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

Krahe Noblett, M.C.I.

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Author: Krahe, Cinta

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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

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: Guanying, 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.

TYPVS ORBIS



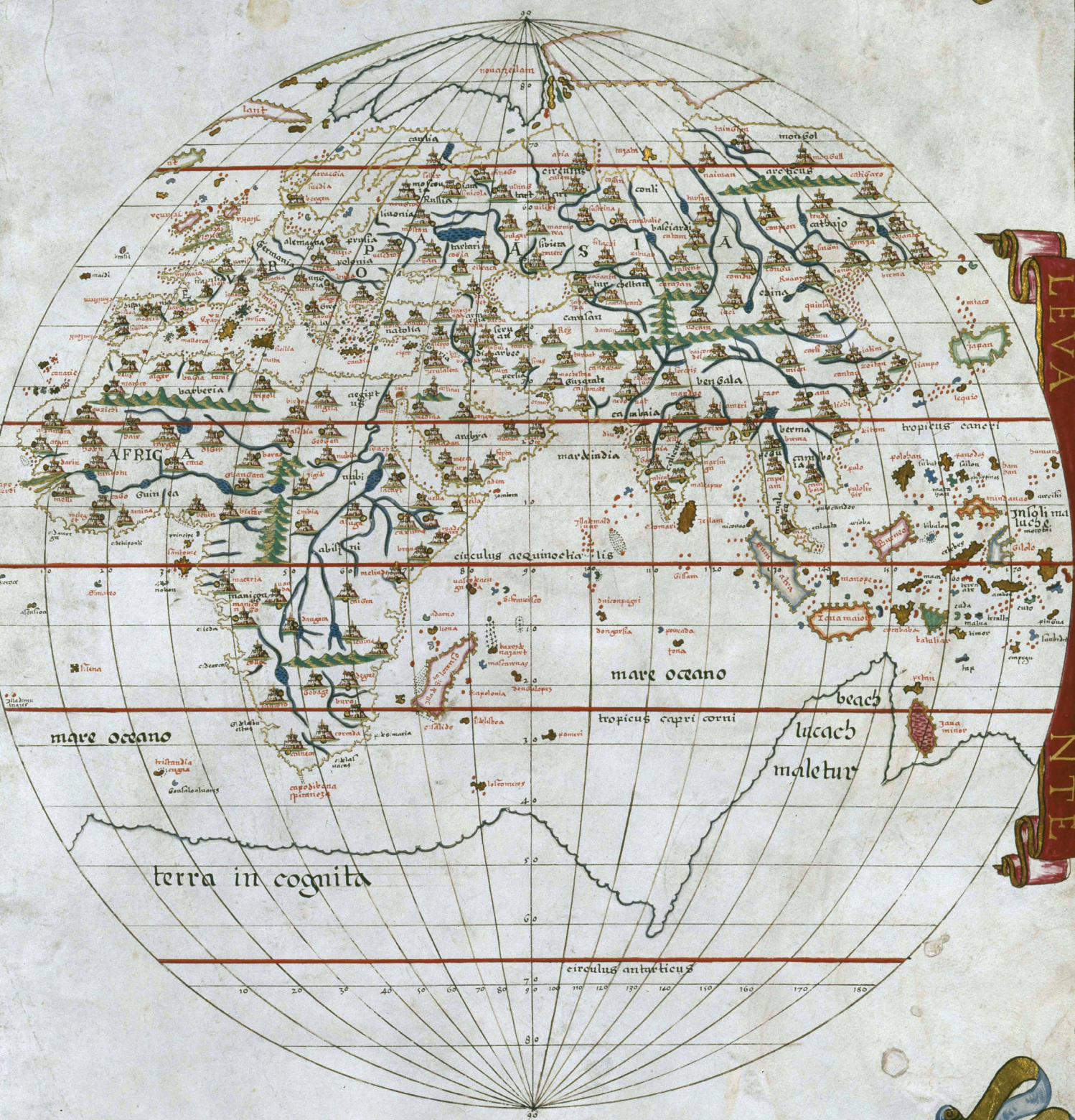
Atlas, drawing by Joan Martines, 1587, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Joan martines

ANA

GRECHO

TERRARVM



MECZO

GRECHO

En messina Año 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 *wuca*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.

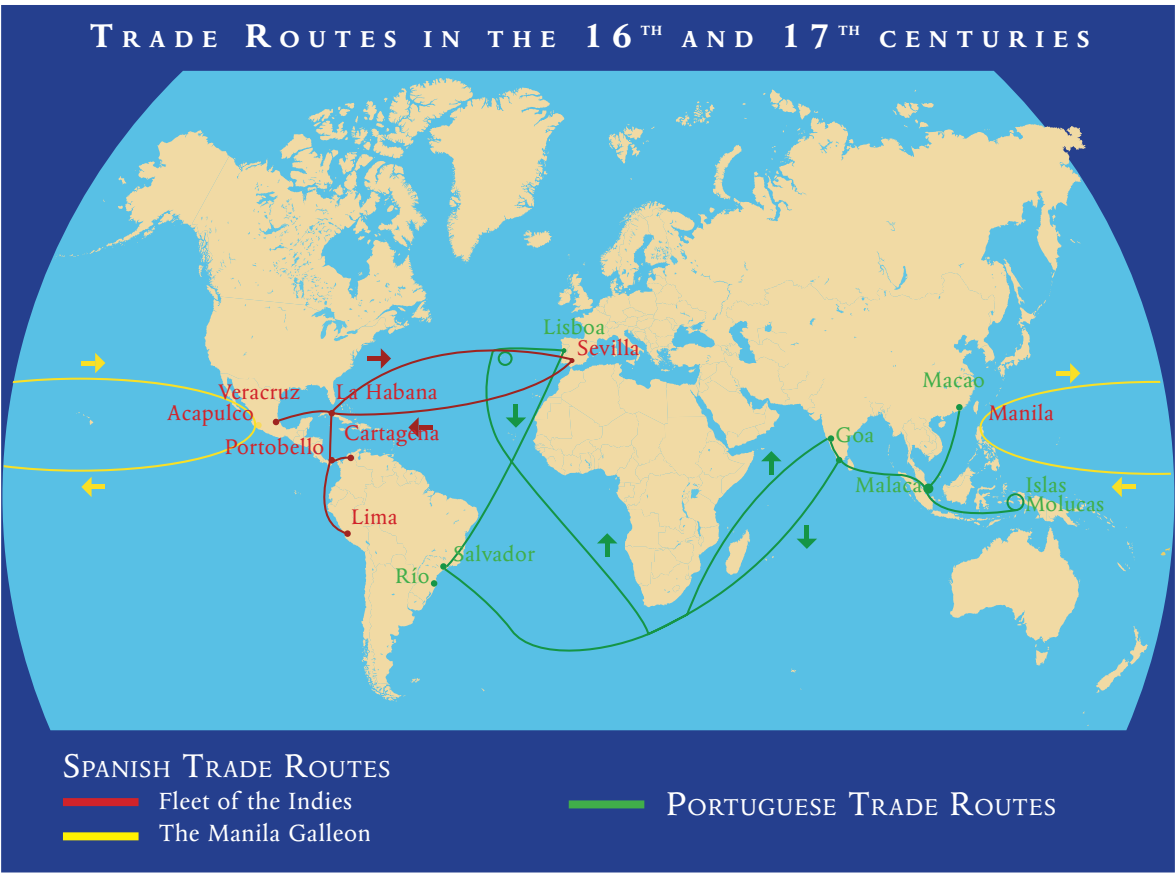


Fig. 9. Spanish-Portuguese Trade Routes. Cinta Krahe ©

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 East⁹⁷. 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 Fernão 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

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 Misioneros 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 édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères...* vol. 17, Paris, 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)

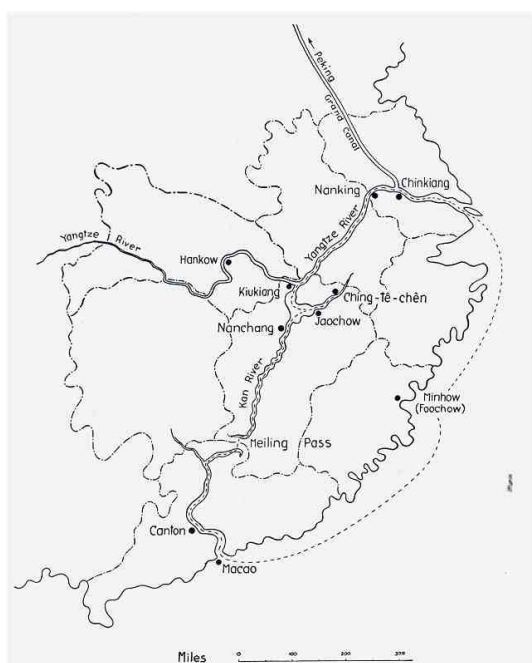


Fig. 10. Map showing the route from Jingdezhen to Macao. From: <http://smashalldthings.blogspot.com.es/2012/05/jingdezhen-when-west-copied-china-1.html>

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

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 (*aljófara*) 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

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 Índia', 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. Landscapes, 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.

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*, n°. 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

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:



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 Virreinato*, 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

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 Japanese¹⁴⁰ 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-

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 Governmental 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 *maravedies*.

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 & Martínez 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 Evaluó* (Board of Appraisalment) 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 (*brinquños*), 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

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 (*boleto*) 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, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

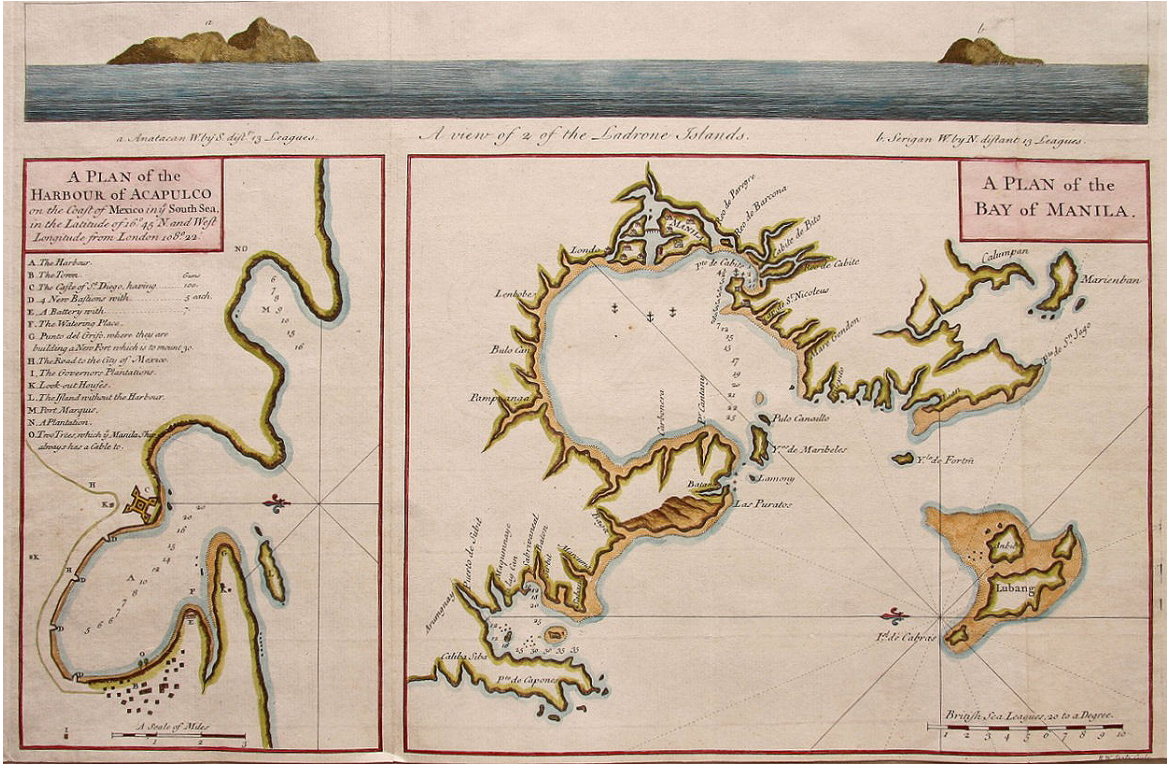


Fig. 15. Plans of the harbour of Acapulco and the Bay of Manila, from *Atlas to George Anson, Voyage From Around the World in the Years DMCCXL, I, II, III, IV, London, 1748, p. 31.*

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 (*aljófár*) 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

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;

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 between 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

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 Louisiana (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

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, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

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

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

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 dyeing) 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 World 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 económico, 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

¹⁹⁷ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, ‘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 Villar and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios entre Sevilla y las Indias. Los Almon-te*, 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.

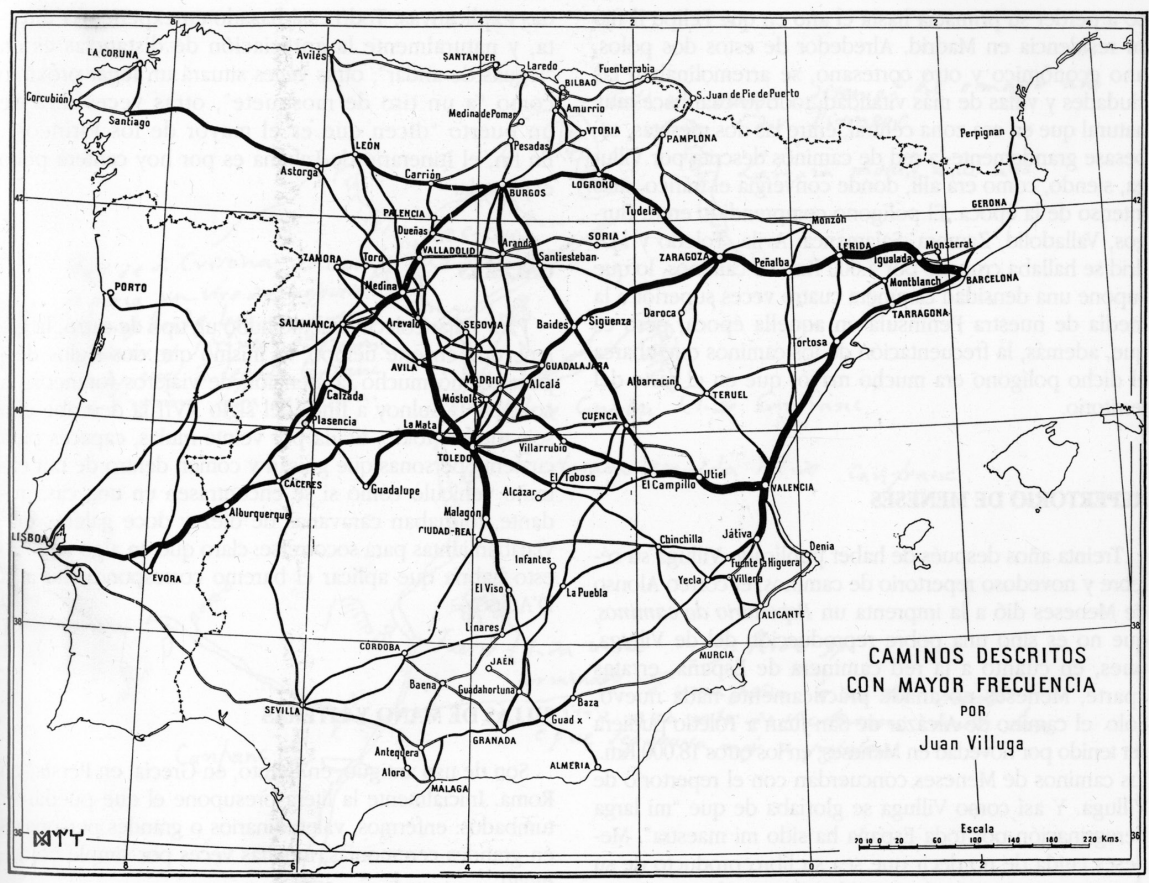


Fig. 20. Juan Villuga, Map of the tracks and paths used to transport trade goods in Spain, dated 1546. From Menéndez Pidal, 1992, pp. 130–31.

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 exotica²¹¹ 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

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 centre²¹⁶ (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-*

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 maravilhas do Oriente: Coleções de curiosidades Renacentistas em Portugal', in Nuno Vassallo e Silva (ed.), *A herança 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

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 *Artígrama*, 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 style of Talavera tin-glaze pottery.

We have mentioned the Philippines–Mexico and the Portuguese trade routes as the gateways through 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), ‘*mercaderías*’ (goods), ‘*robes*’ (materials). It is impossible to surmise precisely the contents of such shipments.

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.

