as a result of a person's movement. (AUT) 2. Also a Portuguese term for small ceramic toys such as animals shaped as lions, dogs or other figures, which were later called *bibelots*, from the French. These objects were registered under the generic name *regalos* or 'presents' in the galleons cargo lists.[3] *Brincar* in Spanish means 'to jump'. In Philip II's inventory: 'a *brinco* in the shape of a heart'.

**BRUTESCO:** Term used in art and architecture, derived from the imitation of coarse and uncultivated things, such as heaths and caves (grottos, in Spanish *grutas*). A modification, *grutesco,* is the proper spelling of the term. (AUT)

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[3] Alfonso Pleguezuelo, 'Regalos del Galeón. Las Porcelanas y las Lozas Ibéricas de la Edad Moderna', in *Filipinas*: *Puerta de Oriente*: *de Legazpi a Malaspina*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2003, p. 140.

**BÚCARO:** A type of container *baso** made of red clay that comes from Portugal. The shape has a belly and for that reason people call it *búccaro* or *bucca* (swollen cheek); can also have a Greek origin in the word *bouxepos*, *buqueros*, which translates as 'in the form of an ox horn'. (COV) A fine and scented vase from which water is drunk. There are *búcaros* of different types and shapes. Some come from the Indies and are highly appreciated and very precious. (AUT)

**BUCHE:** Small bottle used to preserve musk. (AUT)

**BUFETE:** A portable table with a fixed top and legs and hinges that can be transported by folding the legs beneath the top. It was invented in Germany. These large or medium-size tables were made of wood or precious stones and consisted of a table top with two legs that are made of the same or other material. (AUT)

**BUREO:** Board formed by High Court dignitaries and presided over by the Chief Major-domo who was responsible for the administrative files of the Royal House and also exercised legal authority over the people within its jurisdiction. (RAE)

**BUXERÍAS (Bujerías):** This term is generally used in the plural form. Things of low price or value, albeit of good taste and made with care and grace that are usually given to ladies and children. Comes from the Latin *buxum* or Castilian *box*, because such objects were usually carved from its wood. (AUT)

**CABALLERO:** Knight, member of the low nobility. (RAE)

**CAÇUELAS (Cazuela):** Round cooking container or bowl, wider than it is tall, of different sizes, used for cooking. (AUT) A bowl with two small handles.

**CALCEDONIA:** Precious stone with a sapphire blue colour. Agate of chalcedony. (AUT)

**CALDERA (Caldero):** Large container or pot for boiling water and cooking meat. *A calderilla* is a small *caldera or caldero.* (COV) A container with a round wide mouth, the bottom shaped as half a sphere. It has an arched handle attached to two rings that are fastened to the container. In the middle of the handle is a ring to which a rope is attached so that is can be lowered down a well to draw water. (AUT)

**CALDO:** Clear soup or bouillon. (RAE)

**CAMARERA MAYOR**: The '*camarera mayor*' [wardrobe mistress] was the head of the Queen's female household, and was responsible for the rest of the service in the palace. (RAE) Because her duties were very private, being in physical contact with the Queen, the post of *camarera mayor* acquired a symbolic value that resulted in all kinds of privileges, both material and honorific.

**ÇAMORANO:** 'From the city of Zamora'.

**CÁNTARO:** A type of jug with one handle**.** When used for wine in Castile it is known as a *cántara*; when used for water it is known as a *cántaro.* A person who makes these clay *cántaros* is called a *cantarero*. Those for the kitchen service in a gentleman's household are made from copper and are used to carry water from the river. A great number of these survive because this material rarely breaks. A *cantarilla* is a small jug. (COV and AUT)

**CARACOL (Caracola):** Snail or conch. (CS) Nautilus shell.

**CASTELLANO:** A type of gold coin valued at 480 *maravedies**. Also one-fiftieth of a gold *marco** which is eight *onzas**. Each *castellano** equals eight *tomines**. (AUT)

**CAZUELA** see **CAÇUELAS**

**CÉDULA:** Royal order, decree or warrant; a legal document issued by the King that authorises the holder to do something. (AUT)

**CHICARA:** see **JÍCARA**

**CHINA:** Small stone. The silversmith said: 'He brought "chinas" instead of diamonds'. The name is also used for any type of fine pottery that comes from the realm of China. (AUT)

**COMPOTERAS:** Glass jar with a lid, in which compote is preserved. (RAE)

**CONSEJO REAL:** Royal Council or Council of Castile. (CS)

**CONSERVERAS:** Preserving containers.

**CONTADOR:** A type of cabinet with six or eight drawers, without doors or ornamentation on the top, used to store papers. (AUT)

**CONTADOR MAYOR**: Head Treasurer in charge of the Royal treasury. (AUT)

**CONTRAHECHA:** To imitate something in the natural or artificial world. Another meaning could be 'something badly made, warped or crippled'. (COV)

**CONTRALOR:** Honorific trade in the Royal Household, according to Burgundy etiquette, equivalent to the *veedor*★. The person in charge of overseeing the accounts of expenses, bills, charges of jewellery and furniture, in addition to other important functions. (RAE)

**COPA:** A glass or cup made of crystal, glass, silver or gold and/or other materials, the shape being similar to a chalice, except that the bottom is narrower and it has a foot. The word derives from the Latin *cuppa*, the barrels (*cuba*) in a cellar in which wine is stored. (AUT)

**CORDOBÁN**: The hide, usually of a ram, that was used to make shoes or decorative objects. The name derives from the city of Cordoba that was famous for this type of skin. (AUT)

**CORNERINA (Cornalina):** A precious stone, called onyx in Latin. They were set into rings, and people attributed certain virtues and properties to them. (COV)

**DEDO:** A unit of measure, a finger. An inch. (CS)

**DESASIDO (Desasir):** To release or detach [part of something from a greater whole]. (AUT)

**DESCONFORMES (Desconformar):** Not of a similar or the same opinion. It can also mean unequal or disagreement. (AUT)

**DOBLÓN:** A gold coin used in Spain that had different values over time, the standard equivalent being four *escudos*★ to one *doblón.* (AUT)

**DOSEL**: Sumptuous and majestic adornment that consists of a canopy on a frame, with hangings on the front and sides and a back curtain that covers the wall. Made of velvet, damask or any other fabric, edged with braids and fringes and sometimes embroidered with silk and gold. (AUT)

**DUCADO:** Castilian unit of account (prior to 1537, a gold coin), worth 375 *maravedíes*★ [1 ducado= 375 *maravedíes*] or eleven silver *reales*★. Other monetary units used in the sixteenth century included: 1 *real* = 34 *maravedíes* (*mrv.*); 1 *escudo*★ = 400 *maravedíes*. The unit of account was the *maravedí*. It can be translated as ducat or ducats. (RAE)

**DUERNO:** A long, narrow and open container similar to an *artesa*★ that is carved from wood and has different uses, the main one being to knead dough; the Spanish term comes from the Greek word *artos*, which means 'bread'. (AUT)

**ENSOGADA:** Tied up with a rope. (AUT)

**ESCAPARATE:** Display window cabinet made in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

**ESCRIBANÍA (Escrivanyas):** The box in which writing materials are kept. Some are portable and others fixed. (COV)

**ESCRIBANO:** A scrivener or municipal clerk. (RAE)

**ESCRITORIO:** Cabinet. A wooden cabinet with different divisions and sections, used to store papers or deeds, also called a *papelera*. (AUT)

**ESCUDILLA:** Round deep container or bowl used for bouillon. The word comes from *escudo* (shield). Another term found in the inventories is *escudillas de falda* probably referring to a bowl with an everted rim. (COV) The old Spanish word was also used to refer to a small plate like a 'goblet of gilded silver on a small porcelain plate or *escudilla*'.

**ESCUDILLAS SALSERAS:** Sauce bowls.

**ESCUDO (Escudos):** A coin engraved with the King or Prince's coat of arms (*escudo*). It can be made of gold and is worth half a *doblon**. In Castile and Leon there are silver and copper *escudos*. A silver *escudo* is worth eight *reales* [*real de a ocho*, see *real*] and the *vellón** (copper) is worth ten *reales de vellón**. (AUT) During the reign of King Phillip II of Spain one gold escudo equalled to 16 silver *reales* and 1 silver real to 34 *maravedíes*.

**ESTORAQUE:** A tree native to Peru from which a very fragrant balm (storax) is obtained that is primarily used in cosmetics and medicine.

**ESTRADO:** A chamber or room with rugs and furniture where women socialise and receive visitors. Also the items that adorn a room such as this, including rugs, cushions, small chairs and stools. (AUT) Dais.

**FACTOR**: A person assigned to a different city who is in charge of purchases or deals made in the name of a certain merchant or dealer. (AUT)

**FALDILLA**: Diminutive of *faldas* (skirts). The folds of cloth that hang from the waist of a jacket or doublet. (AUT)

**FLAMENQUILLA:** Small plate, smaller than a serving plate (*trincheo**). (COV)

**FRASCO:** A barrel-shaped jar with round sides and a narrow neck, made of gold, silver, copper or tin. These jars were mainly used to cool beverages. They were stored in a box called a *frasqueta or frasquera*. In some inventories this word is used to refer to a clay container as well. (COV)

**FRASQUERA (Frasqueta)**: A box for storing bottles or jars, with several internal divisions. Objects are packed tightly inside the container so that they can be carried from one place to another without damage. (AUT)

**FRISA:** A type of cloth**;** coarse woollen fabric. (COV)

**FUENTE:** A large dish of silver, pewter or pottery, so called because in the old days kings and princes were offered water to wash their hands in two *fuentes*, one of which held the water for washing their hands, which drained into the other through tubes. (AUT)

**FURRIERÍA (Ayuda de):** Steward in the office in charge of supervising the furnishings in the Alcázar. Officer of the Royal Palace in charge of the key of the Palace; the *aposentador mayor*, his superior, also has a copy of the key. (AUT)

**FUSTAN:** A type of fabric made from cotton that is used to line dresses. It so named because it resembles a 'frustum' [of a column] of fabric made of silk or any other material. Father Guadix said it is Arabic in origin. In Latin it is called *pannus gossipinus*. (COV)

**GARRAFA (pl. Garrafas):** A type of bottle with a rounded belly and a long narrow neck, made of different materials such as glass, copper and other metals. They were used to cool liquors or beverages. (AUT)

**GENTILESHOMBRES DE LA BOCA:** Gentleman who waited at the King's table. (AUT)

**GRANDES DE ESPAÑA**: The elite among the titled aristocracy of Spain; initially, twenty-five titles were granted the status of *grandeza* (grandeeship) by Charles V.

**GREFIER:** According to the Burgundy etiquette this was an honorary trade in the Royal House, the *grefier* was auxiliary and complementary to the *contralor**. Also the secretary in the *bureo**. (RAE)

**GROSERO:** Coarse.

**GUARDAJOYAS:** The Officer or Keeper of the Crown Jewels. (AUT)

**GUARNECER:** To adorn dresses, clothes, hangings or any other things, on the sides or in the middle, so they are further enhanced. Also used to mount any object in gold, silver or any other metal. (AUT) To decorate.

**GUIJAS:** Stones from rivers or streams. (AUT)

**HECHURA:** Shape or form. (AUT)

**HENDIDA:** Something divided in the middle. (COV)

**HIDALGO:** Member of the minor nobility. (RAE)

**HIDALGUÍA:** Noble status. (RAE)

**JARRO (Jarra):** Earthenware, porcelain, or glass ewer with a wide neck and mouth and one or two handles. (RAE)

**JASPE**: Opaque silica stone with a fine grain, of homogeneous texture, and found in different colours, depending on the quantities of alumina, iron oxide and carbon it contains. (RAE) Jasper

**JÍCARA (Xícara, Chicara):** A bell-shaped cup made of tin-glazed pottery (*loza**) that was mainly used to serve drinking chocolate. The term comes from America [probably Mexico]. (AUT)

**JOFAINA:** Wide and shallow circular container, used particularly for washing. (COV)

**JUNCIERA (Junziera):** A ceramic vase with a pierced lid in which herbs and aromatic roots are infused in vinegar to perfume a room. (COV) In the inventories this shape is also used to describe a large plate or dish.

**LABRADO/A (Labrar):** To order the construction of buildings, factories or any other thing. Also to use a needle to create works on white linen. (AUT) In the documents this word is used in the context of 'to decorate or craft', or 'carved or incised' into a surface.

**LEGAJO:** A bundle or set of papers tied together. It comes from the Spanish verb *ligar* ('to bind'), derived from the cord that is used to tie them up. (AUT)

**LEONADA:** Blond or fair-haired, similar to a lion's fur. (AUT)

**LIBRA:** A unit of weight equivalent of 460 grams. (RAE)

**LIMETA**: A glass container shaped as a *redoma**, to hold wine or any other liquid. (AUT)

**LINALOE:** A succulent that grows in areas of the West Indies and particularly in *Conchinchina* [Cochin China, in French Cochinchine, the southern part of Vietnam, south of Cambodia]. It is very similar to the olive tree but sturdier and bears a fruit similar to cherries. The trunk is dark and knotty. The wood, very fragrant when burnt, is extremely hard and at least as acrid as the *acíbar* (aloe), and for that reason is called *aloe* but better known in the Castilian language as *linaloe.* (AUT) An aromatic plant known for producing oil with a pleasing fragrance similar to a mixture of lemon and jasmine. The term *linalo* is also used in some of the lists.

**LOÇA (Loza):** Everything made of fine and lustrous ceramic, such as plates, dishes and bowls.

(AUT) Earthenware covered in a tin glaze.

**MAESTRESALAS:** Main servant in the dining room who served the meals and tasted the food to make sure that it was not poisoned. (AUT)

**MACERINA:** see **MAZERINA**

**MARAVEDÍ (*Maravedies or morabeties)*:** Could be translated as 'coin' or 'currency' in the Arabic language, which started to be used in Spain during the reign of Fernando II of Leon (1137–88) for gold coins that weighed 3.8 grams each. These terms were especially used from 1214 to 1255 to facilitate trade with the Muslims in Castile. (RAE) One real equalled to 34 *maravedíes* and one *ducado* to 11 silver *reales*.

**MATIZ (Matices):** A type of embroidery done during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries consisting of 'long and short stitches'. In the eighteenth century some fabrics were described with expressions such as '*guarnecido con hojuela brillante y matices*' or '*con matices azules de felpilla*'. However, in such cases it does not refer to the type of stitch but to the different colours or tones of the silks.[4]

**MAYORAZGO:** The *mayorazgo* was a regulation in old Castilian law, enforced from 1505 (*Leyes de Toro*) to 1820, which gave the first-born son the right to inherit the entire estate to prevent its subdivision among the members of the family. Usually, one-third of the assets were transferred to these perpetual trusts or *mayorazgos* to ensure that a large block of assets would pass intact from one generation to the next. The holder of the *mayorazgo* could not sell, mortgage, or give away any portion of the *mayorazgo's* principal, but was obliged to invest its annual income to provide for his siblings and their descendants, as well as his own children. (RAE) Seigniorial system.

**MAYORDOMO:** Majordomo, a senior servant of the King who manages the Royal household and is usually a member of the upper aristocracy. (RAE) Also Chief Major-domo.

**MAZERINA (Manzerina; Mancerina):** According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades* of 1726, it is described as 'a type of plate with a recess in the middle in which a *xícara** (see *jícara* above) is placed so the chocolate is not spilt'. (AUT) A saucer for the *jícara* or *xícara*, used in Spain for drinking chocolate and the sweets that were eaten as well. The introduction of chocolate during the seventeenth century to Spain resulted in the invention of silver or ceramic ware for that purpose. The name comes from the Viceroy of Peru, the Duke of Mancera, in the seventeenth century. Most *mancerinas* were made of silver or tin-glazed pottery.

**MORRION:** A morion is a type of open metal helmet worn by ordinary soldiers that could be adorned with feathers on the top. (AUT)

**MORTERO:** A hollow bowl used when grinding ingredients for the different sauces and other condiments, from the Latin *mortarium.* (COV) Mortar.

**MOSCADOR:** Not in the historic dictionaries consulted.

**MRS:** Maravedí or maravedies.

**NOTARIO:** Notary, a person empowered to draft contracts and judicial acts. (AUT)

**OFICIO DE BOCA:** Any of the positions in the palace related to the King and Queen's meals. (AUT)

**OLLA:** A kitchen cauldron (or pan) in which meat and other ingredients such as vegetables are cooked. In some homes a stew (*olla*) is made for lunch, and salad and fruit are served at dinnertime. (COV)

**ONZA:** Ounce (measure of weight).

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[4] I am grateful to Amalia Descalzo for helping to clarify this term.

**ORZA**: Tall, glazed clay container without handles that is generally used to keep preserves. Comes from the Latin *orca.* (AUT)

**PABELLÓN:** Folding hangings that shelter and adorn a bed, a throne or an altar. (RAE)

**PALANGANA:** Container of different shapes, the most widespread being long and deep, with a rim approximately four inches (*dedos*⋆) wide, with a recess at either end to fit around the neck for the barber to shave or wash the beard. It is also used to wash hands and has other uses as well. They were made of silver, brass, tin or clay. (AUT)

**PALMO**: Measurement that is used in two ways: the first is from the thumb to the little finger with the hand extended; the other is the distance between the index finger and the little finger. Comes from the Latin *palmus.* It is the fourth of a *vara*⋆. (AUT)

**PALO BLANCO:** A type of white wood of poor or ordinary quality. (AUT) Mentioned in the inventories as the material used to make boxes for objects.

**PAPELINA:** A type of slender vase on a foot with a wide trumpet-shaped mouth. It was invented by an unknown Pope. (COV)

**PAPELÓN**: Paper glued together using *engrudo*, a paste consisting of flour and water, to produce a type of board that is used for multiple purposes. One of the inventories includes a '*salva de papelon dorada*', a small plate gilded made of *papelón. (*AUT) Papier-mâché.

**PEBETE**: Wick laced with gunpowder and other ingredients that is used to light fireworks. (AUT)

**PEBETERO**: A candlestick or similar object in which *pebetes*⋆ are used. (AUT)

**PESO:** Castilian silver coin of one ounce in weight. It is worth eight silver *reales*⋆. Others are called *pesos gruesos*,' thick pesos' that according to the new pragmatic are worth ten silver *reales.* (AUT)

**PICHEL:** Container that comes from England, is made of tin and is used for wine. (COV) Pitcher or jug, a large container with a small opening and one or two handles, used to hold liquids.

**PICO:** Point. Normally used to refer to foliated or indented rims on dishes, similar to the top of a pointed hat. (AUT)

**PIE:** Foot or pedestal.

**PIE CASTELLANO:** A Castilian foot, an old measurement equal to 28 centimetres.

**PIEDRA DE IJADA:** Jade.

**PIEZA:** Term used in the old inventories to refer to the rooms in a house or a palace. **(**AUT)

**PIMPINELA:** Herbaceous plant, of the rose family, with red stems measuring four to six centimetres tall. (RAE)

**PLATO:** Plate.

**POCILLO (Pozuela, dim. Poçuelas):** From the Latin word *pocillum.* It has two meanings: one is a container inserted to the ground for oil or wine in mills or presses, the other is a small cup, such as those used to serve drinking chocolate. (RAE).

**POMA:** Metal container with a pierced lid in which different fragrant preparations are placed and, when put on a fire, serves to perfume rooms. (AUT)

**POMICOS:** See **POMO.**

**POMO (Pomito, Pomillo; dim. Pomicos):** A container in the shape of an apple that is used to preserve liquors and scented waters. (AUT) '*Mas un pomillo de alabastro que tuvo algalia*' 'An alabaster *pomillo* that contained *algalia*⋆ [civet]'.

**PORCELANA (Porçelana, Porzelana, Borcelana):**[5] In his dictionary of 1611, Covarrubias provides the following explanation for the term *porcelana*: 'A transparent clay used to make vessels of different shapes. It comes from China and the material it is made of is said to take a long time to mature. In Italy there is a type of clay that some call *puscelana*, because it can be found in Puçol [referring to the town of Pozzuoli and the vessels made of volcanic ash from the Vesuvius]; some people have corrupted the word and call it *porcelana'*. (COV)

The *Diccionario de Autoridades* of 1726 lists four definitions which includes Covarrubia's definition: 1. 'A certain type of fine, transparent, clear and lustrous ceramic that is extensively made in China or Japan. Covarrubias mentions that porcelain was applied to a certain type of clay from Puçol [Pozzuoli], a city of the kingdom of Naples, from which the term derives, but it seems likely that the term comes from the French term *porcelaine,* a type of white shell from which the ancient people shaped containers very similar to our present porcelain'. 2. 'A type of wide deep cup made of fine clay that is used to serve sweets, clear soups, milk and other things.[6] 'What should taste better, tell me: to drink poisoned sweet milk from a porcelain cup or to know it in advance and spill it?'. 'In the countryside, friends, sisters and women with bunches of flowers attended, holding porcelains full of aromatic beverages'. 3. 'White enamel, mixed with a little blue that is used by silversmiths to decorate jewellery and pieces of gold'. 4. 'White colour mixed with blue. Latin: *Color porcellaneus*'. (AUT) In Mexico the term *borcelana* was used to refer to a piece of porcelain.

**POTE:** A type of tall clay container used to drink or to store liqueurs. This term is also used for the pots in which flowers and herbs are planted, made in the shape of a jug. (AUT)

**PROTOCOLO:** Register.

**PUCHERO:** Glazed or unglazed clay container, smaller than an *olla** but with the same functions. Covarrubias mentions that it was so named because the *puches* that are *gachas* [both words mean 'porridge'] was cooked in it. (AUT) A pot.

**QUINTAL (pl. Quintales):** The weight of 100 pounds or four *arrobas**, although it can vary depending on the area. Can also mean the fifth part of one hundred. (AUT)

**RAMILLETERO:** A type of adornment that is placed on altars, consisting of a flowerpot or pedestal with various artificial flower sprays inside it. (AUT)

**REAL (pl. Reales):** Silver coin that had different values over time, the most common being 2 *reales de vellón*, which corresponded to 68 *maravedíes**. One *real* equalled 34 *maravedíes*, or 3,43 grams of silver [see *ducado* above]. (RAE) A *peso fuerte* of 8 *reales* (silver) was called a *real de a ocho*.

**REBOTAN (Rebotín):** A light silk.[7]

**RECADO ('Recado de chocolate')**: All the utensils needed to perform an activity such as *recado de escribir* or *recado* ('to write') would mean all the objects needed to perform the writing task. '*Recado del chocolate'* would therefore be all that is required for drinking chocolate as an afternoon treat. (AUT) Beverages and pottery for the table.

**RECÁMARA:** Room adjoining the *camara* (chamber) that was normally used to keep clothes and jewellery. (AUT) The *recámara* is normally identified as the treasury where precious objects were kept.

**REDOMA:** Thick glass vessel or container with a wide belly and a narrow mouth. Apothecaries used these jars for liquids and syrups. (AUT)

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[5] The word *pourcelaine*, which originally meant 'sea-shell' or 'mother-of-pearl', was first given its current meaning by Marco Polo in his *Travels*, written while imprisoned by the Genoese.

[6] Hortens. Mar. p. 240.

[7] Esteban Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario Castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes*, vol. 3, p. 295.

**REPOSTERO DE CAMAS:** Servant of the Queen who guarded the door to the *antecámara*★ and plumped up the mattress.

**RS:** See real.

**RUCIADERA:** Jug used to serve oil and the vinegar at the table. (RAE)

**SALSIER (Sausería, Salsería):** In the palace, the holders of this trade provided the vinegar used in salads and when cooking different meats, and supplied the valuable spices to the kitchen. (AUT)

**SALVA (Salvilla):** Gold, silver or clay object such as a small plate, on which the gentleman's goblet was served. The term comes for the expression: '*Hacer la salva*' ('To perform the *salva*'), the ceremony in which the main servant (*maestresalas*★) tasted his lord's wine and food to prevent him from being poisoned, thus 'saving' him from betrayal. (COV)

**SECRETARIO DE CORTE:** Equerry, a male officer who acts as an assistant to a member of a Royal family. (RAE)

**SERVIDOR:** Dish. (AUT)

**SERVILLA**: A type of *cordovan* (leather slippers) with thin soles that are made in Cordoba. Covarrubias mentions that the name comes from the fact that servants used these shoes. (AUT) *Servilla* could also derive from the previous entry *servidor* (dish).

**SESMA:** Measurement that is the sixth part of a *vara*★. Some use the distance from the tip of the thumb to the index finger, almost 14 centimetres. (RAE)

**SIERPE:** Large serpent. (CS)

**SOBRECOPA:** Lid or cover of a goblet, cup or container. (RAE)

**SOBREPUESTOS:** Something that is put on top of another. (AUT) Additions such as appliqué or relief work.

**SOGA:** Rope made from *esparto* grass or any other material. (AUT)

**SUMILLER:** Generic term for the different trades in the king's household. *Sumiller de panetería*: person in charge of the bread and table linen in the palace. *Sumiller de corps*: First Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber in the Castilian Royal Household. (AUT) The Officer of the Royal Household in charge of the more intimate and inner rooms of the Spanish king, responsible for the most immediate service to the Monarch.

**SYNABAFO (Colcha, Coicha):** A type of transparent, thin cotton cloth-gauze imported from India. Sold in Goa and exported in large quantities to Portugal and perhaps Seville, especially after 1580.[8]

**TAÇA**, see **TAZA**

**TAPADOR:** A lid (see **SOBRECOPA** above).

**TAPICERO MAYOR:** Head of the trade responsible for tapestries, hangings, carpets, and other textiles that adorned the Royal Household. (AUT)

**TARRO:** Tall glazed clay jar with a wide mouth that is generally used for preserves. Covarrubias believes that it comes from *quasi terra* ['nearly earth']. (AUT)

**TASACIÓN:** An appraisal, a valuation. (CS)

**TASADOR:** Appraiser. (CS)

**TAZA (Taça):** Wide-mouthed wine cup. According to Father Guadix the name derives from the Arabic, *de tecq* ('to give to drink') A Romanist might have said *quasi tassa* [?], as that was the measure

[8] Special thanks to Annemarie Jordan for providing the definition of this word.

of one drink. (COV) However, the word *taza* could have another meaning, as some of the objects in the inventories are described in the following way: 'Five porcelains on a low foot (*taça*)'. This shape is related to the Italian *tazza* ('cup', plural *tazze*), a shallow saucer-like bowl either mounted on a stem and foot, or only on a foot.

**TAZÓN:** Large cup, bowl or dish. (AUT)

**TECOMATE:** Pottery vessel shaped as a deep cup. (RAE)

**TENDIDA**: Unfolded, opened, spread out. (AUT)

**TIBOR:** Large vase or jar made of clay from China or Japan shaped as a *tinaja* and decorated on the outside. (AUT)

**TINAJA (Tinaxa; dim. Tinajuela):** An oval clay container or jar with a great capacity; *tinajuela* and *tinajilla* are the diminutives. *Tinajón* is a large *tinaja.* (COV)

**TOMÍN (pl. Tomines):** The eighth part of a gold *castellano.* (AUT)

**TOSTTAZERAS:** Not in the historic dictionaries consulted.

**TOTUMA:** Container made from the fruit of the *totumo*, a type of gourd from South America with a thick peel. (AUT)

**TRINCHEO:** A small plate, one for each guest at a table. Comes from the French *trincher* that means 'to cut'. The plate was referred to by this name because the food on it was already cut. (COV)

**VACÍA:** see **BACÍA**

**VADANA:** see **BADANA**

**VALIDO (Privado):** King's favourite*;* in the seventeenth century, *valido* status (*valimiento*) included a more or less explicit royal grant of ministerial powers. (RAE)

**VAQUERO:** Garment of Turkish origin. Tight-fitting around the torso and with skirts, it is open at the front and buttoned with braid trimmings. Its most elaborate feature is the long, tubular flattened sleeves that hung from the shoulders. Boys and girls wore them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was also a *vaquero* for men to wear at the *fiestas* with bulls and canes as well as one for women.[9]

**VARA:** Measurement that equals approximately one yard or 83 centimetres. 'The *vara* was originally three Roman feet and is usually translated as "yard", but it varied in different parts of Spain and the Spanish colonial empire'.[10]

**VASO:** See **BASSO**.

**VASERA:** Large plate with handles on which cups were carried. (AUT) A tray.

**VEEDOR DE VIANDA.** Palace employee in charge of the accounts of the food who ensured that dishes were served at the table in the correct order after informing the Chief Major-domo. (RAE)

**VELLÓN:** Blend of silver and copper from which coins were minted during the seventeenth century; they were made of copper only from the reign of Philip V of Spain (1683–1746). (RAE)

**VENERA**: Shell of a particular kind of mollusc found along the Galician coastline that is often brought back by pilgrims returning from the city of Santiago as an emblem of having been on this pilgrimage. Covarrubias relates this word to the vein-like stripes or spots on the shell. (AUT) Scallop shells, often found along the shores of Galicia, have long been the symbol of the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage.

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[9] I am grateful to Amalia Descalzo for providing the meaning of this word.

[10] Boxer, 2004, p. 253.

**VENTURINA:** Dun yellowish quartz with sheets of mica gold in its mass. (AUT)

**VERNEGAL:** see **BERNEGAL**

**VICHA (Bicha)**: Imaginary figure, the upper part shaped as a woman, the lower part as a fish or other animal, surrounded by fruit and foliage, used for decorative purposes. (RAE)

**VOTIJILLAS:** See **BOTIJOS**

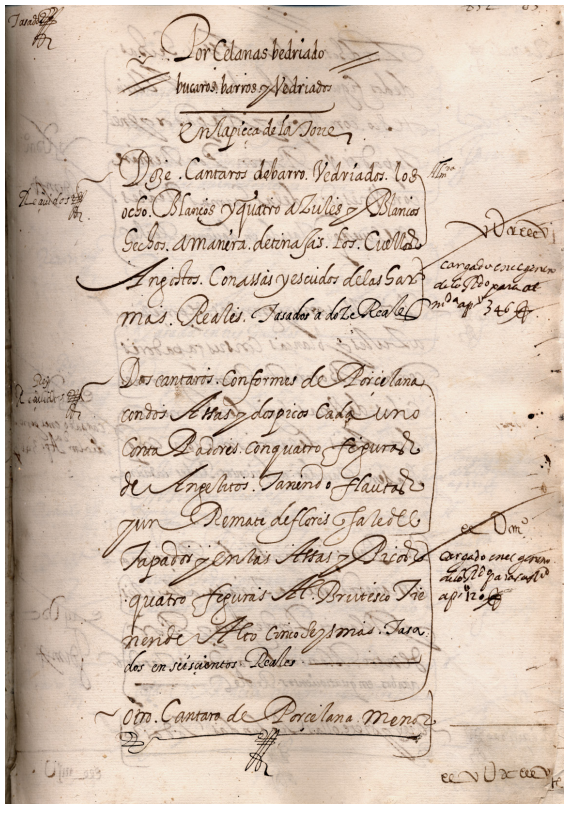
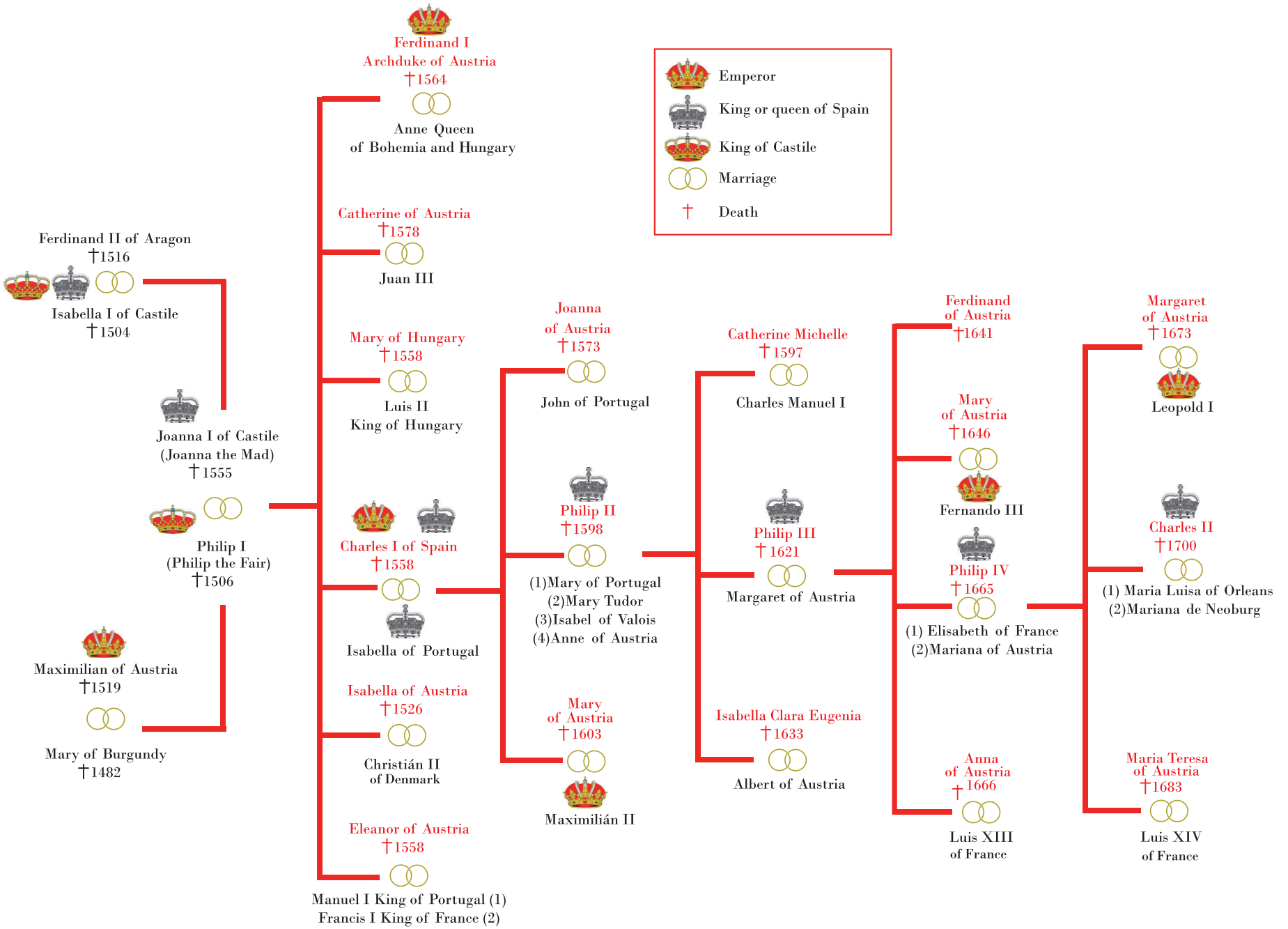


Fig. 241 Inventory of Philip II. Palacio Real, Madrid



Fig. 242 Lucas de Heere, portrait of Philip II of Spain, oil on canvas, 88 x 72 cm. c. 1560. Private collection, Toledo.

# GENEALOGY OF THE SPANISH HABSBURG ROYAL HOUSE





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