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

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Citation

Krahe Noblett, M. C. I. (2014, September 18). *Chinese porcelain and other orientalia and exotica in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/28741>

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Issue date: 2014-09-18

3. CHINESE PORCELAIN IN SPAIN – A CORPUS OF DOCUMENTATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴⁰ Martínez Shaw, 1998, p. 222.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 223.

²⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 223–24.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The General Archive of the Palace (AGP) in Madrid was the main source of information in reconstructing the arrival and collecting of Chinese porcelain by the Spanish monarchs from Philip II to Charles II, the last Habsburg. This archive preserves documents relating to the management of the Royal Palace and Household and the Heritage of the Crown from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The main objective with this archive was to gather information about the inventories of goods that belonged to the monarchs and their families, beginning with Philip II of Spain, even though Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón had already published his inventory in 1956-59.²⁴⁹ Unfortunately, except for the inventory of Charles II – also published previously by Gloria Fernández Bayton in 1975 (for the current study all references to porcelain in both inventories have been translated into English) – most of the inventories of the monarchs and their families are incomplete, making it diffi-

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

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

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

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

However, a few quite detailed and interesting inventories have been preserved such as the 1621 inventory made after the death of Philip III, which contains descriptions of objects from the Royal Treasury, many of which he inherited from his father and his wife, and the 1612 inventory of Queen Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip III.²⁵⁰ Most of the inventories of Philip IV relate to paintings and other objects in the various palaces. There is no complete inventory of all his possessions, yet some partial lists that mention exotic objects and porcelain have been consulted.²⁵¹ Further research into the possessions of Philip IV was conducted in Elizabeth of Bourbon's inventory of 1644, the king's first wife, in the Historical Archive of Protocols in Madrid (AHPM). Unfortunately this document does not mention a single item of porcelain but some ivory objects are mentioned. His second wife, Queen Mariana of Austria, did register a few pieces, as can be seen in Appendix 1.²⁵² Due to the fragmentation of the information in the Royal archive, I had to consult other parallel documentation such as palace accounts, historical reports by travellers, or letters, which helped to complete the general picture of the subject.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On those occasions when porcelain was mentioned, it usually appeared at the end of extremely long and seemingly interminable lists, mingled with Spanish²⁵⁵ and imported ceramics²⁵⁶, in which other sumptuary art objects predominate. After painting²⁵⁷ and sculpture²⁵⁸, which were the most popular, particularly from the seventeenth century on, tapestry²⁵⁹ was highly rated because it was so richly decorated with gold and silver threads. In addition, books played quite an important role with incunabula sharing space with illuminated manuscripts²⁶⁰, precious stones and jewellery (fascinating objects,

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

²⁵⁵ Balbina Martínez Caviro, *Cerámica de Talavera*, Madrid, 1984; Alfonso Pleguezuelo, *Talaveras en la Colección Carranza*, Toledo, 1994; Alfonso Pleguezuelo, "Juan Floris (1520-1567), Azulejero de Felipe II", en *Reales Sitios*, n° 146, pp. 15-25; Alice W. Frothingham, *Talavera pottery*, New York, 1994; Anthony Ray, *Spanish pottery 1248-1898*, London, 2000; Alexius Feit and Christian Feit, *Spanische Fayencen. XV bis XIX Jahrhundert*, München, 2012. I am grateful to Ángel Sánchez Cabezedo for this bibliographic list.

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

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

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

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

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

unfortunately mostly lost over time),²⁶¹ silver,²⁶² weapons²⁶³, furniture²⁶⁴,

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

²⁶² For the history of Spanish silver during the Habsburg period, see: S. Alcolea Gil, 'Artes decorativas en la España cristiana (siglos XI-XIX)', in *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. 20, Madrid, 1975; S. Alcolea Gil, *Orfebrería civil hispánica. Renacimiento y Barroco*, Barcelona, 1969; E. Arnáez, *Orfebrería religiosa en la provincia de Segovia hasta 1700*, Madrid, 1983; M.B. Arrúe Ugarte, *La platería logroñesa*, Logroño, 1981; and by the same author, *Platería riojana (1500-1665)*, Logroño 1993; A.A. Barrón García, *La época dorada de la platería burgalesa, 1400-1600*, Burgos 1998; J.C. Brasas Egido, *La platería vallisoletana y su difusión*, Valladolid 1980; and by the same author, *La platería palentina*, Palencia, 1982. J.M. Cruz Valdovinos has written numerous publications such as: 'Platería', in Antonio Bonet Correa (ed.), *Historia de las Artes Aplicadas e Industriales en España*, Madrid, 1982; *Catálogo de la platería*, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 1981; *Cinco siglos de Platería Sevillana*, Seville, 1992; *Platería en la época de los Reyes Católicos*, Fundación Central Hispano, Madrid, 1992; *Platería europea en España (1300-1700)*, Madrid, 1997; 'Platería', in *Las artes decorativas en España*, Summa Artis, XLVb, Madrid, 1999; *Platería en la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano*, Madrid, 2000; *Valor y lucimiento. Platería en la Comunidad de Madrid*, Madrid, 2005; *El arte de la plata. Colección Hernández-Mora Zapata*, Murcia, 2006; *El esplendor del arte de la plata. Colección Hernández-Mora Zapata*, Murcia, 2007; N. de Dalmases, D. Giralt-Miracle and R. Manent, *Plateros y joyeros de Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1985; Javier Montalvo Martín, "Especieros de plata hispanos del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan" in *Goya*, n° 329, 2009, pp. 352-361 and from the same author "Los jarros de pico del Instituto Valencia de don Juan de Madrid" in *Goya*, n° 276, 2000, pp. 167-175; C. Esteras Martín, *Orfebrería de Teruel y su provincia, siglos XIII al XX*, Teruel, 1980; M.C. Heredia Moreno and A. López-Yarto Elizalde, *La edad de oro de la platería complutense (1500-1650)*, Madrid, 2001; M. Pérez Grande, *Los plateros de Toledo en 1626*, Toledo, 2002; R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Estudio sobre la historia de la orfebrería toledana*, Toledo, 1915; R. Sánchez-Lafuente Gemar, *El arte de la platería en Málaga (1550-1800)*, Malaga, 1997; A. San Vicente, *La platería de Zaragoza en el Bajo Renacimiento (1545-1599)*, Zaragoza 1976. And the following exhibition catalogues: Antonio Casaseca, et al., *La platería en la época de los Austrias Mayores en Castilla y León*, Valladolid, 1999; Pedro Moleón Gavilanes, et al., *El oro y la plata de las Indias en la época de los Austrias*, Madrid, 1999; Fernando A. Martín, *El arte de la plata y de las joyas en la España de Carlos V*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2000. I am grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande and Dr. Javier Montalvo Martín for their advice on this list.

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

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



glass²⁶⁵ and clothing.²⁶⁶ Until the end of the seventeenth century, inventories are characterised by their inclusion of rare and exotic items that formed part of the so-called Cabinets of Curiosities (*gabinetes de curiosidades*) or *Wunderkammer*, some of which, once in a while, included a porcelain object.²⁶⁷ Inventories generally include indexes which carefully specify the subject matter, but these lists had to be scrutinised carefully because Chinese porcelain could be registered in other sections such as silver, due to the

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

²⁶⁵ For Spanish glass in the 16th and 17th centuries see: Susana Arbáizar González, Catalogue of glass objects from the 16th and 17th centuries, in *El mundo que vivió Cervantes*, Madrid 2005/ 2006 ; D. Belinchón Yague “Vidrios castellanos de Cadalso de los Vidrios y de El Recuenco” in *Cerámica y Vidrio. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Cerámica y Vidrio*, 2001, n° 40, (5), pp.385–388; Jordi Carreras i Barreda, “Els vidres catalans à la façó de Venise del Museu de les Arts decoratives de Barcelona (segles XVI-XVII)” in *I Jornades Hispàniques d’Història del vidre. Actes*, Barcelona, Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya, 2001. pp. 143–153; Alice W. Frothingham, *Spanish Glass*, London, 1963; Juan Luis González García “El coleccionismo del vidrio artístico español en los siglos XVI y XVIII” in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, LXXIII, 1998, pp. 111–147; Justina Rodríguez García, *Vidrio de los siglos XV, XVI y XVII*, Barcelona, 1989; Justina Rodríguez García, Justina. “Los vidrios esmaltados catalanes (siglos XVI y XVII) in *Revista Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie VII, Historia del Arte*, t. 13, 2000, pp. 85–133; Justina Rodríguez García, “La industria vidriera castellana en la Edad Moderna: un estado de la cuestión”, in *I Jornades Hispàniques d’Història del Vidre*, Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona, 2001, pp. 135–142. I am very grateful to Susana Arbáizar for providing this bibliographic list.

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

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

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

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

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

Porcelanas: a type of wide and deep cup made of fine pottery which is commonly used to serve sweets, *consommé*, milk and other things; they could be made of alabaster, horn, wood, silver or glass; the Countess of Altamira used one of them to tan her gloves; small and fine porcelains for 34 *reales* each in 1561; small ones for 14 *reales* in 1562; worth 234 [*maravedies*] in 1580. Alabaster porcelains: in the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo (386-s.f). Pottery porcelains: in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez, one in the shape of an ewer, scarlet and gilded, two more in the shape of cups with gilded silver pedestals, another with a gilded foot, and nine others, large and small. Porcelains for food: a small white and gilded [one], in the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo. Painted horn porcelains: in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez; Wooden porcelains: in the house of Francisco Álvarez de Palacios in 1597. Silver porcelains: a few in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez; with a medal, stripes, relief decorations and four ovals; Glass porcelains: a large and transparent [one] with two men, one with a leaf, and another white and gilded with leafs from the inventory of the Count of Ribadeo. Gilded porcelains: worth 4714 *maravedies* each in 1592. Fine porcelains: 204 [*reales? maravedies?*] each in 1577.²⁶⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3. Chinese Porcelain in Royal Households

Precedents

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

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

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

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

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

²⁷⁸ M. Olivar Daydi, *La porcelana en Europa*, Barcelona, 1952, quoted in Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Documented Influence of China on Maiolica in Spain and New Finds of Chinese Ceramics with Dates to the Sixteenth Century', in Stacey Pierson (ed.), *Transfer: The Influence of China on World Ceramics, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 24, London, 2009, p. 124, also in Jaume Coll Conesa, 2011, p. 276.

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

We only know of three pieces of Chinese porcelain documented as being in Europe before 1500:²⁸¹ the Gaignières-Fonthill vase, the Katzenelnbogen bowl and another *Longquan* vase that was presented by the Sultan of Egypt, Qa'it-Baj, to Lorenzo di Medici in 1487.²⁸² The so-called Marco Polo Jar in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice may have come to Europe at a later date.²⁸³ Chinese wares were relatively easy to obtain in the Near East, for they had been exported there for centuries.²⁸⁴ However in Europe, porcelain at this early stage must have been very rare and acquired as diplomatic gifts from Oriental rulers or brought back from the East by travellers.²⁸⁵ One of the most important early collections of Chinese porcelain from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is preserved in Italy. Several pieces of porcelain are mentioned in different documents belonging to Filippo Strozzi (inventories of the Strozzi Palace), Piero, Lorenzo, Cosimo I, Francesco I, Ferdinando I, Cosimo I, II and III di Medici and Cardinale Leopoldo along with several others from Venice.²⁸⁶ Fortunately most of the pieces are still extant and are mainly preserved in the Museum degli Argenti in Florence.²⁸⁷

Isabella I of Castile, The Catholic Queen

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

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

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

²⁸¹ See Whitehouse, 1973, pp. 63–78.

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

²⁸³ Whitehouse, 1973, pp. 71–72.

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

²⁸⁵ Massing, 2007, pp. 377–405.

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

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

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

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

established diplomatic and commercial contacts with China. Due to the close dynastic ties between the two Iberian monarchies, an interest in Oriental art was soon revealed from the correspondence between members of the two Royal families, who often gave each other gifts of Chinese artefacts.²⁸⁹ King Manuel I of Portugal was interested in East Asian exotica and porcelain.²⁹⁰ In 1499 and 1501 respectively, explorers Vasco da Gama (1460 or 1469–1524) and Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467 or 1468–1520 or 1526) presented Manuel I with several pieces of porcelain.²⁹¹ The inventories and letters of payment of the Portuguese monarch reveal the donation of twelve pieces of Chinese porcelain from a set of 20 to the Hieronymite (Jeronimos) Monastery in Belem, and twelve Chinese porcelains to the Madre Deus Convent in 1511.²⁹² Additionally he gave his second wife María²⁹³ 207 pieces of porcelain that were purchased at the *Casa da India*²⁹⁴ in 1511, and 156 ‘small and large’ pieces that had recently arrived from India.²⁹⁵ However, it is striking that porcelain being such a novel and valued item at the time, the (incomplete) inventory of King Manuel I of Portugal’s wardrobe, made on 3 February 1522, listed only ‘four porcelains in white silver with wicker on the outside’.²⁹⁶ The description is not very clear:



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

²⁸⁹ Pinto da Matos, 1998, p. 110.

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

²⁹¹ Chistiaan J.A. Jörg, ‘The Portuguese and the Trade in Chinese Porcelain. From the Beginning until the End of the Ming Dynasty’, in A. Varela Santos (ed.), *Portugal na Porcelana da China. 500 años de Comercio*, Lisbon, 2007, (pp. 45–71), private offprint, Haren, 2008, p. 9.

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

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

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

²⁹⁵ Jörg, 2007, footnote 17, p. 25.

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

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

The House of Trastámara,³⁰⁰ which ruled over Castile throughout the fifteenth century, amassed a large collection of artistic objects that were kept in certain rooms in the Alcázar³⁰¹ (fortress) of Segovia by Isabella's brother, Henry IV (1425–74). In Queen Isabella of Castile's inventory³⁰² – the word treasure appears in the title of the inventory – the term 'porcelain' appears for the first time in sixteenth-century Spain to describe a piece in the treasury of the Alcázar of Segovia.

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

²⁹⁷ Jörg, 2008, p. 10.

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

²⁹⁹ Massing, 2007, p. 398.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

period (1522–66), is another piece of mounted porcelain exported to the West that has been preserved. It is also a white bowl of translucent, shell-like porcelain with an incised scrolling lotus decoration and silver-gilt mounts that bear London hallmarks of 1569–70.³⁰⁶

Some of the objects in Queen Isabella's inventory were gifts from the Portuguese royal family. In the inventory of 1503–4, made by the Queen's royal chamberlains (*camareros mayores*), there are other references to porcelain such as 'a large blue-and-white Ottoman porcelain like

a basin (*bacia*), which was sent by the Queen of Portugal to our Queen in a white wooden box', and was given to her lady-in-waiting, Violante de Albión, in the town of Medina del Campo on 28 April 1504.³⁰⁷ What is interesting is that the piece was referred to as Ottoman, not Chinese, perhaps due to the fact that Turkey had the best collection of Chinese blue-and-white at the time and because this particular piece might have been dispatched from there. But there is another explanation that cannot be ruled out: that the piece was an early example of Iznik blue-and-white pottery. As stated in the inventory, the piece was presented to the queen by her daughter María of Portugal. Indeed, most of the porcelain that reached Castile in the first decade of the sixteenth century did so via Portugal.

Although this period was marked by a confrontation between Spain and Turkey, there is evidence of the occasional gift to the Spanish monarchs from the Ottoman sultans. While visiting Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century, traveller Hieronimus Münzer (1437 or 1447–1508) commented that he was presented with a flask of musk and was told that 'the sultans sent the Catholic kings³⁰⁸ a shipment of different balms and other gifts'.³⁰⁹ Chinese porcelain must also have reached Castile from

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Presents to the Catholic monarchs were also given by the Venetian ambassador, such as the piece posthumously presented to Violante de Albi6n, Queen Isabel's lady-in-waiting, in Medina del Campo on 30 April 1504: 'another large white porcelain with violet flowers inside and octagonal outside that is as big as a medium-size basin (*bacia*)',³¹⁰ and 'a large white porcelain with blue flowers like a whitish basin (*bacia*) with points on the border [foliated edge] that came from the Venetian ambassador'.³¹¹ Diplomatic and commercial relations between the Venetian Doges and the Crown of Aragon were intense at this time. Italy was the main focus of the Catholic Kings's foreign policy and the most urgent matter at the time was the defence of Sicily (a territory belonging to the Kingdom of Aragon) after the Ottomans seized the city of Otranto in 1480. This common threat drew Spain, Venice and the Sultan of Egypt (the Ottomans' fiercest enemy east of the Mediterranean) closer together.³¹² As stated earlier, Florence and Venice, more than any other cities in medieval Europe, had a high regard for Chinese porcelain and had important trade and diplomatic connections with the Middle East. Throughout the fifteenth century the Doge and the Lordship (*Signoria*) received Chinese porcelains as gifts from the sultans. But pieces must have also arrived in Venice via Fustat (Old Cairo) in Egypt, which stood at the westernmost end of the great Asian trade routes, and at the crossroads of commerce between the Levant, the Arabian peninsula and the East African coast. From Alexandria, Eastern goods were shipped across the Mediterranean to supply European cities. Most of the

³¹⁰ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 1, AGS, CMC, 1st 6poca, Legajo 178: '*Otra porcellana grande blanca de unas flores cardenes por de dentro e por de fuera ochavada que es tan grande como una bacia mediana la qual dio en servicio a Su alteza un enbaxador de Venecia*'.

³¹¹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 2, AGS, CMC, 1st 6poca, Legajo 959 (1504–16). Accounts of Juan Vel6squez [Royal Accountant], executor of Queen Isabella the Catholic, of the clothes, jewellery, ornaments, etc., in the Queen's chamber: '*Vna porcelana grande blanca labrada de vnas flores azules que es como vna bacia anacharada (anacarada) e por la falda unas puntas la qual dis que dio a su alteza en servicio vn embaxador veneçiano*'.

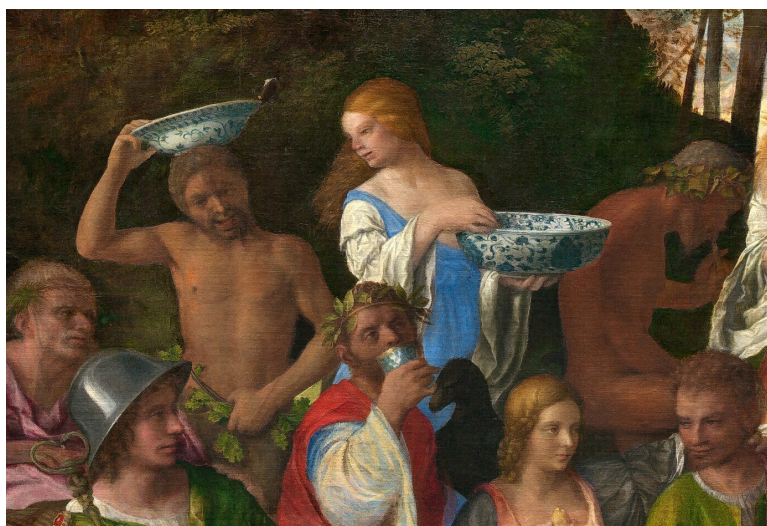
³¹² Fernando Checa (ed.), *Reyes y Mecenas, Los Reyes Cat6licos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en Espa6a*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1992, p. 88.

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

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

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

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



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

³¹³ Arbeteta Mira, 2002, pp. 68–80.

³¹⁴ Watson, 1986, p. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³²² *Ibid*, p. 95.

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

the famous Medici porcelains imitating Chinese wares were only produced in Florence around 1575.³²³

In the glass section of another inventory of the Queen's possessions in 1503, her secretary described a piece as: 'a jug of white glass, the foot, the handle and the knob enamelled in the same glass'.³²⁴ Queen Isabel was very fond of glass objects as Andrea Navagero, a nobleman from Murano and Venetian ambassador to Charles V, mentioned when he commented on her glass collection in the Royal Chapel of Granada Cathedral. Gaspar de Gricio, secretary to the Catholic kings, who inventoried the glass objects, was very specific in describing the different colours and textures: purple, blue, green, white or golden-brown (*leonado*). Two colours could also be combined as in 'a vessel of clear white glass having a gilded spout and black handles'.³²⁵ Mottled glass was described as 'resembling chalcedony' or 'enamelled to resemble chalcedony'.³²⁶ Decorations on Queen Isabel's glasses



were gilt or painted in enamels, the favourite being white. The glasses had silver mounts or were set with precious stones. The decoration of gold foil and enamels in the shape of scales was very popular; see, for example, the bowl in fig. 27, the shape of which, except for the everted lip, shares a similar taste with the white Chinese bowl in the Topkapi Saray (fig. 25). The combination of white and gold must have appealed to the queen's taste. In the mid-sixteenth century Chinese porcelain with gold leaf decoration in the *Kinrande* style would be exported in response to this trend.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Spanish Habsburgs in the Sixteenth Century

Philip the Fair and Joanna the Mad

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

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

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

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

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

³³⁰ Zalama, 2010, p. 883.

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

³³² Zalama, 2010, p. 881.

Joanna I (6 November 1479 – 12 April 1555), called Joanna the Mad (*Juana La Loca*), reigned as Queen of Castile jointly with her husband Philip the Fair and later also together with her son the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. She was born in Toledo as the third child and second daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile of the Trastámara dynasty. One of the most complete known inventories of the first half of the sixteenth century is of her possessions, drawn up in 1545.³³³ The inventory encompasses all the objects that were not considered significant but nevertheless were included in the inventory: every item was featured, even if damaged. Lists of dinner services, kitchenware and other utility wares were included. The catalogue of the queen's objects features many gold, silver and precious stone artefacts but very few objects from the Far East. As historian Miguel Angel Zalama explains: 'Juana's treasury was an accumulation of intrinsically valuable objects of uneven artistic worth. In this sense, her treasury was consistent with the medieval tradition of amassing – rather than collecting – objects'.³³⁴ Although there is no mention of porcelain in Juana's inventories, there are references to exotic pieces such as goblets with 'pieces of unicorn' mounted in gold, reliquaries, precious stones purported to have magical or curative properties, and strings of pearls 'which appear to be from the Indies'.³³⁵

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

The inventory compiled for Princess Margarita, like that of her mother-in-law, is a key to understanding how patronage developed among the Hapsburgs in Spain. Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), the second child and only daughter of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, who married John, Prince of Asturias, the only son and heir of Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, left the Netherlands for Spain in 1496.³³⁶ When she arrived at the Castilian court, she witnessed the splendour of the Catholic Kings and during the years she spent in Spain new objects from far distant countries were acquired. After being appointed Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands (1507–15) and guardian of her young nephew Charles (the future Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor), she ornamented her rooms in the Palace of Mechelen with a wide range of objects, including Flemish paintings and family portraits, sculptures, rock crystals and gems, liturgical objects, pre-Columbian artefacts, manuscripts and a small group of Chinese porcelains.³³⁷ The impact of the new world she encountered in Spain explains her predilection for exotica and Asiatic merchandise. In her second inventory, compiled by Le Baron Davillier in 1882,³³⁸ we find references to porcelain such as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Juanin and François are in charge of two jars (*barriles*) made of porcelain clay, adorned in silver with their chains and silver lids in blue velvet cases with tassels of the same velvet, which were received in the fortress of Simancas by María Escolastre together with other goods that were in her possession in the fortress, before the scribe Juan Rodríguez on 22 February 1561.³⁵¹

The term 'porcelain clay' indicates that the body of the pieces were made of porcelain and the reference to the 'barrel shape' of the objects suggests that they resembled a *guan*-type jar. These two pieces were deposited at the Simancas fortress and were handed over by María Escolastre, widow of Petijuan, keeper of the Emperor's armoury, to jewel keepers Juanín Esterch and François Mengale and sold off between 1558 and 1560. Several sales of the Emperor's objects were held, for example, at the Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid – where the possessions previously in Simancas fortress were deposited together with those from the monastery of Yuste – and other sales in Madrid at the Convent of San Francisco and the La Latina Hospital. These last sales were attended by King Philip II, who acquired tapestries and textile items, but there is no mention of any 'barrels' or jars mounted in silver and only a large 'barrel' with handles is described in Philip II's inventory of 1602.³⁵²

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵¹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 13, AGS, CMC, 1st Época, Legajo 1145, fol. 278: '*Hacese cargo a los dichos Juanin y François de dos barriles de barro de porcelana, guarnecidos de plata, con sus cadenas y cobertores de plata en sus fundas de terciopelo azul, y sus tejillos y borlas de la misma seda, que recibieron en la fortaleza de Simancas de la dicha María Escolastre con los demas bienes que estaban a su cargo en la dicha fortaleza, como parecio por el entrego que de ello se les hizo el 22 de febrero de 1561 ante el dicho Juan Rodriguez, escribano*'.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

³⁵⁵ Checa Cremades, 2010/1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charles V's Siblings

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

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

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

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

³⁶¹ Jörg, 2007, p. 10.

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

Leonor of Austria

Leonor of Austria (1498–1558) was Charles V's eldest sister. She married King Manuel I of Portugal in 1518. Nine years after the king's death in 1521 she married François I of France on 4 July 1530.³⁶² Very few documents record Leonor's personal belongings; among them is an inventory of jewels, gold and silver she brought from Flanders as part of her dowry and a list of Indian gems, pearls and diamonds given to her by her husband, the Portuguese king.³⁶³ Unfortunately her inventories are largely incomplete and thus it is impossible to know the kind of Oriental objects she possessed during her life.

Isabella of Austria

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

Mary of Hungary

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

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

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

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

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

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

Catherine of Austria

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

³⁷¹ Jordan, 1998/1, p. 206.

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

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

Another document records a large shipment of Chinese porcelain for Catherine of Austria in 1562.³⁷⁴ In the list, Alfonso de Cuniga, the queen's treasurer, is in charge of several objects, including a number of porcelains:³⁷⁵

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

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

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

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

- Forty coral porcelains.
- Ten more porcelain pieces.

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

Ferdinand I, Archduke of Austria

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

Charles V's Descendants in Spain

King Philip II of Spain

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

When Philip II decided to move his court to Madrid in 1561, the Alcázar³⁷⁹ became the principal dwelling of the Spanish Habsburgs.³⁸⁰ Until its destruction in 1734, it yielded its primacy as the

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

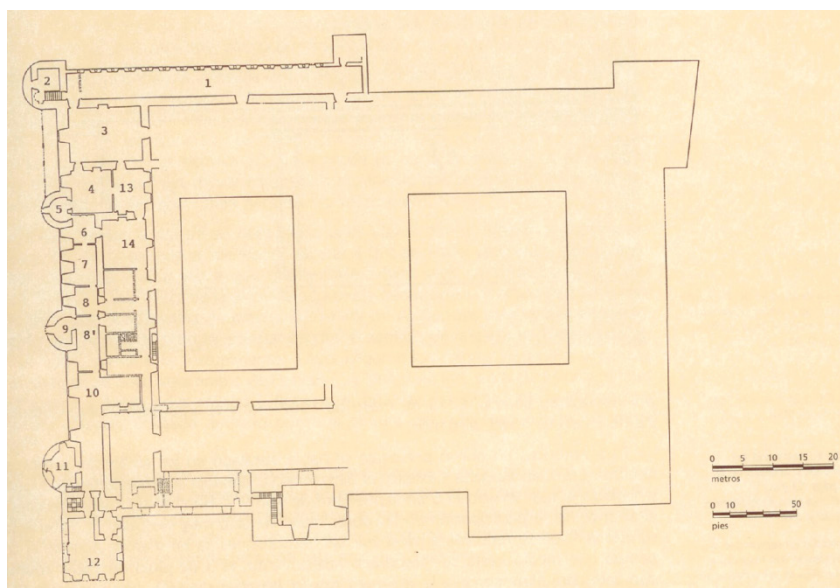
³⁷⁷ Checa Cremades, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 2689–2788: Inventario de vajillas, telas, prendas de vestir y otros objetos. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, CVP. 7871 (1522–24).

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

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

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

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



capital only once, when Philip III moved the court to Valladolid from 1601 to 1606.³⁸¹ According to several visitors of the time, Philip II's Alcázar housed treasures from all over the world. It was here where he kept the most important collection of Chinese porcelain in contemporary Europe, consisting of slightly more than 3,000 pieces. Thanks to the account by the German traveller Diego de Cuelvis about his visits to the Alcázar in Madrid from 1599 to 1600, we know something about the way the Western and exotic objects were arranged in the palace. Unfortunately there are no references in Cuelvis's account to any of the Chinese porcelain that appears in the inventory.³⁸²

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

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

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



Fig. 31. The ‘Golden Tower II’ or ‘New Golden Tower’. Fragment of the drawing by A. Wingaerde of the Alcázar’s façade. National Library of Vienna. From Barbeito, 1992, p. 36. This tower is n° 12 in the previous illustration.

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

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

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

³⁸⁶ Baltasar Porreño, 2001, p. 38.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁹² I am grateful to Dr. Konrad Schlegel, curator of the *Kunstammer* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, for this information.



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

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

Porcelain in Philip II's Inventory

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

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

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

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

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

Body and Glaze

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

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

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

Shapes and Decorations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰³ Another important lot was a group of 264 bowls (*escudillas*) some gilded and coloured (*Kinrande?*) and others blue-and-white, again of the size as the 'ordinary' ones, some larger than others, appraised at 4 *reales* each. AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 834: '*Doscientos y sesenta y cuatro escudillas de porcelana, para de ellas doradas y de colores y parte azules y blancas, del tamaño de las ordinarias, algo mayores unas que otras, tasadas a cuatro reales cada una*'.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰⁵ Rinaldi, 1989, p. 153.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kendi-type bottles⁴¹⁴ are also defined as *garrafas*⁴¹⁵ and two shapes are described as having a bulbous spout ‘in the manner of a breast’ through which oil was poured: hence the term *garrafa aceitera* (oil bottle). Three of these are decorated in blue-and-white and two others in gold and colours, while another type of *garrafa* or *kendi* of blue-and-white porcelain with a long neck and a spout shaped as an elephant’s head was appraised at six *reales*.⁴¹⁶ It is remarkable that the first type was appraised at double the value of the elephant type *kendi* (figs. 33 and 34).

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

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

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

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

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

⁴¹⁵ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, AGP, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. Fol. 842: ‘Cinco garrafas aceiteras a manera de garrafas de porcelana, las dos doradas y de colores y las otras tres azules y blancas, con un pico que sale de la barriga, a manera de teta, por donde se echa el aceite, tasadas a doce reales cada una’.

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

⁴²¹ Jörg, 2003, p. 49, pl.16.

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

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



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



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

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

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

⁴²⁴ Shulsky, 1998, p. 54.



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

Philip II's Family

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During their childhood in Madrid, the Duchess of Alba – a key figure in the education of the *infantas* – regularly presented them with trinkets or *brinquiños*⁴³³ of Oriental origin, which would have been displayed in the so-called New Tower⁴³⁴ where Philip II housed his glass objects. Oriental porcelain, such as bowls and plates were a part of the *infantas*' crockery.⁴³⁵ When *infanta* Catherine Michelle settled in Torino in 1585, her sister Isabella Clara Eugenia often sent her presents, including Oriental exotica of which they were both fond. When court jester Gonzalo de Liaño departed for Turin in 1587, he carried a load of objects that included *búcaros*, porcelains, silks, fans, cordovans, gloves and perfumes.⁴³⁶ In 1588 another consignment was dispatched from Isabella Clara Eugenia to her sister in the luggage of the Marquis d'Este that included different textiles and clothes, together with seeds, porcelains, bezoar stones, balms and dolls.⁴³⁷ In the accounts of 1591 it is recorded that Isabella Clara Eugenia used white linen to wrap the porcelains and other objects she sent to her sister. In addition, on the departure of her husband in May of that same year, he was presented with many gifts for her sister and also from Doña Eufrosia de Guzmán, Princess of Asculi, consisting of 'many porcelains and vases from the Indies of Portugal'

⁴³¹ Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects: an Overview of Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabel's Personal Possessions (1566–1599)', in Cordula Van Wyhe (ed.), *Isabella Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty at the Courts in Madrid and Brussel*, Madrid, 2011, p. 67.

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

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

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

⁴³⁵ Pérez de Tudela, 2013/2, footnote 46, p. 102. On 17 December 1582 her majordomo, the Earl of Barajas, bought 'four porcelain plates' for 16 *reales* from Pero Fernández, probably of Portuguese origin, for the service of Catalina Micaela, AGP, Administración General, Legajo 778, jornadas ('Journeys'). Other porcelain plates for Philip II's sons are mentioned in Legajo 5269, Expediente 20, Madrid, 31 October 1580: Payment to Sebastián de Ibargoen 'Twelve reales were paid for 3 porcelains, each one cost 4 *reales*, another two were paid for; other items not specified; for 3 porcelains that were bought, together with plates for porcelains at 4 *reales* each, by order of Senor Don Diego Messia', and 19 *reales* to Juan de Odriola 'for 4 small porcelain plates and another porcelain' for their Highnesses.

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

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

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

Isabella Clara Eugenia⁴⁴⁰ inherited quite a number of pieces from her father's belongings that she took with her to Brussels when she was appointed Governess of the Southern Low Countries.⁴⁴¹ She and her husband Albert of Austria had an important collection of Asian objects in their *Kunstammer* in Brussels. Albert's appetite for collecting exotica probably first started in his younger years while living in Philip II's court in Madrid. Here he would have had many opportunities to pore over the king's art collections. Appointed Viceroy of Portugal, Albert went on to live in Lisbon where his appreciation of Oriental decorative arts would have been further aroused by frequent exposure to Far Eastern artefacts. By the time he settled in Brussels in 1596 and, later, with his wife Isabella Clara Eugenia from 1599, their passion for Eastern exotica was such that they had several agents in Flanders and the Iberian Peninsula regularly purchasing Oriental objects for their collection. Several documents dated to 1596 in Princess Isabella's accounting books – while she was still in Madrid – record the purchases of porcelain pieces for her service, together with the price and packaging costs of the artefacts as described in the chapter on trade (Chapter 2, p. 65).⁴⁴² The value of these pieces was not high, as each of the bowls and plates cost 4,5 *reales* each, plus an extra pound (*libra*⁴⁴³) of fibre to wrap the porcelains for 2 *reales*. Another entry specifies: 'two porcelains to bleed at 9 *reales*'.⁴⁴⁴ As we can see in Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, she took about 300 pieces from her father's porcelain collection.

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

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

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

⁴⁴¹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21.

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

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

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

Philip II's fourth wife, Anna of Austria (1549–80)⁴⁴⁵ married him in 1570. They had five children but only one of them lived to adulthood, the future Philip III of Spain (1578–1621). The trade in porcelain and other Eastern objects from the Indies to Seville, and from there to the court in Madrid, must have increased considerably in the 1570s, as 'All sorts of goods, gold, silks, cinnamon, fine gilded pottery of all types, small objects are shipped from the West Indies.... Much gold, silk and, porcelain, and many richly ornamented jars arrive, which are sent by the vassals to the Kings as a sign of respect'.⁴⁴⁶ The Duke of Alba, who at the time was leading a military campaign in Portugal, must have sent all types of porcelain from Lisbon to the court.⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the only inventory of the queen's goods that has survived is an appendix to an inventory (dated 1617) of those objects that had belonged to Philip II and Queen Anna and had not been sold in the auction of 1608 and were still in the Royal Household in 1617. Much of the porcelain went to the king's daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia,⁴⁴⁸ which, as mentioned earlier, she subsequently took with her to the Brussels court, where she and her husband went on to found one of the most outstanding collections of Far Eastern artefacts.⁴⁴⁹ The other part of the porcelain collection was inherited by the new Queen Margaret of Austria, wife of King Philip III, as can be surmised from her inventory of 1617.⁴⁵⁰ Among the goods that belonged to Queen Anna were: 'a gilded and green porcelain cup which was given to Isabella Clara Eugenia on 29 May 1603, another large porcelain also given to Isabella Clara Eurgenia on the same date and two deep porcelain pieces'.⁴⁵¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other courts were also interested in acquiring Oriental exotica. In 1572 Albert V, Duke of Bavaria,⁴⁵⁴ stated in a letter to his relative, Philip II, that he was intent on acquiring as many curiosities as possible for his Munich *Kunstammer*.⁴⁵⁵ In 1575 Duke Albert used his ties of kinship with Queen Anna of Austria to request a shipment of exotic objects.⁴⁵⁶ Anton Meyting acted as an agent to the Bavarian court in Spain.⁴⁵⁷ In 1582 he sent 70 pieces of large and small porcelains to William V, successor as Duke of Bavaria in 1579.⁴⁵⁸ In 1591, 100 pieces of porcelain are recorded as being sent to the Dukes of Bavaria.⁴⁵⁹ A large dish bearing the quartered arms of Wittelsbach beneath a crown, now in the Residenz Museum in Munich, with a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece surrounding the arms could have been made for Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (r.1597-1631).⁴⁶⁰

Joanna of Austria (1535–73), Princess of Portugal, was the younger sister of Philip II. She managed the affairs of the Spanish kingdom while her brother lived in England, from 1554 to 1559. She kept several Oriental objects in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales (Madrid), the nunnery

⁴⁵³ ‘Por este mismo tiempo, en nombre del emperador y con licencia de su magestad del rey don Felipe repartió el conde de Franquemburg entre los ministros algunas pieles de zebellinas y cosas de este género traídas de Alemania, y al mismo tiempo el archiduque le embió al mismo conde desde Lisboa cuatrocientos vassos de porcellana presentados’, in Félix Labrador Arroyo, *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller, Embajador Imperial en la Corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, 2001, p. 391. Archduke Albert presented the Emperor with two Indian beds. Other presents included an ebony and ivory writing desk with silver statues sent by the Earl of Franquemburg to Archduke Albert in Lisbon, two Indian horses, two dogs from the Indies, bezoar stones and large emeralds to the Emperor; see Labrador Arroyo, 2001, pp. 271 and 293.

⁴⁵⁴ For Chinese porcelain in the Bavarian court, see Dorothea Diemer et al., *Die Münchner Kunstammer*, vol. 3, Munich 2008, pp. 302–4 and vol 1, p. 191, 194, 399–401. See also the article by Friederike Wappenschmidt, ‘...Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen’. Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstammerinventar von 1598” in Diemer, 2008, pp. 293–309.

⁴⁵⁵ Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, ‘Rarities and novelties’, in Jackson & Jaffer, 2005, p. 41.

⁴⁵⁶ L. Seelig, ‘The Munich *Kunstammer* 1565–1807’, in O. Impey and A. Macgregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, London, 2001, p. 110; and ‘Exotica in der Münchner Kunstammer der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher’, in Helmut Trenk and Sabine Haag (eds.), 2001, p. 147.

⁴⁵⁷ Italy was also a source of Chinese porcelain in northern *Kunstammerns*. In 1582 and 1588 the Grand Duke of Tuscany gave gifts of porcelain to the Duke of Bavaria and Elector Prince Christian of Saxony; see Ayers, 1985, p. 263.

⁴⁵⁸ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 56.

⁴⁵⁹ Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, ‘Relaciones artísticas de los duques de Baviera con España en el reinado de Felipe II’, in José Martínez Millán, Rubén González Cuerva (eds.) *La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2011, (pp. 1769–1836), p. 1790; AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 362, fols. 438 and 438v, El Pardo, 22 May 1591 ‘439: ‘three sword blades, three leather containers for wine; in box number 3, one hundred porcelains and two pounds (*libras*) of linen from Portugal. All of these (items) are taken by Domingo de la Piaça Currier of the Duke of Bavaria’. Folio 439 notes that Piaça took ‘three sword blades, nine scissors for a desk, seven knives, nineteen ounces of silk, three leather containers for wine, three fans, a case, two hides (*cordobanes*, see glossary), and one pound of linen from Portugal’. See also Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 72.

⁴⁶⁰ Canepa, 2012, p.275.

Fig. 38. Antonio Moro, *María de Austria*, oil on canvas, 181 x 90 cm, 1551, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

she founded, including Japanese lacquered furniture (*namban*), and gifts from her aunt, Queen Catherine of Portugal, and her mother, Empress Isabel of Portugal.⁴⁶¹ Although there are no extant pieces of Chinese porcelain in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales⁴⁶² or any reference to them in the state sale of her possessions,⁴⁶³ we know that her aunt Catherine of Portugal gave her porcelain. In December 1566, Bernarda Coutinho, lady-in-waiting to Queen Catherine, at that time she was in Madrid as the wife of Francisco Pereira, the Portuguese ambassador in Philip II's court, presented Joan of Austria with some porcelain pieces given to her by Catherine of Austria. She was delighted with the gift, and described them as 'the best in the world'.⁴⁶⁴ In 1572 she also acquired Chinese porcelain from a Portuguese merchant called Francisco de Lisboa:⁴⁶⁵

- Three hundred and forty *maravedíes* for a porcelain plate, scarlet and gilded.
- Two hundred and sixty *maravedíes* for an *algindarino* [?] of porcelain, scarlet and gilded.
- Five hundred and forty-four *maravedíes* for two porcelains, one gilded and white, the other blue and gilded.
- Three hundred and forty *maravedís* for two porcelains.
- Two hundred and four *mrs* [*maravedíes*] for another porcelain.
- And one thousand, two hundred and twenty-four *mrs* [*maravedíes*] for nine porcelains at four *reales*.

Maria of Austria (1528–1603), Dowager Empress, and daughter of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, was born a year after Philip II, and married her cousin Maximilian II to preserve the dynastic unity of the House of Austria. She joined her consort in Vienna in 1551 but would eventually return a widow to Madrid in 1582, where she was received in the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales, where she lived until her death.⁴⁶⁶ She kept a close correspondence with other members of her family, and often presented them with gifts of exotic or curious items. Her son Rudolf, the Holy Roman Emperor, and an avid collector, was the main recipient of her gifts. In 1600 she sent Rudolf II some porcelains and bú-



⁴⁶¹ Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Las dos águilas del emperador Carlos V. Las colecciones y el mecenazgo de Juana y María de Austria en la corte de Felipe II', in L. Robot García, *La monarquía de Felipe II a debate*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 429–72. Other pieces could have also reached the monastery at a later date after Juana's death through her sister, María de Austria, and Archduke Albert, see María Ángeles Tojas Roger, 'Juana de Austria y las Artes', in *Felipe II y las Artes*, Madrid, 2000, p. 101.

⁴⁶² Ana García Sanz and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Via Orientalis: Objetos del lejano Oriente en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales', in *Reales Sitios*, vol. 4, no. 138, Madrid, 1998, p. 26.

⁴⁶³ Documentary Appendixes 1, Document 17, AGP, Sección Patronatos, Descalzas Reales, Caja 4, Expediente 11, 1588. Only a table from China was found.

⁴⁶⁴ F. Sousa Viterbo, 'O theatro na corte de D. Filipe II', in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, vol. 1, Lisbon 1903, p. 6. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

⁴⁶⁵ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 109, Exotica acquired by Juana de Austria from the Portuguese merchant, Francisco de Lisboa, in June 1572, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 18639, fols. 21–21v. Quoted before in Fernando Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, Madrid, 1998, p. 61, footnote 99.

⁴⁶⁶ The Dowager Empress arrived in Madrid on March 1582 and on 26 March she left again for Lisbon at the behest of Philip II, who appointed her as governor for ten months.

caros for his collection.⁴⁶⁷ However, in the inventory of Maria of Austria's possessions, only one piece of genuine porcelain is registered in 1603: 'a small cauldron of porcelain clay from the Indies with handles and a ring and a mount on top of gilded silver'.⁴⁶⁸ She also had a small jade vase, described as a 'small vase of jade (*piedra de ijada*), green with a gold foot, with three masks and a gold rim enamelled with coloured leaves, in a box of green taffeta', among other exotic stones. The scarcity of porcelain objects in her inventory is surprising, considering that Maria spent many years of her life acting as an enthusiastic art broker for her relations, including her son Rudolf, who owned an important collection of ceramics.

Margaret of Austria and Parma (1522–86) was another collector of exotic objects and Chinese porcelain, as can be gathered from the 1586 inventory of her personal belongings.⁴⁶⁹ She was the illegitimate daughter of Charles V and Johanna Maria van der Gheynst, and was Governor of the Netherlands from 1559 to 1567 and from 1578 to 1582. She was Duchess consort of Florence and of Parma and Piacenza by marriage to Alexander de Medici and later to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. In the inventory, drawn up after her death, a few porcelains are registered as:

- Two porcelain bowls with a border, the foot and handles to hold it in gilded silver.
- Three porcelain bowls with feet, the handles of gilded silver to hold it, which weighs 2 ounces (*onzas*) and 1 and 7/8, and among them there is one with pulverised gold.
- A bowl of white and turquoise porcelain with handles, feet and cover (of gold?), which weighs 6 and 7/8 with the cover.
- Another yellow porcelain bowl, with its foot and two handles (of gold?) enamelled in black and white, which weighs 1 and 3/8 with the cover.
- Two porcelain bowls with feet and two handles in gilded silver.
- A small bowl with a mount on the foot and a gold handle.
- Four small porcelain bowls mounted in gold (in gold?).
- A porcelain bowl mounted in the middle (*guarnita del medio*).
- A Turkish jar with its cover, similar to porcelain.
- A small porcelain jar (*un vasetto*) with two handles.
- Two large porcelain vases, all worked in turquoise colour with a leather box.

⁴⁶⁷ Trnek, 2001, pp. 56–57. Rudolf II appreciated porcelain and some pieces in his collection, like a group of 22 vases were 'white translucent of the *quinta essentia* (very refined and pure)'. Seventeen large lidded jars were placed above the cabinets of the *Kunstammer*, initiating a manner of decoration that became popular at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other pieces in his collection were chosen according to different criteria such as mounts, colours, and glazes. Some of the Emperor's porcelains were also gifts from the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia from Brussels such as three chests with table porcelains that were taken to the treasury in 1609. Ambassador Khevenhüller provided the Emperor with porcelain from Lisbon as well. Trnek, 2001, footnote 84, p. 66. Many porcelain pieces, some brought from Spain, are included in the 1612 inventory of his *Kunstammer* that was compiled after his death. See R. Bauer and H. Haupt, 'Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72, 1976, pp. 1–191.

⁴⁶⁸ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 22, AGS, Patronato Real 31-28, fols. 191, 194, 197, 208, 212. Inventory of María de Austria, Infanta of Castilla, Empress of Austria, 15 March 1603. A microfilm of the same inventory is in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (AHPM) no. 2614. Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend published her inventory in 2001, p. 117.

⁴⁶⁹ Inventario delle suppellettili di Margherita d'Austria, redatto alla sua morte, 1586, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Carteggio Farnesiano, vol. 372, in Maddalena Nardi, *Il Collezionismo di Oggetti D'Arte Esotica nelle Collezioni dei Farnese*, Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Parma, Parma 1998–99, Appendix 1, p. 115.

- A large vase, with a similar long neck.
- Another similar [vase], smaller with a broken neck.
- A ewer with a piece to pour water onto the hands.
- Another similar plate and eight similar plates, four large, two medium, and two small.
- Eighteen similar cups.
- Two white similar shells and one green.
- A large bowl (*rinfrescatoio*), worked inside and out.
- A similar bowl, broken.
- A similar bowl for clear soup with a lid, the rim damaged.
- Six similar small plates.
- A similar cup (*tazzetta*).
- Twenty-five similar bowls large and small.
- Two similar medium-size bowls.
- A similar small bowl broken.
- Seven similar small bowls.⁴⁷⁰

Philip III and Margaret of Austria

King Philip III's (1578–1621) status as art collector has been somewhat overshadowed by the two great collectors of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty, his father, Philip II and his son, Philip IV. A cultivated man, Philip III had good artistic judgement. He was especially fond of painting, but lacked his predecessors' enthusiasm for exotica and porcelain. His *valido* (Royal favourite) Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma, decorated his palaces with great magnificence and luxury, where he housed some of the porcelain pieces bought at the public sale of Philip II's goods (see Chapter 3.4. Chinese Porcelain in the Houses of the Nobility, pp. 137-38).

Entries in the palace accounts show that porcelain objects were part of Philip's table services from the moment he was born. Two large porcelain plates were bought on 25 July 1581 for eight *reales*,

⁴⁷⁰ See Nardi, 1998–99, Appendix 1, p. 115: - *due escudelle di porcellana, co' li bordi, piedi, et due maniche per ciasched.a di arg.to dorato- tre scudelle di porcellana di mestura, co' li piedi, et due maniche d' arg.to dorato, pero ciasched.a pesano lib. 2 on. 1 et 7/8. Fra le quali ve ne è, una co' oro macinato di fuori f.8v; - una scudella di porcellana blanca, et turchina, con manichi, piedi, et coperchio d.o. pesa on 6 et 7/8 con il coperchio f. 9v; - un'altra escudella di porcellana gialla, co' piede, et due maniche d.o, smaltata di nero, e bianco, pesa co' il coperchio on. 1 et 3/8 f.10; due escudelle di porcellana, co' piede, et sue manchette d'argento dorato f.10r; una escudellina di porcellana guarnita al piede et, manico d'oro f.20 v; - quattro scudellini di porcellana guarniti d.o f. 20v; una scudella di porcellana, guarnita del med.o f. 20v; - un vaso tuchino co' suo coperchio similare a la porcellana f. 72; - un vasetto di porcellana, co' due maniche f. 85; due bacili grandi di porcellana, tutti lavorati di color turchino, co' la lor custodia di corame f. 99; un vaso grande, con il collo lungo simile f.99; - un altro piccolino simile co' il collo rotto f.99; - un bocalle simile co' il pezzo per dar l'acqua alle mani f.99; - otto piatti simili cio è, quattro grandi, due mezzani, et due piccoli f.99; - dicidotto tazzetti simili f.99; - due conchette bianche simili, et una verde f. 99; - un rinfrescatoio, lavorato dentro et fuori f.99; - una escudelle simile rotta f.99 – una scudella simile da brodo, co' suo coperchio, rotto un poco l' orlo f. 99; - sei piattelli piccoli simili f.99 – una tazzetta simile f.99 – vinticing scudelle simili fra grandi et piccole f.99v – due scudelle simili mezzane f.99 v – uno scudellino simile rotto f.99v – sette scudellini piccoli simili f.99v.*

and the same amount was paid for a plate and a bowl during an illness when he was just three years old.⁴⁷¹ Again in 1583, by order of the Duke of Uceda and Earl of Barajas, several porcelains and *brincos* were bought and used as toys by the prince and the other *infantes*. The prince used Oriental porcelain at mealtimes, and took them on several different journeys despite the fragility of the pieces.⁴⁷² His fondness for Oriental objects was apparent when he sent several lacquer chests of the Namban type, textiles and other Oriental objects to his sister Catherine Michelle (1567–97) at the Court of Torino.

Most of the king's tableware was selected by the Marquis of Velada, who gave a porcelain bowl to a silversmith, Luis de Morales, and ordered him to produce a similar piece in silver. As mentioned previously, Velada delivered a 'porcelain bowl' to the silversmith in 1596 and requested that he made two small silver bowls in the manner of the 'porcelain bowl' with his coat of arms. In addition, two silver porcelain pieces were made for bleeding. As we can see, silver imitations of porcelain were highly regarded not only for their intrinsic value, but also because they were likely to last much longer than their fragile porcelain or crystal counterparts. The king and queen inherited an important number of pieces from Philip II and Anne of Austria's estate in 1617 (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25), but it was precisely during his reign that the collection gradually started to diminish.

In 1607, Philip's household costs rose sharply at a time when the Crown's revenue was falling. To curb excessive expenses in the Royal palace, it was ordered that all the *infantes* eat together rather than separately. In addition, all servants would be paid in kind, with spices instead of money. They ate their masters' leftovers.⁴⁷³ It is hardly surprising that in such circumstances, the porcelain pieces in the royal palace began to disappear. They were probably taken by servants with their food rations or to the convents that surrounded the palace. We also know that the king handed out some of these pieces as presents, such as the 100 porcelain vases that he gave the Archduchess Maria Anna of Bavaria in Barcelona in June 1599, along with other exotic items from India.⁴⁷⁴

The inventory of the king's possessions is unfortunately not extant but we do have the complete inventory of his wife, Queen Margaret of Austria. Her inventory is divided into different sections, one being dedicated to 'porcelain, glass and aquamarines'. However, there are no porcelain items listed in it. On the other hand, broken porcelain mounted in silver is mentioned in the silver section.⁴⁷⁵

Other bowls belonging to Philip III and documented in a manuscript dated 1612, were carefully kept in boxes: two porcelain bowls (*escudillas*) from the Indies for the service of His Majesty inside a wooden box covered in black leather'.⁴⁷⁶ Some pieces of porcelain clearly had a practical use at Philip III's dining table:

- Two porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve His Majesty's *consommé*.
- Three porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve the *consommé* at the table of His Majesty.

⁴⁷¹ Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'La educación artística y la configuración de la imagen del príncipe Felipe', in José Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.) *La Monarquía de Felipe III: La Corte*, vol. 3, Madrid, 2008, (pp. 108–46), p. 123.

⁴⁷² Pérez de Tudela, 2008, p. 126, footnote 236. Account of Jusepe de Vargas, treasurer of His Majesty, by order of Arnedo, AGP, Administración General, Cuentas Particulares, Legajo 5227, 14 May 1591: 'two boxes, each containing four porcelains from India for the service of His Highness the Prince'.

⁴⁷³ María del Carmen Simón Palmer, *La alimentación y sus circunstancias en el Real Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid, 1982, p. 13.

⁴⁷⁴ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 116.

⁴⁷⁵ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902. Inventory of jewellery and objects of Queen Margaret of Austria.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

- Another two porcelains with feet and silver mounts to serve His Majesty's *consommé* soup in a box covered in black leather and lined in red *frisa* with a strap and a button to tie them up.⁴⁷⁷
- Two large porcelains to serve the soup of His Majesty on the fish days, one larger than the other, one with a rim.⁴⁷⁸

Since some porcelain items had an everyday use, they were more prone to breakage, as this inventory entry shows:⁴⁷⁹

Francisco de Colmenares as *salsier* to the King, received from Hernando de Espejo,⁴⁸⁰ his treasurer, two porcelains from India shaped as two round cooking containers or bowls (*caçuelas*) of one fourth in diameter that are used to serve the soup for His Majesty on the fish days. They were given to me to replace other broken ones that were in the service of His Majesty. Signed in Madrid on the sixth of December 1610.⁴⁸¹

Philip IV and his Two Wives, Elisabeth of France and Mariana of Austria

King Phillip IV ruled Spain from 1621 to 1665 and during his reign he assembled one of the most admirable collections of art in the west. The king's love of art and culture was a glorious chapter in the history of Spain. He added thousands of paintings, sculptures and tapestries to the pieces he had already inherited in the Royal collection. He was the most ambitious Spanish art collector of the seventeenth century and his acquisitions of Old Masters and contemporary works was supervised by his principal painter, Diego de Velázquez, who was familiar with the Royal collection and ideally suited to select the finest works.⁴⁸² Unfortunately, the loss of the settings that displayed his treasures⁴⁸³ has obscured the information on much of its original collection. In addition, a complete inventory of the king possessions was made, but a state sale to 'excuse the indecency' (*escusar la indecencia*) was prohibited by Royal decree on 31 December 1667,⁴⁸⁴ so all lists were returned to the queen and perhaps destroyed. To 'excuse the indecency' probably meant that the court had become prim and thought an auction of the king's goods was indecent (despite it being a widespread practice across Spain), or that the economic deficit was so large that the court avoided the embarrassment by settling the accounts with the creditors in other ways. However, fragmentary inventories of paintings and other objects do exist and were compiled and studied by Steven N. Orso in 1986.⁴⁸⁵ Other inventories are preserved such as the one compiled by his treasurer Francisco Tamayo de Villalta, where porcelain and pieces from

⁴⁷⁷ *Frisa*: ordinary woollen cloth that is used to line clothes. (RAE).

⁴⁷⁸ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902. Inventory of jewellery and objects of Queen Margaret of Austria.

⁴⁷⁹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902, fol. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Hernando de Espejo was a prominent courtier during the reign of Philip III who was appointed *Cavallerizo de la Reina* (Royal Cavalry) and *Guardajoyas* (Treasurer) of his Majesty.

⁴⁸¹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 23, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 902, fol. 3.

⁴⁸² Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcazar de Madrid*, Princetown, 1986, p. 8; Fundación Universitaria Española, *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV. Jornadas de Iconografía y Coleccionismo*, Madrid, 2006.

⁴⁸³ The Alcázar of Madrid burned in 1734; the Buen Retiro Palace was almost destroyed during the Peninsula War and the El Escorial Monastery was never intended to be used to house a large collection of antiquities or paintings, with the exception of the splendid and large library, built to contain more than 40,000 volumes.

⁴⁸⁴ AGP, Reinados, Caja 83, Expediente 3. I am grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande for this information.

⁴⁸⁵ Orso, 1986, pp. 24–31.

India and China are registered eleven years before his death in 1665.⁴⁸⁶ However, from isolated documents in other bundles we can infer that some pieces were sold after the king's death, notwithstanding the decree of 1667: 'A porcelain from China with a bezoar stone in the middle mounted in gilded silver [for] forty silver *reales*'.⁴⁸⁷ The inventory of his first wife Elisabeth of France (1602–44), Queen consort of Spain from 1621 to 1644, is complete and well preserved. Many luxurious items are mentioned, but not a single piece of porcelain and only a few ivory pieces from the Indies.⁴⁸⁸

The king's main residence in Madrid, the Alcázar, was further renovated during the seventeenth century, but the layout remained largely unchanged, with the king's courtyard to the west separated from the queen's courtyard to the east, reflecting the division of palace life into two households. From this period we have more documentation of the life in the palace – preserved in the General Archive of the Palace, Madrid – and some complementary accounts of the decoration of the Alcázar and of new foreign decorative elements by visitors. González Dávila's description of 1623 mentions other Oriental objects in several rooms of the palace:

There is a beautiful gallery decorated with paintings, jasper tables and extraordinary things in the so-called Golden Tower... the King sleeps, consults and signs near this gallery.... Nearby is the treasury (*guardajoyas*) and the rare objects from the world's riches. There are no words to explain what these are. One of its jewels is a gold *fleur de lis* of half a *vara* in height, and a little less in width, and embroidered with precious stones... The richness of the writing desks, crystal vases and other [vases] from China, scents from India and multitude of precious stones....⁴⁸⁹

As we can infer from his description, González Dávila gives an account of a type of *Kunstkammer* or treasury where objects from China and India were still displayed together with precious jewellery kept in the Golden Tower I, the same location where the objects were kept in the time of King Philip II.

During his visit to the palace in 1626, Cassiano del Pozzo described the New Room or Mirror Room:

In the same room, before entering, there was one of those paintings from Japan that is folded one [panel] against the other in the manner of their books, which, standing on their feet, serve to divide rooms and to screen doors. They are called '*biombos*'. They are made with long panels, one attached to the other, and unfold together. It was constructed from the aforesaid standing paintings [and made] a small room, which takes up little space when it is in use. They can be carried conveniently, they make a very charming show of painting, and they can quickly form a room in whatever shape is desired.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ See Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26.

⁴⁸⁷ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 905. Account of the objects inventoried and appraised at the treasury of His Majesty that could be sold. The rest [of the objects] mentioned in the inventory must remain in the house of the King. no. 60 (0040); Madrid 31 October 1666.

⁴⁸⁸ AHPM, Protocolo 5412, fol. 1. Inventario y Tasación de Bienes de la Reina Isabel de Borbón, 1644.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Entrando más adelante, por diferentes salas y retretes, está la Torre Dorada, y una hermosa galería compuesta de pinturas, mesas de jaspe, y cosas extraordinarias.....cerca de esta galería duerme el rey, escribe, firma y despacha..... Cerca del está la guardajoyas, y lo raro de la naturaleza del Orbe. No hay palabras para poder explicar lo que ella es. Una de sus preciosas joyas es una flor de lis de oro, de más de media vara de alto, y poco menos de ancho, bordada de piedras preciosas.....La riqueza de escritorios, vasos de cristal y de la China, olores de la India, multitud de piedras preciosas...'; see Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España*, Madrid, 1623, pp. 311–12.

⁴⁹⁰ Cassiano del Pozzo, untitled journal of Cardinal Francesco Barberini's legation to Spain in 1626, Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. Lat. 5689, unpaginated. Transcribed by S.N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, Princeton, 1986, p. 188.

Like his predecessors, King Philip IV sent presents to his close family too. Soon after being appointed King of Spain, he sent his aunt Magdalena (Duchess of Tuscany and sister of Queen Margaret of Austria) 'different presents such as portraits of him and his brothers, *búcaros* of different shapes, trays from India, a writing desk made of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, mounted in silver, boxes from India, rosaries of coconut and clay and one hundred and twenty porcelains of different shapes and decorations'.⁴⁹¹

As far as the use of the porcelain during his reign is concerned (except for a document stating that an enormous quantity was seized from Sanlúcar de Barrameda and sent to the Royal court; Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, 2,3,4), there is less of it compared to his grandfather's collection, and it is mixed with other Western types such as pieces with decorations of 'children playing the trumpet' or 'a porcelain King David with the head of giant Goliath at his feet'. Most of the pieces were registered in a specific section 'Porcelains from Portuguese India' (*Porcelanas de la India de Portugal*) by His Majesty's treasurer Francisco de Tamayo, who in turn received the pieces from the heirs of the previous treasurer, Jerónimo de Villafuerte.

Although the collection inherited from his grandfather Philip II was already dispersed, some pieces might relate to previous inventories: 'one hundred and sixteen blue-and-white porcelain plates (*trinceos*) with pointed edges' [foliated edges; *faldillas con labores de picos*], that could be left over from the previous 'nine hundred and twelve porcelain plates, some gilded and coloured, and some blue-and-white, of the size of a *trincheo* plate' registered by his grandfather.⁴⁹²

Other shapes and decorations were new and popular in the middle of the seventeenth century such as *papelinas*⁴⁹³ or *yen yen* vases, covered ovoid jars (of the Transitional type) or 'dogs' shaped as lions with open mouths and snake-like tails probably Dehua (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, 7). Some very interesting pieces in the inventory of 1674 during the regency of Mariana of Austria, are 'two *botixas* of one third [of a *vara*],⁴⁹⁴ in height, round and painted with the coat of arms in blue-and-white',⁴⁹⁵ which would probably be similar to the blue-and-white bottles that have been generally attributed to the reign of King Philip II, although some have been dated later, to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁶

Blue-and-white was still the most popular decorative technique but others began appearing, including a combination of red, gilt and blue – perhaps a Japanese *Imari*-type decoration. Of the pieces received by Bernardo de Tamayo, treasurer of King Charles II, in the inventory dated 1674 – nine years after Charles II of Spain ascended to the throne (Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27), most are the same as in the inventory dated 1654 (Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26), but what is really striking is that the pieces had no value by then.

Silver was still the most important material used as tableware. In 1626, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was visiting Madrid for 68 days and through the accounts of traveller Cassiano del Pozzo (1588–1657)

⁴⁹¹ 'Retratos de él y sus hermanos, búcaros de diferentes hechuras, bandejas de la India ciento y veinte porcelanas de diferentes tamaños y hechuras, un escritorio de carey y nácar guarnecido de plata, cajillas de la India, rosarios de cocos y barro'. Travel License, 22 April 1621. Quoted by Magdalena de Lapuerta Montoya, 'La corte y el arte', in José Martínez Millán and María Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe III: La corte*, Madrid, 2008, vol. 3, p. 586, quotation 8. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

⁴⁹² See Documentary Appendix 1, Document 20, Sección Registros, Testament of King Philip II, 1602. fol 835.

⁴⁹³ 'A type of vase narrow on the foot and wide in the mouth in the shape of a trumpet; it was the invention of a Pope' (from the Covarrubias dictionary).

⁴⁹⁴ A *vara* equals to 83.59 centimetres so the piece must have been 27.3 centimetres tall. The bottles with the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon are approximately 30 centimetres tall.

⁴⁹⁵ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 27, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 905, file 1, no. 42.: 'Mas dos botixas de una tercia de alto redondas pintados unos escudos con colores de azul y blanco'.

⁴⁹⁶ Díaz, 2010, pp. 74–77, dated to the reign of King Philip III (1598–1621).

we know of the type of tableware used at that time: ‘They do not use small plates but medium-size plates and bowls that have some decoration on the sides. Two gentleman assist the meal, one of them brings two plates from the stepped sideboard or credenza (*aparador*) to the table’.⁴⁹⁷ From Philip IV’s reign, new protocol requirements – the *etiquetas* of 1647 to 1651 – were issued, so we know that most of the meals were eaten by the king ‘in public’ (i.e. in the presence of privileged courtiers), and were served in the Antechamber, whether they were ‘ordinary’ meals marking no special event, or those celebrating Easter, birthdays or any other solemn occasion.⁴⁹⁸ From the accounts of the Dutch traveler Lodewijck Huygens (1631–99), on 25 December 1660, we know of a ‘public’ meal hosted by Queen Mariana of Austria in the Alcázar, stating that after washing their hands the meal started with a *consommé* served in a ‘porcelain’ bowl with ‘Spanish style’ bread.⁴⁹⁹ From the inventories preserved in the Palace archive we know that ‘seventeen dozen bowls (*escudillas*), blue, white, scarlet and gilded, were used by His Majesty for soup’.⁵⁰⁰

One of the most interesting documents relating to his reign is a record of a large amount of Chinese porcelain sent in 1656 by the Duke of Medinaceli from the village of Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) to the court in Madrid. The Duke confiscated the porcelain trader Juan Vangel (from the Southern Low Countries?) as he was smuggling the pieces to Sanlúcar. East Asian pieces arriving in Seville were heavily taxed, so many ships offloaded merchandise in Sanlúcar to avoid them.⁵⁰¹ The pieces were first received by Francisco Tamayo, King Philip IV’s treasurer, and were stored in large boxes – in seaweed to protect them – in a storage below the room of the late Balthasar Charles, Prince of Asturias, who had died in 1646. It was a huge amount: 2,774 pieces divided across different crates and organised according to the shapes of the pieces.

Pieces were decorated in blue – most likely underglaze cobalt blue – while just a few were ornamented in red.⁵⁰² Sizes are mentioned, such as some large dishes of one third of a *vara* in diameter (about 27.5 centimetres). Many pieces were broken and from the initial total of 2,774 the final number of complete pieces was reduced to 2,418. One of the last documents in the file of May 1656 confirmed that the pieces were transferred to Don Francisco Gaztelu y Gamboa, treasurer of Queen Mariana de Austria, meaning that this confiscated Chinese porcelain was intended for the queen.

The inventory of Queen Mariana de Austria of 1696 registers several pieces of porcelain, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the large quantity of pieces mentioned earlier had disappeared. However, other pieces of porcelain are mentioned in her inventory.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 24: ‘Some of these half-liquid sweets were served on extremely fine silver plates whose ends and borders were, with a little *scherzo*, shaped as lettuce leaves (*lattuga*), making these porcelain plates highly stylish (*fanno*), and beneath these there was snow [crushed ice] for chilling’. This is not the clearest of texts, but seemingly these liquid sweets were served in porcelain bowls with lobed or wavy silver edges, like neck ruffs, on fine silver plates containing crushed ice for chilling the food. The Spanish original reads: ‘*Las cosas dulces medio líquidas (servidas) en platitos finísimos de plata cuya extremidad y orla rea con un poco de “scherzo” diremos a “lattuga” que lo más “fanno” los platos de porcelana y bajo esto, en otro había nieve para refrescar*’.

⁴⁹⁸ Orso, 1986, p. 17.

⁴⁹⁹ Maurits Ebben (ed.), *Un Holandés en la España de Felipe IV. Diario del viaje de Lodewijck Huygens (1660-1661)*, Madrid, 2010, p. 45. Dutch edition: Maurits Ebben (ed.), *Lodewijk Huygens’ Spaans Journal: reis naar het hof van de koning van Spanje, 1660-1661*, Zutphen, 2005.

⁵⁰⁰ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 904.

⁵⁰¹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26, [2].

⁵⁰² ‘One thousand, six hundred and seventy small, medium and large bowls (*escudillas*) of cold blue and some scarlet porcelain from China’. Documentary Appendix 1, Document 26.

⁵⁰³ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 30.

As we can infer, except for the four large earthenware jars from the Indies at the end of the list, most pieces in her inventory were preserved for their valuable filigree mounts. Other objects such as lacquered chests, jars and writing desks inlaid with mother-of-pearl (probably of the *Namban* type), were not appraised but just inventoried; (see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 30).

Charles II of Spain and his Two Wives, María Luisa de Orléans and Mariana de Neoburgo

One of the first inventories published of the Spanish Habsburgs in Spain was made on the death of Charles II of Spain. It was selected here because it is by far the most extensive and complete inventory.⁵⁰⁴ It is additionally important because it covers the greatest art collections of the Royal Habsburg house before a fire in 1734 at the old Alcázar in which so many pieces of art were unfortunately lost. Gloria Fernández Bayton started to transcribe these inventories in 1974 from six manuscript volumes, 3,274 documents comprising various inventories of the objects left by the Habsburg kings in the so-called *Sitios Reales* or Royal palaces. The objects inventoried were categorised according to the different palaces and rooms in which they were placed.

The first Oriental object inventoried was a lacquer screen with nine panels of three *varas* in height (2 metres 49 centimetres)⁵⁰⁵ in the Room of the Furias, which was a royal bedroom decorated in the seventeenth century with a portrait gallery that glorified the Habsburg line along with paintings of views of Spanish territories. Most of the porcelain was still kept in the treasury (*guardajoyas*) but additional pieces were listed in the Bureau of Foods.⁵⁰⁶ This inventory illustrates the practical use of porcelain at the Court at the end of the seventeenth century.

The porcelains kept in the treasury are all listed in Document 33 of Documentary Appendix 1. Some were mentioned in earlier inventories, but new objects do appear, including ‘five dozen and eleven small plates (*trinceas*) of scarlet, gold and blue porcelain’, clearly a group of Imari-type porcelain; others decorated in *famille verte* and green, red and white, similar to a specific type of vase (*papelina*); ‘a vase of one quarter in height [20 centimetres] and another [one] with a green, red and white decoration without a lid’. Many pieces in the inventory were already broken at the time and were inventoried even in the damaged condition. What is really striking is that at end of the treasury list there is note stating that the pieces of porcelain ‘were not appraised as they had more of a sentimental than an intrinsic value’.

The king’s first wife, Queen Maria Luisa de Orleáns (1662–89), niece of Louis XIV of France, had a few pieces registered in her inventory.⁵⁰⁷ Most of them were bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) and some lac-

⁵⁰⁴ Gloria Fernández Bayton, *Inventarios reales: Testamentaría del Rey Carlos II 1701-1703*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1975/81/85. I have translated the names of all Oriental objects in this publication; see Documentary Appendix 1, Document 31. Apart from this publication I found other Oriental objects in different bundles; See Documentary Appendix 1, Documents 32 and 28.

⁵⁰⁵ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, Registros, signatura 240, in the Pieza (Room) de las Furias: ‘*Un biombo de Charol de nueue ojas de a tres Uaras de alto cada Una y es de la Yndia*’.

⁵⁰⁶ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, Registros, signatura 240, Guardajoyas y oficios de voca; • [Fol. 1] *Three porcelains from China, plain with no mounts, one of which is [used] to serve milk, the other two smaller round ones to serve strawberries – they are in two boxes covered in leather (vaqueta) and lined with cloth (frisa). Department in charge of the spices, salt, etc., used in meals in the Royal Household (Sausería) • [Fol. 4] Six small plates shaped as (flamenquillas) that are called ‘cazolettas’, on which the porcelains with consommé are served, with arms and numbers, and two boxes covered in leather, each one containing six [plates]. Seven porcelains from China with silver feet and handles in which the clear soup is served, three of them in red velvet boxes with new gold riveting and four in leather. Eight porcelains from China.*

⁵⁰⁷ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 29, AGP, Sección Registros, no. 5269. Inventory of goods of Queen Maria of Orleáns (Doña Maria Luisa de Borbon or Orleáns), 1689.

quered objects. Chocolate was a very popular beverage in the second half of the seventeenth century. The daughter of Philip III of Spain, Anne of Austria, introduced it to the French court in 1615 when she married Louis XIII. By the time of Anne's son, the future Louis XIV of France – who was married to Princess María Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV of Spain in 1660 – she and her court brought their tradition of chocolate drinking to Versailles and later, during the time of María Luisa de Orleáns, the habit returned to the Spanish court with the French queen:

- Forty white bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) from China without mounts.
- Twelve *jícaras* from China with two handles and lid of gilded silver.
- In the pottery room one hundred and eight porcelain *jícaras* and bowls (*escudillas*) from China, and four larger pieces from China.⁵⁰⁸

The inventories of Charles II of Spain registered a number of pieces in the Casa de Campo, a small palace built in the second half of the sixteenth century by architect Juan Bautista de Toledo, who also designed the surrounding gardens of *El Reservado*. During the reign of Philip IV, interest in this palace declined in favour of the Palace of Buen Retiro, inaugurated in December 1633. The grandeur of the latter palace reduced interest in the Casa de Campo. At the end of the seventeenth century the palace was in a delapidated state but still contained several pieces of Chinese porcelain, probably used for outings during which chocolate was consumed. These pieces were registered as belonging to the second wife of King Charles II, Queen Mariana of Neoburgo.⁵⁰⁹ All the items in the list were not appraised because María Grauet declared that they belonged to Her Majesty the Queen.

A document dated 7 May 1703 recorded that the overseer (*contralor*), following the practice of previous reigns, organised a distribution of table linens and tableware used in the service of Charles II of Spain, the last Habsburg king. Among the beneficiaries were the heads of the various offices in the Royal Household who had been responsible for such objects. For example, the treasurer, the Head *Salsier* (*salsiers* were in charge of the meat in the Royal Household, but the Head *Salsier* had come to be responsible for the silverware), the Head of the Royal Bakeries (who as well as being in charge of the bread, had come to be responsible for table linens), the Head of the Royal Cellars, and other similar offices. Foremost amongst these beneficiaries were the overseer himself and the majordomo, both of whom received in addition to a large quantity of tablecloths and tableware, two crystal goblets, one with the base decorated with diamonds and rubies and the other with gold and enamels. These two crystal goblets had been used to serve wine at the king's table. For the Head of the Royal Cellars, among other pieces mentioned are some ceramics and porcelain wares: 'six large Talavera wine jars, with stoppers, six pieces of Chinese porcelain, used to serve *consommé* and other dishes to His Majesty'.⁵¹⁰ King Charles II of Spain died childless in 1700 and was succeeded by Bourbon Philip V, grandson of Charles' half-sister Maria Theresa of Spain, the first wife of Louis XIV. As a change of dynasty took place, most objects from the old dynasty were sold off or given away to servants at the court. Many pieces of old Chinese porcelain were probable dispersed at that time.

⁵⁰⁸ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 29, AGP, Sección Registros, no. 5269. Inventory of goods of Queen Maria of Orleáns 1689. I: '[Fol. 22v] *Quarenta jícaras de la China blancas sin guarnición ninguna, Veinte y quatro cucharas de caracol de la India con cabos de filigrana de plata retorcidos. Doce cocos con pie y dos asas y tapador en cada uno de filigrana de plata blanca, Doce jícaras de la China con pie dos asas y tapador de plata dorada, [Fol. 42] Barros. En el camarín de los barros se halló ciento y ocho jícaras porcelanas y escudillas de la China, quatro piezas mayores de China*'.

⁵⁰⁹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 33, Casa Real del Campo.

⁵¹⁰ In Paulina Junquera, 'Vajillas Reales', in *Reales Sitios*, no. 5, Madrid, 1965, p. 67, in a document dated 7 May 1703.

Fig. 39. Tizian. *Portrait of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba*, 101 x 83 cm., oil on canvas, 1570. Liria Palace, Madrid (The Alba Collection).

The conclusion I wish to draw from this chapter is that Oriental porcelain was used by the court for various domestic purposes, such as vessels for oil, vinegar, perfume, stock, fish soup and later for strawberries, conserves and chocolate, together with silverware vessels. These latter objects were effectively an economic investment, as they could be melted down and made into coinage or recycled as different objects. It is for this very reason that so few examples of domestic silverware remain from the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The arrival in the Iberian Peninsula of Chinese porcelain in significant quantities, especially from the last third of the sixteenth century onwards, made it possible to acquire cheap examples from both Seville and Lisbon. The low cost of these goods is recorded in royal and noble inventories of the last third of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. We should also bear in mind the continuous economic difficulties experienced by the Court throughout the seventeenth century in meeting the costs of paying its staff. This resulted in a significant increase in the number of thefts of all sorts of Court tableware, especially of silverware, but also of Chinese porcelain. The Court was responsible for the board and lodging of all the palace staff, and food was distributed between close servants as well as being sent to certain convents as a charitable offering. Porcelain went along with this food, as the finds in various Madrid convents affirm.⁵¹¹ Finally, old Chinese porcelain was given away to servants and courtiers during a change of dynasty when a new style in the arts was being introduced in Spain.



3.4. Chinese Porcelain for the Nobility

The stratified society in which the Crown occupied the top position did not mean that the kings were the only ones at the top. The monarch governed supported by the aristocracy and by the Church, sharing responsibilities and privileges with a sometimes shaky equilibrium. The titled nobility (*nobleza titulada*),⁵¹² which included various categories (dukes, marquis and earls and among other titles), had diverse privileges such as the symbolic right to stand before the king with their heads uncovered, and being called 'cousins' by the king.⁵¹³ This highest level included the 'grandees' of Spain and titled nobility, who had illustrious last names such as Enríquez, Velasco, Mendoza, Guz-

⁵¹¹ The royal Palace in Madrid has covered passageways to many adjoining buildings such as the royal convent of the Encarnación and the church of San Gil so these buildings could be considered extensions of the palace.

⁵¹² The following publications provide overviews of Hispanic nobility during the Habsburg period: Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Las clases privilegiadas en el Antiguo Régimen*, Madrid, 1973; Idem, 'La nobleza cortesana en el Antiguo Régimen', in Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro (ed.), *Visión histórica de Madrid (siglos XVI a XX)*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 35–37; Idem, 'La nobleza como estamento y grupo social en el siglo XVII', in *Nobleza y Sociedad en la España Moderna*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 119–33; David García Hernán, *La nobleza en la España moderna*, Madrid, 1992. Recent publications: Adolfo Carrasco Martínez, *Sangre, honor y privilegio: la nobleza española bajo los Austrias*, Barcelona, 2000; Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España Moderna: cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, 2007; Joseph Pérez, 'La Aristocracia Castellana en el siglo XVI', in Fundación Central Hispano, *Nobleza y Sociedad en la España Moderna*, Oviedo, 1995, pp. 53–71.

⁵¹³ We must note that in the early modern period, part of the Castillian nobility changed from holding rural seats to become members associated with the Court. Even in the sixteenth century it was normal for high ranking aristocrats to remain in the places that were the seat of their Lordships, where they lived in magnificent palaces and were active patrons to church and convents, surrounded by a small court that included family members, administrators, and chapel priests. Over time, however, they tended to drift towards the Court where they took on responsibilities and received honours from the monarchs. This tendency became more pronounced after a political capital was selected by the monarchy at the beginning of Phillip II's reign.

mán, Pimentel. The next promotion, in the mid-sixteenth century, saw several noble households in Andalucía such as the Marquis of Priego or the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Arcos being elevated to 'grandees' of Spain. In Castile (which used to include the area of Andalucía) the Dukes of Medina de Rioseco (admirals of Castile), Escalona, Alburquerque, Medinaceli, Alba, Béjar, and Frías, Constable of Castile, were also 'grandees' of Spain.

The amounts these high-ranking nobles earned, even when taking into account the enormous expenses of maintaining a costly lifestyle, were quite high. Their incomes came from rents on the lands held by the entailed estates (*mayorazgo*)⁵¹⁴ and lordships (*señoríos*), as well as from the seigniorial taxation of their vassals.⁵¹⁵

The power of these aristocratic lineages was demonstrated by the sumptuous architecture of their palaces and the interior decoration that reflected the prestige and dignity of the family. The house and its ornamentation were fundamental to maintaining the good name of the family and to exhibiting the emblems of a specific lineage. Further, it served as a place for social cohesion and a tool for projecting social rank.⁵¹⁶ As Antonio Urquizar Herrera explains: 'The most important families identified

⁵¹⁴ The *mayorazgo* was a regulation in old Castilian law, enforced from 1505 (*Leyes de Toro*) to 1820, which gave the first-born son the right to inherit the entire estate to prevent its subdivision among the members of the family. Usually, one-third of the assets were transferred to these perpetual trusts or *mayorazgos* to ensure that a large block of assets would pass intact from one generation to the next. The holder of the *mayorazgo* could not sell, mortgage, or give away any portion of the *mayorazgo's* principal, but was obliged to invest its annual income to provide for his siblings and their descendants, as well as his own children. (RAE, Seigniorial system).

⁵¹⁵ At the end of the sixteenth century, the Duke of Medina Sidonia received 200,000 *ducados* rent. The Almirante de Castilla, Duke of Medina de Rioseco, received 120,000 *ducados*, and the Álvarez de Toledo and Hurtado de Mendoza, Dukes of Alba and Infantado respectively, received 100,000 *ducados* per year as rent. Other well-known lineages like the Osuna, Escalona and Arcos received the same amount. These amounts were higher than the rich Archbishopric of Seville received. In the same period, a wage-earning farmer would not earn more than 30 or 40 *ducados* a year. See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La Sociedad Española en la Edad Moderna. Historia de España XIII*, Madrid, 2005, p. 109.

⁵¹⁶ In recent years a number of publications have dealt with the issue of artistic collections of several important nobles, members of the Spanish Administration and merchants. Antonio Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 2007, researched Andalusian nobility during the Renaissance period. G.M. Cerezo San Gil, *Atesoramiento Artístico e Historia en la España Moderna: Los IX Condes de Santiesteban del Puerto*, studied the collecting activities of the IX Earl of Santiesteban del Puerto. He was Viceroy in Italy at the end of the seventeenth century. His collection consisted of nearly 2,000 pieces of silver, some of which were used as *menaje de ostentación* (ostentation household service), usually kept in the stepped sideboards (*aparadores*) with other objects such as 460 religious and ordinary pieces of jewellery, 302 paintings, 37 tapestries, sculpture, clocks, arms, furniture and an important library with 408 books and 22 manuscripts, including some under the epigraph '*Geography, Travels and Scientific Curiosities*' with books related to East Asia such as the *Embassy of the Dutch to China* or *History of China* by Father Navarrete. In 1716 the collection was appraised at 1,472,923 *reales de vellón*. Unfortunately not a single ceramic object was mentioned in the complete inventory of the collection. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, María Cruz de Carlos and Felipe Pereda, *Patronos y coleccionistas. Los Condestables de Castilla y el Arte (Siglos XV-XVII)*, Valladolid, 2005, also analysed the patronage and wealth of five generations of Constables of Castile, who assembled artistic collections in Spain over a period of three centuries. The collection of Juan Fernández de Velasco, VI Constable of Castile, who started his diplomatic career in Portugal in 1580 and was appointed Governor of Milan in 1592, included an impressive array of Italian paintings, jewellery and a library with a *studiolo* with scientific instruments, sculpture, *bronzetti*, medals. Unfortunately, no Oriental objects were registered in these inventories either. Another interesting publication by Ana Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana de una élite de poder. Los regidores madrileños en tiempos de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1993, who studied the daily life of a number of families of Madrilenian *regidores* (municipal administrative officials) during the reign of Philip II. In her work she analysed their habits, ways of living and varied collections of gold, silver, painting, sculpture and other items. Finally, Daniela Bleichmar, 'Looking at Exotica in Baroque Collections: The Object, the Viewer and the Collection as a Space', in Mar Rey-Bueno, Miguel

themselves so much with their houses that their homes served as a point of reference for the members of the family and as a public showcase for society. If in Italy the house and collection of Lorenzo de Médicis was considered one of his best political weapons, then Castile and Andalucía wished to live the same way'.⁵¹⁷ To exhibit one's riches to the outside world through sumptuousness, acquisition of artistic works and cultural patrimony was consubstantial to this attitude, an attitude that would continue into the seventeenth century, an era when power and culture were closely related.⁵¹⁸ The ideal of the humanistic nobleman – which in Spain was understood to mean a humanist and a Christian – had its followers and its identity traits among the Spanish nobility that were reflected in a greater interest in culture and education through a familiarity with Renaissance culture and the Classics alongside Christianity based on theological readings.⁵¹⁹

During the last few years, research in Spain has concentrated on the great collectors of the Spanish aristocracy during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth. Peter Cherry and Makus Burke⁵²⁰ studied collections of paintings of the nobility. Other studies followed such as the households and collecting of the Duke of Alcalá, the Marquis of Velada, the Duke of Lerma, the Earl of Lemos and Oñate, the house of the Constables of Castile or the Dukes of Osuna and the Earls of Astorga. In addition, there are several studies on specific individuals such as Juan José of Austria or the Marquis of El Carpio.⁵²¹ In all of these studies, the common element was the desire for social distinction through the acquisition of paintings and sculptures, art objects, which, to them, represented power and ostentation.

The objective of this part of the research was to find, not only within primary sources, but also within secondary ones, the inventories of household goods pertaining to these relevant families, searching

López-Pérez, *The Gentleman, the Virtuoso, the Inquirer: Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa and the Art of Collecting in Early Modern Spain*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2008. This very interesting book is dedicated to the collecting interests of Juan Vicencio de Lastanosa who had a keen interest in exotic objects and devoted his life to collecting marvels, curiosities, antiquities, books and medals, that he kept in his palace in Huesca. Although the inventory mentions some interesting exotica like two chests from China of a *vara* long decorated with mother-of-pearl and hunting scenes in gold leaf and with locks, no porcelain is mentioned. See the full inventory, preserved by the Hispanic Society of America, at www.lastanosa.com. Manuscript B-2424, fols. 24–51v.

⁵¹⁷ Urquizar, 2007, p. 38.

⁵¹⁸ Fernando Checa, 'Imágenes de la magnificencia: actitudes ante el hecho artístico en las sociedades del Antiguo Régimen', in *Revista de Occidente*, no. 180, Madrid, 1996, p. 29.

⁵¹⁹ Antonio Urquizar Herrera, 'El coleccionismo artístico de los condes de Santiesteban del Puerto (Jaén) en el siglo XVI, a través de sus inventarios de bienes', in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennese*, July/December, 2001, no. 179, pp. 29–56.

⁵²⁰ Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755: Spanish Inventories I. Documents for the History of Collection*, 2 vols., Los Angeles, 1997.

⁵²¹ For publications on artistic collections of the Spanish nobility of the Habsburg period: Sarah Schroth, *The Private Collection of the Duke of Lerma*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, U.M.I., Ann Arbor 1990; Santiago Martínez Hernández, *Don Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marqués de Velada, y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III, (1553-1616)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2002 and by the same author *El marqués de Velada y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III: nobleza cortesana y cultura política del siglo de Oro*, Valladolid, 2004; Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, *Nobleza, poder y mecenazgo en tiempos de Felipe III: Nápoles y el conde de Lemos*, Madrid, 2007; Ana Minguito Palomares, *Linaje, poder y cultura: el gobierno de Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, VIII conde de Oñate (1648-1653)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2002; J. I. Martínez del Barrio, *Mecenazgo y política cultural de la Casa de Osuna en Italia (1558-1694)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 1991; Manuel Arias Martínez, *El marquesado de Astorga. Siglos XVI y XVII. Arquitectura, coleccionismo y patronato*, Zamora, 2005; Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan de Austria y las Artes (1629-1687)*, Madrid, 2005; Leticia de Frutos Sastre, *El VII marqués del Carpio (1629-1687), mecenas y coleccionista de las Artes*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2005; Mercedes Simal López, *Los condes-duques de Benavente en el siglo XVII. Patronos y coleccionistas en su villa solariega*, Benavente, 2002.

for porcelain, china, and other exotic items, because items in these two categories combine two essential aspects that could have positively influenced their presence in the household: on the one hand, plentiful economic resources, and on the other, the taking on of a particular public image through collecting costly goods which served as a model for the rest of society (see Documentary Appendix 2).⁵²²

One of the lineages most relevant to the first period of the Greater Austrias (sixteenth century) was the Medina Sidonia lineage. This family, based in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), were Earls of Niebla since the fourteenth century, and Dukes of Medina Sidonia after 1445. They were one of the first Andalusian families to reflect their economic and social power by collecting luxury objects.⁵²³

One of the most important inventories, by volume and value, was that of Don Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1558), VI Duke of Medina Sidonia⁵²⁴, which includes numerous precious stones and jewellery, religious ornaments (altarpieces), household furnishings, weapons, tapestries, imported furniture, objects from the East Indies, and a few porcelains from the Indies such as: 'two large decorated porcelains from the Indies of Portugal; a large one from India and another, smaller and flat with a figure in the middle; two small Chinese porcelain pieces painted with fish and lions; a ewer from the Indies and twenty-two large and small bowls from the Indies, and three trinkets (*brinquiños*) made of clay from the Indies'.⁵²⁵

His descendants, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán and Ana de Silva, VII Dukes of Medina Sidonia, however, showed more interest in painting on canvas and board, with only two 'black' dishes from China (probably lacquered) among the exotic items on their list.⁵²⁶ Searching for other inventories from this household, uncovered the 1619 inventory of Miguel Jerónimo de Guzmán, son of the distinguished Don Alonso and Ana de Silva y Mendoza, which had only one exotic item: a Japanese *katana* sword.⁵²⁷

One of the most complete inventories found in the Medina Sidonia archive pertained to Luis Guillén de Moncada (1614–72), VII Duke of Montalto and Cardinal of Moncada, in 1672, which included a very important, more than 500-page list of objects of various types. Apart from glass pieces and gourds, 40 pieces of Chinese porcelain of varying sizes appear on the list. The total value of the 40 items was appraised at 200 *reales*.⁵²⁸

⁵²² Some historians, such as Bennassar in his study on Valladolid society, asserts that even an artisan with a minimum income had various items such as embossed leather articles (*cordován*), jewellery, silver dishes and explains that the decorative elements in interiors increased with their eagerness to ornament their dwellings. Traders or those with a higher income had significant quantities of table linen, sheets, embroidered towels, and a great amount of silver that represented 10 per cent of their fortune. In 1597, 1600 and 1603, several regulations were promulgated against luxury, which favoured the compiling of inventories. The regulations, however, were completely ineffective in reality, but they do testify to the level of refinement and luxury that was attained during that period; see Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid en el Siglo de Oro. Una ciudad de Castilla y su entorno agrario en el siglo XVI*, Valladolid, 1983, p. 26.

⁵²³ The archive, located in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), contains more than six million documents, contained in 6,317 files belonging to different families or noble houses that one-by-one joined the House of Medina Sidonia, such as the Houses of Vélez (Fajardo), Requesens, Montalto, Maza de Linaza and the Villafranca family. <http://www.fcmedinasidonia.com/archivo.html>.

⁵²⁴ Urquizar, 2007, p. 134.

⁵²⁵ 'Dos porcelanas grandes de la India de Portugal labradas. Otra grande de la India y la otra llana más pequeña con una figura en medio. Otras dos porcelanas pequeñas de la India con unos peces y leones pintados. Un jarro aguamanil de la India. Veinte e dos escudillas grandes y pequeñas de la India. Tres brinquiños del mismo barro de la India'. Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Legajo 942, unpaginated. (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 26 November 1558), in Urquizar, 2007, pp. 175–207.

⁵²⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 81.

⁵²⁷ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 80.

⁵²⁸ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 87.

Also found was the inventory of Pedro de Guzmán el Bueno, XIV Duke of Medina Sidonia, made in his house in Puerta de la Vega in 1764.⁵²⁹ Although this inventory is chronologically later than the period established for this study, it was included because it contains a section dedicated exclusively to pottery, glass and china. As can be seen from the inventory, there were a great many ceramic objects in this nobleman's house in Madrid, but 'Maya'⁵³⁰ pottery pieces (made in Portugal) and ornamental Chinese pieces from a later time, such as jars and figurines of white lions or roosters probably made in the kilns of Dehua (Fujian Province), are most abundant. There are also utility wares such as ceramics for holding tobacco, gourds for chocolate and tea, and Chinese porcelain of various shapes and described as decorated with scarlet (red), green, and other colours that very likely corresponded to 'the *famille verte*' type of porcelain.⁵³¹

At present, the Duke of Medinaceli Archive (Seville–Toledo) contains more than 5,000 bundles, files, etc., belonging to various noble households from the Medinaceli⁵³² house itself and to other families related to this, such as the houses of Alcalá de los Gazules (Ribera lineage), Denia-Lerma, Segorbe, Priego, Feria and Santisteban del Puerto, among others. The main objective in consulting this archive was to find 'a small treasure of Chinese porcelain' that belonged to Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, IV Marquis of Priego, which was mentioned by Antonio Urquizar in his book *Coleccionismo y Nobleza. Signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*. According to the author, this nobleman had a room or *Wunderkammer* full of many precious stones, leather pouches, cloth and tapestries, imported coloured glass, ornamental weapons, other antiquities and the aforementioned Chinese porcelain treasure, along with a large library.⁵³³ During the research, the inventories listing the household goods in the marquis' palace in Montilla were consulted and the only item recorded was: 'a Chinese porcelain object decorated with gilded silver mount with a short foot, no handles, made on a wheel (*torneada*) that weighed three marks and seven ounces'.⁵³⁴ The scribe wrote later that he entered a room full of fine glass, ceramics from Portugal, German green glass and 'a few' pieces from China, but that since there were so many items 'he couldn't list every single one', so he put off the inventory until after the auction. The Marquise de Priego was in charge of the key to the room, and the scribe noted that 'for fear of breaking something if the pieces were moved', the items were not recorded. Finally, it appears that the items in the room were given as a dowry, probably for one of the marquis' daughters, and for that reason, were not inventoried. A very small number of exotic objects such as porcelain pieces or Chinese screens are mentioned in other documents from the Priego household,⁵³⁵ but unfortunately the famous porcelain treasure was never found.

The aforementioned archive of the Medinaceli household also contains a document recording 'four Chinese porcelain pieces decorated with gold, one of them broken' belonging to the Duke of

⁵²⁹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 85.

⁵³⁰ Barros de la Maya, a type of ceramic made in Portugal. In the play *La Dorotea* by Lope de Vega, there is a reference to Barros de la Maya: 'And if I were dying of thirst, I still wouldn't drink from Barros de la Maya', in Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, Valencia 1968, p. 292, footnote 9: 'The Maya water jugs are made in Lisbon, and they are probably called Maya jugs after the last name of the potter, or family of potters with the last name Maia or da Mai. On the other hand, it could refer to the tradition of a little girl who plays a role in the May (Maya) Festival'. This term does not appear in either of the Covarrubias and Autoridades historic dictionaries.

⁵³¹ See this and other inventories in the archive at the Medina Sidonia Foundation in documentary appendix 2, from Document 80 to 90.

⁵³² The lineage of La Cerda, known from the middle of the fourteenth century as the Counts of Medinaceli, the area situated on the border of Castile and Aragon, represents the legitimate primogeniture of the former kings of Castile and Leon, as the La Cerda lineage originates in the dispossessed descendants of King Alfonso X, the Wise. <http://www.fundacionmedinaceli.org>.

⁵³³ Urquizar, 2007, p. 156.

⁵³⁴ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 92.

⁵³⁵ See documentary appendix 2, Documents 93 and 94.

Alcalá. It appears that the duke bought them from a Portuguese canon for 200 *ducados* (for the pair of intact pieces) and paid 22 *ducados* for the second pair that was damaged.⁵³⁶ We do not know exactly if these items pertained to the first Duke of Alcalá, Don Per Afán de Ribera, who died in 1572, because the document is incomplete and the inventory was made in 1590. This nobleman was Viceroy of Cataluña and Naples⁵³⁷ and had amassed a well-known collection of Italian sculptures and other antiques that are currently housed in the Pilatos House, in Seville.⁵³⁸

Linked to the Andalusian nobility, but of inferior status than the family mentioned above, are the Earls of Santisteban del Puerto.⁵³⁹ The historian Antonio Urquizar Herrera, who studied this lineage through the post-mortem inventories from the end of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, points out that of the fifteen painted wall hangings contained in the first inventory as the only decorative element, there is a clear evolution towards riches in sumptuary arts at the end of the sixteenth century. The inventory of the V Earl of Santisteban, Don Francisco de Benavides, of 1582, and his wife Isabel de la Cueva, of 1599, testify to the propensity to accumulate riches and sumptuary goods such as tapestries and decorative wall hangings, religious paintings, rugs, furniture, jewels, silver, glass, and porcelain items. After the great number of glass objects, a list of items included in the pottery section was found. These pieces comprised: 'four porcelain plates from Portugal, twenty-two porcelain plates from Portugal, twelve medium-size porcelain saucers from Portugal, eight large porcelain bowls from Portugal, one large porcelain bowl from Portugal, two porcelain items shaped like bells, twenty-one porcelain bowls, three small porcelain items shaped like bells, two gilded porcelain bowls, and one very small gilded bowl on a silver pedestal',⁵⁴⁰ and continued with Portuguese vases made from coloured clay. It is interesting to see how the pieces are described as being Portuguese porcelain because they probably came from 'Portuguese China' and were sent to Spain from there. But they could have also been ordinary Portuguese earthenware pottery. Once again, we see imprecision and ambiguity used in the inventories' definitions.

In his wife, Isabel de la Cueva's, inventory, however, made a few years later, in 1599, there are items described as 'porcelain from the Indies': 'two pieces of porcelain brought from India, one large porcelain item, another large piece of the same material, two – I mean three – plates of the same material, four large porcelain bowls, another four small bowls, plus four medium-size porcelain pieces, another small piece of porcelain, fourteen medium-size porcelain plates',⁵⁴¹ together with more ceramic pieces from Talavera, pottery from Venice, Jaén, Plasencia, Estremoz and glass from Barcelona.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 95.

⁵³⁷ Another noble of the same period, Don Fernando de Alarcón Marquis of Valle Siciliana, had a box full of porcelain vessels from the Indies of Portugal, when he was in Naples in 1591; see Carolina Belli, 'Arte, musica e milizia nella nobiltà d'oltremare. Gli Alarcón y Mendoza al mare di Chiaia', in *Dimore Signorili a Napoli. Palazzo Zeballos Stigliano e il mecenatismo aristocratico dal XVI al XX secolo*, Naples, 2013, p. 163.

⁵³⁸ Vicente Lleó Cañal, *La Casa de Pilatos*, Madrid, 1998; Vicente Lleó Cañal, 'El Jardín Arqueológico del Primer Duque de Alcalá', in *Fragmentos*, no. 11, 1987, p. 25. See also Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana*, Seville, 2005, pp. 237–49.

⁵³⁹ Urquizar, 2001, pp. 29–56.

⁵⁴⁰ Urquizar, 2001, p. 48. Fols. 298, 298v. 'Cuatro platos de porcelana de Portugal, veintidós platos de porcelana de Portugal, doce porcelanas y platos medianos de Portugal, ocho escudillas grandes de Portugal, otra escudilla grande de Portugal de porcelana, dos porcelanas como campanillas, veinte y una porcelanas escudillas medianas, tres porcelanas como campanillas pequeñas, dos escudillas pequeñas de porcelanas, nueve escudillas de porcelana doradas, otra chiquita con pie de plata dorada.

⁵⁴¹ 'Dos porcelanas traídas de la India, una porcelana grande, un plato grande de porcelana, otro plato grande de lo mismo, dos platos digo tres platos de lo mismo, cuadro escudillas de porcelanas grandes, otras cuatro pequeñas, una más pequeña, mas cuatro porcelanas medianas, otra porcelana pequeña, catorce platos medianos de porcelanas'.

⁵⁴² Urquizar, 2001, p. 54, doc 7.

In the inventory of his descendent of 1589, Don Diego de Benavides, VI Earl of Santisteban, the wording is also imprecise when describing ceramics, giving us only the following information: 'forty-three small and large pottery pieces of different shapes'. However, other pieces were clearly specified, like 'two painted from Talavera, three from Portugal, and four small plates from Seville'.⁵⁴³ The word '*porcelana*' is even used here to describe a tin-glazed pot from Talavera.

One of the most important lineages in the Spanish Habsburg period was the House of Osuna. This family was originally from the city of Osuna (Seville), which at that time belonged to the Crown of Castile and whose name identified the dukedom, created by Phillip II in 1562 for the V Earl of Ureña, Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, I Duke of Osuna. The Girón family had served the Crown outstandingly since the Middle Ages. The first and third Dukes of Osuna, both named Pedro Téllez, served as viceroys in Naples and Sicily. Over time, the House of Osuna gained such importance and wealth that the Duke of Osuna acquired 20 'grandee' titles, including the duchies of Arcos, Béjar, Benavente, Gandía, Infantado, and Medina de Rioseco. Several nobles of the House of Osuna had porcelain objects listed among their goods.⁵⁴⁴ The most noteworthy as far as Chinese porcelain is concerned, is that of Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of Infantado, in 1624.⁵⁴⁵

Several inventories are preserved from this noblewoman,⁵⁴⁶ which include a good number of porcelain pieces. Unfortunately, as in other cases, the descriptions of most the objects are very imprecise, though, fortunately the majority are identified as being 'from China'.⁵⁴⁷ An inventory of 1675 specified the way the pieces of Chinese porcelain were organised in the various cupboards.⁵⁴⁸ And also found was the inventory of her first husband, Rodrigo López de Mendoza, of 1588, which mentions several exotic items like 'a black chest from India with an embroidered decoration and several porcelains from India with a blue decoration'.⁵⁴⁹ Other pieces are described, including a porcelain with a blue, red and gilded decoration, probably of the *Kinrande* type. It is interesting that the inventory mentions a few 'used' porcelains shaped as small plates.⁵⁵⁰ As with other inventories, everything is included in the tally, even defective or broken pieces.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 49, doc 6: '*Cuarenta y tres barros chicos y grandes de diferentes hechuras, dos porcelanas de Talavera pintadas, tres de Portugal y cuatro platillos de Sevilla*'.

⁵⁴⁴ J. I. Martínez del Barrio, *Mecenazgo y política cultural de la Casa de Osuna en Italia (1558-1694)*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 1991.

⁵⁴⁵ See Documentary Appendix 2, Documents 42 and 43. Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of Infantado and VII Marquise of Santillana (1554–1633), was born in Medina de Rioseco and was the daughter of the fifth Duke and granddaughter of the Earl of Saldaña Diego. From childhood a pious person, in 1582 she was married for the first time to Rodrigo de Mendoza, her father's brother and a close friend of Don Juan de Austria, who had spent his youth in the Court, returning with a reputation being a petticoat chaser and two illegitimate daughters whom Ana cared for and fed. Only two daughters from her marriage with Rodrigo de Mendoza reached maturity. After being widowed in November of 1587, she went through a period of 'excessive' piety. In spite of her religious devotion (and because she had not produced a male heir), Ana was obliged by her father to marry again in 1594. She married Juan Hurtado de Mendoza (son of her father's sister and III Marquis de Mondéjar), who was just as pious as she was, and had two more daughters with him. She was widowed once again in 1624 and after that lived a religious life, practically in seclusion, until her death in 1633. Perhaps that is why an inventory of her goods was made at that time, her withdrawal from society possibly being equated with her death. Thanks to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for the information she provided me about this noblewoman.

⁵⁴⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 42 and 43. I am grateful to Juan José Junquera for providing me with the inventory of this noblewoman, preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Osuna, Legajo 2967.

⁵⁴⁷ Documentary Appendix 2, Documents 42 and 43.

⁵⁴⁸ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 53.

⁵⁴⁹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 34.

⁵⁵⁰ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 34: '*Siete porcelanas chiquitas algo traídas como platillos*'.

Related to the Osuna lineage was the inventory of the possessions of Alonso López de Zúñiga, VI Duke of Béjar, dated 1620. Mentioned there were quite a lot of pieces ‘from China’ such as a ‘colour-ed plate’ with a silver foot used as a ‘*salvilla*’.⁵⁵¹ A *salvilla* was a type of tray on which a gentleman’s goblet was served. This Spanish word is where the expression ‘*hacer la salva*’ (to perform the *salva*) comes from. ‘*Hacer la salva*’ was a ceremony in which the highest-ranking servant tasted his lord’s wine or food to prevent him from being poisoned, thus ‘saved’ from betrayal. As we can see from the description in the inventory, this *salvilla* was a Chinese porcelain plate with a silver foot. In the same inventory, other Chinese porcelain pieces are described using the word ‘*contrahecho*’, a term which in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain had two accepted meanings. One was ‘to imitate something of the natural or artificial world’, thus the piece could have been an imitation of a Chinese piece, but another meaning could have been ‘something badly made, warped or crippled’. Chinese export porcelain at the end of the sixteenth century and beginnings of the next had a series of ‘defects’ associated with its elaboration and it could be that these imperfections were noticeable or that the piece had simply been chipped with use. Referring to such pieces, Maura Rinaldi, the outstanding specialist in *Kraak* commented: ‘Porcelain varies greatly in quality, from fine to coarse. But even the finer quality retains impurities, which produce pitting and small imperfections.... Many foliated edges are extremely uneven, an indication that they could have been carelessly made by hand’.⁵⁵²

One of the inventories richest in Chinese porcelain comes from Alonso López de Zúñiga’s descendent, Ana de Mendoza, VII Duchess of Béjar, 1629.⁵⁵³ This inventory is interesting because it also provides information about the lifestyle of the period by describing how the Chinese porcelain collection was arranged in the cupboards, similar to the way the Duchess del Infantado placed them, alongside to bowls or silver and ceramic ‘porcelain’ from Estremoz.⁵⁵⁴

Related to the previous lineage was the noble lineage of Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the most influential and powerful during the Renaissance.⁵⁵⁵ This family exerted an absolute power over many places in the province of Guadalajara from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, including the city of Guadalajara where palaces in different styles were constructed under their patronage. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century there was always a Mendoza family member in either of the Trastámara or Habsburg courts, the Great Cardinal Mendoza being perhaps the most influential and important patron of the arts.⁵⁵⁶ The branch of the Earl of Tendilla provided three generations of Captains General of Granada and mayors of the city. The inventory of the goods of Don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Almazán, for sporadic brief periods was the president of the Royal Council of Castile (*Real Consejo de Castilla*) had some Oriental objects from ‘the Indies’. He was member of the Council of Salamanca from 1565 to 1566, ambassador to the German empire from 1570 to 1576. He returned to Court in 1577 and was appointed General Captain of Guipúzcoa and Viceroy of Navarra. He lived in Pamplona and took part in the *Consejo de Estado y de Guerra* (Council

⁵⁵¹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 38.

⁵⁵² Rinaldi, 1989, p. 68.

⁵⁵³ Ana de Mendoza died in 1629. She was Duchess of Mandas and Villanueva (1624), Marquise of Terranova. In 1616 she married Francisco Diego López de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, Duke of Béjar, Duke of Mandas and Villanueva, Marquis of Gibrleón, Earl of Belalcázar and Bañares, and Viscount of Puebla de Alcocer.

⁵⁵⁴ See Documentary Appendix 2, Document 45.

⁵⁵⁵ Gonzalo Yáñez de Mendoza was the first of this lineage in Castile in the middle of the fourteenth century. He fought against the Muslims in the Siege of Algeciras (1342-44); the family moved from Alava, their place of origin, to the Castilian province of Guadalajara. Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350–1550*, New Brunswick, 1979.

⁵⁵⁶ Jose María Azcárate, ‘El Cardenal Mendoza y el origen del Renacimiento en España’, in *Revista Santa Cruz*, vol. 17, no. 22, 1962; Morán and Checa, 1985, p. 32.

of State and War) from 1587 to 1589. The inventory of his goods of 3 December 1592 included 'four large and small porcelains' and also an object 'eight-sided and gilded for drinking', obviously a type of cup. It is quite curious that the porcelains were inventoried together with the glass, as he had five larders (*alacenas*) containing glass. He also owned 43 *búcaros*, a type of earthenware from Portugal of different shapes.⁵⁵⁷ He also had a gilded gourd 'from India' together with two painted plates from the 'Indies of Portugal' to hold silver candlesticks for the altar and an *escritoire* from the Indies, which contained a small box with *anus deyes* (Agnus Dei).⁵⁵⁸ He was related to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza (1535–1609), Viceroy of Peru from January 1590 to June 1596, who had blue-and-white porcelain dishes, probably ordered from China, with his coat of arms (see Chapter 2: The Trade in Chinese Porcelain for Spain, p. 57). This is one of the few pieces of Chinese porcelain with a coat-of-arms related to the era of the Spanish Habsburgs preserved today.

The inventories of María de Mendoza Fonseca, Marquise of Cenete, wife of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Saldaña, and son of Iñigo López de Mendoza, IV Duke del Infantado, also included the appraisal of several ceramic and porcelain pieces. Even though it begins by mentioning the pieces of silver 'porcelain', it goes on to describe two pieces of 'porcelain from India of Portugal' mounted with silver. Finally, near the end of the list, it describes how, when the 'coffer of porcelains' was opened, it revealed nine large porcelain plates and ewers appraised at fifteen *reales* each, along with porcelain bowls appraised at six and a half *reales*. Next came a group of Spanish ceramic pieces from Valencia, Talavera and from Portugal.⁵⁵⁹

From the archive of the nobility of Toledo, the inventory of Catalina de Silva, Princess of Melito and mother of the famous Princess of Éboli, dated Barcelona, 1568 was analysed. It would appear that Catalina de Silva was a cultured woman who possessed a library of some 300 books, and other objects such as jewels, dresses, and tapestries. This inventory contained a set of ceramic pieces that belonged to the House of Infantado that was specified as a group of ceramic items with 'no particular value'. Also mentioned are ceramic and porcelain pieces of varying materials and origin: Galápagos, bone, India, *búcaros*, gilded and green ceramics, two white clay jugs from Faença, a large blue porcelain pot, and a few porcelain pieces mounted in silver that were in the possession of one Francisca Nogués.⁵⁶⁰

One of the finest inventories in relation to exotic items and Oriental porcelain belonged to the Prince of Éboli, Don Ruy Gómez de Silva (1516–73), who, in 1553, married Ana de Mendoza de la Cerda, Duchess of Pastrana, daughter of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (c. 1500–78), Duke of Francavilla and Prince of Mélito and Catalina de Silva, daughter of the Counts of Cifuentes. The inventory – executed on several dates between 8 August 1573 and 1 May 1574 – is very rich in exotic and pieces from the East. The Prince of Éboli was one of the most refined and successful courtiers of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. For years he was a very close adviser to Prince Philip, the future King of Spain.⁵⁶¹ As the king's *sumiller de corps*, he enjoyed constant private access to and special personal relationship with the king; consequently his voice was dominant in the Council of State. Also, as *Contador Mayor*, Ruy Gómez supervised the Crown's finances. It is evident that the Portuguese origin of this nobleman had a great deal to do with the fact that the selection of pieces reflected a special pre-

⁵⁵⁷ *Búcaros* and Portuguese ceramics, no. 658 of the same inventory.

⁵⁵⁸ Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo no. 1238: 'Inventario de bienes de don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Almazán, 3 December 1592, no. 655: '*Quatro porcelanas grandes y pequeñas; Otra porcelana ochavada y dorada para beber*'. See Juan Luis González García, 'La colección, librería y relicario de D. Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, primer marqués de Almazán', in *Revista Celtiberia*, no. 92, 1998, pp. 193–228.

⁵⁵⁹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 30.

⁵⁶⁰ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 29.

⁵⁶¹ J. M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King. Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain*, Berkeley, 1995.

dilection for all things Oriental. This nobleman, along with King Phillip II, was the most important collectors of East Asian items in the sixteenth century. In the inventory there are many exotic items from the Indies, most of which are registered as from 'the Indies of Portugal'. The list is very long and includes different materials: textiles, bed covers, carpets, clothing, leather pieces, furniture, crystal, exotica like coconut shells or gourds, and much porcelain.⁵⁶² Some of the exotic items mentioned were very extravagant gifts that he gave to his wife: 'A large and rich carpet from the Indies patterned with many birds that was given by Alvaro Méndez to the Princess'. A similar piece appears on the list as: 'a large carpet with colours in silk and wool from the Indies of Portugal that had thirty-two inches', was appraised at 70 *ducados*. Many of the Prince's pieces were objects lacquered in red, and gold or black and gold, including 'A small round box from the Indies of black and gold lacquer with its lid', and a 'large red and gilded box from the Indies of Portugal with a lid', and also lacquered pieces of furniture such as 'two painted tables (*bufetes*) from the Indies of Portugal'.⁵⁶³

To conduct an appraisal of such a complex inventory specialised merchants were hired to catalogue and appraise the items. For the ceramic pieces, Valerio Méndez, a Portuguese merchant, was given the task. This list seems to be divided into pottery from Portugal and porcelain pieces, although in the inventory pieces made of 'Turkish clay' and vases were also included. The largest set included thirty-five plates (*trincheros*) for one and a half reales'.⁵⁶⁴ In the inventory of Philip II, as we have seen, there was a large lot of 912 blue-and-white plates of the *trinchero* type, some gilded and coloured, and also at three *reales* apiece.⁵⁶⁵ However, some porcelains in the shape of plates were appraised here at eight *reales* each, while another lot of deep plates was appraised at four *reales*.

Lastly I would like to mention Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, III Duke of Alba (1507–82), who belonged to the lineage of the Alvarez de Toledo. He was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (1567–73) and appointed Majordomo to both the Emperor and King Philip II. The duchess' collection (María Enríquez) also reflected an interest in Oriental exotics.⁵⁶⁶ On 3 June 1563 she paid 4,406 *reales* to a Portuguese merchant for twelve ounces of ambergris, 20 ounces of musk, ten ounces of storax, four fine Oriental fans (*abanos leques*), two tortoiseshell plates and two table fans, four large porcelain plates and two cruets, a Chinese box and a tortoiseshell ball, fifteen porcelains and sixteen plates, chain lacework and a fine, rich Indian carpet.⁵⁶⁷ The Portuguese campaign must have presented the duke with a particularly good opportunity to enrich his collections as well as buy exotics for the queen (see Chapter 3.3 Chinese Porcelain for Royal Households, p. 115). The duke maintained lodgings (*casa de aposento*) in the neighbourhood of the Alcázar of Madrid but after he returned from Flanders he spent much of his time in his palace of Alba de Tormes (Salamanca) where he had a *camarín de los vidrios* (a room to display glasswork), and Saint Teresa herself recalled her impressions on visiting one such room belonging to the Duchess of Alba, with its vessels of glass and ceramic.⁵⁶⁸ This display can be related to king Philip II golden tower where his glass and porcelain vessels were placed.

⁵⁶² See Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2.

⁵⁶³ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2, fol. 162, 172, 184.

⁵⁶⁴ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 2, fol. 281v.

⁵⁶⁵ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 21, fol. 835.

⁵⁶⁶ Pérez de Tudela, 2013/1, p. 189.

⁵⁶⁷ Pérez de Tudela, *ibid*, p. 189, ADA, C 211: On 3 June 1563 '*compra de un portugués doce onzas de ambar gris, veinte de almizcle, diez de estoraque, cuatro abanos leques finos, dos platos de tortuga y dos abanos de mesa y cuatro platos grandes de porcelana y dos vinajeras, una caja de la China y una bola de tortuga, quince porcelanas y diez y seis platos, cadenas y una alcatifa [alfombra] rica de la India, por 4.406 Reales, 3 junio 1563*'.

⁵⁶⁸ Quoted by Pérez de Tudela, 2013/1, p. 189. Saint Theresa, prologue and notes by Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Las Moradas*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 186–87.

Another important noble at the time of kings Philip II and Philip III was Juan de Borja (1533–1606), an aristocrat from the House of Borja and the House of Castro. He was ambassador in Lisbon and later, in 1576, was sent to Prague as the Spanish ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II of the Holy Roman Empire. He was majordomo of Empress María of Austria until 1603. As recognition for his services to the state, Phillip II granted him the title of Count of Mayalde and also made him Count of Ficallo, President of the Council of Portugal and later Head Majordomo of Margaret of Austria, Queen consort of Spain and Portugal who was married to King Philip III (1598–1621). During his stay in Lisbon he probably purchased Chinese porcelain and exotics as they are registered in his inventory of 1600. He had a ‘chamber with glass and porcelains’ with jasper tables, corals, glass mounted in silver and gold, mother-of-pearl trays, Chinese objects, and porcelain gourds.⁵⁶⁹ We know from transport licences (*cédulas de paso*) that he took several porcelains with him on his departure on assuming his post as ambassador for Emperor Rudolf II.⁵⁷⁰ He took pieces for his use or as gifts and, among other objects, there were: ‘a small box from India with five small porcelains, two porcelain plates, two golden porcelains, a porcelain carafe, white and gilded porcelains, a porcelain salt container, a large porcelain from India, two porcelain ewers one gilded, a porcelain carafe from India and other porcelains’.⁵⁷¹

Philip III’s tutor was Don Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marquis of Velada (1553–1616).⁵⁷² In the inventory carried out at his death, it is mentioned that his wife had a porcelain cabinet with a number of porcelains, maps of China, silks and other exotics. The inventory also refers to a chest full of: ‘fifty large and small porcelains, together with Venetian glass, a model of a ceramic ship from Portugal and several other ceramics from Talavera and Portugal’. As we see, the display was similar to that of her relative, the Duchess of Alba.⁵⁷³

One of the most important noblemen during the reign of Philip III was Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma (1553–1625). He was so influential that in 1612 his written or verbal orders would enjoy binding force utterly equivalent to the king’s royal signature or pronouncements. In 1606 he began decorating his palace in the town of Lerma (Burgos). According to

⁵⁶⁹ Morán and Checa, 1985, p. 158. The inventory of this noble is in AHPM, Protocolo 933.

⁵⁷⁰ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 43.

⁵⁷¹ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 2001, p. 43. Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas de Paso, no. 360, fols. 197–199v. 6 March 1577. Among other objects, the porcelain objects mentioned in this document are: ‘una caxa de la yndia con çinco porcelanas muy chicas, dos platos de porcelana, dos porcelanas doradas, una garrafa de porcelana, porcelanas blancas y doradas, un salero de porcelana, una porcelana de la yndia grande, dos aguamaniles de porcelana uno dorado, una garrafa de la yndia de porcelana’.

⁵⁷² See Santiago Martínez Hernández’s Ph.D. diss., *El marqués de Velada y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III: nobleza cortesana y cultura política del siglo de Oro*, Valladolid, 2004.

⁵⁷³ Martínez Hernández, 2004, p. 270. Archivo Zabálburu, Altamira 198, GD [Grupo Documental] 1. Inventario a la muerte del marqués de Velada en 1616, fol. 77. In the lady’s chamber there were ‘a great quantity of glass and porcelains’. The marquis’ goods included maps of China, coconuts, bezoar stones, and so forth. Fol. 107 mentions a chest that contained ‘fifty large and small porcelains together with Venetian glass, a model of a ceramic ship from Portugal and several other ceramics from Talavera and Portugal’, among other objects. The complete Spanish inventory is as follows: ‘Çinquenta porcelanas grandes y pequeñas junto a vidrios de Venecia, un barco de barro de Portugal, un cantarillo y una olla de barro de Portugal’. Other goods were: ‘12 cubillos y cajas de barro de Talavera para conservas, almofías de Talavera, barro blanco. En f. 136, barritos de Portugal, un barro hecho de menjuy, vidrio lleno de olor (todo esto en cesta de mimbre). 137 cocos y menjuy. 138. Colcha de India con animalejos labrada en seda y flecos blancos a la redonda. 146. Cocos con pies de marfil como frascos. 47: talega en seda de colores de la China. 149: cinco porcelanas grandes blancas. 159 “una fraçada” leonada de la India. 193: bezares, calabacilla de sangre de drago, “porcelana grande de vidro verdé”, cesta de paja con cadenas de vidrio forrada de tafetán amarillo y dentro una taza de barro blanco y azul. En f. 195: vaso de piedra bezar, vaso y albornia de barro de las Indias colorado, un vaso de barro de la China, Un caracol blanco’. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

inventories written on 3 September and 28 December 1616,⁵⁷⁴ the palace was decorated with such magnificence and luxury that inventories listed specific items such as paintings, sculptures, as well as wall hangings, furniture including beds, canopies, magnificent mirrors and all types of sumptuary objects including clocks, jewels or pieces of gold and silver. As generally occurred in the Spain of the Habsburgs, silver was used as the main table service⁵⁷⁵ and represented luxury and ostentation, an attitude that is clearly expressed in the following saying, ‘Spending money on silver tableware is not spending money, but only exchanging small pieces of silver for large ones’.⁵⁷⁶

As the historian Luis Cervera Vera comments regarding the porcelain in the duke’s collection, ‘it may be said that the number of porcelain objects was neither significant nor of great interest. Many pieces are broken and, through it’s impossible to be sure, most likely they lacked decoration since there is no mention made of any’.⁵⁷⁷ As we see, Cervera Vera points out the paucity in the selection of porcelain objects, many of which belonged to King Philip II and were inherited by his son King Philip III.⁵⁷⁸ We do not know if the pieces were gifts from the king to his favorite or purchased by him from the king’s state sale. Cervera notes that the porcelain pieces were ‘common articles’ with a couple of exceptions, as in: ‘a porcelain object shaped a gourd with a silver hinged lid’, a description that is similar to a piece in King Philip II’s inventory.⁵⁷⁹ This piece was used to hold scented water during King Philip III’s reign, although it was still broken, and was listed in the same way among the items in the Duke of Lerma’s inventory.⁵⁸⁰ There are also some small porcelain pieces made to hold preserves, a saltcellar, and a bowl.⁵⁸¹ Also mentioned are a specific group labelled ‘Chinese clay’ or simply ‘from China’ that included ‘large pot with a lid’,⁵⁸² and a very interesting piece listed as ‘a jar of that same clay from China, with the handle made of marine reed’. Some other pieces listed were: ‘four small dishes, several bowls, plates, and bottles, and a bottle holder from China with two matching bottles’.⁵⁸³ In another section of the duke’s inventory there is mention of a ‘porcelain chest’ along with several gilt silver pieces including eight silver plates similar to ‘those from China’, and four porcelain pieces from China, mounted with gilded silver, two undamaged and two broken and smashed’.⁵⁸⁴ There is also a porcelain vinegar and oil set, decorated with gilded silver, and screw lids.⁵⁸⁵ We also know that through the donation of an important number of luxurious goods – which were appraised at 50,000 *ducats* – Tomás de Borja y Castro-Pinos

⁵⁷⁴ The inventories of the Duke of Lerma were published by Luis Cervera Vera, *Bienes Muebles en el Palacio Ducal de Lerma*, Valencia, 1967.

⁵⁷⁵ The Duke of Lerma was completely obsessed with everything ostentatious and spectacular. He amassed a fabulous treasure in silver that included 452 plates along with a very varied selection of types of silver and a wonderful set of glass pieces for the table. See Cervera Vera, 1967, pp. 16–26.

⁵⁷⁶ Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares en los cuales se contienen los discursos, modos de hablar, proverbios y palabras españolas más comunes. Muy útiles, y provechosos, para los que quieren aprender la lengua Castellana*, Paris, 1619, p. 133.

⁵⁷⁷ Cervera Vera, 1967, p. 21.

⁵⁷⁸ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25.

⁵⁷⁹ Documentary Appendix 1, Document 25. AGP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 903, Treasury. 1617. [Idem 833]: ‘A porcelain gourd decorated in gold, blue-and-white with a silver lid, which seems to have contained perfumed water, a silver chain attached to the lid, appraised at thirty reales... the mouth is broken’. The piece remained in the service of Philip III and Margaret of Austria after the auction of his father, King Philip II.

⁵⁸⁰ Cervera Vera, 1967, p. 72.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

(1541–1610), Archbishop of Zaragoza, gave his nephew, the Duke of Lerma, two porcelains from India with silver feet and handles, one of them gilded, and which, from the 1608 inventory of the archbishop's possessions, were both appraised at 150 *reales*.⁵⁸⁶

The absence of Chinese porcelain and other exotic pieces in the inventories of items pertaining to the great collectors of the seventeenth century such as the Marquis of Leganés (d. 1655), Diego Messía y Guzmán, is very notable. This nobleman was one of the main collectors of Baroque art in Spain and indeed, in all of Europe, possessing works by Spanish, Italian, and, above all, Flemish artists. It was amazing to find such a large number of treasured items in his inventory: clocks, swords, pieces of artillery, statues (among them more than 20 bronze busts of Roman emperors), mirrors, luxurious pieces of furniture and unusual objects... an endless list of objects and a very impressive collection of about 1,333 paintings. Just for the quantity of items alone, it would have been extraordinary (King Philip IV's Buen Retiro Palace had about 800 paintings), but the truly important thing about this collection is that a large portion of the items described in the inventory have been studied and related to extant pieces.⁵⁸⁷ However, as far as exotic items are concerned, they are few in number and only a few screens are listed (without specifying their origin) along with a 'coconut from India mounted in silver with a silver handle'.⁵⁸⁸

King Philip IV had legitimised his illegitimate son, Juan José de Austria (1629–79), who therefore had a social status somewhere between the aristocracy and royalty. He was a brilliant soldier and politician who accumulated an extensive collection of artistic items during his intense, busy life. We know about his collection through his post-mortem inventory. The most important group of items were paintings and books, but he also collected other objects such as clocks, sculptures, silver objects, jewels, and musical instruments.⁵⁸⁹ Unfortunately not a single Oriental object is mentioned in his inventory, while there is such mention in the inventory of his daughter, Princess Marie Catherine Isabelle d'Autriche, a nun in the Convent of Berlaimont in Brussels. In her list the following pieces appear: 'five porcelain jars from the Indies, blue, and four *boccaros* [*búcaros*, see Glossary] decorated with silver, and half a dozen cups'.⁵⁹⁰

Another of the seventeenth century's major bloodlines was the Pimentel family, which was linked to the House of Osuna and the countship and duchy of Benavente. Historian Mercedes Simal studied the artistic patronage and collections of the Pimentels in different cities, including Benavente, Valladolid and Madrid. The eighth Count-Duke of Benavente, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel Herrera y Enríquez de Velasco, held the post of Viceroy of Valencia (1598–1602) and, from 1603 to 1611,

⁵⁸⁶ Carmen Abad Zardoya, 'Por el bien y beneficios que de su mano hemos recibido: estudio documental de una donación de bienes muebles hecha por Tomás de Borja a su sobrino el duque de Lerma en 1608', in *Artigrama*, no. 24, 2009, pp. 341–71; see Table 26. 'Relojes Y Objetos Con Guarnición De Metales Ricos': 'Dos porcelanas de la India con assas y pies de plata la una dorada y la otra blanca (f. 839v.) 150 reales', on p. 370 of the mentioned article. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this information.

⁵⁸⁷ José Juan Pérez Preciado, *El marqués de Leganés y las artes*, Ph.D. diss., UCM, Madrid, 2010; José Luis López Navío, 'La gran colección de las pinturas del marqués de Leganés', in *Analecta Calasantiana*, Madrid, 1962, pp. 259–330; Vicente Poleró, 'Colección de pinturas que reunió en su palacio el marqués de Leganés, Don Diego Felipe de Guzmán (siglo XVII)', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, vol. VI, Madrid, 1898–99, pp. 122–34; Mary Volk Crawford, 'New Light on a Seventeenth Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', in *The Art Bulletin*, New York, 1980, pp. 256–68; Jonathan Brown, 'Felipe IV, Carlos I y la cultura del coleccionismo en dos Cortes del siglo diecisiete', in John Elliott and Ángel García Sanz, *La España del Conde Duque de Olivares*, Valladolid, 1990, pp. 81–100.

⁵⁸⁸ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 12, AHPM, Protocolo 6267, fol. 425.

⁵⁸⁹ See Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las Artes (1626–1679)*, Madrid, 2005.

⁵⁹⁰ González Asenjo, 2005, p. 701, 'cinq pots de porcelaine des indes bleux et quatre boccaros garnie d'argent, une demie douzaine des tasses'.

that of Viceroy of Naples. The inventory of his property at his Madrid residence included not only objects such as glass and *búcaros*, but also a number of porcelain objects, including 'a large piece with a sedge',⁵⁹¹ and other exotic objects, such as a tray from India.⁵⁹² Although paintings, sculptures and tapestries regained their pride of place in the inventories of the collection belonging to the tenth Count-Duke of Benavente, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel, his Valladolid palace was described in 1653 as featuring a 'porcelain chamber' containing a number of objects such as three dozen plates, ten-and-six 'small porcelains', two-and-a-half dozen 'shields' [probably vessels painted with escutcheons], pots in a large porcelain vessel, nine small bowls, two white bowls, four pieces of porcelain of different colours and one large piece of porcelain, among others.⁵⁹³ There is mention of 'the pots in the pinewood chest' and a large basket of pots in 'the spiral room'.

Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis of Heliche and VII Marquis of El Carpio was another great seventeenth-century collector.⁵⁹⁴ He was the son of Luis de Haro, also a collector, and inherited a large repertoire of paintings, a collection he progressively increased with works of fine quality. He played a leading role in the court of Philip IV as ambassador to Rome and Viceroy in Naples. In 1649 he married Antonia María de la Cerda, daughter of Don Antonio de la Cerda, VII Duke of Medinaceli and María Luisa Enríquez de Ribera y Girón, V Duchess of Alcalá. During his time in Rome, he amassed a large number of paintings, around 1,462 paintings and 30 albums of drawings.⁵⁹⁵ His inventory,⁵⁹⁶ consulted in the archive of the House of Alba, in Liria Palace, lists sculptures, classical antiques, sumptuous pieces of furniture, writing desks with precious gems, medals, busts, garden ornaments, and impressive fountains. There is not a single Asian piece in the most important inventory, made in Rome in 1682.⁵⁹⁷ But in another inventory written between 1692 and 1693 we find 'two round painted wooden platters from India, another large one in the shape of a basin, a lacquered parasol, a large clay goblet shaped as a brazier on a pedestal, some masks that appear to be from China or Geneva, with some sort of label, a large round dish that looks like Chinese clay with a wooden drawer'.⁵⁹⁸ However, another inventory

⁵⁹¹ A large porcelain with '*juncia*'; this term could also refer to a *junciera*-type porcelain which was like a large dish.

⁵⁹² Mercedes Simal López, *Los condes-duques de Benavente en el siglo XVII. Patronos y coleccionistas en su villa solariega*, Benavente, 2002, p. 221.

⁵⁹³ Simal, 2002, p. 233, Fol. 61: '*Tres docenas de platos trincheros, diez y seis porcelanicas, dos docenas y m^a de escudos, unos barros que estaban en una porcelana grande, nueve escudillas pequeñas en dha, dos escudillas blancas, quatro porcelanas de diferentes colores, una porcelana grande, tres aljafanas, tres jarras, una escudilla, quatro del mismo tamaño, doce platos, porcelana grande, un platico, otra porcelana mediana, una salvilla de tres, un platico, quatro de las diez jarras y frascos, una olla de dos*'.

⁵⁹⁴ Gratitude is due to Dr. Calderón, who enabled access to the Carpio papers in the Alba Archives of the Palacio de Liria, Madrid. Rosa López Torrijos, 'Coleccionismo en la época de Velázquez: el marqués de Heliche', in Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Arte 'Diego Velázquez', *V Jornadas de Arte. Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 27–36.

⁵⁹⁵ Leticia de Frutos Sastre, 'Una constelación cortesana en torno al Rey Planeta. El Marqués de Heliche y la Corte de Felipe IV', in Fundación Universitaria Española, *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV. Jornadas de Iconografía y coleccionismo*, Madrid, 2006, pp. 207–69.

⁵⁹⁶ Besides this important inventory, others papers from the House of Alba were consulted in search of porcelains and other exotic items, but none were found. ADA, 157. *Inventario de los bienes muebles y guardarropas de la Casa de Alba (1654-1668), en el que se apreció gran cantidad de indumentaria y objetos de plata*; ADA., 157. *Memoria o inventario de todo lo que se entregó a Antonio Martínez de la Vega, guardarropa del duque de Alba, 1666*. ADA., 158, no. 13, *Inventario de las alhajas, tapicerías, cuadros y otros objetos vinculados a la casa de Alba, 1777*.

⁵⁹⁷ ADA, 302-4. *Inventario e descrizione delli Mobili, suppelletili, Massarite, bronzi e robba e dell antica e moderna pittura e scultura dell Exccmo. Sigre. Don Gasparo de Haro et Guzman, Ambasciatore ordinario e straordinario in Roma, MDCLXXXII (1682)*.

⁵⁹⁸ ADA, C.221/no. 2. *Inventario de cuadros, tapicerías del conde-duque y del marqués de Liche. 1692-1693*.

dated 1687 lists a few pieces with luxurious mountings and lacquered pieces as well, such as:⁵⁹⁹

- A cane made of Indian reed with two mountings of wrought gold, one that serves as the tip and the other, larger one, as the handle, an eight-sided figure of lapis lazuli, the whole cane decorated with seventy-eight pink diamonds embedded in silver.
- A round tobacco case made of reed from India
- A small varnished wooden plate from China.
- A small wooden box from China containing several relics and other boxes
- A small box with fine ornamentation from India.
- A small wooden box from China.
- Two fans with wooden handles from China.
- A few wooden boxes from China.
- A round wooden box from China with flowers holding four pieces of ink from China.
- Another small wooden box from China, in which there is a cameo with the head of an Emperor.
- A chestnut tobacco holder from India with silver filigree.
- Fifteen reed spoons from India, painted red and gold, used with chocolate.
- A wooden box from China with nothing inside.
- A small wooden trunk from China with nothing inside.
- Sixteen fans with handles from China with several letters.
- A wooden box from China with a lot of small boxes.
- Two wooden boxes containing two Chinese fans.

Finally, Documentary Appendix 2 lists other inventories of household goods that contain ceramics, East Asian porcelains, and other exotic items belonging to other members of the nobility in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ ADA, 217-12. Inventario de bienes redactado en Nápoles a la muerte del marqués del Carpio, 1687. The inventory of the Marquis of Carpio can also be found in AHPM, Protocolo 9819, fols. 1079-90: '*Un bastone canna India guardita d'oro intagliato con il puntuale pure d'oro intagliato con il manico di lapislazzaro ottangolare in detto manico, e guarnitione e puntale vi sono diamante a f aciette numero stantotto in tutto fra grandi e mezzani; Una tabacchiera tonda di canna d'India; Un piattino di legname della China inverniciato; Una caseta di legno dello China con varie reliquia et altre cassette; Una scatoletta con una galanteria dell' India; Un cassetino di legno della China; Due ventagli con manichi di legno della China; Alcune cassette di legno della China; Una caseta di legno della China tonda con fiori, che vi sono quattro pezzi d'inchiostro della China; Un'altra cassetina di legno della China, nella quale vi e un cameo d'una testa d'Imperatore; Una tabacchiera di castagna d'India con filagran d'argento; Quindici chucchiere di canna d'India colorite rosse, et oro per cioccolata; Una caseta di legno della China nella quale non vi e cosa alcuna; Un bauletto di legno della China, che non vi cosa alcuna; Sedici ventagli con manichi della China con diverse carte similmente della China; Una caseta legname della China, che vi sono dentro molte cassetine; Due cassette di legno nelle quali vi sono due ventagli della China*'.

⁶⁰⁰ Other seventeenth-century collectors included: Duke of Monterrey, Admiral of Castille, Earl of Benavente, Prince of Esquilache, Marquis of la Torre, Jerónimo Villafuerte Zapata, Jerónimo Funes Muñoz, Suero de Quiñones. See Fernando Jesús Bouza, 'Coleccionistas y lectores. La enciclopedia de las paradojas', in *La Vida Cotidiana en la España de Velázquez*, p. 248. The collection of Juan de Espina y Velasco was very important at the time, as he assembled a collection of paintings, drawings, engravings, furniture, (reliquaries, cabinets, coffers,

3.5. Chinese Porcelain for Merchants and Other Individuals

To establish if the merchants of Seville had any special interest in collecting Oriental porcelain, research was conducted in the Provincial Historical Archive of Seville (AHPS) to gather information about their inventories of household goods.⁶⁰¹ Clearly, along with the nobility, merchants made up one of the most dynamic groups as far as collecting artistic objects were concerned. This part of the research began with the work by Jesús Aguado de los Reyes who analysed the society in Seville in his book *Riqueza y Sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XVII*. He devoted an entire chapter to the merchants of Seville, analysing 165 inventories, although he did not publish them in their complete form. According to his study, 23 important merchants in Seville had a patrimony of between 165 and 25 million *maravedíes* in the seventeenth century. The estates of merchants Fernando López Ramírez and Pedro Jalón amounted to more than 100 million *maravedíes*; therefore the study began with the post-mortem inventories of these important merchants.

Fernando López Ramírez, who lived in San Bartolomé and was married to María de Arellano, traded in all types of merchandise from the Indies 'Royal and Ducal merchandise, *pesos*, gold and silver bars, pearls and any other thing that came or might have come to me by boat, whether galley or any other kind of boat, from any place whether provinces or harbours in India'.⁶⁰² There is a remarkable number of paintings in the inventory of this merchant's possessions, made after his death on 18 November 1625, but only two 'silver bowls from China that weighed 1 mark, seven ounces and four *ochauas* [one eighth of a mark], along with three other bowls with their white silver handles that weighed two marks, six ounces and four *ochauas*; and three other bowls with their white silver handles that weighed two marks, six ounces and four *ochauas*'.⁶⁰³ The descriptions are, once again, not very clear, even though, judging by the weight mentioned, they appear to be silver items or Chinese porcelain mounted in silver. Besides these pieces there was also 'a white tablecloth embroidered with silk and gold and lined in crimson from China, appraised at twenty *ducados*'.⁶⁰⁴ Unfortunately, there are no other items from East Asia in the inventory, the total value of which was 124 million silver *maravedíes*.

Pedro de Jalón was another important merchant who died in May 1641.⁶⁰⁵ Here, there is also a paucity of Oriental objects; the only item listed being 'A gold cord from China that weighs thirty-eight and a half *castellanos*, with the *castellano* worth twenty *reales*, a total of seven hundred *reales*; and another chain from China with twenty loops that weighs two hundred and nine *castellanos* at twenty *reales*, totalling four thousand and eighty *reales*'.⁶⁰⁶

boxes) and different materials such as ivory, wax, bronze, silver. Porcelain is not mentioned. María Luisa Caturla, 'Documentos en torno a don Juan de Espina, raro coleccionista madrileño', in *Arte Español*, no. 6, Madrid, 1963.

⁶⁰¹ The Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPS) classifies documents according to notaries and not trades, compounding the difficulty of finding merchants in the preserved inventories. The book by Jesús Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y Sociedad en la Sevilla del Siglo XVII*, Seville, 1994, provided important information regarding the specific numbering of these bundles. Juana Gil-Bermejo García studied and published a list of traders from Seville in the 1640s, titled 'Mercaderes Sevillanos (II): Una relación de 1640'; it can be found in *Archivo Hispalense*, no. 188, Seville, 1978, pp. 25–52.

⁶⁰² AHPS, Legajo 10155, Fols. 624–984. 18 May 1637. Seville. Partición de los bienes de Fernando López Ramírez, vecino de la collación de San Bartolomé, marido de María de Arellano. 1625: *mercaderías reales y ducados, pesos, barras de oro y plata, perlas y qualesquier otras cosas que a mí me ayan benido y binieren en flota o galeones o otras naos de qualesquier partes y probinsias y puertos de las yndia*.

⁶⁰³ The Spanish original transcription of Fol. 658: 'Dos escudillas de plata de la china que pessaron vn marco y siete honca y quatro ochauas, y otras tres escudillas con sus asas de plata blancas que pesaron dos marcos seis honzas quatro ochaud'.

⁶⁰⁴ Translation of the original document is: 'Una sobremesa de china blanca bordadas de seda y oro forrada en carmesí en treinta ducados y otra sobremesa de china enbutida de sedas de colores y oro en veinte ducados'.

⁶⁰⁵ AHPS, Sección Protocolos 21, vol. 1, Legajo 14560, fols. 500–617v.

⁶⁰⁶ AHPS, Legajo 14560. 1642: 'Un cordón de oro de china que pesa treinta y ocho castellanos y medio a veynte reales el

Pedro Morera also traded with the Indies.⁶⁰⁷ He focused primarily on buying and selling cloth, so a large quantity appears in his account books. He also sold leather from Caracas and Mexico and traded cocoa as well. The most abundant items in his inventories were wrought silver, tapestries and wall hangings, paintings and sculptures. There were also several items from China such as textiles and furniture but no porcelain.⁶⁰⁸

Another of the merchants researched was Lope de Tapia. According to documents, this merchant bought and sold 'Items from the Indies that come in galleons' and sold Spanish wine and oil in Mexico. The inventoried items included numerous jewels (household silver and gold), furniture, linen, art (canvasses, copper paintings, paintings, crosses, altarpieces), slaves, horses, cloth, clothing, weapons, carriage, barrels of wine, oxen, and mares. He also had some things from China but very few compared to the rest of his possessions.

- [Fol. 934v] Pottery and ceramics from China were appraised with glass and totalled 250 reales, VIIIUD.

castellano, montan setecientos y setenta reales U770 f. 518 rº y Otra cadena de china con veynte bueltas que pesó ducientos y nueve castellanos a veynte reales castellano monta quatro mil y ciento y ochenta reales 4U180'. f. 518 rº

⁶⁰⁷ AHPS, Sección Protocolos 3, vol. 2, Legajo 1811, fols. 1369–1601v.

⁶⁰⁸ '73. Three blue pieces of damask from China, two pieces of damask of two and a half *varas* sold to Don Diego Cuello for one *ducado* per *vara* for a total of three hundred fifty and seven and a half *reales*. [Fol. 1396v] 74. Another piece of blue, red, and white damask from China, eighteen *varas*, number one hundred thirty-two. Sold at eleven *reales* per *vara*. [Fol. 1396v] 100 A complete outfit made of damask cloth from China, black and white with flowers, lined with taffeta, with silver at one hundred thirteen, number 113. Sold from Captain Fernando de Saavedra for two hundred and eighty-six *reales*. [Fol. 1402] Sold to Captain Fernando de Saavedra for two hundred and eighty-six *reales* = 9724 *maravedís* [Fol. 1452] [Fol. 1451v] 101 Another outfit, black, and from China and *columbino* [?], lined with violet taffeta, number one hundred fourteen. This outfit was sold for twenty-eight *ducados*. [Fols. 1401v and 1451v] 106 A morning outfit from China made of gold taffeta, number one hundred nineteen. This was sold for fifty *reales*. [Fol. 1402] It was torn from age. Because it was old and torn it sold for 50 *reales* and is worth 1700 *maravedís*. [Fol. 1452v] Outfit and doublet made of damask from China that sold for 88 *reales* and is worth 2992 *maravedís*. [Fol. 1453] Farthingale made of damask from China that sold for 44 *reales*. [Fol. 1453v] The list of wooden items includes: 143 A pine desk that serves as an altar and has a front-piece made of white damask, from China, with a handrail and large gold end-pieces. [Fol. 1408v] Household items: 188 Six dozen delicate Talavera plates from Portugal, number one hundred sixty-nine [Fol. 1416] 189 Three larger plates, one hundred seventy [*maravedís*?]. [Fol. 1416] 190 Another 190 porcelain plates, some larger than others, and two dozen fine bowls from Portugal, number one hundred and sixty-one'. As can be seen, these last items were not appraised. The original Spanish transcription is: 73. *Tres piezas de damasquillo de China, azul. Dos piezas de damasquillo en treynta y dos baras y media se bendieron a don Diego Cuello a ducado la vara y montaron treçientos y çinquenta y siete reales y medio. f. 1396v; no. 74. Otro pedaço de damasco azul, colorado y blanco de China con diez y ocho baras inventariado en el número ciento treinta y dos. Bendiose a onze reales bara, f. 1396v; no. 100 Un auito (hábito) entero de damasco de China blanco y negro a flores, aforrado en tafettán platteado a el número çiento y treze. Bendiose del capitán Fernando de Saavedra en duçientos y ochenta y seis reales, f. 1401. Se vendió al capitán Fernando de Saavedra en 286 reales = 9.724 maravedís f. 1451v. no. 101 Otro áuito de China negro y columbino, aforrado en tafettán bioletta del número çiento y catorçe. Este áuito se bendido en veintte y ocho ducados y le están cargados en la quenta de marauedís al número. F. 1401v y f. 1451vto; no. 106 Vna ropa de leuantar de la China de tafetán dorado del número çiento y diez y nueve. Esta se bendió en çinquenta reales f. 1402. Estaba roto por ser vieja se vendió en 50 reales y vale 1700 maravedís f. 1452 v. Ropa y jubón de damasco de China que se vendió en 88 reales valen 2.992 maravedís, f. 1453; Verdugado de damasquillo de China vendido en 44 reales valen 1496 maravedís, f. 1453v. En las cosas de madera figuraba: no. 143 una messa de pino que sirue de alttar con vn fronttal de damasco de la China blanco con passamanos y punta de oro grandes. F. 1408 v.; Del menaje: no. 188 Seis dozenas de plattos finos de Talauera de Portugal del número çiento y sessenta y nueve f. 1416 r; no. 189 Tres dosenas de plattos más grandes del número çientto y settenta, f. 1416 r; no. 190 ottra dosena de plattos de borselanas, vnas mayores que otras y dos dozenas de escudillas finas de Porttugal del número çiento y sesenta y uno, f. 1416 v.*

- [Fol. 935v] Eight damask cushions from China at thirty *reales*, totalling eight thousand, one hundred and sixty *maravedíes*, VIIIUCLX.
- [Fol. 938v] Twelve head coverings made of very light material at eight, IIIUCCLXIII, D.
- [Fol. 938v] Two sets of silk from China at fifty *reales*, IIIUCCCC.
- [Fol. 939] A piece of blue and yellow Chinese damask at ten *ducados*, IIIUDCCXL.
- [Fol. 939] Two pieces of crimson Chinese damask at ten *ducados*, VIIUCCCCLXXX.⁶⁰⁹

Everything from China was assigned directly to Lope de Tapia's wife, Ana de Briones.

One of the most important collections in Golden Age Seville belonged to the merchant, Juan Vicentelo, called the Corsican (the famous 'El Corzo' of Seville) on account of his foreign origin.⁶¹⁰ With business contacts in Peru and Panama, this wealthy merchant was the prototype of the typical trader in Seville. Aware that in Seville classical tastes were synonymous with prestige and status, he collected objects and decorated his house in imitation of the nobility who liked 'to dress their houses in the style of Roman houses'. He managed to assemble a fine collection of artistic objects. Notable among the items on the 1599 inventory are the statues found in his palace-home and a type of *Kunstskammer*, which was on an upper floor and was used as an office for his business affairs. The Corsican decorated this room with interesting, exotic objects obtained through the contact he had had with distant regions. Thus, there were numerous glass, porcelain and Indian ceramic objects, objects from China, large silver cups, writing desks from Germany, a gold bronze clock with a figure of a Turk, columns and pyramids made of jasper and marble, and four small statues.⁶¹¹ When Vicentelo died, his widow, Mayor de Toledo, waited patiently for the fleets from the Indies to arrive with silver before auctioning off the objects in her house because, she said, 'there is not enough money in this city to buy what I have here which includes glass, pottery, and porcelain items'. However, in the inventory of goods published by Enriqueta Vila Villar,⁶¹² not a single item of porcelain or pottery is mentioned.

Lastly, Don Tomás de Mañara was another of the great merchants in the city who had devoted his business interests mainly to gold and silver and other exotic items from the Indies, establishing important business contacts in Italy. His primary activity, however, was serving in Seville as an agent to important bankers in the Court. Tomás Mañara established himself in Seville, purchasing a palace-house decorated with Carrara marble for 13,000 *ducados* (4,745,000 *maravedíes*) in 1623,⁶¹³ which was remodelled for 20,000 *ducados*. The chapel that formed part of the house was decorated with great opulence as is stated in the inventory of goods.⁶¹⁴ Neither is the rest of the house unworthy because it was decorated with tapestries from Brussels, luxurious imported furniture, Chinese screens,

⁶⁰⁹ AHPS, Sección Protocolos 21, vol. 5, Legajo 14437, (fols. 895–1036), Fol. 935v: '*Los barros y losa de la China se taso con los vidrios todo en 250 reales VIIIUD*'; Fol. 934v: '*Ocho coxines de Damasco de la China a treinta reales, total de ocho mill y çiento y sesenta maravedís VIIIUCLX*'; Fol. 938v: '*Doce tocas de la China de espumillas a ocho reales, IIIUCCLXIII*'; Fol. 938v: '*Dos mazos de seda de la China a çinquenta reales, IIIUCCCC*'; Fol. 939: '*Vna pieça de Damasco azul y amarillo de China en diez ducados, IIIUDCCXL*'; Fol. 939: '*Dos pieças de Damasco de la China azul y carmesí a diez ducados, VIIUCCCCLXXX*'.

⁶¹⁰ Enriqueta Vila Villar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara: Tipos y arquetipos del mercader con América*, Seville, 2010 (3rd edition), pp. 256–57.

⁶¹¹ Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura Sevillana*, Seville, 2005, pp. 243–44. Archivo de la Audiencia Provincial de Sevilla, Sección Histórica, Legajo 142, fols. 885–86v.

⁶¹² Vila Villar, 2010, pp. 256–58.

⁶¹³ Vila Villar, 1991, p. 165.

⁶¹⁴ Quoted in Vila Villar, p. 165. Inventario de bienes de Tomás Mañara (Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla, Escribanía de Hermenigildo de Pineda, vol. 2, fols. 847–53. 1649).

paintings, gems and a great many wrought silver pieces. His son, Miguel de Mañara, maintained the family patrimony and continued his father's businesses. Several Chinese porcelain fragments were found in excavations carried out at the house. Archaeologists dated four of them as belonging to the Ming dynasty, with one from the Qing dynasty, (Chapter 4, pp. 161-62).

To conclude I would like to mention other members of Spanish society who, according to inventories of their possessions, owned Chinese porcelain objects.

The first inventory pertains to the Archbishop of Seville⁶¹⁵ and was found while studying the assets of the House of Osuna of which he was a member; as mentioned earlier, aristocratic families usually held the most important archbishoprics and bishoprics in Spain. The inventory studied belonged to the Cardinal Don Gaspar de Borja Velasco, (1580–1645) who was Cardinal of Toledo, Archbishop of Seville and Toledo, and Viceroy of Naples. He was the son of Francisco de Tomás de Borja Aragón Centelles, VI Duke of Gandía, and Juana Enríquez de Velasco Aragón. The goods treasured by this important member of the clergy varied from tapestries, beds, hangings, canopies, covers, rugs, clothes, cassocks, doublets, paintings, images of saints, reliquaries, chests, tables, but also included pieces of porcelain such as:

- Two cups of fine porcelain from the Indies.
- Four bowls (*escudillas*) of porcelain from India.
- Six bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) from India to hold chocolate.
- Seven decorated porcelains, large and small, in the shape of bowls from China.
- Six small plates of the mentioned porcelain.
- Six porcelains in the shape of bowls of the same [material].
- Twelve fine porcelains from China mounted in silver.
- Three porcelains from India just over a quarter [of a *vara*], one larger than the others and the medium-sized one with mounts on the foot and two handles of gilded silver.
- Another porcelain from India with the mentioned mounts.⁶¹⁶

We have seen that porcelain was an imported good used by the Spanish Crown, the nobility, the clergy and some merchants. Its use is also documented in the inventories of goods of other individuals belonging to lower levels of society who had the resources to buy Chinese porcelain or were very well connected to important members of society who had the means of acquiring it. The monk Lorenzo de Monserrate owned one of the most interesting collections that he had in his monastic cell in the El Escorial when he died on 16 February of 1577.⁶¹⁷ He bequeathed the pieces to the king, asking that they be transferred to the convent, the hospital and the school along with other ceramics from Talavera and other 'kitchen pots' (*cacharros de cocina*). He had an interesting collection that included *Kinrande* style porcelain with gold leaf applied over the glaze, mounted blue-and-white porcelain and some ordinary blue-and-whites. This inventory is one of the most detailed found. His collection consisted of:

- [Fol. 40] Thirty-five *búcaros* of red clay, large, medium and small of different types.
- Seven trinkets (*brinquños*) of the mentioned clay.

⁶¹⁵ AHN, Sección Nobleza, Fondo Osuna. Caja 1040. 1646. It is a copy of the original inventory in the Gandía Archive. Dated 1646.

⁶¹⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 49.

⁶¹⁷ Almudena Pérez de Tudela discovered this inventory when working on her Ph. d., thesis on Cardinal Granvela in AGP, Patronatos, San Lorenzo, Caja 82, no. 5 (entrega tercera [third delivery]), fols. 40–42.

- A porcelain dish painted on top in red and gold with a gilded ewer.
- A blue-and-white vase with lid.
- A blue-and-white bowl with an open silver foot.
- A large gilded bowl.
- Another large blue-and-white bowl.
- A porcelain *búcaro* with a neck made in the shape of a gourd.
- [Fol. 41] A porcelain bowl of the size of the ordinary ones covered in gold and blue on a silver foot.
- Another medium-size scarlet and gilded porcelain.
- A wide scarlet and gilded porcelain made in the shape of a stand.
- Eight painted and gilded porcelain plates.
- Six small round blue-and-white plates with low feet.
- Thirteen blue-and-white plates.
- A small blue and with plate.
- A small blue-and-white bowl (*albornia*).
- A porcelain bowl a little larger than the ordinary ones, gilded and scarlet.
- Another one [bowl] a little larger, blue-and-white.
- Three blue-and-white porcelain bowls of the size of the normal ones.
- Two porcelain stands.
- Two blue-and-white cups.
- Fifteen porcelain bowls of the size of the normal ones, painted and gilded.
- Four porcelain cups smaller than the above, blue-and-white.
- Another two small blue-and-white cups.
- Four blue-and-white porcelain plates.
- A porcelain salt, its lid shaped as a triangle.
- Four small gilded porcelain sauceboats.
- Twenty blue-and-white porcelain sauceboats.
- Another ten porcelain sauceboats.
- [Fol. 42] A white dish with a fine glaze.
- Two basins (*almofias*), one painted in blue and the other in white with the mentioned fine glaze.
- Four small painted cups of the mentioned fine glaze.
- Seven small round bowls (*caçolillas*) for preserves.
- A small painted bucket (*cubetilla*) with a lid.

- A white ewer with its glued broken handle.⁶¹⁸

Unfortunately, none of these pieces is currently preserved in the Monastery of El Escorial.

Juan de Herrera (1530–97) was the architect and principal designer of the El Escorial, 30 miles northwest of Madrid. He conceived the building as an enormous rectangular precinct enclosing a Royal palace, a monastery, and a church. The cornerstone was laid in 1563 and the complex was finished in 1584. The period of its construction corresponded to the years of the Catholic Reformation after the Council of Trent, and the building's astonishing severity and sobriety was balanced with a beautiful Renaissance palace overlooking the gardens. It would appear from his inventory of 1597 that this humanist had a small collection of antiques, with objects of varying origins. Some were collected for medicinal purposes, such as a piece of bezoar or rhinoceros leather, but other objects are of more interest here such as a coconut from the Indies with silver mounts and a bead chain, a green stone with the face of an idol, a marble box with an oval lid turned on a wheel, an Indian tray lacquered in black and gold, and various porcelain items such as:

- Three large blue-and-white porcelain plates from the Indies, of half a *vara* in diameter and two medium-sized ones.
- Nine blue-and-white porcelain plates, four porcelain plates in gold, blue-and-white.
- Three large blue-and-white porcelain bowls (*aljufanyllas*), of a fourth of a *vara* in diameter.
- [Fol. 31] Three porcelain bowls (*aljufanyllas*), one larger than the other two, of a fourth of a *vara* in diameter.
- A very large porcelain bowl of half a *vara* in diameter.
- Three blue-and-white porcelains.
- One scarlet and gilded.
- A broken white and red porcelain sauceboat.
- Four small bowls (*aljofanyllas*) of a *sesma* in diameter, blue-and-white.
- A vase (*ruçidera*) with six hollow and curved pipes of blue-and-white porcelain from which water is poured.

⁶¹⁸ AGP, Patronatos, San Lorenzo, Caja 82, no. 5 (entrega tercera [third delivery]), fols. 40–42: '*Treinta y cinco bucaros de varro colorado grandes medianos y pequeños de diferentes hechuras, siete brinquiños del dicho varro, Una fuente de Porcelana pintada por encima de colorado y dorado con Aguamanil dorado Una olla azul y blanca con tapador todo de porcelana, una porçelana escudilla azul y blanca con un pie de plata abierto Una porçelana grande escudilla dorada, otra porçelana grande escudilla azul y blanca; Un Bucaro de Porcelana con cuello de hechura de calabaza Una Porçelana escudilla del tamaño de las ordinarias f. 41: y cubierta de oro y azul con pie de plata dorado, otra porçelana mediana y colorada y dorada Una Porcelana ancha a manera de Taza dorada y colorada, ocho platos trincheos de porçelana pintados y dorados, Seis platonçillos chicos açules y blancos repulgados a la redonda con pies baxos Treze platos trincheos de porçelana azul y blanco, un platillo de porçelana azul y blanco, una albornia chiquita azul y blanca, una porçelana escudilla un poco mayor que las ordinarias dorada y colorada Otra un poco mayor azul y blanca, tres escudillas de porzelana del tamaño de las ordinarias açules y blancas, dos taças de porcelana açules y blancas, quinze porçelanas escudillas del tamaño de las ordinarias doradas y pintadas quatro taças de porçelana mas pequeñas que las de arriba de açul y blanco, otras dos taçillas chiquillas azules y blancas, quatro platos de Porçelana azules y blancos, un salero de porçelana con su tapador en Triangulo, quatro salserillas chicas de Porçelanas doradas Veinte salserillas de porçelana açul y blanca, otras diez salserillas de Porçelana blancas, una fuente blanca de vedriado fino f. 42 Dos Amofias la una pintada de açul y la otra blanca del dicho vedriado fino quatro taçillas pequeñas pintadas del dicho vedriado Siete açolillas pequeñas redondas para conservas Una cubetilla pequeña pintada con su tapador, un aguamanil blanco con el assa rompida y pegada*'. I am grateful to Almudena Pérez de Tudela who kindly pointed out this document in the Archivo de Palacio.

- A gilded and scarlet porcelain ewer.
- Another blue-and-white ewer shaped as a bird.
- Three porcelain *brincos*, gilded and blue, one is a bird, the other a snake and the last one a vase with a boy lying on top.
- A large tray from the Indies lacquered in black and gold.⁶¹⁹

As can be seen, this inventory includes porcelains that are identical to those owned by King Philip II, especially the blue-and-white porcelain vase with six hollow and curved pipes. (see fig. 35).

Another artist of the Spanish court was Giacomo Nizzola (sometimes written Nizzolo), who was also called Jaconet da Trezzo, or Jacopo da Trezzo and Jacometrezo (Trezzo sull'Adda, c. 1515 – Madrid, 1589). He was an Italian sculptor, medallist, lapidary and silversmith, trained in Milan and active in different cities including Brussels, London, Madrid and El Escorial where he worked for Emperor Charles V and after him for Philip II of Spain. His inventory of 1589 records 'eight porcelain plates' inside a pine chest and 'three porcelains from the Indies of Portugal, one of them gilded and scarlet inside' in a small coffer.⁶²⁰ The inventory of Diego de Silva Velázquez and Juana Pacheco of 1661 was published a few years ago.⁶²¹ This famous painter had only a few exotics from the Indies: a bowl with silver handles, a rhinoceros-horn cup, two coconuts mounted in silver from the Indies and a tray (dish) from the Indies.

Finally, I would like to note that these are just few examples of people who were related to the court who possessed Chinese porcelain; however, it is clear that this section could be extended to include other individuals who may have used or collected Chinese porcelain. Anastasio Vega Rojo reported that in the house of Doctor Pedro Enríquez, 'there was a porcelain in the shape of an ewer, scarlet and gilded, two porcelains shaped as cups with gilded silver pedestals, and another with a gilded foot, as well as nine other large and small porcelains'.⁶²² Future research will complete the task of analysing the possessions of other strata in Spanish society to seek out Chinese porcelain and other exotic items.

3.6. *Appreciation, Use and Display of Chinese Porcelain*

In the previous chapters we have seen how the elite used exotic objects and orientalia during the 16th and 17th century. In fact the acquisition of exotic objects in Spain had a long history. In the first century

⁶¹⁹ 'Tres platos grandes de porzelana, azules y blancos, de las Indias, de media bara de mediámetro y dos medianos menores.- nueve trincheos de porzelana azules y blancos.- quatro trincheos de porzelana, oro, azul y blanco, -tres aljufanyllas de porzelana azules y blancas, de vna quarta de medyámytro - [Fol. 31] tres aljufanyllas de porziolana, la una mayor que las otras dos y las dos de vna quarta de deámytro. - Una escudilla de porcelana muy grande, de casi media bara de diámetro - tres porziolanas azules y blancas, la una colorada y dorada - una salzerilla de porziolana blanca y colorada y quebradam - quatro aljofaynyllas pequeñas de vna sesma de diámetro, azules y blancas. - una ruçiadera de porziolana azul y blanca, con seis caños torcidos por do sale el agua. - un aguamanyl de porziolana colorado y dorado. - otra aguamanyl blanco y azul de porziolana, hecho un páxaro. - tres brincos de porziolana dorados y azules, que el vno es vn pájaroy el otro vna serpiente y otro vn baso echado vn nyño enzima. - una bandexa de la India grande, laquada de negro y oro'. Luis Cervera Vera, *Inventario de los bienes de Juan de Herrera*, Valencia, 1977, p. 147.

⁶²⁰ Mercedes Agulló, *Documentos para la historia de la escultura española*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 320 and 324: 'otro arca de pino, en que abia seys platos de porçelana/ otros dos platos de porçelana...' and a small coffer with: 'tres porçelanas de la India de Portugal, la una dorada y colorada por dentro'.

⁶²¹ Carlos Baztán Lacasa (ed.), *25 documentos de Velázquez en el archivo histórico de protocolos de Madrid*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 30–62.

⁶²² Vega Rojo, 1996, p. 64.

AD, Hispania-born poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (Martial) (40–104) described the abundance of exotic and luxury objects flowing into Rome from the whole known world: pottery, furniture, silks, rhinoceros horns. Later, during the Renaissance, Lisbon, Madrid and Seville rivalled the ancient Roman Empire in splendour as all kinds and Oriental commodities were introduced to the Iberian harbours from Africa, Asia and the New World to be distributed among the governing elite.⁶²³ In his book *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, Robert Finlay comments that Chinese porcelain was:

A cultural cynosure, a nexus where art and commerce converge, drawn together by an artifact that in some measure incarnates and articulates the beliefs, customs, and mentalities of those who make, purchase, and esteem it. Positioned at the intersection of everyday life, commerce, and art, porcelain vessels were often simultaneously functional wares, profitable merchandise, and treasured possessions.⁶²⁴

While it is true that, as Finlay says, many worlds are condensed in a piece of porcelain, that same piece of porcelain can also be studied from different specific viewpoints, including the historic, geographic, economic and the artistic. In this last chapter I will examine Chinese porcelain as a channel of information for learning about the customs of an era by zooming in on certain concrete aspects: the appreciation, use and display of Chinese porcelain in Spanish society during the Habsburg reign. In previous chapters I used historic documents such as post-mortem inventories, to analyse the presence of Chinese porcelain in different social sectors of Early Modern Spain, the welcome Chinese porcelain received on its arrival and its distribution. Through appraisals and auctions (*almonedas*), we have learned the prices that porcelain and other exotic objects fetched, but we have also learned of their relationship with other luxury items. In this context we have seen that Chinese porcelain did not rank highest among the most valued objects in the inventories. Early Spanish society prized materials for what they were and, as now, precious stones and metals like gold and silver fetched the largest sums. Their value was calculated by weight, although in some cases quality was prized as well.⁶²⁵ In the sixteenth century, gold, silver and precious stones were more important than artistic beauty. The fine arts, manifested primarily in painting and sculpture, only began to gain appreciation in the seventeenth century. In different sectors of society, wrought silver was a fundamental part of one's personal wealth, because it constituted an investment during a century noted for constant currency depreciation. In fact, from the fifteenth century onward, an item of furniture called the *aparador* or credenzas abounded, generally as the showcase for pieces of this sort and other luxury items. It was set up on special days, as may be seen in the painting by Pedro García de Benabarre, Hero's Banquet⁶²⁶ and *L'Histoire du Grand Alexandre* (figs. 40 and 41).

⁶²³ Jesús Sáenz de Miera, 'Curiosidades, maravillas, prodigios y confusión: Posesiones Exóticas en la Edad de los Descubrimientos', in *Las Sociedades Ibéricas y el Mar*, Lisbon, 1998, pp. 133–65.

⁶²⁴ Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2010, p. 11.

⁶²⁵ It is hard to get a realistic picture today of exactly how much value was attached to these objects at the time. Jesús F. Pascual Molina discusses how the records tell us that the term '*bello*' (handsome) was not used as an aesthetic description, but rather as a synonym for 'rich'. The same thing happens with '*bueno*' (good). So, the salient feature of a piece of work was its material value. The greater the material value, the more important the work was to its owner. Beauty was identified with luxury, and luxury was linked to power. Clothing, for example, became a way of externalising and publicly displaying the wearer's status, hence the effort to go about as richly adorned as possible; see Jesús F. Pascual Molina, 'Lujo y exhibición pública: el arte al servicio del poder en las recepciones a doña Juana y don Felipe', in *Juana I en Tordesillas: su mundo, su entorno*, Valladolid, 2010, pp. 305–24.

⁶²⁶ As Miguel Ángel Zalama explains: 'When traveling in the first half of the sixteenth century, Philip and Joanna of Spain carried their belongings with them, not only for security reasons, but also because parts of the royal treasure were actually used at each stopover. Silverware was the most important object for their meals and banquets and was laid out at their first sojourn in Burgos'; see Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'Joanna I of Castile: the Inventory of the Queen's Artistic Property', in *Checa Cremades*, 2010, vol. 1, p. 883. Tapestries and dinner services were routinely unpacked and displayed in the stately homes where the monarchs took up residence. It was an old custom with Spanish kings and queens that went back several generations.

Fig. 40. Pedro García de Benabarre, *Herod's Banquet*, tempera, stucco reliefs and gold leaf on wood, c. 1470. Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Inv. no: 064060-000.



Fig. 41. Anonymous, *L'Histoire du Grand Alexandre*, oil on board mid-fifteenth century. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.

An *aparador* was a sideboard, sometimes stepped, that was covered with a cloth, on which silver dishes and other objects were displayed.⁶²⁷ The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) defines this object as 'the set of treasures, dishes, glasses, ewers and other rich items that are placed on tables on their stands, to be used when necessary, to serve as decoration, not only at princely tables, but also flanking the Altars of Churches during solemn functions'.⁶²⁸ An *aparador* was therefore a simple table that was covered with shelves and rich tablecloths and tapestries, on which deluxe showpieces (generally made of silver and gold) were arranged. Although no specific reference to Chinese porcelain on an *aparador* has been found, such objects might well have been displayed in this way. Indeed, pottery and glass objects are part of the display in the still life by Juan Bautista de Espinosa dated 1624 (fig. 42). The tables of the powerful were very closely associated with gold and silver dishes in this era, when people were obsessed with constantly broadcasting what they considered their rightful rung on the social ladder.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth, Madrid celebrated, in the words of Bennassar, a 'fiesta of extravagance'.⁶²⁹ A very popular saying by author Francisco de Quevedo, who lived in Madrid in those days, remarked 'One is what one represents'. As Amaya Morera comments: 'Royalty and nobility resorted to ostentation as a means of underlining their high

⁶²⁷ In his account of the banquet that the Duke of Lerma offered the British ambassador, Pinheiro da Veiga described how the duke had three *aparadores* manufactured for the occasion, one for cups and ordinary silver, another one for dishes and plates made of gold and enamel, and a third for crystal and coloured crystal mounted in gold. It is likely that a similar structure would have been used to hold porcelain as well. Pinheiro Veiga, Bartolomé, 'La corte de Felipe II', in J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 2, Valladolid, 1999, p. 761.

⁶²⁸ *Diccionario de Autoridades*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1979, p. 324.

⁶²⁹ Bartolomé Bennassar, *La España del Siglo de Oro*, Barcelona, 2004, p. 124.

Fig. 42. Juan Bautista de Espinosa, *Still Life with Silver Objects*, signed and dated 1624. Oil on canvas, 98 x 118 cm. Masaveu Collection, Oviedo, Asturias. Inv. no unknown.



status and setting themselves apart from the general populace. Wealth alone did not guarantee high status: In order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. Wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence'.⁶³⁰ The display of luxury was used to maximum effect in Baroque Madrid, most especially in public celebrations. Appearance was paramount in a society that lived beyond its means.⁶³¹ It is highly unlikely that anyone who could afford a silver service would have switched to a Chinese porcelain set, even an imported one, at least not for their main service. As some surviving pieces show, the major houses would probably have used Talavera porcelain emblazoned with its noble owners' coat of arms for the second-best service or services for the use of their retainers.⁶³² Both Spanish ceramic specialists María Antonia Casanovas and Natacha Seseña agree that unfortunately 'very few commonplace household items have survived in Spain, a country somewhat cavalier with its personal effects'.⁶³³

Since classical antiquity items of precious metalwork and pottery have been associated with the quality of craftsmanship and relegated to the category of 'minor arts'. As mentioned earlier, among the minor arts the value and price⁶³⁴ of gold and silver took precedence over the value of ceramics. Inventory

⁶³⁰ Quoted by Amaya Morera, *El escaparate, un mueble para una dinastía*, Ph.D. diss., Madrid, 2010, p. 229, quoting T. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, Mexico, 1974, p. 9.

⁶³¹ Since the times of Charles V pragmatic voices had railed against luxury. In 1609 an attempt was made to restore a balance to the kingdom's accounts and reform court vices with laws curtailing waste and luxury among the aristocratic classes. In 1626 Fernández de Navarrete published his *Discursos políticos sobre la gran consulta que el Consejo hizo al Señor Felipe III*, in which he discussed excess in buildings and personal adornment. Bennassar, 2004, p. 119.

⁶³² Javier Portús Pérez, 'Que están vertiendo claveles', in *Revista Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Series VII, Historia del Arte, vol. 6, 1993, pp. 255–74. The third duke of Albuquerque allowed his servants to use Talavera earthenware with his coat of arms. Portús, 1993, p. 259.

⁶³³ María Antonia Casanovas, 'Ceramics in Domestic Life in Spain', in Gabin, Pierce and Pleguezuelo, 2003, pp. 49–75 quoting Natacha Seseña, *Los disparates de la comisaría: Vida cotidiana en tiempos de Goya*, Madrid, 1996, p. 12–14.

⁶³⁴ The *price* or *prices* paid for an item in an auction or shop, which is implicit in a work that is for sale, is one thing; we assign the *appraisal value* to a work or piece after careful examination, on the basis of certain parameters in which sale is not implicit. Paradoxically, we use contemporary art market prices in appraisals.

appraisals of pottery usually valued items according to any gold or silver mount they might bear. Unadorned porcelain usually came last on the list of low-cost household goods, although, as mentioned before, the three *reales* (102 *maravedíes*) that a blue-and-white plate cost on average in the late sixteenth century was relatively expensive compared to the cost of basic products like a kilogram of bread (9.82 *maravedíes*) or a kilogram of lamb (80 *maravedíes*).⁶³⁵ An example of this attitude is a remark in the late seventeenth century in the inventory of the belongings of Charles II, the last Habsburg monarch, in which ‘the pieces were not appraised as they had more of a sentimental than an intrinsic value’.⁶³⁶ Marco Spallanzani, who worked on the inventories of the great Florentine and Venetian families, also stressed that Chinese porcelain was very cheap compared to other luxury materials like silver and textiles. In Renaissance Italy a piece of Chinese porcelain cost somewhere between half a florin and three florins, the average piece costing about one florin, while a silver bowl might cost 30 or 40 florins, 20 times as much. As Maura Rinaldi comments in the light of Spallanzani’s work, not everyone in fifteenth-century Italy could buy Chinese porcelain, but among those who could, it ranked as one of the lowest luxury items, being perhaps regarded more as a curio than as a work of art.⁶³⁷ Notwithstanding its low status, porcelain was appraised very differently according to model and decoration. We have seen that in Philip II’s inventory, an average blue-and-white dish was appraised at three *reales* or 102 *maravedíes*, far too much for ordinary citizens to pay. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a kitchen worker at the palace earned about 33,000 *maravedíes* a year.⁶³⁸ Ordinary people used objects made of local earthenware or wood.

Even so, Chinese porcelain did belong to the ‘market in curios or exotic items’ and therefore obeyed the law of supply and demand. Pieces could be assigned a value in themselves, but the added costs of shipping and distribution counted, too. When setting a price of an object, the intrinsic qualities involved in the object’s making, i.e., the quality of the body, the transparency of the glaze, the blue of the cobalt oxide, the luminosity of the enamels and gilding and the design counted much less than the extrinsic value involved in the added cost of shipping and distribution. Clearly, a factor such as the time spent making it added no value to the piece. In Golden-Age Spain, the exotic provenance of an object was appreciated, but as an extra feature; exotica were comparable to glasswork or rare materials like coconuts and ostrich eggs. A piece of Chinese porcelain was worth, in market terms, whatever the buyer was willing to pay, and remained unknown until the sale was made. Anyhow at all events, as we have seen, there were contemporary appraisers specialising in Chinese porcelain, like Juan Saiz, ‘merchant of porcelain and other things from China’, and Bernardo de Bonadilla, ‘shopkeeper of China objects and glass’.⁶³⁹ They determined the value of different objects, as shown in some of the appraisals in the Documentary Appendices to this dissertation. Chronicles state that during the sixteenth century, Chinese porcelain was ‘cheap’, mainly because abundant production flooded the markets of New Spain, Peru, Spain and Portugal.

In his fascinating article, historian Javier Portús analyses pottery in the context of Spanish Golden-Age literature.⁶⁴⁰ He highlights the numerous references to pottery and the contradistinction between the terms *plata* (silver) and *barro* (clay), linked to high and low social hierarchies, respectively.

⁶³⁵ I am grateful to Saúl Pérez-Juana for this information from his book *Ficción y Realidad en el Siglo de Oro*, Alcalá de Henares, 2005, pp. 22–23.

⁶³⁶ Documentary Appendixes 1, Document 33, AGP, Testament of King Charles II of Spain, signatura 240.

⁶³⁷ Spallanzani, 1997, p. 136. Thanks to Carlo Galimberti for his help with the Italian translations from this book. Rinaldi, 1989, p. 58.

⁶³⁸ One pound of beef 16 *maravedíes* and one chicken for 64 *maravedíes* in 1620. For other prices see Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 17.

⁶³⁹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 13. From the 1661 inventory of the Marquis of Montealegre.

⁶⁴⁰ Portús Pérez, 1993, pp. 255–74.

He, too, tells us that silver was always associated with the powerful, and pottery with the underprivileged, but he notes that the use of pottery was associated with qualities such as humility, dignity and virtue. Regarding the status of pottery in Golden-Age literature, it seems that the different types of wares were not held in the same regard or used by the same social strata. A Mexican *búcaro*, a pot from Talavera or Alcorcón and a piece of Chinese porcelain were not regarded as having the same value. Although in inventories, pottery objects figured last and were sometimes jumbled together or listed with similar values for different vessels, Portús maintains that Chinese porcelain was more esteemed than the rest. And yet it is curious that one of the Golden-Age literary references to Chinese porcelain that Portús cites is actually put in the mouth of a Portuguese draper, the hero of an anonymous ballad, who promises his lady love 'spices from the Indies, the scents of Lisbon and the clays of China'.⁶⁴¹ In Portugal, as in the northern European countries, there was probably more of an appreciation for Chinese porcelain than in Spain, given the very large number of pieces still existing there to this day. For instance, according to Rinaldi, about 75 per cent of all *Kraak* wares in the world are preserved in Dutch collections.⁶⁴² Portugal and the Netherlands were the main importers of Chinese porcelain.

The most numerous objects found in archaeological excavations are made of pottery, especially in urban contexts. Pottery was an artifact of daily use, used in cooking, storage and carriage, for both foods and goods. Hence, it first had a functional significance and only later took on a social significance. Fragments of Chinese porcelain are found within this context, but only rarely when compared to the abundance of other kinds of pottery, like earthenware and tin-glazed ceramics. Eating was a very important activity in palace etiquette and in the homes of the cream of society, and the presence of porcelain shards confirms that porcelain was used for this and other needs. María del Carmen Simón Palmer, who studied the diet and dining habits of the Spanish Court, says that Royal sets of porcelain were not used until the Bourbon dynasty in the early eighteenth century, and that during Habsburg rule 'the poor ate off clay, and kings and queens off gold and silver'.⁶⁴³ And yet, throughout this dissertation we have seen that various members of the royal family did use pieces of Chinese porcelain for different purposes, such as drinking *consommé*, or eating fish or desserts. It is true that there was no official royal service of Chinese porcelain, but Philip II's collection of Chinese porcelain might have been used for dining on occasions. Pieces used for different purposes are mentioned as belonging to his collection such as containers for oil and vinegar or for scented water. A Talavera service is mentioned in a lunch offered to poor people in the palace, and porcelain of an unreported type is mentioned as the tableware offered to the Prince of Landsgrave when he came to Madrid in 1618 during the reign of Philip III.⁶⁴⁴

Late in 1624 the Duke of Neuburg, accompanied by a train of 67 people, arrived in Madrid, and the Royal Quartermaster was ordered to provide the party with a house and a large silver service. The latter was delivered by King Philip IV's treasurer and included four pieces of porcelain, although no further details on the porcelain pieces were provided.⁶⁴⁵ On another occasion, in 1626, Cardinal Francesco Barberini stayed at the Royal Palace in Madrid (in the Treasury House or *Casa del Tesoro*), and the Countess of Olivares offered a banquet that was attended by the chronicler Cassiano del Pozzo. After recounting a long list of delicacies, he tells us that the guests used porcelain bowls with lobed silver edges on fine silver plates containing 'snow' (crushed ice) to chill the food.⁶⁴⁶ Jean Muret, a French diplomat in Spain between 1666 and 1667, described the use of porcelain at a dinner party in the following way: 'At dinner we were offered

⁶⁴¹ Portús Pérez, 1993, p. 272.

⁶⁴² Rinaldi, 1989, p. 66.

⁶⁴³ Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 65.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁴⁶ See footnote 497.

a small bowl of porcelain full of *consommé* on top of a dish. I thought that it was brought to drink and took it to my mouth; but before I tasted it felt the heat and left it, to the laughter of my companions'.⁶⁴⁷

However, the loveliest praise for the use of porcelain that we know of from the era comes from the pen of Lope de Vega and is to be found in his play *Del mal lo menos* (*The Lesser of Two Evils*), where Monzón describes the medical bleeding of a princess due to illness:

'He applied China porcelain / and I did likewise:

And you could see carnations come out / in that snowy garden'.⁶⁴⁸

One product revolutionised the customs of seventeenth-century Spanish society: chocolate. In the words of Spanish historian Fernando Díaz-Plaja: 'This product from the Indies conquered the metropolis so thoroughly that it became indispensable fare for Spanish high society, because its price placed it beyond the reach of workers. Gentlemen and ladies drank chocolate for breakfast, served in bed with sponge cakes on the side; in addition, when they made their round of afternoon visits, the thing to do was for the host was to offer chocolate and for the guests to take home any leftover cakes. Some attempts were made to sell chocolate publicly in the street, but this was forbidden in 1644, with a warning that chocolate could be sold only in tablets or bars. It was not a beverage for lay society. Communities under monastic vows loved chocolate so much that its consumption on fast-days became an issue'.⁶⁴⁹ The Archbishop of Seville had six porcelain bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) for chocolate, as mentioned in his inventory, and we know that members of the nobility frequently used *jícaras* or small Chinese porcelain cups, because such vessels were mentioned alongside chocolate pots and chocolate itself in their inventories. Chocolate services in general were called '*recados de chocolate*' (chocolate equipment or service). The 1642 property inventory of the Marquise of Hinojosa included a chocolate service with 10 small chocolate trays from the Indies, two gourds from the Indies painted in various colours, a porcelain bowl from China with a gilded bronze foot and a large number of items from China: writing desks inlaid with mother of pearl, a bed lacquered in a checkered pattern with white and crimson gauze hangings, and several screens from China.⁶⁵⁰ In the 1644 inventory of the Marquis of Cadereyta, a pine sideboard was recorded as being opened and found to contain different types of porcelain and five small cups for chocolate.⁶⁵¹

Madame d'Aulnoy, who visited Spain at the end of the seventeenth century, described a party held by a princess:

We had tea in the house of the princess where eighteen maids appeared carrying silver trays full of dry sweets wrapped in paper [...] Chocolate was served afterwards, each porcelain cup held on an agate plate mounted in gold, with a box of the same [material] filled with sugar. [...] There were a few ladies that ate small bits of *arcilla sigilada*.⁶⁵² They have a great liking for eating that clay that makes their stomachs swell and their skin yellow. If one wants to please them it is essential to present them with those *búcaros*, which are also called *barros* [clays]; their confessors give a penance that consists of spending a whole day without eating them. They said that [the clay] has many properties and does not suffer poison and cures many diseases.⁶⁵³

⁶⁴⁷ José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, vol. 3, Valladolid, 1999, pp. 712–13.

⁶⁴⁸ Portús Pérez, 1993, p. 273.

⁶⁴⁹ Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La vida española en la España del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1994, p. 167.

⁶⁵⁰ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 6.

⁶⁵¹ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 9.

⁶⁵² *Terra sigilata*. The author refers here to court ladies' custom of eating small pieces of *buccaro* or red earthenware from Portugal or the Indies.

⁶⁵³ José María Díez Borque, *La Vida Española en el Siglo de Oro según los Extranjeros*, Madrid, 1985, p. 72.

Fig. 43 Tiles decorated with a “Xocolatada” (making chocolate), San Ginés, Chocolate shop. Madrid.

In Velázquez's painting *Las Meninas* (Maids of Honour, 1656), the maid-of-honour María Agustina Sarmiento kneels to offer the princess, on a gold tray or salver, 'water held in a little red jug or *búcaro*'. *Búcaros* were highly appreciated, not only because they cooled and scented the water, but also because the drinker would generally nibble on the vessel after drinking; this produced a narcotic effect in ladies.⁶⁵⁴ Historian Matías de la Mota Padilla wrote in 1742 that Mexican *búcaros* from Tonalá were 'held in higher esteem than crystal, than china and more than Alcora cups'.⁶⁵⁵ As can be seen in the inventories in the Documentary Appendices to this dissertation and also in the paintings of the period, there is a considerable number of both Portuguese and Mexican *búcaros*.



Daily life for princesses of the House of Habsburg was influenced by the customs of the Moslem converts to Christianity known as *moriscos* (Moors), and the fact that they had *morisco* maidservants until the *moriscos* were expelled from Spain by Royal decree (*Expulsión de los moriscos*) in 1609 should not be overlooked. Of *morisco* origin was the ladies' custom of sitting on the floor on a low platform (*estrado*) covered with carpets and cushions which occupied most of the floor space (fig. 44). Women covered their faces with shawls or fans imported from China and used wall-hung tapestries and Japanese *Namban* export furniture such as cabinets, writing desks, trunks, storage chests and coffers and the traditional charcoal braziers for heating. In the middle of the seventeenth century two new elements were introduced: Oriental screens⁶⁵⁶ (cited quite frequently from that point on) and display window cabinets (*escaparates*), which started being used at the turn of the seventeenth century.

In one of her accounts of the Alcázar Palace, Madame d'Aulnoy described an *escaparate* which contained pieces of porcelain: 'There I found escaparates or display glass cabinets which are a sort of closed cupboards with large windows full of the rarest objects you can imagine: amber, porcelains, rock crystals, bezoar stones, coral branches, pearls, gold filigrees and other valuable things' (fig. 45).⁶⁵⁷ These curio cabinets fit well with the European fashion at the time, which go back to the earlier Western interest for art cabinets (*Kunstkammer*) with an encyclopaedic array of strange and interesting objects.

⁶⁵⁴ The strange habit of eating small bits of ceramic is explained in Natacha Seseña, 'El búcaro de las Meninas', in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 39–48.

⁶⁵⁵ Quoted by Seseña, 1991, p. 47.

⁶⁵⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 84: in 1676 the Duchess of Medina Sidonia had a large screen with twelve panels from China with paintings and gold decoration, a little damaged; Documentary Appendix II, Document 16: in 1647 the Countess of Olivares had a screen with eight panels with gilding and trees and figures made in China, and another one with eight panels enhanced in gold and painted, from India. The 1668 inventory of the Duchess of Albuquerque, Ana Enríquez de Cabrera (Documentary Appendix 2, Document 14) includes a screen two and a half *varas* (approximately seven feet) tall with eight panels, painted in the Indies with many birds and animals, for 300 *reales*. See Amaya Morera's Ph.D. dissertation, where she mentions several screens on the low platform (*estrado*) in the inventory of the Countess of Bailén, 1644, 'four screens from the Indies, two large and two small with figures in the Indian manner gilded with colours' in the inventory of the Earl of Monterrey, 1653; and from the inventory of the goods of the Marquise of Masibrandi, 1656: 'a small screen from Japan', Morera, 2010, p. 350.

⁶⁵⁷ José María Díaz Borque and José García Mercadal, *La Sociedad Española y los Viajeros del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1975, contains several accounts of Madame d'Aulnoy's *Relation d'un voyage en Espagne*, written in 1691.



Fig. 44. Reconstruction of an *estrado* from the exhibition *No fueron solos* in the Naval Museum, 2012, Madrid, with a blue-and-white Chinese *Kraak* bottle on the left table.

From the property inventories of different ladies of the Spanish nobility we know lavish furnishings such as this contained all kinds of small objects, including pieces of porcelain, lacquer work and other exotic items. In 1638 a variety of pottery cups and *búcaros* were kept in the Duchess of Sessa's *escaparate*,⁶⁵⁸ although we do not know their exact provenance. The Marquise of Hinojosa had, among a very large number of silver pieces, a Chinese porcelain basin with a gilded bronze foot, appraised at 33 *reales*,⁶⁵⁹ the Marquis of Santo Floro owned a small tray from China,⁶⁶⁰ seven small red trays from Japan, a casket from Japan, a round box of mother of pearl and gold from Japan and another small box from Japan.⁶⁶¹ In 1679 the Duchess of Feria had eight magnificent *escaparates* full of all kinds of objects, predominantly containers and figurines made of different materials such as silver, coral and crystal, plus the following exotic curios: 'a little varnished casket from Yndia painted with many-coloured flowers with two silver hinges appraised at 32 *reals*; two black gourd cups from India with feet, handles and lids of silver filigree, 80 *reals*; two matching spiral seashells from Yndia with a long-stemmed foot and two handles of silver filigree, 96 *reals*'. The total appraised worth of the objects in the duchess's eight *escaparates* was 43,159 *reales*, and research for this dissertation uncovered the striking fact that there was no porcelain listed among the broad array of objects.⁶⁶² The 1684 list of property of the Countess of Oñate, however, describes 'two drawers... full of pottery; three *escaparates* full of large and small pieces of Guadalajara pottery; two *escaparates* with pottery embellished with silver and jewels; two *escaparates* containing cups (*jícaras*) and cups embellished with silver; two *escaparates* with black and red *jícaras* and pottery from India; two *escaparates* with pottery from India'.⁶⁶³ A list pertaining to an individual of the lower nobility, Gregorio Altamirano, Knight of Santiago, records the existence in 1679 of two *escaparates* 'with pottery, porcelain items and jet [a hard black mineral that can be polished and is used in jewellery]'.⁶⁶⁴ Other members of Spanish society had pieces of pottery and *jícaras* that were 'fine, and of several kinds and sizes', as listed as among the pos-

⁶⁵⁸ Morera, 2010, p. 49.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274. Inventario y tasación de bienes de la Marquesa de la Hinojosa, 1642. AHPM, 7671, fol. 1002 (Inventario), fol. 1028 (Tasación).

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 274. Marqués de Santo Floro, 1654. Inventario. AHPM, 6047, fol. 104.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Marquesa de Masibradi, 1656. Inventario. AHPM, 6952, fol. 489.

⁶⁶² For the complete contents of these eight *escaparates*, see Morera, 2010, pp. 510–24.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁶⁶⁴ Morera, 2010, p. 270.

Fig. 45. Display window cabinet from the Spanish art market. Madrid. In Amaya Morera, *El Escaparate, un mueble para una dinastía: Ostentación y Devoción en el Madrid de los Siglos Modernos*, Ph.D. diss., vol. 2, no. 58, Madrid, 2010. Dated by the author to between 1690 and 1720.*

sessions of Juan de Morales, a Royal Council attorney, on his death in 1704. Of joiner Alonso García de Oñate we know that in 1670 he owned ‘an *escaparate* of glass, pottery and knick-knacks’. This type of furniture was used in Mexico, too. Merchant Lope de Osorio’s was owner of ten lions, two little horses and a small heron made of china. A Mexican trader’s wife, Teresa Retes, had two *escaparates* with little lions and 66 small pieces of china.⁶⁶⁵ In these *escaparates* were kept not just highly expensive trinkets (*brincos* or *brinquños*), but also pieces whose value was more sentimental than monetary.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the numerous built-in cupboards that appear in descriptions of the private rooms of various noble homes (fig. 46). The inventory of Iñigo López de Mendoza, IV Duke of El Infantado, which was drawn up between 1564 and 1566, mentions large cupboards built into the wall in the hall of the ‘ordinary room’, which were locked because they held ‘a large quantity of glass from Venice and from other parts and many pieces of Florentine and foreign and Portuguese pottery’.⁶⁶⁶ The wooden doors the cupboards are presumed to have had are not mentioned, though. Again we find glass and pottery from different provenances were mixed together in this inventory description. The following is a description of some of the property of the VI Duke of Béjar, Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor, in 1619: ‘Near the wall on the left of the architrave, there are forty-two porcelains from China, some larger than others. On the same architrave there are forty-eight large and small, scarlet and gilded ceramics placed on top of each other, the said ceramics there comprise eighteen white ceramics and fifty-five small white ceramics. On top of a jug standing on the mentioned architrave is a bowl from China with a silver foot and handles, on a gilded lacquer tray’.⁶⁶⁷ The inventory continues with other pieces of porcelain from China that were probably displayed in the same place. Finally, the inventory of Ana de Mendoza, VI Duchess of El Infantado, mentions a ‘third’ chamber where there was a larder (*alacena*) that contained porcelains from China. The document specifies the quantity found on each shelf but does not mention shapes or decorations.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ Berenice Ballesteros Flores, ‘El menaje asiático de las casas de la élite comercial del virreinato novohispano en el siglo XVII’, in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, vol. 6, no. 20, April–June 2008, pp. 59–112.

⁶⁶⁶ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 26.

⁶⁶⁷ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 37.

⁶⁶⁸ Documentary Appendix 2, Document 53.



Fig. 46. Larder with pine, walnut and iron doors. Enclosure, lower chamber, Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Carrión de los Condes (Palencia, Spain). Photograph kindly provided by Casto Castellanos.

* Photograph kindly provided by Amaya Morera.



Fig. 47. Blue-and-white porcelain garden seat, reign of Emperor Zhengde (1506-21). Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo