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

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4. *THE PORCELAINS: SHARDS AND EXTANT PIECES*

4.1. *Archaeological Finds in Spain*

Archival history and archaeology are two very different ways of investigating the past. History has traditionally been composed of written accounts and other archival material, and therefore tends to focus on the lives of elites (those people and the events associated with them that were considered worthy of being written down). But archaeology often provides a less socially discriminate view of a period. Archaeological remains – often left by people from across the social spectrum and engaged in broad range of activities – are therefore related to everyday lives not just of the elite, but of society as a whole. Finds from recent excavations in Spain have revealed a number of fragments of Chinese porcelain distributed throughout the peninsula, with the exception of the provinces of the Basque Country, which have not yielded any shards yet. Madrid (seat of the Court) and Seville (main trading city) – for centuries the most important and densely populated cities in Spain – have yielded a considerable amount of shards unearthed at various sites. The Region of Galicia, situated along the Atlantic coast of Northwest Spain, has yielded a significant number, as this area participated in the Portuguese overseas expansion, and traders of different nationalities were estab-



Fig. 48. Distribution of excavated porcelains.

lished in different ports on the Atlantic coast. Most of the shards in this chapter are dated between the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. However a small number of them are earlier or later – beyond the scope of this work, in fact – but have been included to complete the picture of the presence of Chinese porcelain in Spain. Finally the text is organised from south to north and east to west, starting from the port of Seville, following the entrance route of Chinese porcelain to the peninsula and finishing in the northwest in region of Galicia.

4.1.1 *Andalucía*

4.1.1.1. *Seville*

From the beginning of the colonial trade (1503) until the transfer of the Casa de la Contratación to Cádiz in 1717, Seville was the only port (conected to the sea by the river Guadalquivir) in Spain authorised to trade with the 'Indies'. Convoys arrived from the Americas loaded with Chinese porcelain and the pieces were then distributed throughout the peninsula. From the sixteenth century, and due to commercial relations between Europe, America and Asia, there was a prosperous economic climate that resulted in a number of transformations that would affect this city. There was an important renovation of the city in the sixteenth century, involving the construction of numerous buildings, both civil and religious, such as convents, monasteries and palaces. Consequently, a number of shards of Chinese porcelain have been found in the city. Most of the shards are preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Seville, except for a small group, which is kept in the Convent of San Clemente.[669]

a. Historical monuments of the Cartuja of Seville, Monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas



Fig. 49. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *Saint Hugo in the Refectory*, 1655. Oil on canvas, 262 x 307 cm. Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Seville.Inv.no. CEO174P.

A shard of Chinese porcelain dated to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, was recovered during the renovation works at the Monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas on the Isla de la Cartuja (La Cartuja Island), situated on the Guadalquivir River. In Moorish times the site was a pottery area honeycombed with pits where clay of very good quality was extracted. After the capture of the city by Christians in the thirteenth century, it became the Chapel of Santa María de las Cuevas and in the fifteenth century the Archbishop of Seville founded a Franciscan monastery there. It was on this site that Christopher Columbus probably planned his first voyage to the Indies. At the end of the fifteenth century, San Bruno's Order was established in the monastery and the life of the *cartujos* monks was captured in Zurbarán's paintings, which incidentally also depict Chinese porcelain of the seventeenth century. (This painting and porcelain are described in chapter 4. 4. Chinese porcelains on Spanish Paintings).

[669] Unfortunately it was impossible to research or photograph this last group.



Fig. 50. Detail showing the Chinese porcelain bowl, upside down between other terracotta bowls. Probably Transitional, 1630–50. Decorated in underglaze blue.

In 1840 the Liverpudlian merchant Charles Pickman bought the abandoned monastery and converted it into a ceramic and porcelain factory. The site continued to produce ceramics until 1982. Several pieces made by the Pickman factory dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are described in an unpublished catalogue that was consulted on the premises (*Conjunto monumental de la Cartuja de Sevilla. Catálogo de piezas de loza y biscuit*, 1986 and 1989). Interestingly, the catalogue states that a Chinese shard of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries was found in a rubbish dump near the monks' cloister. The piece (inv. no. C-436) had a file attached (file no. 344/10) with a description of the shard. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the file and the shard are unknown.[670]

b. Palace-house of Diego Almanza and Tomás and Miguel Mañara

Several fragments of Chinese porcelain were found in the Almanza-Mañara's Palace. The excavations took place on the site of a Renaissance palace-house renovated by the sculptor and architect Diego López Bueno in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1623, Tomás Mañara Leca y Colona, a wealthy merchant of Italian origin (Corsican) who made a fortune trading with the American continent, acquired the building from Diego Almanza, another important merchant, and renovated the house to compete with the palaces of the Sevillian nobility of the time. Both the Almanzas and Mañaras families were traders involved in the American trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tomás Mañara had been to the Indies several times and became one of the most notable and prominent figures of the city in the seventeenth century, forming part of a alliance of wealthy merchants grouped in the so-called University or Consulate of the Sea (*Universidad de Mareantes o Consulado*).[671] In 1627 Miguel de Mañara, his son, was born in this palace and, due to the premature death of his two brothers, was the solo heir to his father's immense fortune. He occupied different public offices, but was better known in the city as a benefactor of the Hospital de la Caridad (Charity Hospital). After Miguel de Mañara died in 1679 without descent, the house remained uninhabited and was rented out during the eighteenth century.

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[670] Mr. Eduardo Camacho, Technical Advisory of Artistic, Cultural and Documental Heritage of the Cartuja, mentioned File 344/10 '*Informe sobre los fragmentos de una pieza china* (*finales del siglo XVI-XVII*) *encontrado en el basurero del Claustro de Monjes* (*C-436*) *padres jesuitas-Misión del Japón*'. After an intense search the document could still not be found.

[671] Diego Oliva Alonso, *Casa-palacio de Miguel Mañara*, Seville, 1993, pp. 311–12

It is possible that both merchants imported and used Chinese porcelain, as the archaeological excavations have revealed a considerable quantity of fragments. Five shards, in a good state of preservation, were found on this site, four dated to the Ming and one to the Qing dynasty. The director of the excavation Diego Oliva described the pieces as:

> The Ming pieces consist of a base and part of the sides of a small plate and on the obverse two concentric circles which contain a flower with small leaves, and on the back, two concentric circles with Chinese characters. The back of the plate is decorated with a scroll of lotus flowers. Another plate is adorned with scrolls of various plants in blue beneath a slightly bluish glaze. The third shard is the bottom and side of a cup for *sake*, and although the decoration has deteriorated, it seems to depict a landscape. The last Ming piece is a small plate of *café au lait* porcelain dating to the end of the Ming dynasty.[672] There is another plate decorated with a pomegranate on the obverse in red and gold inside a thick blue circle, also decorated with plant scrolls. Around it there are other pomegranates with their leaves and fruits. The back is undecorated.'[673]

In the inventory of goods drawn up after the death of Tomás Mañara dated 24 May 1648, '*Inventario de bienes a la muerte de Don Tomás Mañara*' in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla, the scribe, Hermenegildo de Pineda y Collantes, described the following Oriental objects:

- A tablecloth (*sobremesa*) from China of no use but for burying children.
- Two screens from China that are on the dais.
- Extravagant objects.
- Two display cabinets (*aparadores*) one with scented waters and the other with pottery.[674]

c. Site of San Juan de Acre, Convent of the Order of Malta (Sta. Clara Street)

Several shards of Chinese porcelain were found at the site of San Juan de Acre. In 1248 after the conquest of Seville by Ferdinand III, the building was given to the Military Order of the Knights of San Juan de Acre in appreciation for their help and assistance in seizing the city from the Arabs. The cession of the land was ratified on 20 December 1253 by King Alfonso X of Castile (23 November

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[672] This was most probably a Qing shard.

[673] Oliva Alonso, 1993, p. 91: '*En la casa Mañara se han podido rescatar cinco piezas de porcelana semi completas en buen estado de las cuales cuatro pertenecen a la dinastía Ming y una a la dinastía Qing, continuadora de la anterior. Las piezas Ming son un pequeño plato muy fragmentado que se conserva el fondo y algo del arranque de las paredes. En el anverso dos círculos concéntricos enmarcan una flor rodeada de pequeñas hojas; en el reverso dos círculos, un sello con caracteres chinos. La pared exterior del plato está decorada con una cenefa de flor de loto formando roleos. Otro fondo de plato, sobre un blanco levemente celestón, desarrolla una decoración vegetal en azul formando roleos. La tercera pieza es el fondo y parte de la pared de una tacita para el sake. Apenas se puede apreciar la decoración pero parece ser un motivo paisajístico. La última pieza Ming es un platito de porcelana llamada café o lait. Atribución finales de Ming, o comienzos del siglo XVI. Hay otra pieza más de porcelana, que se trata de un plato cuya decoración en el anverso está compuesta por una flor de granado en tonos rojos y dorados, inscrita en un grueso círculo en azul a su vez decorado con roleos dorados. En torno a* él *hay cuatro flores de granado con sus hojas y el fruto. El reverso no presenta decoración posterior probablemente*'. After several visits to the Archaeological Museum in Seville, the archaeologist responsible for the excavations confirmed that the Chinese shards were missing and thus impossible to study for this dissertation.

[674] Oliva Alonso, 1993, p. 482: '*Otras sobremesa de China vieja que no sierve si no es para prestarla para el entierro de niños- Dos biombos de la China, para tapar el estrado que están oy en uno. Cosas extravagantes. Otros dos escaparates, el uno questa con aguas de olor y el otro con cossas de varro*'.

1221 – 4 April 1284). From that moment until the Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizabal in 1837, the convent and the gardens remained the property of the Order. During the middle of the sixteenth century part of the land was sold to a guild of silk merchants, which was one of the most important trading communities at the time due to the increase in the population of Seville around the 1550s. Based on the high number of shards and the documentary evidence, the seventeenth century was the most prosperous time in the history of the site. The eighteenth century was a period of decline that was intensified in the second half of the century as a result of the transfer of the Casa de la Contratación and the Consulado from Seville to Cádiz in 1717.[675] Several shards were recovered from this site, dating from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Two of them are classified as *Kraak*-type porcelains, such as the neck of a pear-shaped bottle decorated with dots and inverted petals on the rim (fig. 51),[676] which is a simplified version of the bottle in the Naval Museum in Madrid (fig. 52), and a small fragment of a plate decorated with high-peaked mountains (fig. 53). The next shard (fig. 54) is dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722) in the Qing dynasty and is decorated with a geometrical diaper motif near the rim, with flower scrolls outlined in blue with washes. The rim in enhanced with an iron-brown decoration. The last four shards are later (figs. 55, 56, 57, 58), dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. There are four shards of a plate decorated in underglaze cobalt blue with a chrysanthemum spray, an Imari cup with bamboo branches, two small shards with simple strokes; and the rim of a cup with a decoration of bamboo branches.



Fig. 51. Shard of a neck from a blue-and-white bottle. *Kraak* porcelain, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-L53*4.



Fig. 52. A complete pear-shaped bottle with similar type of decoration salvaged from the *San Diego,* c.1600, Wanli reign. H: 27.5 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7296.

[675] Araceli Rodríguez Azogue and Vicente Aycart Luengo (eds.), *San Juan de Acre, la historia recuperada de un barrio de Sevilla*, Seville, 2007, pp. 215–32.

[676] Maura Rinaldi classifies this type of neck in the pear-shaped bottles (shapes I.1); see Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989, p. 167.

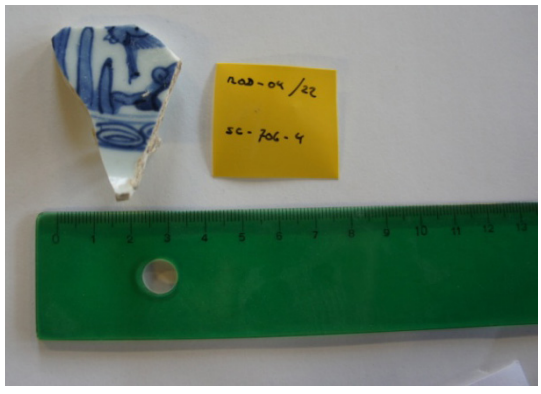


Fig. 53. Shard of a blue-and-white plate decorated with a riverscape. *Kraak* porcelain, late sixteenth early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-706-4.



Fig. 54. Shard of blue-and-white cup with an iron-brown rim, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-245-5.



Fig. 55. Shards of a plate decorated with a chrysanthemum flower, c. 1750, Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-216-4.



Fig. 56. Shards of blue-and-white porcelain, eighteenth century(?), Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-851. 72.



Fig. 57. Shard of a cup in Chinese Imari enamels, first quarter of the eighteenth century. , Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-806-14.



Fig. 58. Shard of blue-and-white porcelain, c. 1750, Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SC-109-110.

d. Convent of El Carmen

The building was founded in the middle of the fourteenth century (1358), after which it was inhabited by Order of the Carmelites for five centuries. It was plundered during the French invasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in 1835 the monks were finally secularised.[677] In the nineteenth century the building was used to lodge the 'Granada' infantry regiment. Only three shards of Chinese porcelain have been preserved from the excavations at the convent (figs. 59, 60, 61, 62). They are decorated in underglaze cobalt blue with a branch of pomegranates, plums and leaves, and dated to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.[678] The decoration is executed in a refined way. Due to the small size of the rest of the shards it is very difficult to determine their exact shape, decoration and date.



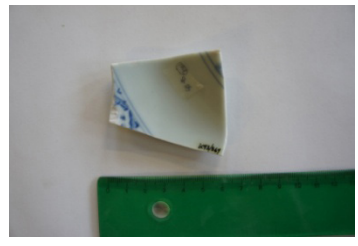


Fig. 59. Blue-and-white shard, c. 1600, Wanli-reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC- 93/569.



Fig. 60. Two shards of a bowl. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/133.

Fig. 61. Blue-and-white shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/922.





Fig. 62. Blue and white shard, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. EC-93/369.

[677] Pilar Somé Muñoz, Rosario Huarte Cambra, 'La cerámica contemporánea en el Cuartel del Carmen (Sevilla)', in *SPAL: Revista de prehistoria y arqueología de la Universidad de Sevilla*, no. 4, 1995, pp. 229–50.

[678] Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, Florentino Pozo Blázquez & Diego Oliva Alonso, *Análisis Arqueológico: El cuartel del Carmen de Sevilla*, Seville, 2002, p. 229.

e. Royal Monastery of San Clemente



Fig. 63. Shards recovered during the excavations at the Royal Monastery of San Clemente, Seville. No inventory number.

Unfortunately the photograph above (fig. 63) was the only material available for the study of the porcelain shards yielded in the Monastery of San Clemente.[679] They were recovered from a stratum dated from the 1450s to the 1632, but this dating of the stratum is unreliable, as some shards are dated later. At top left, shards of a plate with a foliated rim decorated with a peach spray of the *Kraak* type, and other blue-and-white shards probably dating to the Wanli period. The polychrome and underglaze-blue shard is of the *Kinrande* type and is decorated with ribbons and overglaze red enamel, implying a similar gold decoration as the piece in the British Museum (fig. 63a). A small shard with part of a chrysanthemum flower could have been for the South-East Asian market but it is difficult to be more precise. Two fragments at bottom right are later, probably Kangxi, one being part of a cup with a diaper border; the other one is decorated in brown enamel. The fragment showing four characters might be Kangxi, c. 1700. The mark translates as 長春出番 (*changchun chufan*) – 'everlasting spring'. The single character mark on the cup is probably 福 (*fu*), 'good fortune'.[680]



Fig. 63a. Dish with underglaze blue, overglaze red and gold *Kinrande* decoration, second half of the sixteenth century, Wanli reign. H. 3.5 cm, D. 19 cm. British Museum. Inv. no. 11:138A.

[679] I am very grateful to Alfonso Pleguezuelo for sending this photograph of the shards to me. Alfonso Pleguezuelo, Rosario Huarte, 'Las cerámicas de la edad moderna', in Miguel Ángel Tabales, *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente. Una propuesta arqueológica*, Seville, 1997, p. 130.

[680] I am very grateful to Christopher Hollifield for translating these characters.

f. Hospital de las Cinco Llagas

For many centuries this building was considered the most important after the cathedral. Catalina de Ribera founded it as a hospital in 1500 for woman in need. The architect Martín de Gainza began its construction in 1543 with a cruciform layout based on a Milanese hospital of the same period, but the final structure is attributable to architect Hernán Ruiz II, designer of the belfry of La Giralda.[681] All the shards at this site are dated later, to the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the Kangxi period (1662–1722). They are from blue-and-white cups decorated with floral sprays (figs. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68). Fig. 69 is a shard of a Dehua cup, the so-called prunus blossom type, decorated with plum blossoms in relief.

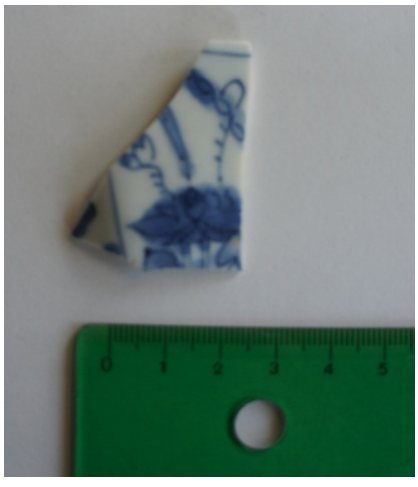


Fig. 64. Shard of a cup decorated with a lotus spray, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/973/91.



Fig. 65. Shard of a cup with part of a floral spray, c.1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/92.



Fig. 67.Shard of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/911.

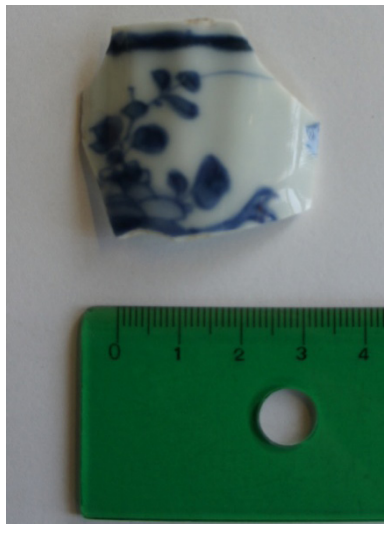


Fig. 66. Shard of a rim of a lobed cup with part of a lotus spray, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1A/410/25.



Fig. 68. Shard of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1C/473/93.

[681] Rosario Huarte Cambra, 'Los materiales del registro: Cerámica moderna y contemporánea', in Secretaría General del Parlamento de Andalucía, *Arqueología y Rehabilitación en el Parlamento de Andalucía. Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el Antiguo Hospital de las Cinco Llagas de Sevilla*, Seville, 2003, p. 350. This article dates the shards to the Ming dynasty (1356–1644).



Fig. 69. Shard of a prunus blossom-type cup, 1700 c. Kangxi reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. ROD 98/17/1A/910/26.



Fig. 70. Cup with a silver cover and stand. Dehua with silverwork, 1690–1710, Kangxi reign. Private collection, Mexico. From McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 75.

g. Archaeological excavation in the underground railway at San Fernando Street (Station Puerta de Jerez, Line 1)

Several shards of Chinese porcelain were unearthed in an old dump behind the old city wall during the construction of the underground railway. Unfortunately most of these are very small and it is therefore impossible to know the exact shapes or decorations. However, most are certainly *Kraak* porcelain fragments with a characteristic decoration of stylised rock decorations, floral and peach sprays and pine trees and part of a dotted *sika* deer (figs. 71–80).



Fig. 71. Shard with peach. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/309.



Fig. 72. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/59.



Fig. 73. Shards with pierced rock and a small part of a dotted *sika* deer, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Inv. nos. 04/17/373 and 04/17/374. Plate in the Naval Museum, D: 20 cm Madrid. Inv. no. 7353.

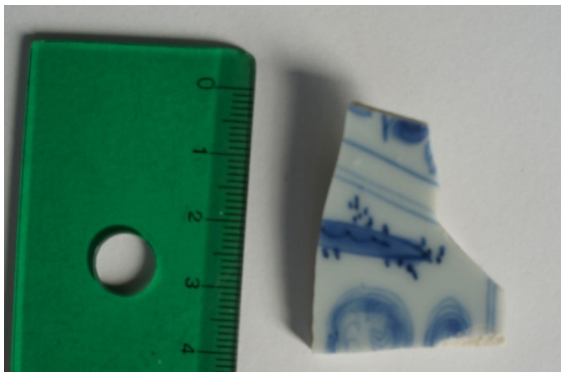
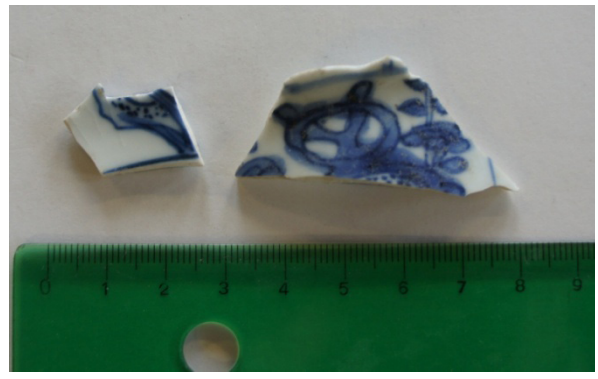


Fig. 74 Blue and white porcelain shard, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/646.



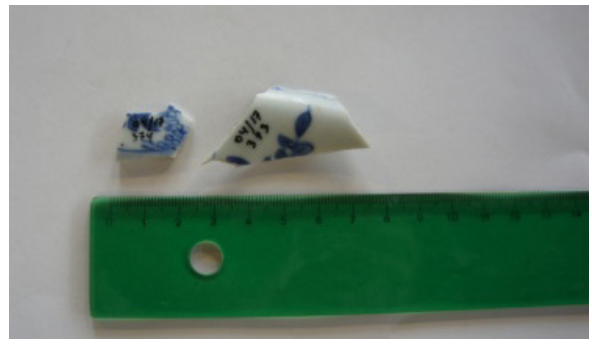




Fig. 75. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/422.



Fig. 76. Shards with a panel with a flower spray. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/399, 04/17/402, 04/17/400.

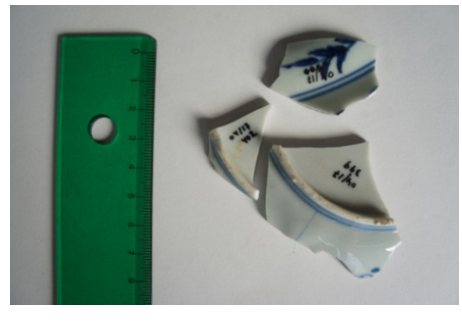




Fig. 77. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/023.



Fig. 78. Blue and white porcelain shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. 04/17/582.



Fig. 79. Shards decorated with pine branches and stylised rock and part of a dotted *sika* deer, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. One had no inventory number. Inv. no. 04/17/1463.



Fig. 80. Plate salvaged from the *San Diego,* c. 1600, Wanli reign. D. 20.3 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7332.

b. Convent of Santa Clara

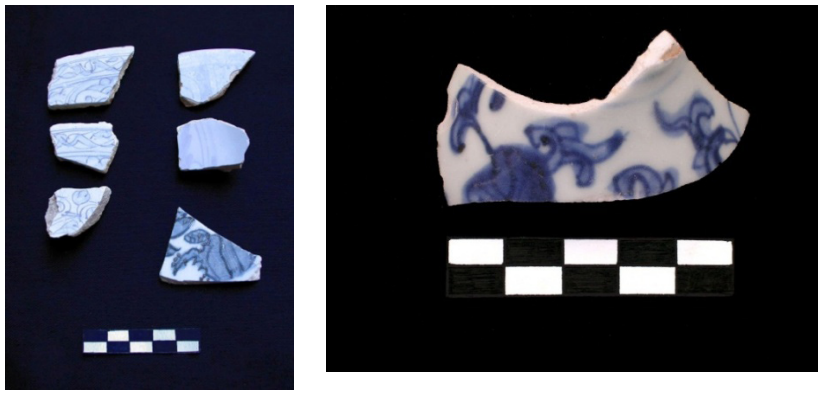


Fig. 81. a and b. Shards decorated with a tortoise, and another with scrolls 1580-1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. No inventory number.

The convent was originally a Mudejar-style palace constructed in the thirteenth century after the Christian conquest of the city. After the death of the owner, Don Fadrique, King Sancho IV (1258–95) donated the building to the nuns of the Order of Saint Clare. Several renovations were carried out during the Renaissance that extended the palace. Archaeological excavations at the site recovered two shards: one decorated with a tortoise, and another with floral scrolls both probably dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century (fig. 81).

i. Palace of Altamira

Don Alonso López de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, Duke of Béjar, was the resident of this palace. During the second half of the sixteenth century, ownership was transferred to his son, the first Marquis of Villamanrique, but he would be divested of these properties due to incompetent management during his administration of the Viceroyalty in Mexico. The palace was transferred to another branch of the family, the Marquises of Ayamonte, who established their residency in Madrid. Excavations at the palace yielded two fragments of Chinese porcelain: a lid of a *guan*-type vase and the bottom of a cup. Unfortunately neither shard could be found.[682]

j. Alameda de Hércules[683]

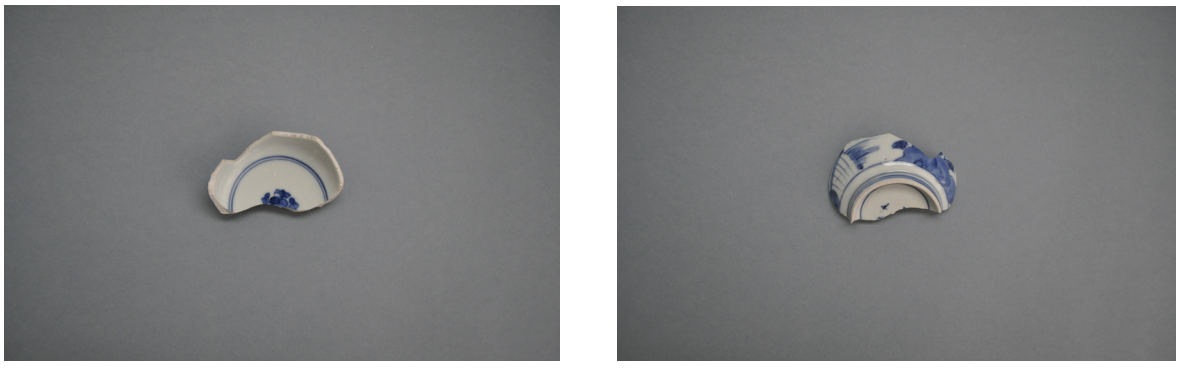


Fig. 82. Shard of a bowl. Late 16th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ07/21-U.E. 98-Nº Inv. 56.

These shards (figs. 82 and 83) were found at the Alameda de Hércules site close to the old Feria Lake, an inlet on the Guadalquivir River that was drained in the sixteenth century. They were recovered from a domestic site reclaimed with landfill material that was occupied from the fourteenth century. The cup is decorated with a landscape on the outside and a stylised flower spray on the inside; part of a mark is visible.[684] The shard in (fig. 83) corresponds to a dish decorated with a lotus blossom and a scroll.

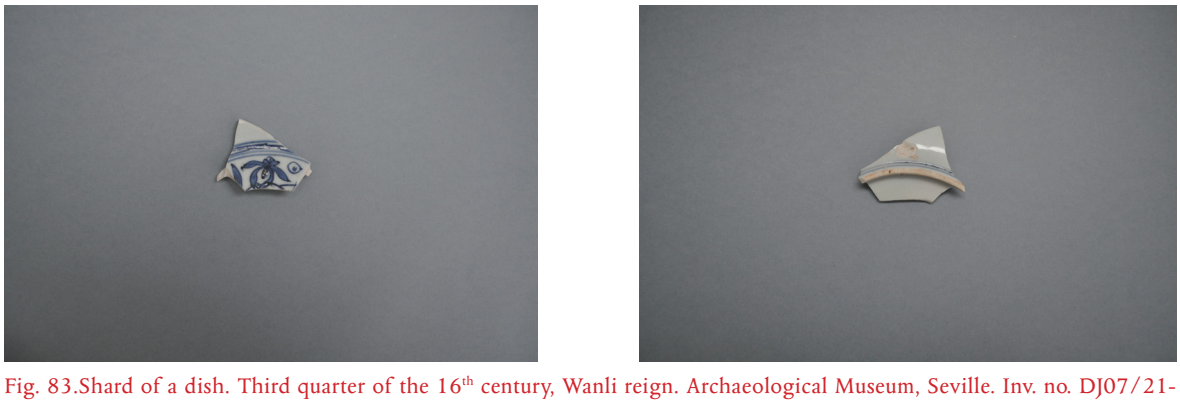


Fig. 83.Shard of a dish. Third quarter of the 16th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ07/21-U.E. 23-Nº Inv. 18.

[682] Diego Oliva, *Restauración del Palacio de Altamira*, Seville, 2005, p. 273.

[683] I am grateful to Manuel Camacho Moreno archaeologist from the Archaeological Museum, Seville, who provided these photographs.

[684] See fig. 220, a small bell-shaped cup with slightly flared rim decorated with a riverscape, H. 6 cm. Baur Foundation, Geneva. Inv. no. FB. CM. 2004. QH93. In Crick, 2010, p. 316, pl. 228.

k. Convent of San Agustín



Fig. 84. Blue and white shard. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. SA 405-D.

The shard belongs to a *Kraak* dish decorated with a landscape. The fragment was found in the convent with material mixed from different periods.[685]

4.1.1.2. *Carmona*

Convent of the Immaculate Conception



Fig. 85. Shards with floral sprays, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum, Seville. Inv. no. DJ 06/43.



Fig. 86. Bowl in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. c. 1600, Wanli reign. D. 14.2 cm, H. 8.5 cm. From McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 99. Inv. no. 1965-1.

These two shards (fig. 85) were found in a dump at the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in the town of Carmona during archaeological excavations between July and December 2006.[686] The shards correspond to a bowl decorated with six panels containing flower sprays dated to between 1595 and 1605. A similar bowl with silver mounts – which bears the stamp of the silversmith Minne Sickes of Leewarden and is dated 1632 – is preserved in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden (the Netherlands).

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[685] See Juan Manuel Campos Carrasco, José Lorenzo Morilla; José Escudero Cuesta and Fernando Amores Carredano, 'Excavación en el antiguo convento de San Agustín (Sevilla)', *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 1985 III*. Seville, 1987, pp. 361-267.

[686] Under the direction of Inmaculada Carrasco Gómez. I am grateful to Elisabeth Conlin and Pilar Lafuente for bringing this shard to my attention.

4.1.1.3. *Almería*



One of the earliest evidences of the presence of Chinese porcelain in Spain, and perhaps in Europe, is dated to around the end of the tenth or eleventh century. From the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907), hard-fired ceramics were much sought after objects because this material was exclusive and was not produced in the rest of the world. At the end of the Tang dynasty and Five Dynasties era (907–60), the Middle East became one of the most important markets for Chinese ceramics, and Muslim traders acted as intermediaries in this commerce, as important communities had already settled in China's most important cities and ports. From the tenth century onwards, a white type of porcelain known as *Xing*[687] was exported to distant places such as the city of Samarra in today's Iraq or to Fustat in Egypt,[688] from where perhaps it incidentally reached Spain and the Omeyan Caliphate of Abderramán III (912–61). A few shards of a white ware were unearthed in the archaeological excavations at the *Alcazaba* – from the Arabic *al-qasbah*, قصبة, meaning 'citadel' of Almeria[689] – decorated over the glaze with a gilded Cufic inscription 'Al-Muk lillak', probably executed in Spain (fig. 87).[690]

Fig. 87. Shard of a whiteware bowl with Cufic decoration with the inscription 'Al-Mulk lillah' in the Conjunto Monumental de la Alcazaba de Almería. Probably *Xing*-ware, c. tenth century. Museo Arqueológico de Almería. Inv. no. 2819.

[687] Generic term used during the Tang dynasty for the wares elaborated in Linchen, Hebei Province, and characterised by their white clay and slip applied under the glaze to emphasise the whiteness of the wares. Wood, London/Philadelphia, p. 99.

[688] On these finds B. Gyllensvärd, 'Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat. I', in *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1973, no. 45, pp. 91–119; and B. Gyllensvärd, 'Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat. II', in *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1975, no. 47, pp. 93–117.

[689] In 995 Almería was designated a *medina* ('city') by Caliph Abd-ar-Rahman III, and the construction of the defensive citadel, located in the upper sector of the city began in this period. The *alcazaba* was had walls and towers as well as squares, houses and a mosque. This important building was also the seat of the local government, commanding the city and the nearby sea.

[690] Juan Zozaya, 'El comercio de al-Andalus con el Oriente: nuevos datos', in *Boletín de la Asociación de Orientalistas Madrid*, Madrid 1969, p. 197. In this archaeological report the author explains the characteristics of a number of shards including a drawing of a *bi*-type footring (a *bi* is a flat jade ring of unknown significance made in China from the Neolithic period) of another shard from the same piece. A shard with this type of foot could be related to the so-called Samarra wares made at the *xing* kilns in Henan province, although excavations at *Ding* kilns at Quyang, Hebei province, have also unearthed bowls of this type. However, the thinness of the body and the type of rim of the only shard preserved do not match this type of Samarra ware, which was thicker and had a rolled rim. According to the curator of the museum in Almería, the only fragment preserved today is the illustrated example; unfortunately, the other shards have disappeared. We also have to take into account the southern regional copies of whitewares made in the Guangdong kilns. Over 80 Song-period kilns have been identified in Guangdong, the majority in the vicinity of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River, which imitated Song green, white and *qingbai* types, and were exported to south-east Asia and the Middle East; see John Guy, 'The Intan Shipwreck: A 10th-Century Cargo in South-East Asian Waters', in *Song Ceramics. Art History, Archaeology and Technology. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 22, London, 2004. There is no agreement on the type of white ware this shard could be from. In an essay written in 1993, Juan Zozaya catalogued the piece as *qingbai* and dated it to the thirteenth century; see Juan Zozaya, 'Importaciones casuales en Al-Andalus: las vías de comercio', in *Actas IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, vol. 1, Alicante, 1993, pp. 119–38. However the colour of the glaze does not have the characteristic blue hue that is a characteristic feature of *qingbai*. The small size of the shard makes it is very difficult to date precisely or identify the manufacturing kiln.

4.1.1.4. *Malaga*

Site of the Alcazaba

Chinese porcelain shards were found by archaeologist Manuel Casamar in the remains of the Alcazaba in Malaga, which was a Moorish fortification built in the middle of the eleventh century.[691] In 1487, the Catholic Kings captured the city from the Moors, and raised their standard at the Homenaje Tower in the inner citadel.

Several pieces were found dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The first shard (fig. 88) is part of a *Kraak* dish of the early 17th century decorated with a peony and leaves inside a four-sided bracketed medallion and a border that includes several diapers and flowers, including a lotus scroll. The decoration on the *cavetto* consists of narrow panels (which usually contained beaded pendants although they are not possible to see here) and ogival borders.[692] The exterior has the same decorative scheme as the front with large panels and narrow sections. Kiln sand or grit has adhered to the footrim indicating that these pieces were fired on a bed of sand.

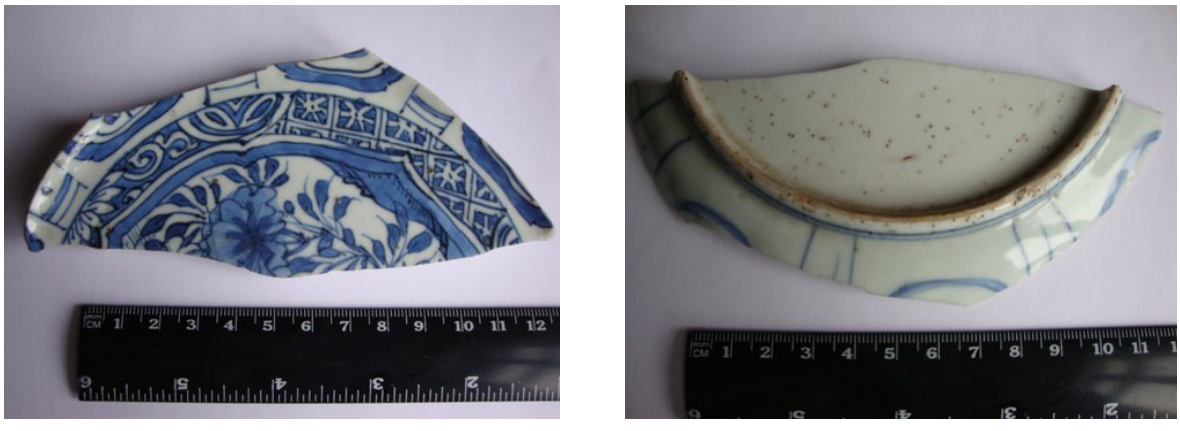


Fig. 88. A shard of a dish decorated with a peony and petals inside a four-sided bracketed medallion, early 17th century, Wanli reign. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 324.

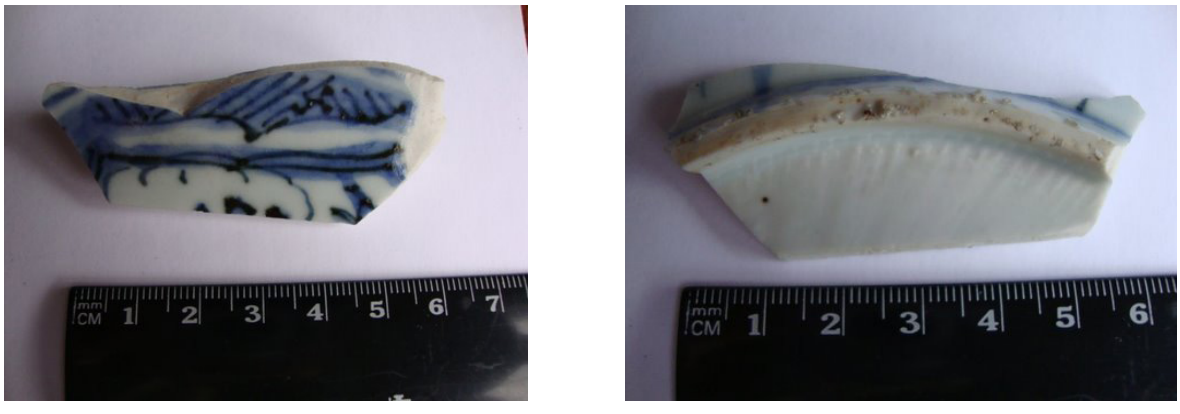


Fig. 89. Shard of a dish, early 17th century, Wanli reign. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 327.

[691] These shards are now kept in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid.

[692] Rinaldi dates this type of dishes from 1595 to 1650 and classifies them in the Border VII group, Rinaldi, 1989, pp. 95–96.

The second shard (fig. 89) is a also very small fragment of a *Kraak* porcelain dish of about the same date, decorated with a bracketed border and a diaper pattern. Chatter marks are clearly visible on the base as is the grit adhering to the footring. The sketchy decoration of the ground, the colour of the cobalt blue, and the fine body and bluish glaze, characteristic for *Kraak* wares. The other shards are blue-and-white Kangxi from a cup and Imari decorated with a pine tree. (fig. 90, 91 and 92).

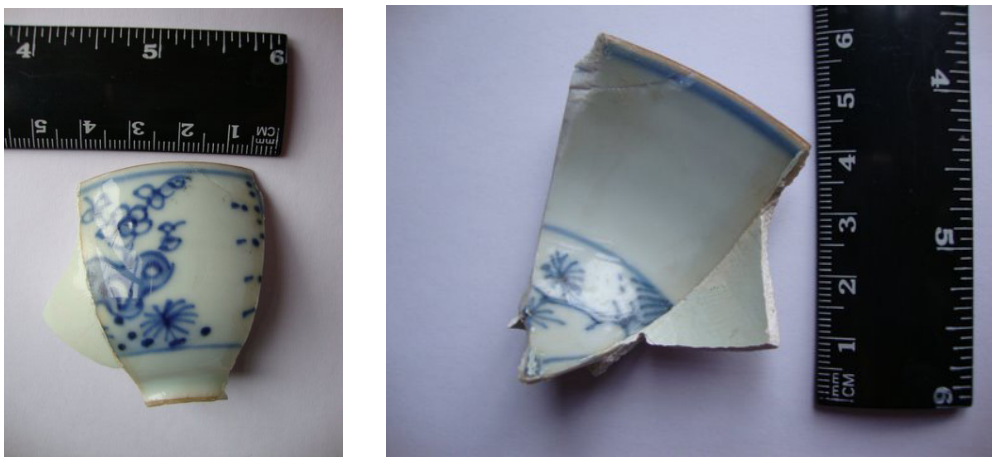


Fig. 90. Shard of a cup. Kangxi reign probably late 17th century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 327.



Fig. 91. Shard of a cup. Kangxi reign probably late 17th century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 346.

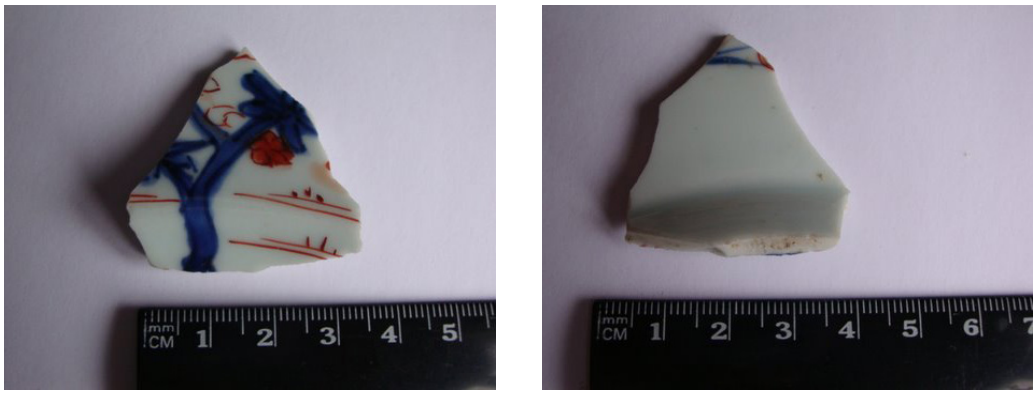


Fig. 92. Chinese Imari, first half of the eighteenth century. Collection of Manuel Casamar. Will be given to the Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid. Inv. no. 326.

4.1.2. *Murcia*

Excavations in the neighbourhood of San Bartolomé

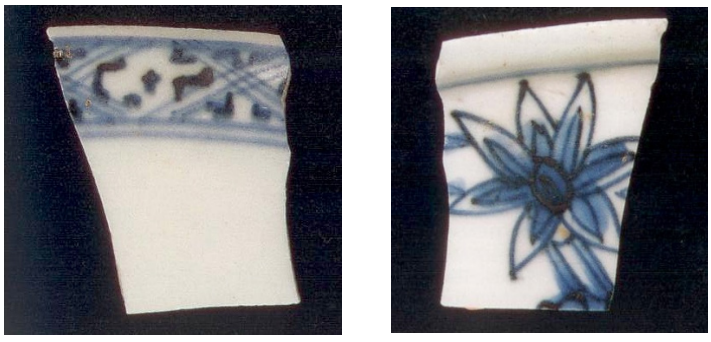


Fig. 93. Shard of a bowl, second half sixteenth, Centro de Estudios Árabes y Arqueológicos 'Ibn Arabí', Murcia. Inv. no. M76-1-2-171.

Only the shard illustrated above (fig. 93) was found in the remains of a cesspit in a house in the neighbourhood of San Bartolomé in Murcia that had belonged to a wealthy trader of Genoese origin during the sixteenth century.[693] The shard is decorated with a diaper border and a lotus flower. A very similar bowl in the Topkapi Saray Museum (fig. 94) has the same decoration and shape, with a slightly flared rim and decorated with a lotus spray with leaves and a diaper border around the rim. It is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.[694]



Fig. 94. Bowl, second half sixteenth c. Wan-li reign. Topkapi Saray Museum, Istambul. Inv. no. TKS 15/2105. From Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 719, ill. 1264.

[693] P. Jiménez and J. Navarro, *Platería 14. Sobre cuatro casas andalusíes y su evolución* (*siglos X-XIII*), Murcia, 1997, p. 53

[694] See also Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Cerámicas de Importación: Series y Cronología', in *Manual de Cerámica Medieval y Moderna*, Alcalá de Henares, 2011, pp. 273–304.

4.1.3. *Autonomous Region of Valencia*

4.1.3.1. *Alicante*

4.1.3.1.1. *Denia*

Recoveries from the Marineta Cassiana

The Bay of Marineta Cassiana is a small semi-circular cove between the southern part of the port of Denia and the Faralló. This bay has been a very important port since Roman times. Archaeological excavations carried out in the area by the Museu Arqueològic of the City of Denia yielded 784 ceramic shards and some iron and glass pieces. Most of the shards recovered were Spanish, Italian, English and Dutch, but a small group of Chinese shards were also found among them. Unfortunately, due to the small size of the shards the exact type of shape and decoration cannot be determined, but general characteristics such as body, glaze, pigment and border were examined to date them. As can be seen below, the broad chronology of the shards ranges from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[695]

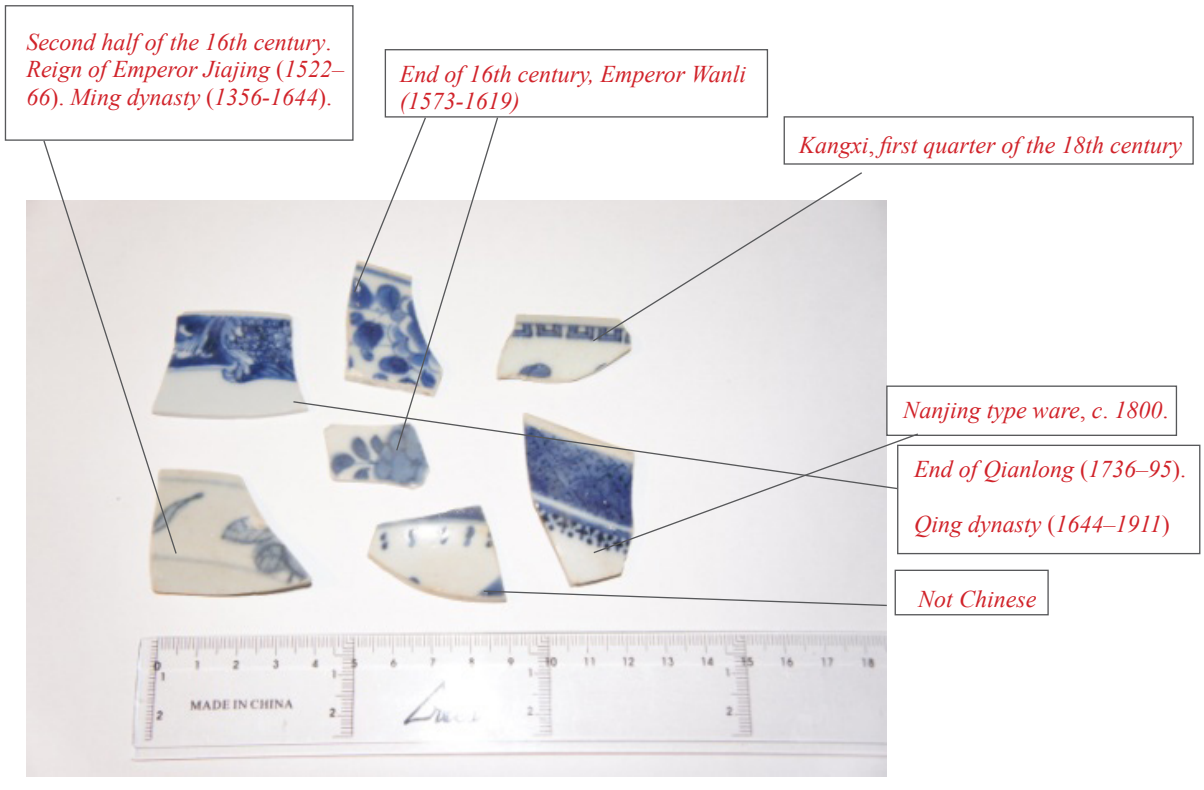


Fig. 95. Group A. Museo Arqueológico de la ciudad de Denia. These fragments were not inventoried.

[695] Emili Moscardó Sabater, '2000 anys d'historia d'un fondejador. El registre ceràmic de la Marineta Cassiana. Dènia', in José Pérez Ballester & Guillermo Pascual (eds.), *Comercio, Redistribución y Fondeadero. La navegación a vela en el Mediterraneo, Actas V Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología Subacuática*, Valencia, 2007, pp. 349–61.

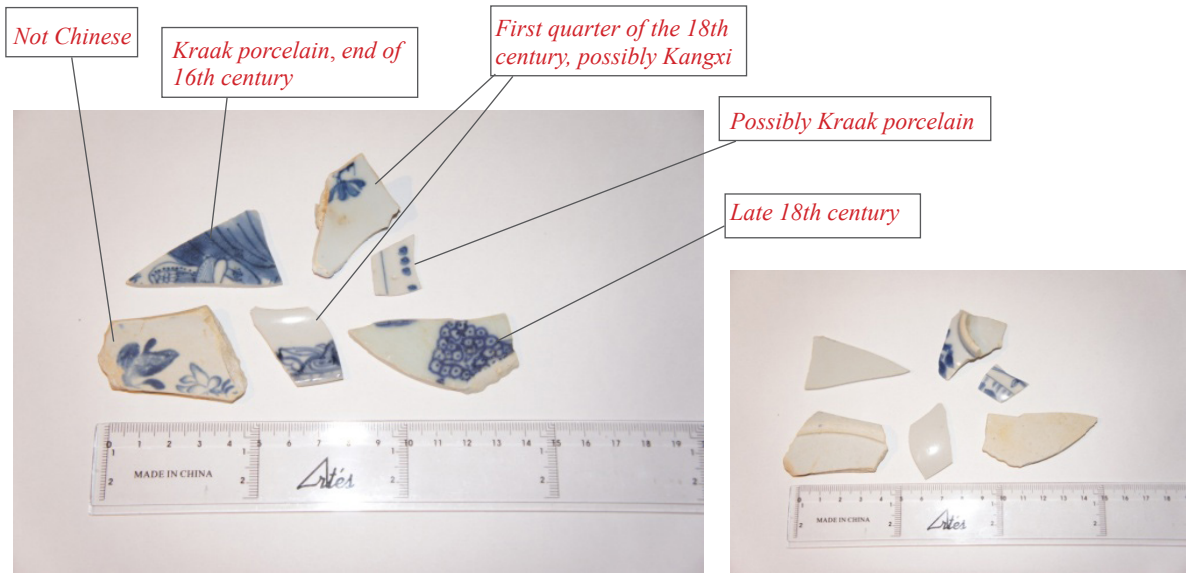


Fig. 96. Group B. Museo Arqueológico de la ciudad de Denia. These fragments were not inventoried.

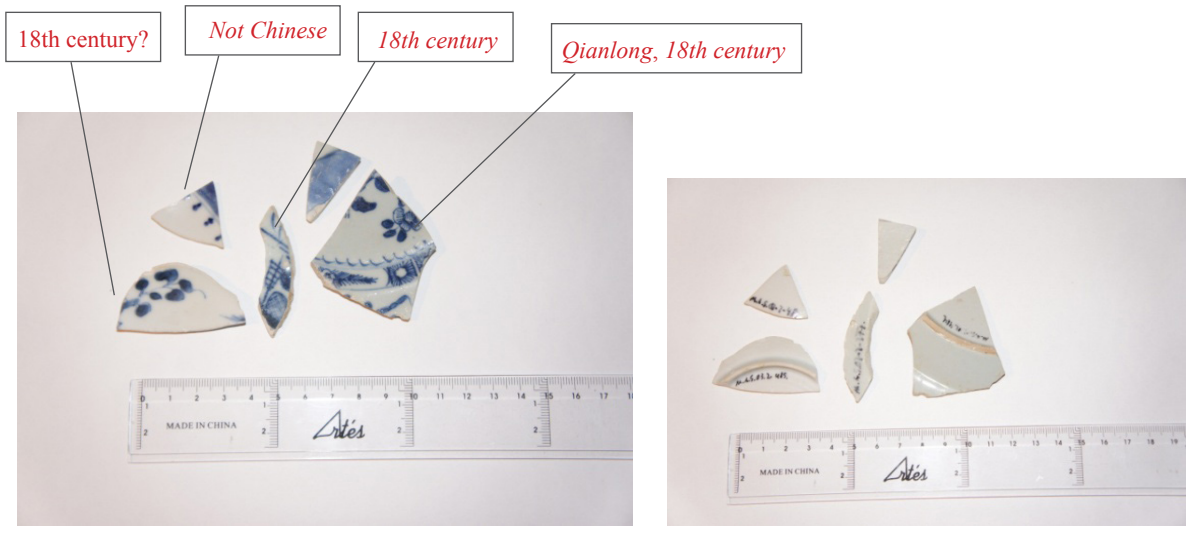


Fig. 97. Group C. Museo Arqueológico de la Ciudad de Denia. Inv. nos. M.A.S. 03.2.415; M.A.S. 03.2.414; M.A.S. 03.2.770; M.A.S. 03.2.377; M.A.S. 03.2.483.

4.1.3.2. *Valencia*

4.1.3.2.1. *Cullera*

Like the *Xing*-type shard with Cufic inscription from Almería (see p. 173), two shards of the *Xing*-type (fig. 98) have also been unearthed in a castle in the town of Cullera (Valencia) that correspond to fragments of the rims of bowls excavated in the Torre Mayor (tower) of the mentioned castle. Both of them are an opaque white porcelain that, according to several authors, could be dated to the Tang and the Five Dynasties or Northern Song dynasties.[696] The first shard (fig.98. C11/15) has been classified as a *Xing*-variant of the *samarra*-type bowls that are characterised by a white kaolin-rich body ('the whitest whiteware'), a transparent cool greenish glaze due to a high firing temperature, and an everted rim.[697] The second fragment (fig. 98. C22/7) from a finer body, also with an everted rim, could be a later product of the *Ding* type as the glaze has a slightly yellowish tinge.

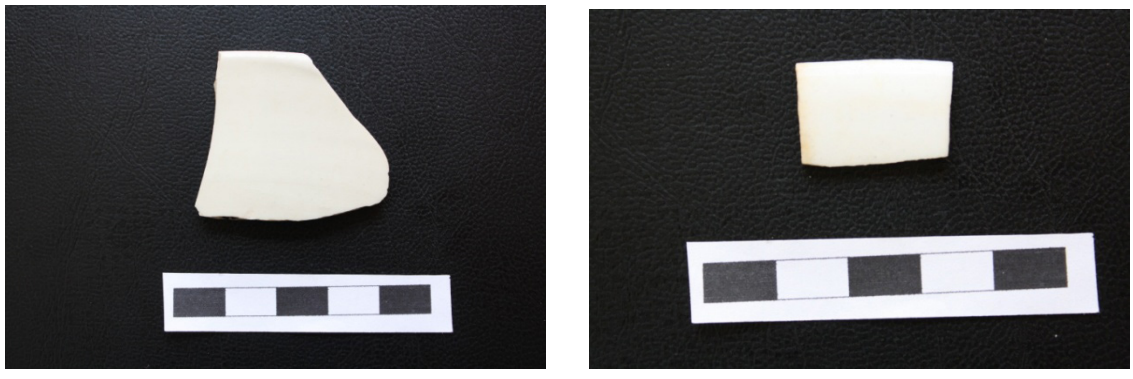


Fig. 98. Shards recovered from the Castle of Cullera. Valencia. Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cullera, Valencia. Inv. no. C11/15 (35 x 32 mm by 4 mm thick) and 22/7 (22 x 15 by 2 mm thick).

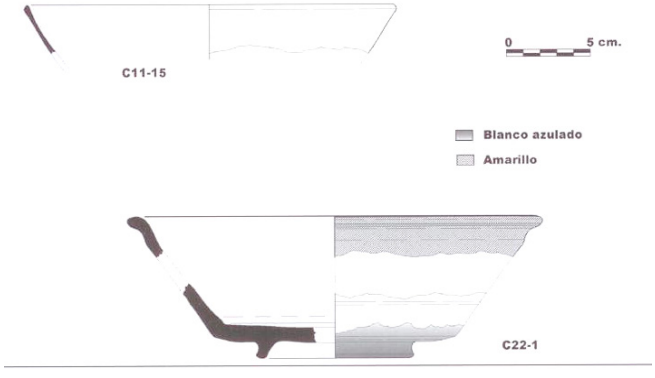


Fig. 99. Drawing of shards C11/15 and C22/7 in M. Rosselló, 'Cerámicas emirales y califales de la torre Celoquia y los orígenes del Castillo de Cullera', in *Qulayra* 2, p. 13. Two shards illustrated above correspond to the rims of bowls; it was not possible to examine the shard from the foot.

[696] Jaume Coll Conesa, 'Documented Influence of China on Maiolica in Spain and New Finds of Chinese Ceramics with Dates to the Sixteenth Century', in Stacey Pierson (ed.), *The Influence of China on World Ceramics, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia* 24, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London, 2009, pp. 123–41; M. Rosselló, 'Cerámicas emirales y califales de la torre Celoquia y los orígenes del Castillo de Cullera', in *Qulayra 2*, Cullera, 2006, pp. 7–34..

[697] Wood, 1999, p. 99.

4.1.3.2.2. *Valencia (capital)*

Other shards were unearthed in the city of Valencia during archaeological excavations at the Royal Palace. Formerly an Arab *almunia* or pleasure house for the caliphs, it became the residence of the kings of Aragon between the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, after important renovation works converted it into a palace. It was the residence of the kings for long periods during the Middle Ages, and of the viceroys and general captains of Valencia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[698] The finds in Cullera and Valencia underpin the importance of Spanish Mediterranean ports in the commercial trade with Asia and the role of Sharq al-Andalus, the Valencian territory in the Muslim Era.[699]

One shard found in the Royal Palace corresponds to a *Ding*-type dish decorated with a moulded decoration of a peony spray, a key-fret and a comb motif (fig. 100). A piece in the Baur Collection (Geneva) (fig. 102) is decorated with a similar pattern of phoenixes flying amongst lotus and peonies in low relief. The key-fret band would be called 'Greek Key' in the West; however, on closer inspection, the band is composed of individual squared spirals. Elegant phoenixes on a ground of peony scrolls was a popular motif on domestic but also on exported wares, as this shard shows. Moulded decorations, influenced by textile decorations, were introduced at the *Ding* kilns in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, being compact, precise and more complex.[700]

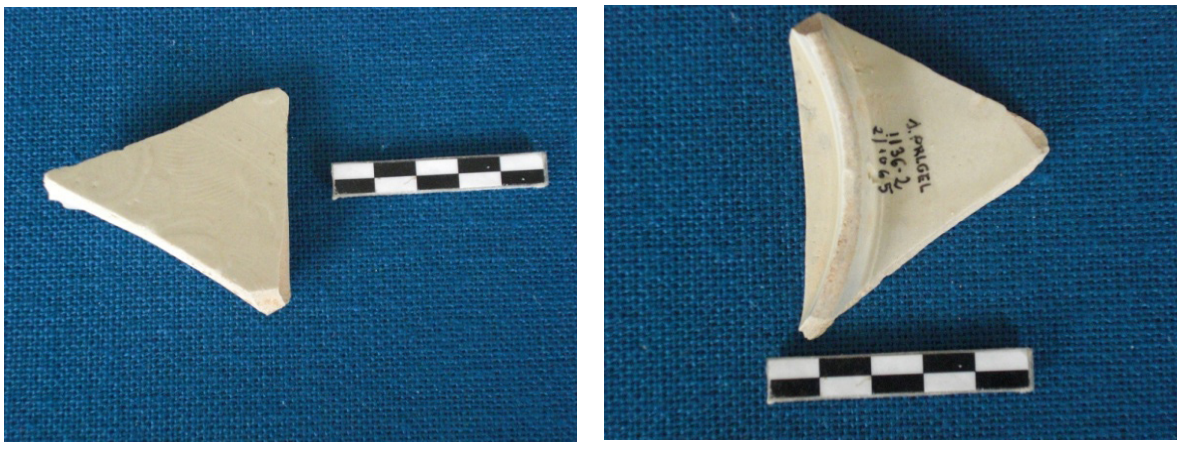


Fig. 100. Shard of *Ding*-type plate. Recovered from the excavations of the Royal Palace at General Elio Street. Valencia, stratigraphic level 1136-2. Stoneware with lime glaze and moulded decoration. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia. Inv. no. 1PRLGEL 1136-2 2/1065.

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[698] I am grateful to Josep Vicent Lerma for his help in the Servicio Municipal de Arqueología, Valencia. From 1540 the palace was residence of the Dukes of Calabria, Fernando of Aragon and Germana de Foix. In 1599 Philip III celebrated his marriage to Margaret of Austria in this palace, arriving on 19 February and staying until 4 May, later returning to the town of Denia in the company of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquess of Denia and future Duke of Lerma.

[699] Coll Conesa, 2009, p. 124.

[700] Rosemary E. Scott, *Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. A Guide to the Collection*, London, 1989, pp. 41–42. There is a bowl with a similar decoration in the Sir Percival David Collection, now in the British Museum, inv. no. PDF 108.

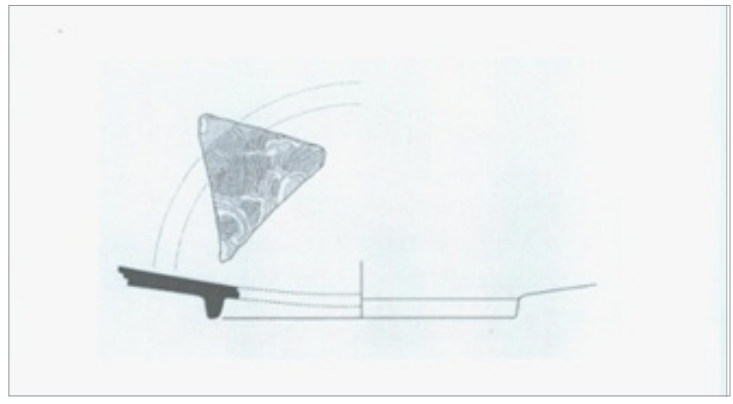


Fig. 101. Drawing on the shard of fig. 100, with a moulded decoration on the inside of the plate. By Josep Vicent Lerma. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM).





Fig. 102. *Ding*-ware dish with a moulded decoration, with a copper alloy band around the rim, D. 29 cm. Baur Collection, Geneva. Inv. no. 161.

Contacts between Spain and the Middle East were not broken off after the Christian conquest of the Spanish territories, because of the Crown of Aragon's interest in the east of the Mediterranean Sea, where dukedoms were established in Athens and Neopatria[701] (in 1377 the title of Duke of Neopatria was assumed by King Peter IV of Aragon), and ties were strengthened through royal marriages, facilitating trade relations between these two remote areas. During the same excavations at the Royal Castle a fragment of the rim of a *Longquan* celadon piece was unearthed, dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (fig. 103). The dish had a flat, bracket-lobed rim. Similar dishes can be found in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul although most of them have a lightly raised edge.[702]

[701] The Duchy of Neopatria was one of the Crusader States set up in Greece after the conquest of the Byzantine Empire during the Fourth Crusade. It was situated in Central Greece, centered on the city of *Neai Patrai* (modern Ypati) in the Spercheios Valley, west of Lamia.

[702] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 1, p. 357, ill. 481.

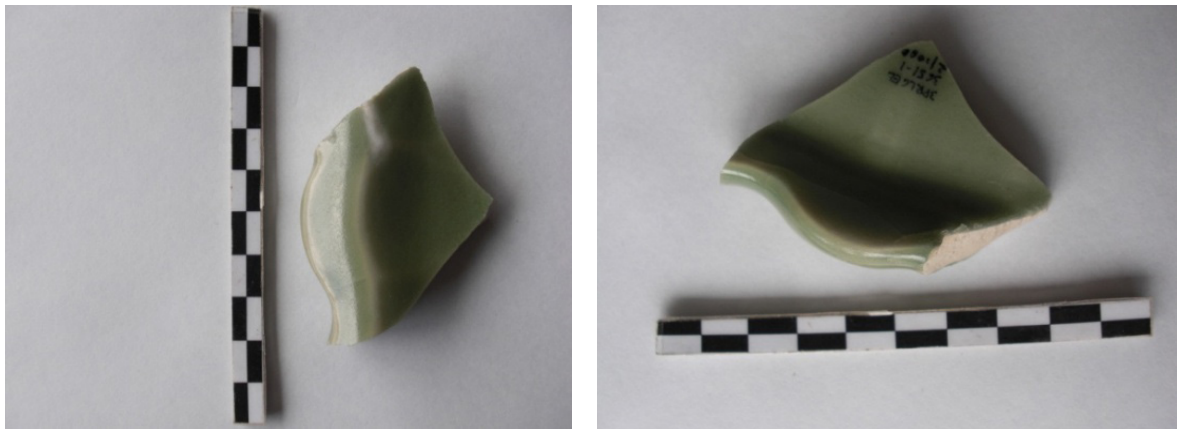


Fig. 103. Shard of a *Longquan* celadon, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, recovered during the excavation of the Royal Palace, General Elio Street, stratigraphic layer 3651-1. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM). Inv. no. 3PRLGEL 3651-1, 2/1066.

Another greenware shard (fig. 104) was also excavated in Valencia but in a different location. The main purpose of the excavation was to study the remains of a group of Islamic dwellings erected inside the city wall in today's Cisneros Square by Abd al-Aziz in the ninth century that were occupied from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Ceramic objects found included local earthenware with an overglaze green and manganese decoration, oil-lamps, casseroles, pitchers and pots, and the mentioned Chinese shard of an object that would have arrived as a valuable and exotic gift. The fragments in (fig. 104) were excavated in an Almohade[703] context of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As we can see, it is the base of a *yue*-type dish decorated with incised scrolls of flowers incised in the *cavetto*.[704] The grey stoneware body is quite compact, the glaze greenish and thin. The base and splayed footrim are fully glazed, and have spurmarks made by the stand on which it was fired.[705]

[703] From the Arabic, *Almoahedun*, a Berber Muslim dynasty that flourished in Africa and in Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[704] Jeannette Rose-Albrecht, 'Les Potiers d'al-Andalus ont-ils eu connaissance des grès chinois dès l'époque médiévale?', in *Taoci*, no. 4, December 2005. See also J.V. Lerma, 'Las cerámicas importadas', in *L'arqueologia fa cuitat: les excavacións de la plaza de Cisneros*, Valencia, 2000.

[705] There is a *yue* bowl with an incised decoration and the same type of foot with spurmarks in the Sir Percival David Collection, now in the British Museum; see Scott, 1989, pp. 35–36, ill. 17.

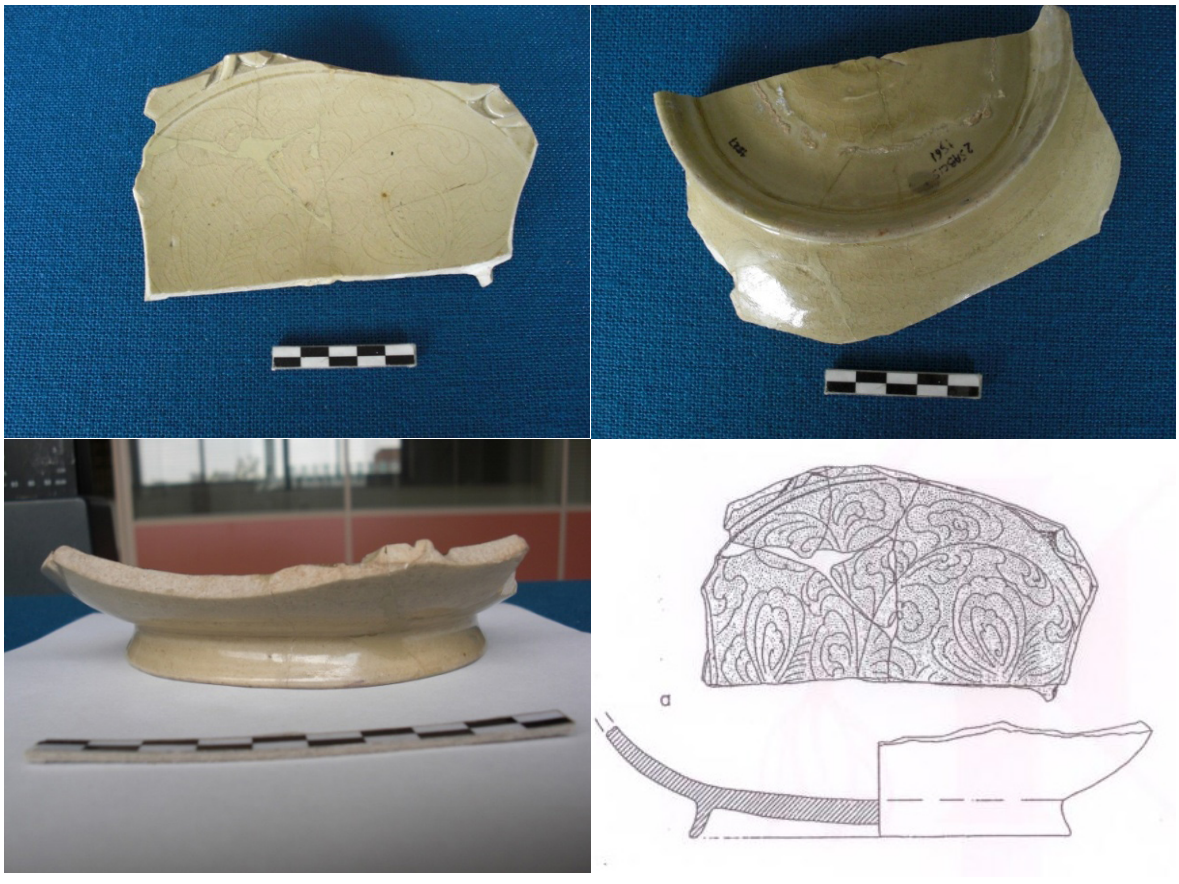


Fig. 104. Shard of a *yue*-type celadon dish from the excavation at Cisneros Square, 6 Sabaters Street. L. 14 cm, W. 8 cm. Servicio Municipal de Arqueología del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (SIAM). Inv. no. 2SABCIS 1561.

Although of a later date, other shards found in Valencia (fig. 105) were excavated in the San Miguel de los Reyes Monastery, formed by two cloisters and a church. The Duke and Duchess of Calabria, Fernando de Aragon and Germana de Foix, commissioned the monastery from the architect Antonio de Covarrubias in 1546 to serve as their family crypt. The shards – which are about 5 centimetres long and can be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620) – correspond to the base of a blue-and-white porcelain cup decorated with flowers and petals on the inside. On the base a *shou fu* or 'good luck' mark is inscribed. They were located in stratigraphic level no. 1057, in an area where a wooden crane had originally been installed to build a library in the monastery. The shards were found together with blue and gilded tin-glazed earthenware from Manises (Valencia).[706] This type of plate was of the export type dating to the Wanli period at the end of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately the shard is lost and only this picture was available for this study.

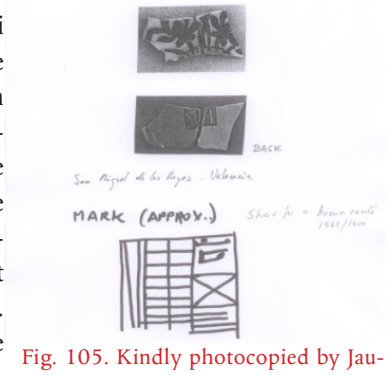


Fig. 105. Kindly photocopied by Jaume Coll Conesa, director of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica y de las Artes Suntuarias 'González Martí', Valencia. The shard disappeared during the excavation.

[706] I am grateful to Víctor Algarra who kindly provided me with his excavation notes.

4.1.4. *Balearic Islands*

4.1.4.1. *Palma de Mallorca*

Three shards were found in the Can Bordils at no. 9, Almudaina Street. The first two are a from matching blue-and-white cup and saucer dated by the archaeologist to the Kangxi period (1662–1722); the third, of a plate, is decorated with *famille rose* enamels. Unfortunately I could not access the photographs of the shards.[707]

4.1.5. *Catalonia*

4.1.5. 1. *Barcelona*

Most of the shards found in the city of Barcelona are preserved in the Museu d'Història de Barcelona (MUHBA) and correspond to several archaeological excavations. The most important was carried out in the Born area, known from the nineteenth century as the 'market of Born', in which more than 3100 ceramic, glass, metal, stone and organic objects were unearthed that dated from medieval to modern times. Other excavations have yielded fragments of Chinese porcelain in other parts of the city that mainly correspond to convents of various orders during the Habsburg period. Barcelona, along with Seville and Cádiz, was a mayor trade centre and its port served as a stopover for ships heading south to Cádiz, Seville, Lisbon, and northwards to Mediterranean France and Italy. Trade between Barcelona and France, especially Marseilles, would intensify because of the Pact of Ceret, signed in 1640, by which Catalonia received military support from France, separating itself from the Spanish Crown. Catalonia was recovered in 1652, but the war against France lasted until the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees that sanctioned the annexing by France of Roselló, Conflent, Vallespir and a part of the Cerdanya region.

a. Market of Born

The site corresponds to the urban development of the neighbourhood of Ribera, the maritime district, from the fourteenth century until its destruction in 1714 after the War of Spanish Succession. Archaeologists could identify the network of streets and the remains of houses and palaces thanks to the excellent state of the site. Historian Albert García Espuche studied the history of the site where the Chinese fragments were found.[708] The location was a single property owned by the merchant Antoni Riera during the last quarter of the sixteenth century (it was formerly owned by the merchant Joan Moragull), but it was rented out to another merchant called Juan Gual, who died in 1586. Antoni Riera then sold the property to Onofre Boxadors, who died in 1619. There is a long inventory of goods belonging to this last merchant, but no mention of Oriental items.[709] At the end of the seven-

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[707] Elvira González Gozálo, 'Las porcelanas chinas de Can Bordils de Palma', in *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueológica Luliana*, no. 52, 1996, pp. 295–302.

[708] Albert García Espuche, *La ciutat del Born. Economia i Vida Quotidiana a Barcelona* (*segles XIV-XVIII*), Barcelona, 2009; and by the same author, 'La Definición Social del Espacio Urbano. Del territorio a la casa. Sobre la Decisiva Transformación de Cataluña en los siglos XVI y XVII', in *Historia Social*, no. 58, Barcelona, 2007, pp. 71–95. I appreciate the assistance provided by Julia Beltrán de Heredia and Nuria Miró from the Museu d'Historia de Barcelona (MUHBA).

[709] García Espuche, 2009, pp. 71-95.

teenth century the site was the residence of Jan Kies and Arnold de Jager, Dutch consuls in Catalonia. They had relations with King Charles II of Spain and both were awarded honorific titles. Another merchant named Antono Oliach, whose great wealth is revealed in his *post mortem* inventory drawn up in 1703, lived in this house at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Finally, the house was rented in the eighteenth century to the apothecary owner Vicent Duran who, according to the inventory of his goods, owned many Chinese porcelains such as 48 bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*), 29 white *jícaras* from China, and seven tea bowls and tea plates from China.[710]

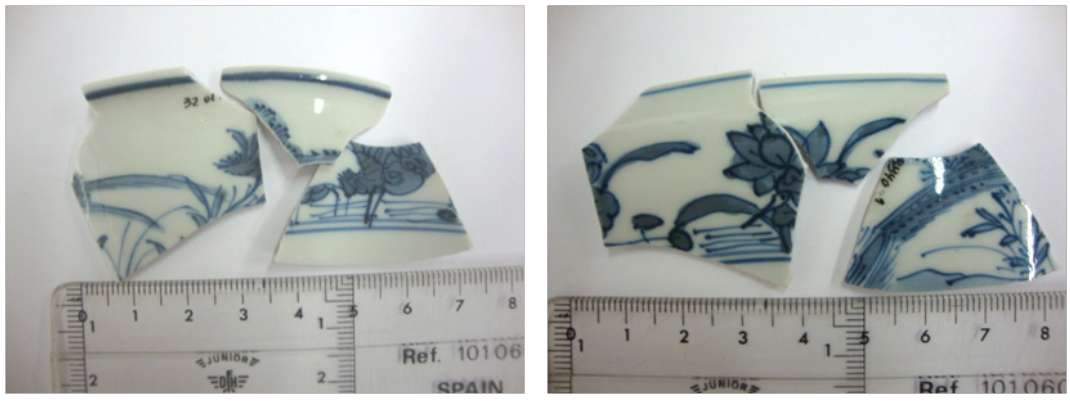


Fig. 105. Shards of a bowl, late sixteenth century, Wanli reign. Mercado del Born, . Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 32.01-3825.



The first shards found at this site are from a bowl decorated with a scene that seems to extend all around, with very fine ornamentation, with a pond with lotus flowers; the other side is decorated with flower sprays (fig. 105). The quality of the porcelain of this bowl is very good and the painting is very well executed. The rim is not everted or foliated, a rare feature for late sixteenth-century export bowls.[711]

The second piece (fig.106) is a blue-and-white shard of a dish ornamented with a sketchily drawn lotus flower with a blue wash over it, placed on top of a round medallion with a flower. On the back, part of a double circle that corresponds to a mark from the Kangxi period (1662–1722), c. 1700.

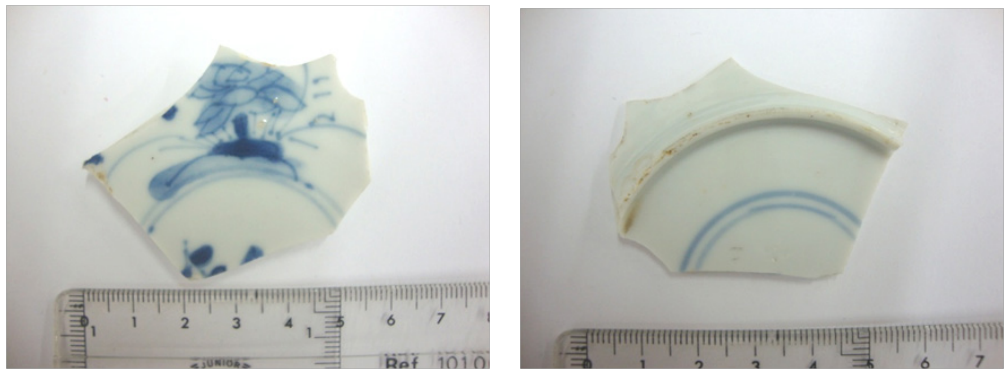


Fig. 106. Shards of a dish. Mercado del Born, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona. Inv. no. Born-91 303. UE 8610.

[710] García Espuche, 2007, p. 337.

[711] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 138.

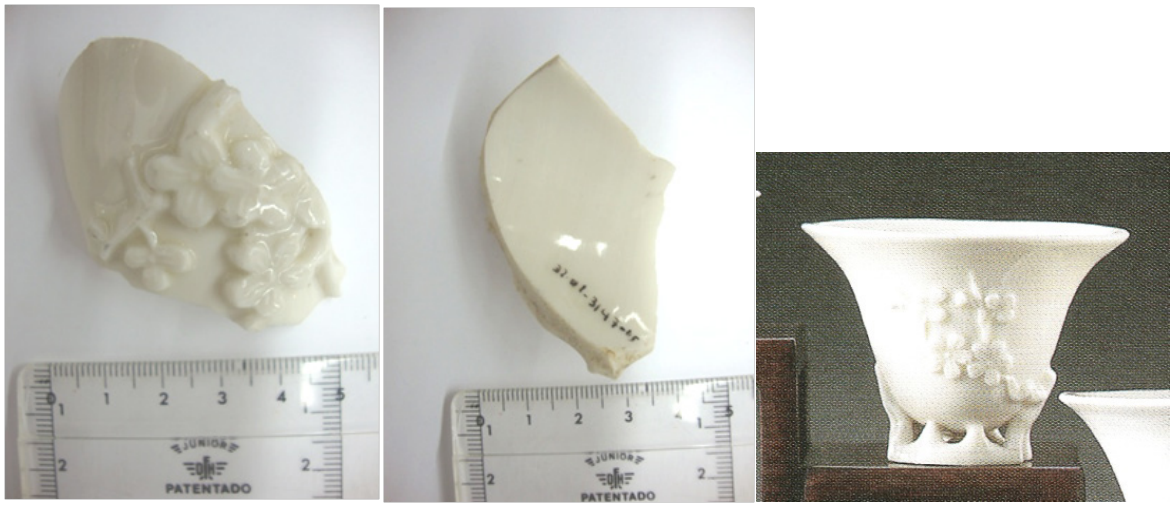


Fig. 107. Shards of a cup. Mercado del Born. *Blanc de Chine* magnolia cup, mid-seventeenth century. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 32-01 UE 3147 dif.15.

Fig. 108. Magnolia cup. From Kerr & Ayers, *Blanc de Chine. Porcelain from Dehua*, Richmond, 2002, pl. 122.

Shards of a libation cup that was shaped as magnolia flower with a tapering profile and decorated with plum blossom stems in high relief were also found at this site (fig. 107) This type of cup was very popular in Europe in the late seventeenth century and appears in a Western still life painting by Leonard Knyff dated 1681.[712]

Another shard (fig. 109) is from a cup with fairly straight sides and a round rim, decorated with a peony spray inside a double ring, the outside with figures and peony sprays. The piece is dated c. 1700,[713] and has a 'sheng' (聖, 圣) mark inside a double circle ('sheng' can mean 'sage' or 'holy').

[712] Patrick J. Donnelly, *Blanc-de-Chine. The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien*, London, 1969, pl. 27A; Rose Kerr & John Ayers, *Blanc de Chine. Porcelain from Dehua*, Richmond, 2002, pl. 122. There are several magnolia blossom cups listed in the Burghley House inventory of 1690; one of them is described as a 'sugar Cupp'; see Gordon Lang, *The Wrestling Boys. An Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Ceramics from the 16th to the 18th Century in the Collection at Burghley House*, Lincolnshire, 1983, p. 89.

[713] The fragmentary motif left might be part of the dress of a 'long Elisa', see comparable cups in Fritz W. Grosse, *Die blau-weissen asiatischen Porzellane in Schoss Favorite bei Rastatt,* Schwetzingen, 1998, figs. 85-90.



Fig. 109. Shards of a cup, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Mercado del Born. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 26355.

b. Convent of Saint Teresa

The Carmelite Convent of Saint Teresa was founded in 1588 by a group of nuns from Pamplona (Navarra). The prioress and founder was Caterina de Rocabertí (Estefania de la Concepción). Construction of the first church began in 1601 and it was inaugurated in 1608. A new one was built in 1674. The building is known today as Puríssima Concepció de Nostra Senyora, or Santa Teresa. Archaeological excavations at the site yielded a number of shards, some dating to the sixteenth century and others to the late seventeenth century. The first shard (fig. 110) corresponds to a blue-and-white bowl decorated with an elephant carrying a lotus flower that supports a double circle with the 永 *yong*, 'eternity' character. On stylistic grounds this piece can be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620), a date confirmed by the stratum in which it was found, which is dated to the early seventeenth century.[714]

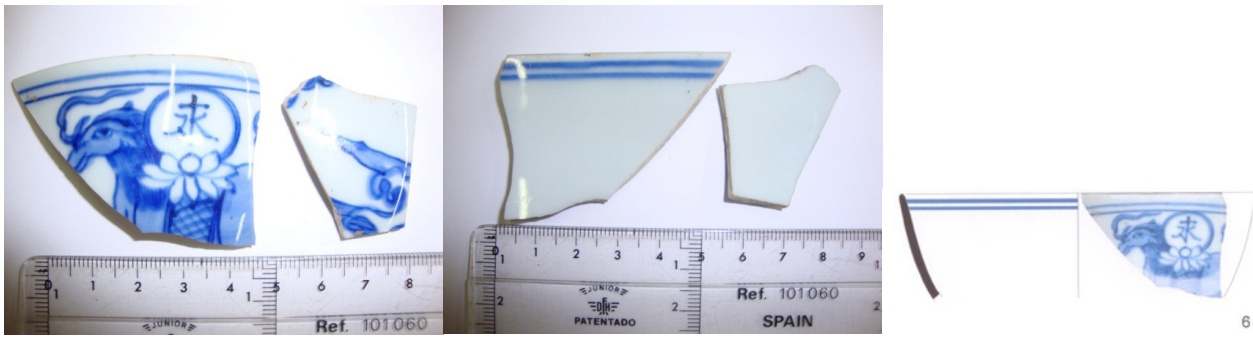


Fig. 110. Shards of a bowl, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Found in the Convent of Saint Teresa, Plaza de la Villa de Madrid. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona. Excavation number 009/01-A520-38, excavation number 009/01, Stratigraphy unit A520, diferencial 38.

[714] Julia Beltrán de Heredia and Nuria Miró i Alaix, 'Importacions orientals i imitacions locals a "la façon" de Liguria: noves troballes ceràmiques a la ciutat de Barcelona', in *Arqueología Medieval*, nos. 4/5, Barcelona, 2008–9, pp. 100–15, and 'Aportación al estudio de las cerámicas finas del Mediterráneo Oriental, Siria/Egipto y China en Barcelona', in *Italia, medio es stremo oriente: Commerci, trasferimente di technologie e inlussi decorativi tra basso Medioevo ed età moderna, ATTI, XL Convegno internazionale della Ceramica*, Savona-Albisola Marina, 2007, pp. 129–39

The second piece (figs. 111 and 112) corresponds to a Chinese *Imari*-type saucer three centimetres high and dated to the second quarter of the eighteenth century; it is decorated with floral motifs in iron-red enamel and underglaze cobalt blue with a band of simple four-petalled flowers around the rim.[715]

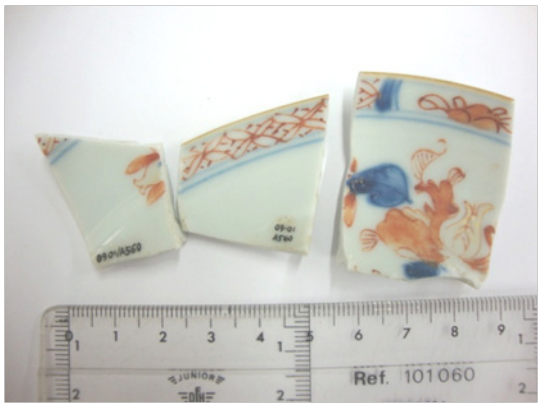


Fig. 111. Shards of a saucer from the Convent of St. Teresa, 1730-40. Villa de Madrid. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. O9/01 UE A 560.

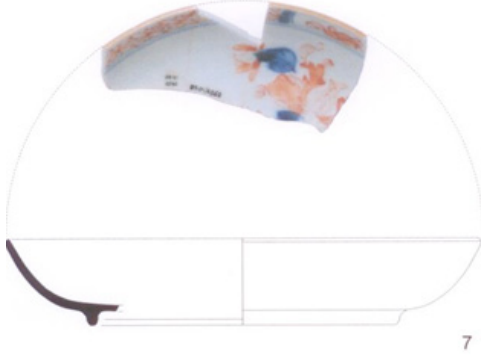




Fig. 112. Saucer, c. 1730–40. From Jean McClure Mudge, 1986, p. 123.

c. Calle Robadors

This shard (fig. 113) was recovered during the excavation of a house dating from the medieval to the modern period. The dish is ornamented with a riverscape with pagodas around a central circular medallion, the rim ornamented with a diaper pattern in a silvery-blue cobalt blue. On the base a blurred *zhuanshu* mark inside a double ring. On stylistic grounds the piece is dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722).[716]



Fig. 113. Shards of a dish from Calle Robadors, , c. 1700., Kangxi reign. Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Inv. no. 125/0U-20633.

[715] A plate with a similar decoration is in Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 710, pl. 1221.

[716] Josep Cruells was the archaeologist in charge of this excavation. I am grateful to him for providing the shards before publication.

d. Pedralbes Monastery

The archaeological excavations at the Pedralbes Monastery have yielded several shards of Chinese porcelain.[717] The building was a convent of the Order of Saint Clare, founded in 1326 by Queen Elisenda de Montcada, who was married to the Aragonese King Jaume II. Of Gothic style, no expense was spared on its construction and furnishing thanks to the generous endowment of the Montcada family. A large fragment of a dish was found, dating to the Jiajing period (1522–66) (fig. 114 and 115), It is decorated with a flower scroll on the foliated rim, stylised lotus blossoms on the *cavetto*, the main decoration being (three) cranes flying around four cloud motifs. The reverse is decorated with galloping horses inside oval medallions and the underside of the rim is ornamented with flowers.[718] As can be seen in the closely related dish in the Amaral Cabral Collection (fig. 116), there is a mark on the base of the piece inside a double circle reading 永保長春 *yong bao chang chun* ('eternal protection and long lasting spring').



Fig. 114. Shard of a dish. Jiajing reign (1522-66). Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona. Inv. no. MMP-116.288.

Fig. 115. Idem.



[717] J. Bassegoda Nonell, *La cerámica popular en la arquitectura gótica*, Barcelona, 1983, although he wrongly dates it to the fourteenth century.

[718] For similar pieces, see Pinto de Matos, 1997, pp. 72, 73, 74; and Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 616.



Fig. 116. Dish, second quarter 16th c. D. 26.2 cm. From Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, *Azul e Branco da China. Porcelana* âo *Tempo dos Descobrimentos. Colecçâo Amaral Cabral*, exh. cat., Lisbon 1997, pp. 72-73.

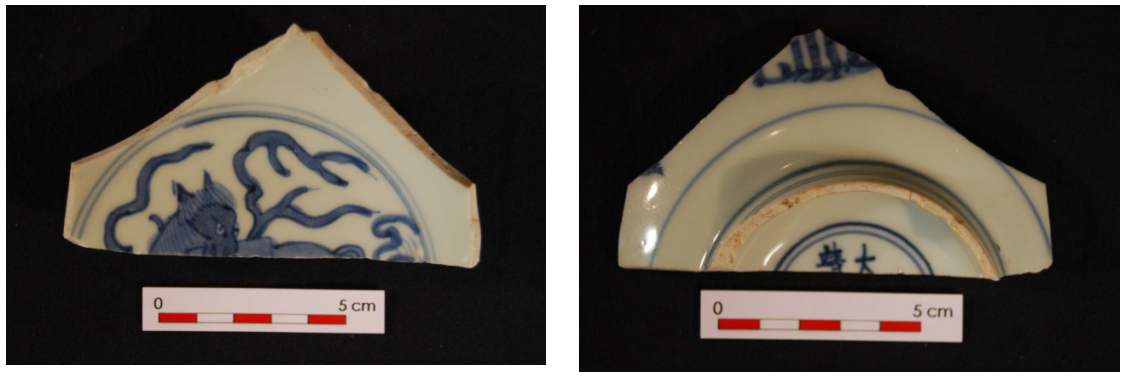


Fig. 117.Shard of a bowl. Jiajing reign (1522–66). Inv. no. 051-10.35.212. Shards preserved in the Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

The next shard (fig. 117) found at the monastery is part of a bowl also dated to the Jiajing period (1522–66). Only part of the mark is visible – the upper part of the fourth-character, 靖, indicates that the mark should be 嘉靖, with the complete mark being 大明嘉靖年製 (*da ming jiajing nian zhi*, i.e., 'Made during the Jiajing reign of the Ming Dynasty'). Only the bottom of the bowl is preserved but we can see that it was decorated with a *qilin* among flames, probably in a landscape. A similar piece is found in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul.[719]

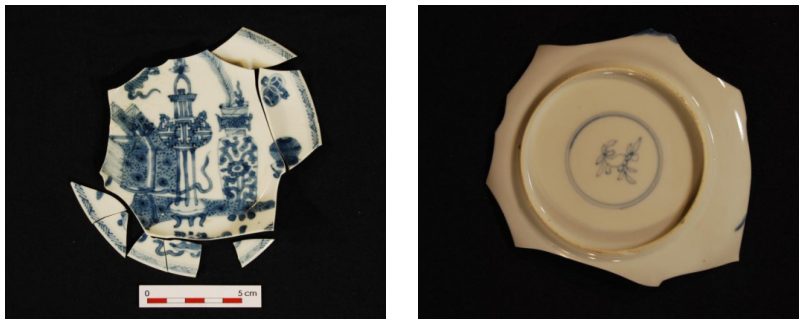


Fig. 118. Shards of a dish, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051-10-35118., Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

[719] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 647, fig. 989.

The shard in fig. 118 was excavated from the same monastery and corresponds to a dish decorated in the popular sapphire cobalt blue from the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The shard is ornamented with some of the 'Hundred Antiquities'. The base has a mark consisting of two simplified flowers inside a double ring. An edict was issued in 1667 during the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) forbidding the use of his mark on porcelain in case it broke. This resulted in the use of a number of 'good luck' symbols such as flowers or the artemisia leaf, among others. From the same period are the bowls decorated with a lotus spray on the bottom with a diaper band around the rim. The base of the bowl has a mark consisting of a solid lozenge with tassels and ribbons, one of the 'Eight Treasures', which is also an auspicious symbol (figs.119 and 120).

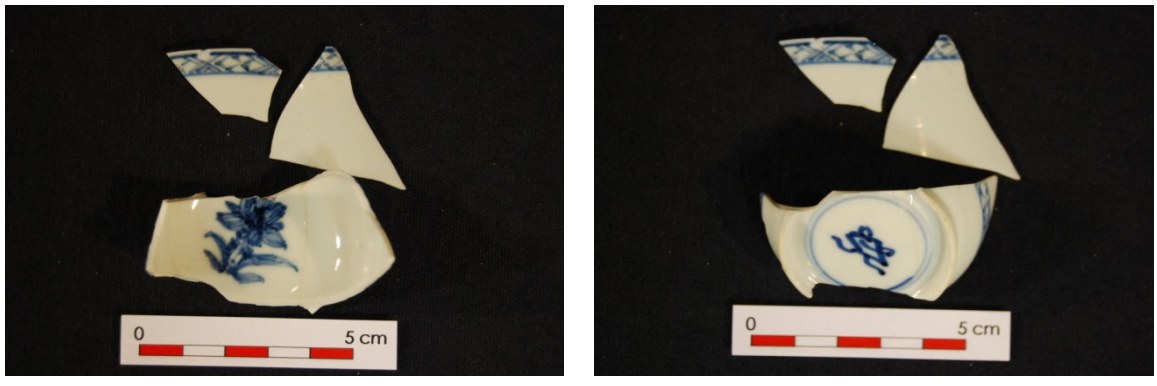


Fig. 119. Shard of a bowl, c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051-10-35123. Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.



Fig. 120. Shards of a bowl., c.1700, Kangxi reign, Inv. no. 051-10.35.121. Pedralbes Monastery, Barcelona.

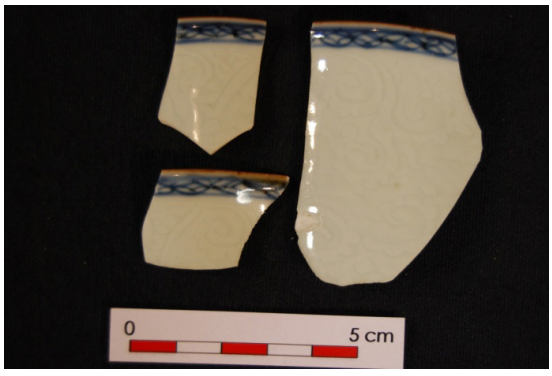


Fig. 121. Shards of a bowl., c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 051.10.35.126. Pedrabes Monastery, Barcelona.

Another group of shards is also dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722). They are part of a bowl decorated in iron oxide on the rim and incised floral scrolls on the body, with a cobalt blue diaper band around the edge (fig. 121).

The last two shards (fig. 122) are part of a bowl of a later date, the porcelain decorated over the glaze with Meissen-style rococo decorations in gold and red enamels that date to the 1740s (Qianlong period, 1736–95).

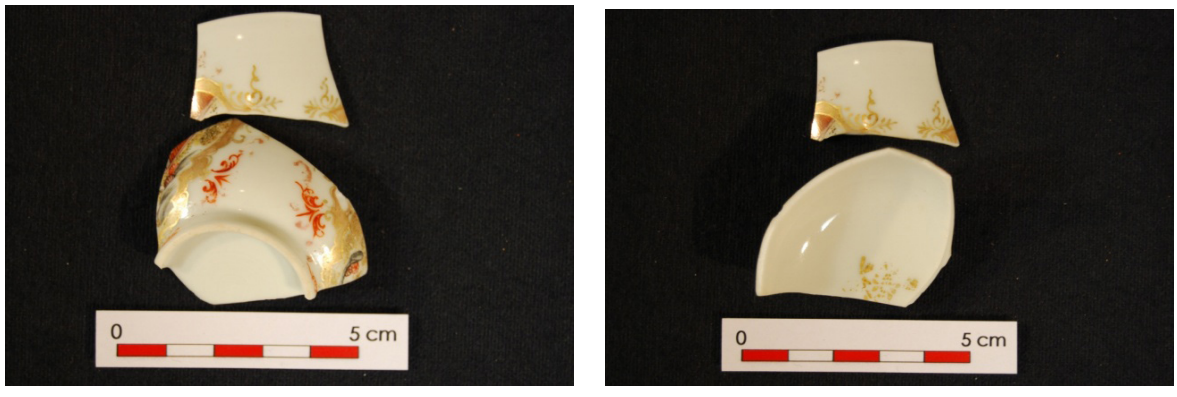


Fig. 122. Shards of a bowl, c.1740, Qianlong reign. Inv. no. 051.10.35.124. Pedrabes Monastery, Barcelona.

e. Convent of the Dominican Fathers of Saint Catherine

The Saint Catherine (Santa Caterina) market was the site of a Dominican convent. The convent of the Dominican preachers of Barcelona was a monastic foundation founded by Bishop Berenguer de Palou (Bishop of Barcelona between 1212 and 1241). On his return from Rome and Bologna, the bishop established a close relation with the Dominicans in Italy and requested the foundation of a religious house in the city of Barcelona. Shards of Chinese porcelain were found in the convent. The first is part of a chocolate cup decorated in Chinese Imari with flowering branches that dates to the late Kangxi period (1662–1722) (fig. 123 and 124). The other shards are blue-and-white, and ornamented with sketchily drawn flowers, dating to the 1730s (fig. 125).

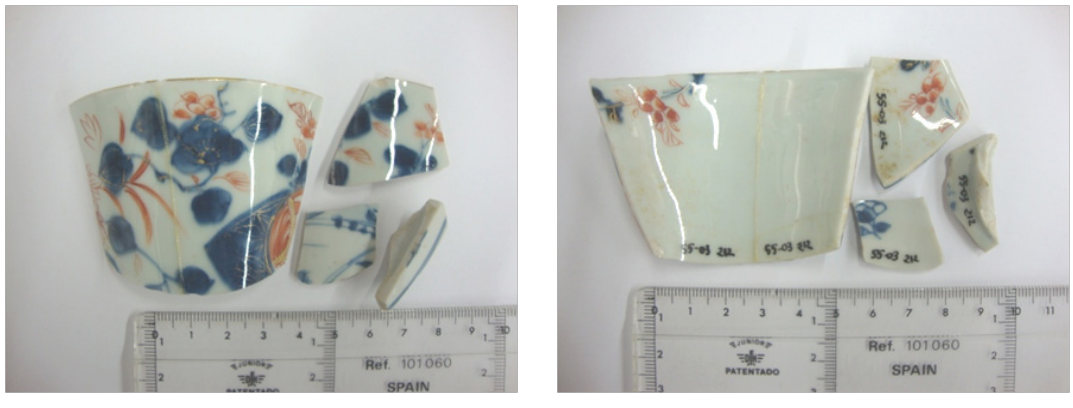


Fig. 123. Shards of an imari cup., 1710-20, early Kangxi reign. Inv. no. UE 212 055/03. Valldonzella 9-11; Montealegre 10. Museu d'Historia de Barcelona.



Fig. 124. Chocolate cup, Chinese Imari, c. 1710-20, Kangxi reign. H. 8 cm, D: 8.4 cm. Inv.no. 1951-0107. Groninger Museum, Groninger.

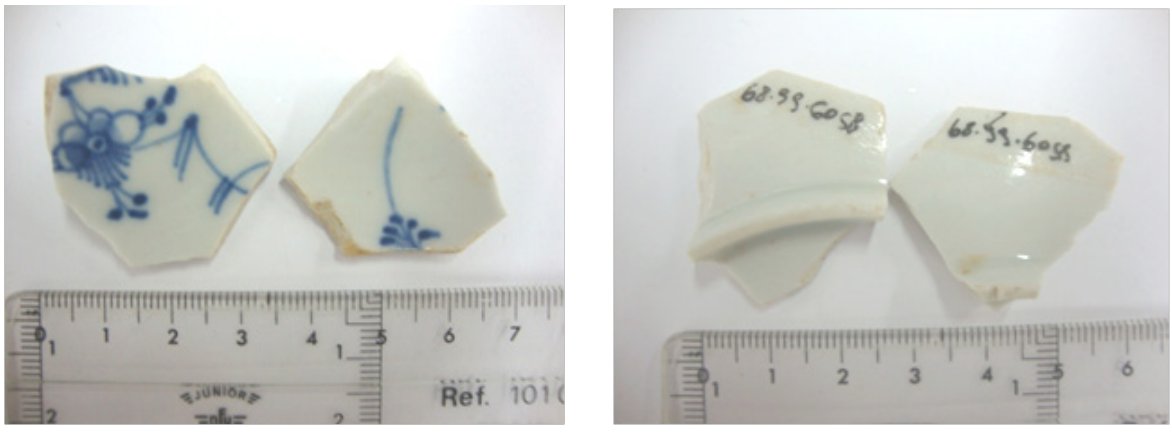


Fig. 125. Inv. no. UE 6058 068/99. Santa Caterina market. Kangxi (1662–1722) or Yongzheng (1723–25). Museu d'Historia de Barcelona.

4.1.6. *Autonomous region of Madrid*

Most of the fragments in the Autonomous Region[720] of Madrid are preserved in two museums: Museo de los Orígenes (Madrid) and Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid (Alcalá de Henares). Other shards are kept in the depots of the Royal Palace of Madrid, which was built by King Philip V on the location of the old Alcázar of the Habsburgs.[721] The shards in these collections are from several archaeological excavations at different sites in Madrid: the Plaza de Oriente and the Plaza de la Armería, where the remains of the Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs were excavated; the site of Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor, where archaeologists carried out the excavation of a palace and its gardens dating to the seventeenth century; the Plaza de los Carros, the site of the remains of different houses dating from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century; a house on the Plaza de la Marina; and finally the remains of two convents: the Trinitarias and the Nuns of Constantinople.

Most of the fragments are of *Kraak* porcelain objects, which were apparently used by the Court in the Alcázar, as well as in the houses of aristocrats or civil servants related to the Court, and finally of porcelain objects used in the convents.

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[720] Power in Spain was decentralised in 1978 and the country was divided into *Comunidades Autónomas* (Autonomous Regions) that replaced the old regions (*regiones*).

[721] This new palace directly faces the cathedral across the *Plaza de Armas* (Square of the Royal Armoury).

a. Shards excavated from the remains of the Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs (Royal Palace of Madrid)

The Royal Alcázar of the Habsburgs was converted from a medieval residence into a palace under Emperor Charles V.[722] Philip II continued the work and emphasised the decoration of the building, for which he hired craftsmen from Italy, France and the Netherlands. The rest of the Habsburgs kings (Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II) continued introducing new improvements to the palace. King Philip V of Bourbon ascended to the throne of Spain in 1700. The Habsburgs' Alcázar, austere in comparison to the French palace where the new king had grown up, went through several restructurings but it burned to the ground on Christmas Eve, 1734. King Felipe V ordered the construction of a new building in the same place that was completed in 1764 and occupied by King Charles III of Spain. A few years ago, during renovations to this Baroque and Neoclassical palace, some shards of Chinese porcelain were found in the Plaza de Oriente and Plaza de la Armería, both very close to the palace grounds:

Archaeological Site of Plaza de Oriente

The first shard recovered during excavations at the Plaza de Oriente – located directly in front of the present Royal Palace – is from a Jingdezhen *Kraak* plate decorated with the 'ducks-in-a-pond' motif (fig. 126). This decoration was very popular at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. It is not possible to establish the exact type of border around the central decoration, but the decoration of lotus and acquatic plants in a pond resembles the decorative style used on plates at the beginning of the seventeenth century during the reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1619), a contemporary of Philip II (1527–98) and Philip III (1598–1621) of Spain.[723] The quality of the cobalt is very good; the decoration is executed in a refined way



Fig. 126. A shard of a plate found during the archaeological excavation at the Plaza de Oriente, where the remains of the Habsburgs' Royal Alcázar were excavated., *Kraak* porcelain, c. 1600, Wanli reing, Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 2/43/36.

[722] For publications about the Royal Palace in Madrid, see: Jose Luis Sancho, *Palacio Real de Madrid*, Madrid, 2004; Jose Luis Sancho, Gabriel Moya, Carlos Martínez Shaw, María Antonia Loste Rodríguez and María Jesús Serviá Reymundo, *Palacio Real de Madrid*, Madrid, 2005.; José Luis Sancho, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales*: *catálogo histórico de los palacios, jardines y patronatos reales del Patrimonio Nacional*, Madrid, 1995.

[723] This was possibly a border decoration type VI as characterised by Maura Rinaldi in *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, pp. 83 and 95. Regina Krahl has some examples with a similar decoration; see Krahl & Ayers, vol. 2, pp. 766, 767.



Fig. 127. *Kraak* plate with decoration of ducks in pond. Border VI, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris). D. 21 cm, H. 3 cm. No inventory number.The ornamentation in the centre is very similar to that of the shard of Fig. 126.

Fig. 128. Shards of a monochrome white bowl, early seventeenth century. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. P.O. 3 192 8.





Other fragments from this period (fig. 128) were found during archaeological excavations in 1992 and 1996 at the Plaza de Oriente and the Calle Bailén (the street that runs between the Palace and the Plaza). A huge quantity of Spanish ceramics was unearthed along with some Chinese porcelain. The recovered fragments are of very high-quality porcelain without impurities in the body and glaze. The shape – a white bowl on a high foot – is known from the late 16th and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. There are no traces of decorations on the shards.[724]

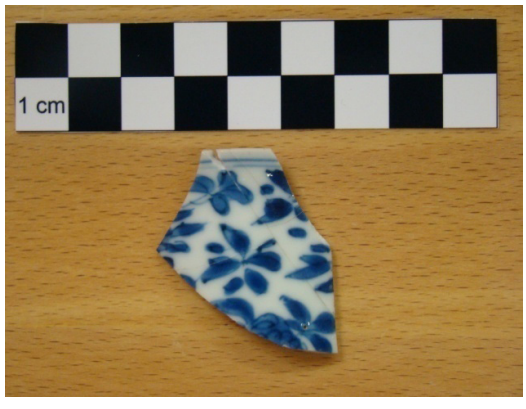




Fig. 129. Shard of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*), c. 1700, Kangxi reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares. Madrid. Inv. no. 1/1/10.

[724] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol.2, cat. nos. 1666-1668, 1671, 1672, 1674-1676 for comparable white bowls on a high footring.

The next shard (fig. 129), also related to the Habsburg Alcázar but of a later date, is part of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*) manufactured during the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The body is white, the glaze is very fine, and the decoration is in the characteristic sapphire blue without impurities. The decoration on the outside is of peonies and simple petals, with a diamond diaper border around the inside rim.[725]

Archaeological site of the Plaza de la Armería

Several Chinese porcelain shards dating to second half of the sixteenth century/early seventeenth century were unearthed during renovation works at the Museum of the Spanish Royal Collections situated in the Plaza de la Armería, near the site of the old Habsburg Alcázar and the buildings linked to the palace. The excavation took place in June 1999 and February 2000 and yielded around 800 pieces of pottery that were stored in the palace's storage room.[726] Eight shards (figs. 130, 132, 133, 134, 135 and 136) are from one large fishbowl of excellent quality, decorated with a flaming, scaly dragon (the number of claws is unfortunately not visible) chasing a flaming pearl above a lotus pond. Around the rim of the bowl, a narrow register ornamented with a classic scroll and pendant square panels with pending roundels surrounded by clouds. This last motif of the circles within the lotus-leaf panels is an unique feature that seems to be unrecorded in the literature on porcelain of this period. The same type of decoration appears around the base of the object. The Topkapi Saray Museum has a bowl with a similar lotus pond that is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century (fig. 131).

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[725] For related cups see Christiaan J.A. Jörg and Michel Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck. The Hallstrom Excavation*, Singapore, 2001, p. 58-9; fig. 36.

[726] Archaeologist Saúl Pérez-Juana, who was responsible for the classification of the materials at the time of the excavation and who specializes in ceramics, took notes of the findings as follows:

> A fragment of Chinese porcelain painted in underglaze cobalt blue was found in area no. 2 of the mentioned excavation, at strata level no. 1021, and classified and assigned inventory number A2/1021/14. In area no. 3, at strata level 2033, and assigned inventory number A3/2033/1, three shards of a large blue-and-white vessel, the thickness of the body being 1.69 centimeters and the diameter of the mouth around 50 centimeters, which must have been a large fish bowl with a straight edge and a flat rim. It was decorated with stylized floral designs beneath banners (simplified lotus petals?) with a central circle (the sun?) surrounded by clouds. Below this decoration were several five-clawed [on the shards I consulted the number of claws could not be seen] dragons flying among clouds above a landscape with a river and aquatic plants such as lotus. Another register of banners was painted around the foot. The rest of the decoration consists of schematic clouds, and below the rim, a floral scroll between two lines, above a band of banners, similar to the one running around the base of the fishbowl. Another three blue-and-white shards were found in area no. 3, strata level 2034, that were assigned the inventory number A3/2034/1. These shards probably correspond to the previous piece and were decorated with the head of a dragon with a flaming pearl and another five-clawed dragon. These three fragments correspond to a large open shape, of which part of the decoration consisting of flying dragons over a landscape with lotus plants has survived. The rest of the decoration is of a flaming pearl and a frieze of banners (simplified lotus petals?), similar to the ones on the top of the piece. In the same area no. 3, at strata level 2103, the base of a blue-and-white dish was found and inventoried with no. A3/2103/12; it was decorated with a bird (a crane?) flying above water, with flowers, leaves and lotus buds. The foot of the plate was decorated with three parallel lines; the exterior of the piece, on the bottom of the cavetto, has a decoration of clouds.

I am grateful to Álvaro Soler and Juan Ramón Aparicio, from Spanish National Heritage, for providing me with the photographs of the shards for this study



Fig. 130. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th, Wanli reign, Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2033.



Fig. 131. Blue-and-white bowl in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul. Inv. no. TKS 15/2559. From Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 680.



Fig. 132. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A34.2033.1c.

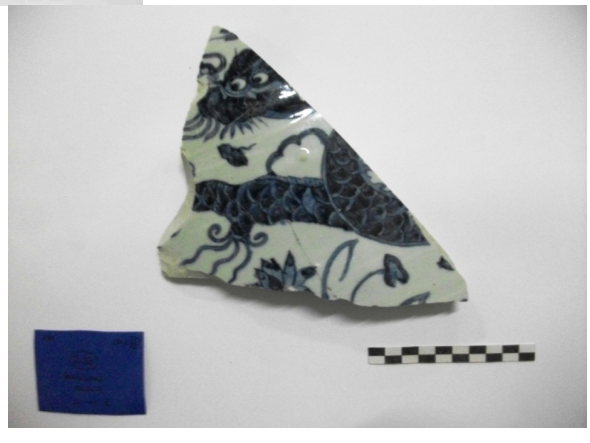
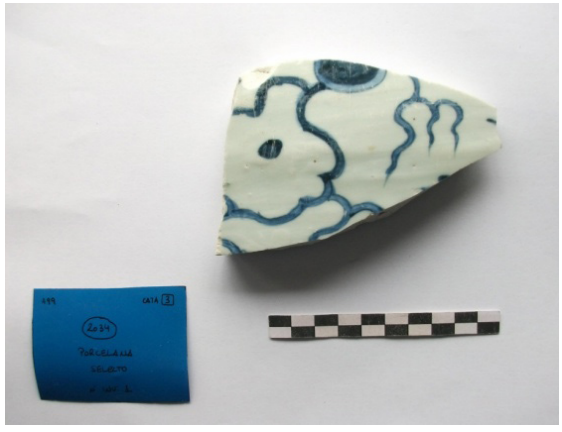
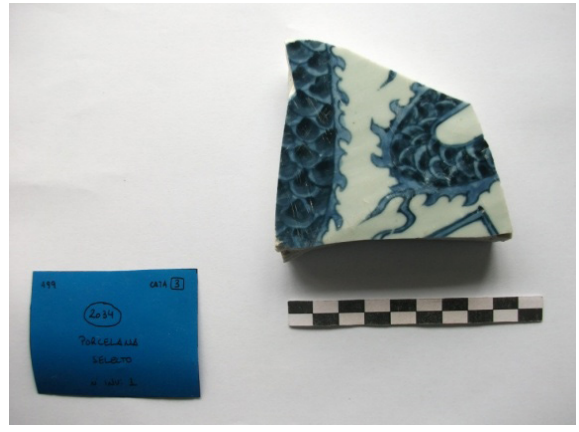


Fig. 133. Shard from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2033.1e.





Figs. 134 and 135. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3.2034.1a.



Fig. 136. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3.2034.1g.



Fig. 137. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería, late 16th early 17th century, Wanli reign. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2103.12a.

Another blue-and-white shard (fig. 137) belonging to the base of a saucer-dish decorated with a partly hatched ground and flying cranes possibly dated to the second half of the sixteenth century was also found;[727] and finally, a very small shard of a *Kraak* piece, appears to be decorated with the back of a mottled deer in a landscape (fig. 138).



Fig. 138. Shards from the excavations at the Plaza de la Armería. Palacio Real, Madrid. Inv. no. A3. 2104.29a.

[727] See Krahl & Ayers, 1986, plate TKS 15/2328, p. 611.

Other Archaeological Sites in Madrid

a. Site of the Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor

A small shard (fig. 139) was found in the archaeological excavations carried out at the Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor site in 1985.[728] The main objective of the excavation was to study the remains of the Islamic wall, but the remains of a palace garden built during the modern age in the same pit were discovered that yielded several ceramic, glass and bronze objects. This particular piece is decorated with branches of leaves of the type found on *Kraak* dishes dating to the early seventeenth century.

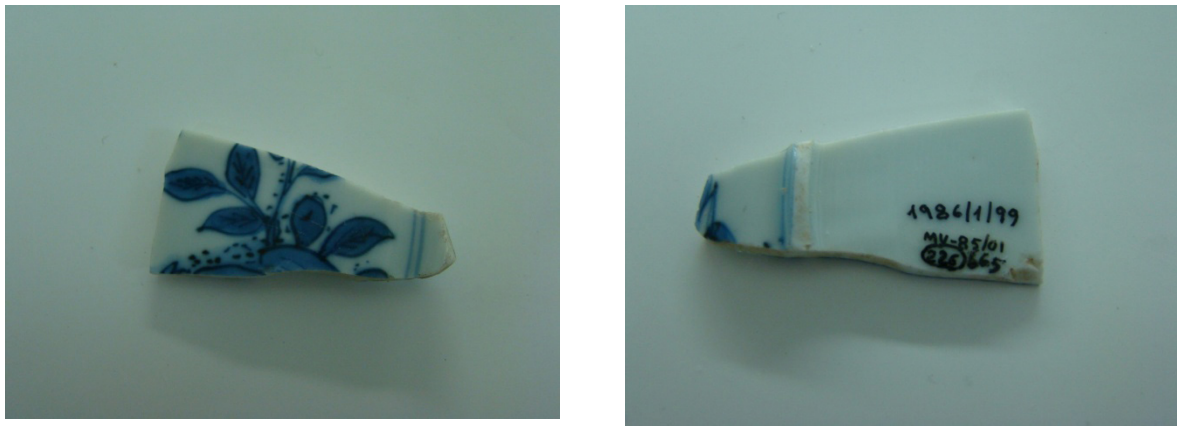


Fig. 139. A shard of a plate decorated in underglaze blue. Early seventeenth century, reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1620). Museo de los Orígenes. Casa de San Isidro, Madrid. Inv. no. 1986/1/99 M.V-85/01 226 665.



Fig. 140. Detail of a *Kraak* dish with branches of leaves redolent of the early seventeenth century, 1616–30. D. 53.2 cm. National Museum, Singapore. From Rinaldi, 1989, p. 101.

[728] Manuel Retuerce Velasco, 'Informe sobre la excavación arqueológica efectuada en el solar de la Cuesta de la Vega-Calle Mayor', in *Villa de Madrid*, Madrid, 1985, vol. 4, no. 86, pp. 53–72.

b. Archaeological site of the Plaza (Square) de los Carros

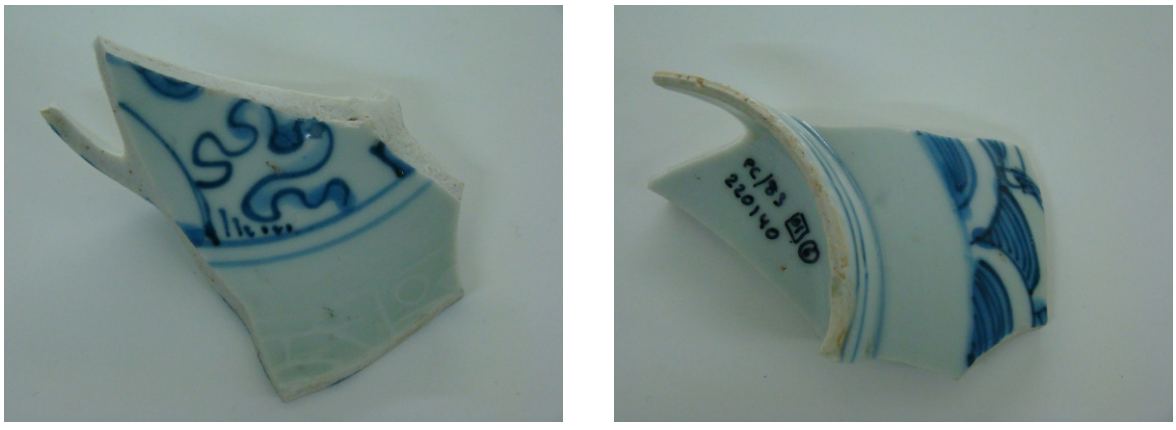


Fig. 141. A shard of a blue and white bowl. Early seventeenth century, Wanli reign. Museo de los Orígenes, Casa de San Isidro, Madrid. Inv. no. PC/83 01 6 220140.

A shard of a bowl (fig. 141) was found during the archaeological excavation carried out in the Plaza de los Carros in 1983, which yielded the remnants of a number of houses dating from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth centuries. It was found with other Spanish ceramic fragments and complete pieces in a cesspit.[729] The bowl, on a high foot, was decorated with segmented waves on the outside and freely drawn ribbons on the inside.[730]

c. Archaeological site of the Plaza (Square) de la Marina Española



Fig. 142. Shard of a plate with a flattened rim, Jiajing reign (1522–66). Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. No inventory number.

A shard was recovered during the archaeological excavations of a house in the square, Plaza de la Marina Española (fig. 142). The plate is rather thick and covered with a greyish, rather 'fatty' glaze. The foot ring inclines to the interior and has kiln sand adhering to it. A square mark is painted on the base in underglaze blue, *fu gui jia ji*, which can be translated as 'a fine vase for the rich and hon-

[729] See the archaeological report in L. Caballero, C. Priego and M. Retuerce, 'Madrid: barrio histórico. Informe de las excavaciones arqueológicas efectuadas en la plaza de los Carros', in *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileña*, Madrid, 1984, pp. 171–90.

[730] A similar bowl in Krahl & Ayers, 1986, vol. 2, p. 747, decorated with panels with galloping horses with flames above waves in panels adorned with tassels and joined by pearl strings.

ourable'. In the centre there is a phoenix standing on a rock with a small bird in flight. There is a simple scroll around the central decoration; the *cavetto* is undecorated. The decoration around the rim comprises auspicious Daoist symbols among ribbons such as the castanets Cao Guo jiu and the gourd of Li Tieguai, two Daoist Immortals; the symbols alternate with peach branches. On the outside of the rim small flowers with dots. Similar pieces are known in the Casa Museo Anastacio Gonçalves in Lisbon, in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, among the pieces recovered from the *Witte Leeuw* that sank in 1613 in St. Helena Bay, and elsewhere (see fig. 143).[731]



Fig. 143. Related plate from the Amaral Cabral Collection, circa 1550. Lisbon. D. 19.5 cm, H. 3 cm, from Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, 1998/1, p. 81, pl. 20.

d. Archaeological site of the Convent of the Trinitarias (Calle Huertas 39/Lope de Vega 10)

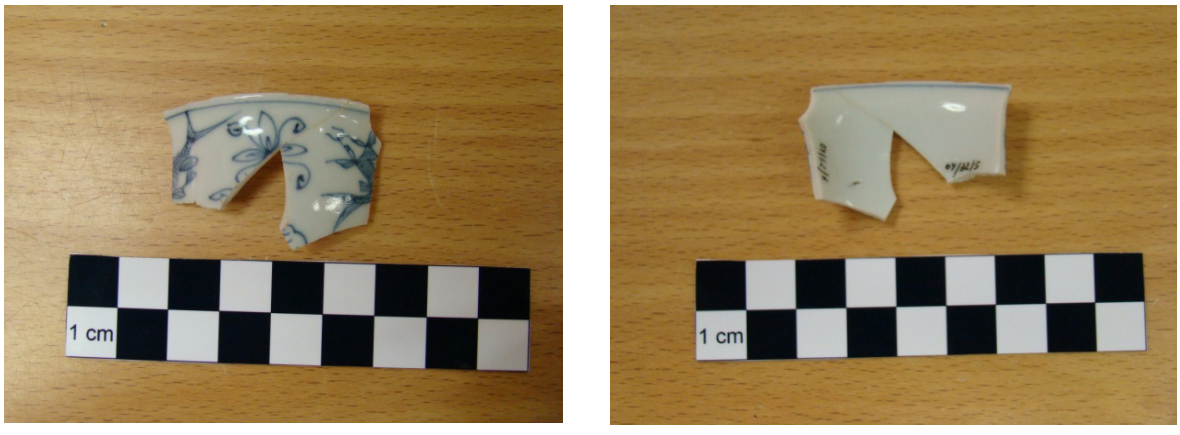


Fig. 144. Shard of a stem cup decorated with carp among aquatic plants, 1600–20, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 04/32/5; 04/32/6.

[731] Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *A casa das porcelanas. Cerámica chinesa da casa-museu del Dr. Anastacio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 60-61; Krahl & Ayers, 1986, pp. 621, 622; C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel, *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw*, Amsterdam, 1982, pp. 186-187; Pinto de Matos, 1997, pp. 80-81.

The Convent of the Trinitarias – situated on the old Cantarranas Street, between Huertas and Lope de Vega streets – was founded by King Philip III in 1612. This convent was once home to Isabel, daughter of the famous writer Miguel de Cervantes, and Marcela, daughter of the playwright Lope de Vega, who became Prioress of the convent. The shard (fig. 144) was found in a cesspit during the excavation of the convent's gardens along with Mexican *búcaros*[732] and a coin dated to 1609 that was minted during the time of Philip III. The shard corresponds to the rim of a bowl made of very fine porcelain, with no impurities, and decorated with carp among aquatic plants and flowers. The cobalt blue is very light and the decoration is sketchily done (pencil style), showing the various attitudes of the fish. A simple line drawn around the rim completes the decoration. This type of decoration is usually seen on tea bowls, stem cups (see below) and tazzas. Similar pieces were found in the wreck of the *Witte Leeuw* that sank in 1613.[733]



Fig. 145. Stem cup with underglaze blue decoration, 1600–20, Wanli reign. H. 9 cm, D. 8.8 cm. British Museum. London. Inv. no. OA 1928.7-19.1. From Harrison-Hall, 2001, pl. 11:7.

Another two shards were found during the same excavation (fig. 146) that correspond to the centre of a *Kraak* porcelain plate decorated with the popular scene of two deer in a landscape surrounded by radiating panels of equal segments divided by a single line.[7734] The compartments in the *cavetto* and rim of closely related pieces are filled with sprays of flowers and include butterflies and birds and suchlike, although these motifs are not all visible in the shards.[735] The exterior of the piece is divided into simple compartments that contain butterflies or insects. The decorations are outlined in cobalt blue with washes in the interior of the motifs, the pigment being of very good quality. The glaze has a bluish tinge and the foot has very little kiln sand adhering to it.

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[732] *Búcaro*: From the Covarrubias dictionary (1611): A type of container (*vaso**) made of red clay that comes from Portugal. The shape has a belly and for that reason people call it *búccaro* or *bucca* (swollen cheek); can also have a Greek origin in the word *bouxepos, buqueros*, which translates as 'in the form of an ox horn'. From the Autoridades dictionary (1726): A fine and scented vase from which water is drunk. There are *búcaros* of different types and shapes. Some come from the Indies and are highly appreciated and very precious.

[733] Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 160; Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London 2001, p. 279; Cinta Krahe, 'El coleccionismo de porcelana china en España: de curiosidad real a mercadería de exportación', in *Orientando la Mirada*, exh. cat., Madrid, 2009, pp. 23–34.

[734] Saúl Pérez-Juana del Casal, *Ficción y realidad en el siglo de Oro. El Quijote a través de la arqueología*, Alcalá de Henares, 2005, p. 45, fig. 6.

[735] Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *A Casa das Porcelanas. Ceramica Chinesa da Casa-Museu del Dr. Anastasio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 111 and 113, ills. 44 and 45; Rinaldi, 1989, p. 86.



Fig. 146. Centre of a *Kraak* plate, Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, China, 1600, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Alcalá de Henares. Inv. no. 04/32/3; 04/32/4.

e. Site of the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople (Excavation site on Juan de Herrera Street)

Another shard was found in Madrid at the Convent of the Nuns of Constantinople, at the excavation site on Juan de Herrera Street. The convent was founded in 1479 by *comendador*[736] Pedro Zapata of Medina de las Torres. In 1616 the architect Alberto de la Madre de Dios made some alterations to the building. Originally the building had six shops on the lower level, which opened to the Calle Mayor, the main trading centre of Madrid at that time. In 1836 the convent was demolished with the enactment of the Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal, who was prime minister under Queen Isabel II of Spain.[737] The piece (fig. 147), a *klapmuts* of the *Kraak* type, is decorated on the inside and outside with wide panels separated by narrow ones. It is very difficult to figure out the decoration, which appears to be a landscape with insects, possibly butterflies.[738]



Fig. 147. Fragment of a *klapmuts* of Kraak porcelain, c. 1600, Wanli reign. Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares. No inventory number.

[736] *Comendador*: Knight-commander of a military order who wears a habit and has the Royal land grant (*encomienda*) of a military order..

[737] I am grateful to Saúl Peréz-Juana for this information.

[738] Rinaldi, 1986, p. 120, pl. 127, categorises this type of *klapmuts* in Group I, c. 1595–1610.

4.1.7 *Castilla La-Mancha*

4.1.7.1. *Cuenca*

Convent of the Angélicas of the Order of San Francisco

The only shard of Chinese porcelain found in the city of Cuenca so far appeared in the Convent of the Angélicas of the Order of San Francisco, which was devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe and Conception.[739] The building, under the protection of the chapter of the Cathedral of Cuenca, was founded on 4 September 1561 by Don Constantino Castillo, *comendador* of the town of La Mota and canon of Cuenca. Most of the ceramic fragments – 1,423 ceramic shards – excavated on the site were found in a back yard that was used by the convent as a rubbish dump. Many of the shards were Spanish ceramics of the Talavera type, with others from Teruel, Delft, Genova and Tonalá (Mexico) that date from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Only one Chinese porcelain shard was found at the site: a fragment of a *Kraak* dish (fig. 148) with a decoration of peach sprays and flowers in the large panels and beaded pendants in the narrow sections.[740] The quality of the piece is very good and the decoration executed in a refined way. For a related dish, see fig. 149.

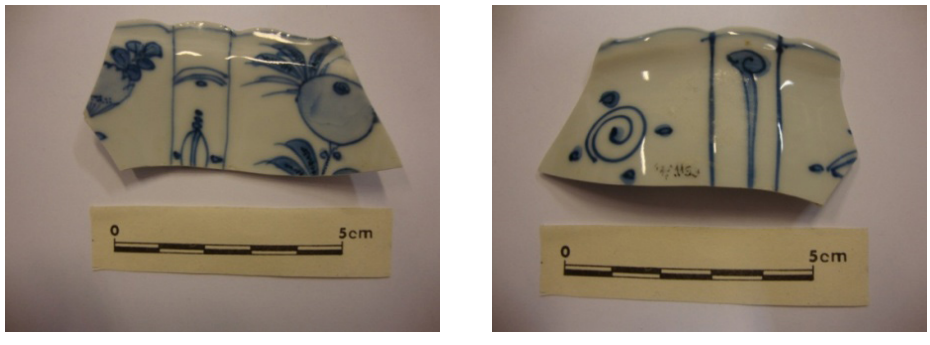


Fig. 148. Shard with flower and peach sprays in the large panels and beaded pendants in the narrow sections. The underside follows the same panel divisions with sketchy drawn symbols, *Kraak* porcelain, early17th century, Wanli reign, Museum of Cuenca. Inv. no. AA/02/17/1153.



Fig. 149. Blue-and-white dish decorated with peach sprays and flowers and beaded pendants in the narrow panels. From the *San Diego* shipwreck, 1600. D. 20 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7345.

[739] I am grateful to Manuel Casamar for his advice on this piece.

[740] Rinaldi, 1989, p. 88, pl. 68.

4.1.7.2. *Toledo*

Convent of Las Capuchinas





Fig. 150. Japanese blue-and-white plate, c. 1660-80. Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo. Inv. no. 28765.



Fig. 151. Shard of a plate, 1710-20, Kangxi reign. Inv. no. 28.705, Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo



Fig. 152. Shard of a plate., ca. 1750, Qianlong reign. Inv. no. 28.708. Museum of Santa Cruz, Toledo.

These three fragments come from the Convent of Las Capuchinas in Toledo. María Lorenza Lonc or Longo, widow of a high-ranking civil servant in the times of the Catholic Kings founded the institution in the late fifteenth century. In 1538 Pope Paulo III included this community in the Order of Saint Clare. The Convent of the Capuchinas was established in 1632 in Toledo and around 1664 a group of nuns, with the help of the Cardinal of Toledo, decided to found a convent in Mexico City. These pieces were probably sent from Mexico to Toledo, although the exact date of their arrival in Toledo is not known.[741] The pieces are currently preserved at the Museum of Santa Cruz, which was an old hospital founded by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza at the beginning of the sixteenth

[741] For the history of this convent in Mexico see the Ph.D. dissertation by Emilia Alba González, *Presencia de América en Toledo*: *Aportación cultural y social* (*el establecimiento de las capuchinas toledanas en Nueva España*), Madrid, 1998. http://eprints.ucm.es/2484/1/H0036401.pdf

century to take care of orphans and the infirm. Matilde Revuelta, the director of the museum, bought the pieces from the nuns in the 1970s.[742] Figure 150 shows part of a Japanese Arita blue-and-white plate, copying Chinese *Kraak* porcelain,[743] decorated with 'sunflowers' (actually peaches) and symbols in panels. The central motif is a grasshopper on a rock surrounded by flowering plants in a riverscape. This motif was very popular on these wares, which are dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. This piece is unmarked, but three spur marks are clearly visible. The reverse is decorated with sketchily drawn circles and lines. The red and gold plate is dated 1710-20 (fig. 151) and the *famille rose* dish (fig. 152) around 1750. Both are decorated with the same type of decoration that consists of a garden with a fence and peonies behind a pierced rock. The dish in figure 151 has an overglaze decoration in varying shades of red enamel, of the 'rouge de fer' type showing aquatic plants round the rim; the piece in figure 152 exhibits the popular *famille rose* decoration. The *cavetto* of this last piece is decorated with a gilded spearhead motif, the foliated border with flower sprays and insects.

4.1.8 *Castilla-León*

4.1.8.1 *León*

Most of the shards recovered are preserved in the Museo de León situated in the Plaza of San Marcos.[744] Chinese porcelain shards were recovered from several excavation sites:

a. Archaeological site at nos. 13 and 15 Calle Caño Badillo

The archaeological excavation in Caño Badillo Street took place before a new building was about to be constructed. There was no reference to a historic building on this site. A small shard dating to the late sixteenth century is decorated on the *cavetto* with part of a pine tree (fig. 153). A second shard dating to the middle of the eighteenth century is painted with a diaper band on the *cavetto* and shows part of a landscape (fig. 154).

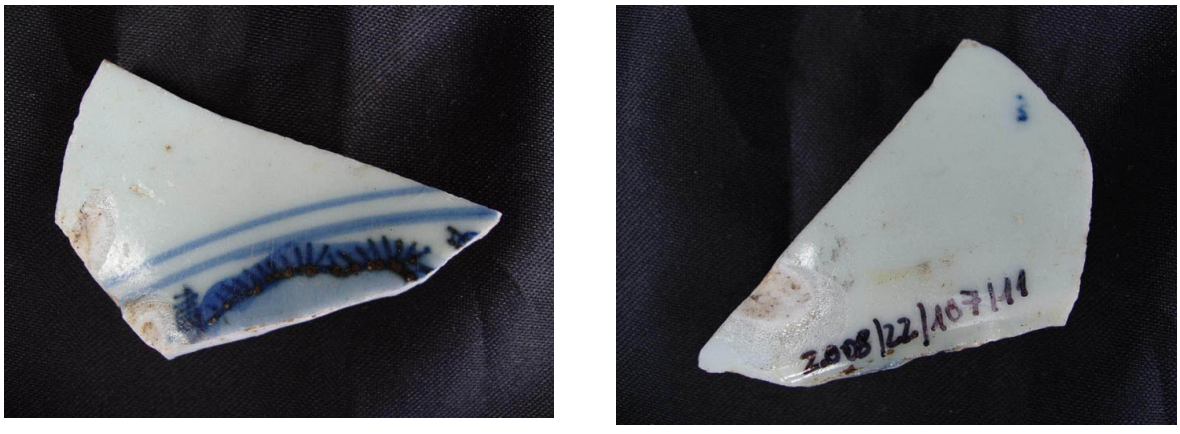


Fig. 153. Blue and white *Kraak* shard, late 16th century, Wanli reign. Museo de Léon, León. Inv. no. 2008/22/107/11.

[742] I am very grateful to Antonio Pareja, Rafaél García Serrano for this information and to Alfonso Caballero Klimt, director of the Museum of Santa Cruz.

[743] Maura Rinaldi, 1989, p. 228. A similar plate is illustrated on pl. 287.

[744] I am very grateful to Manolo García Garrido, curator of the Museo de León, for his help during the preparation of this chapter.





Fig. 154. Blue and white shard. Inv. no. 2008/22/107/12. First half of the eighteenth century. Museo de León, León.

b. Fragments recovered during excavations at the San Isidro site.

Archaeologist Antonio García Bellido found several shards at the San Isidro site in the city of Leon while he was working on the remains of the Roman wall of the city. They are part of a dish with a flat foliate rim, the well undecorated but fluted and the centre decorated in a greyish blue cobalt, the decoration being executed in a free, swirling and flowing style (fig. 155). Floral motifs or Chinese characters in narrow panels are reserved on the lattice background on the rim.[745] Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the decoration in the centre of the dish although similar small lobed-rimmed dishes in the Baur Collection in Geneva are decorated with a *qilin* (mythical animal) framed by rocks, clouds and flames in the central medallion.[746]





Fig. 155. Shards of a small dish, early sixteenth century. Museo de León, León. Inv. no. 1989/02. Fig. 156. Two dishes, early sixteenth century. Baur Foundation, Geneva. Inv. no. FB CM 2004 QH56 FB CM 2004 QH57; From Crick, 2010, p. 274-75.

[745] Krahl & Ayers, 1986, p. 586, ill. 799.

[746] Crick, 2010, p. 274.

c. Site of the Palace of Conde de Luna

This excavation was carried out by Fernando Miguel Hernández and Victorino García Marcos in 2007. This palace was constructed in the fourteenth century by Don Pedro Suárez de Quiñones and his wife, Doña Juana González de Bazán, and was extended during the Renaissance by Doña Catalina Pimentel. Unfortunately the blue-and-white shard is so small that is not possible to date it with any accuracy (fig. 157).

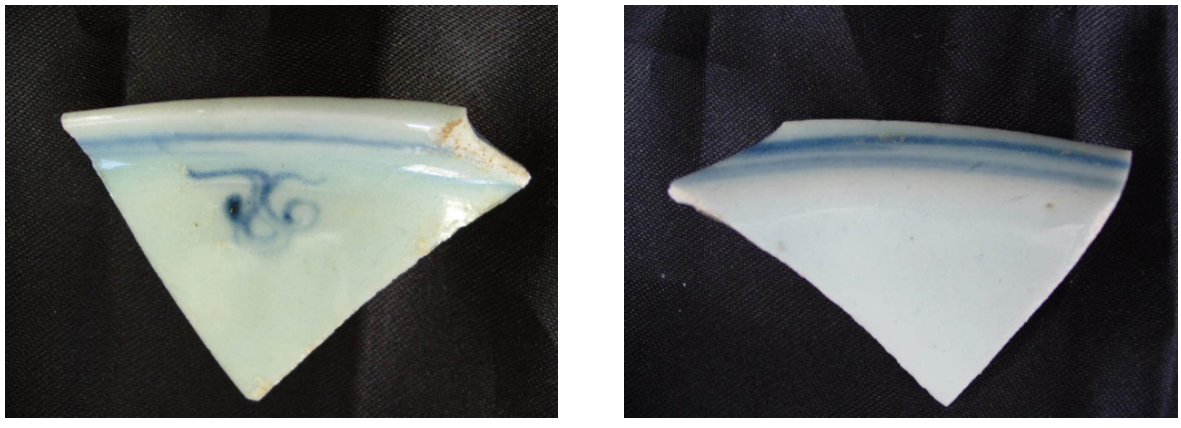


Fig. 157. Blue and white shard. Inv. no. 2007/34/318B/45. Museo de León. León.

d. Site of the Monastery of Carracedo

The Monastery of Saint Mary of Carracedo was an abbey and palace complex near the town of Carracedelo, in the province of León. Founded in the tenth century by the Benedictine order, it is located close to the pilgrimage route Camino de Santiago in Northern Spain. In 1138, the Infanta Sancha, sister of Alfonso VII of León and Castile, helped rebuild a monastery on the site. The monastery gained prominence and control of land, and also housed a Royal palace. In 1203, the monastic order switched to the Cistercian order, also calling itself the *Monasterio de Santa María de Carracedo*. The monastery continued to be active during the modern era until the sacking that took place during the Napoleonic Wars. The abbey was closed in 1835. Fragments were found of a bell-shaped cup (*jícara*) on a high footring for drinking chocolate, with an underglaze blue decoration of lotus plants, datable to the late seventeenth century (fig. 158). Another porcelain shard from this excavation is so small that it is impossible to date and identify it (fig. 159).

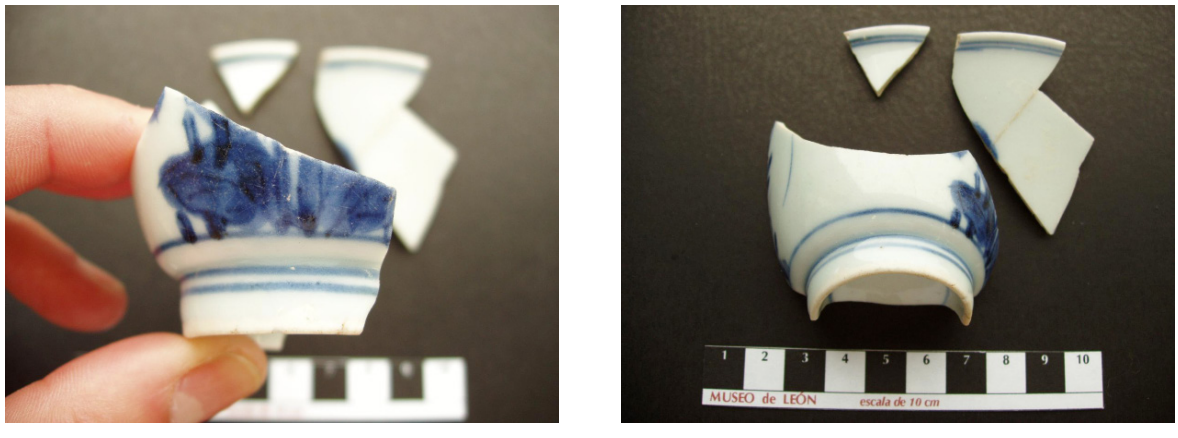


Fig. 158. Possibly seventeenth century. Museo de Leon, Léon. No inventory number.



Fig. 159. Unidentified shard, Chinese porcelain. Museo de Leon, Léon. No inventory number.

4.1.9 *La Rioja*

4.1.9.1. *Nájera*

Fortress of Nájera[747]

The fortress of Nájera is located on a hillside between the historic town of Nájera and the castle of La Mota. The castle, overlooking the town of Nájera, served as a Moorish fortress from the eighth to the tenth centuries. As the northernmost bastion of what is today the region of La Rioja, it was of key strategic importance to the Moorish defences. Archaeological excavations on the sides of the hill confirm that the Muslims living in this enclave were not confined to the castle walls on the top of the hill. Having successfully driven out the Moors from Nájera in 923, the kings of Navarre proceeded to reconstruct and extend the castle, erecting a palace on the site that would be used as a royal residence. In 1495 King Henry IV donated the castle of La Mota to Pedro Manrique, Count of Treviño. The donation was subsequently confirmed by King Ferdinand the Catholic in 1476.

In 1520 a group of *najerinos* rose up against the Duke of Nájera, sacked the city and seized the noble's three castles, including the castle of Malpica, forcing the governor to take refuge in the castle of La Mota. They then sacked the fortress and mounted a brutal attack on Nájera. However, the conflict was short-lived, and Antonio Manrique de Lara swiftly retook the town, reconstructing and embellishing the fortress in the style of other important contemporary Spanish palaces. At the end of the sixteenth century the dukes of Nájera abandoned the fortress. The building started to deteriorate and by 1659 was on the verge of collapse.

Archaeological excavations started in 2002 but were initially limited to a very small area corresponding to the paved sixteenth-century public access way. Remains of the palace, including red and polychrome tiles of different techniques, were found near the fortress gate. A great quantity of miscellaneous materials was unearthed from a twelve-metre incline, including masonry, mortar, plaster, metal, tiles and sixteenth-century crockery. The three porcelain shards (figs. 160,161,162) correspond to

[747] Javier Ceniceros Herreros, 'Cerámica con vidriado estannífero del Alcázar de Nájera (La Rioja)', in *XV Reunión Anual de la Asociación de Ceramología*, Navarrete (La Rioja), 2010, pp. 168-184.
I am grateful to Javier Ceniceros Herreros from the Museo Najerillense for providing me with his article and with the photographs of the shards.

Kraak dishes decorated with a pair of ducks or geese swimming in a lotus pond. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the type of border used in the decoration of the first shard. They all date to the last quarter of the 16th century The second (see for a reference fig. 163) is part of the footrim of another *Kraak* piece, and the third is part of a foliated rim.

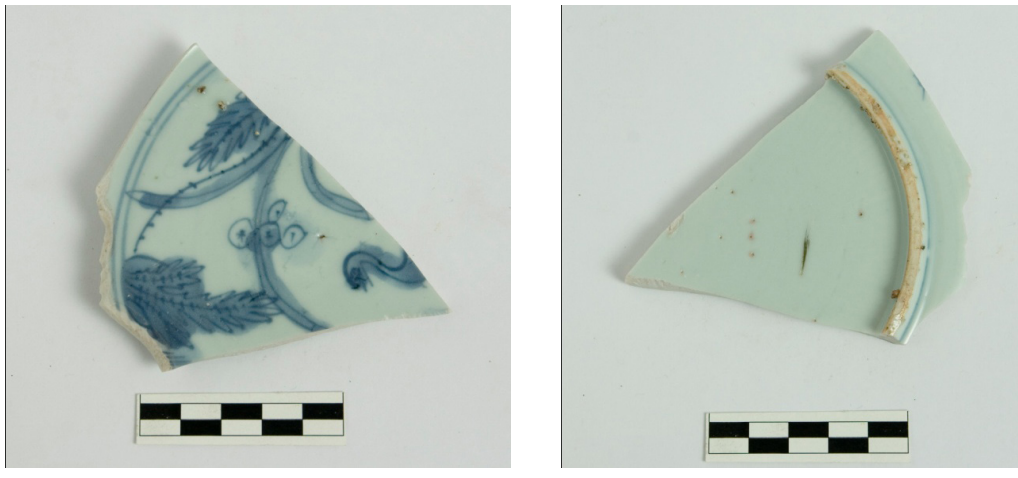


Fig. 160. Blue and white shard of a dish. Late 16th century, Wanli reign. Inv. no. 12-05-4611. Museum of Nájera.

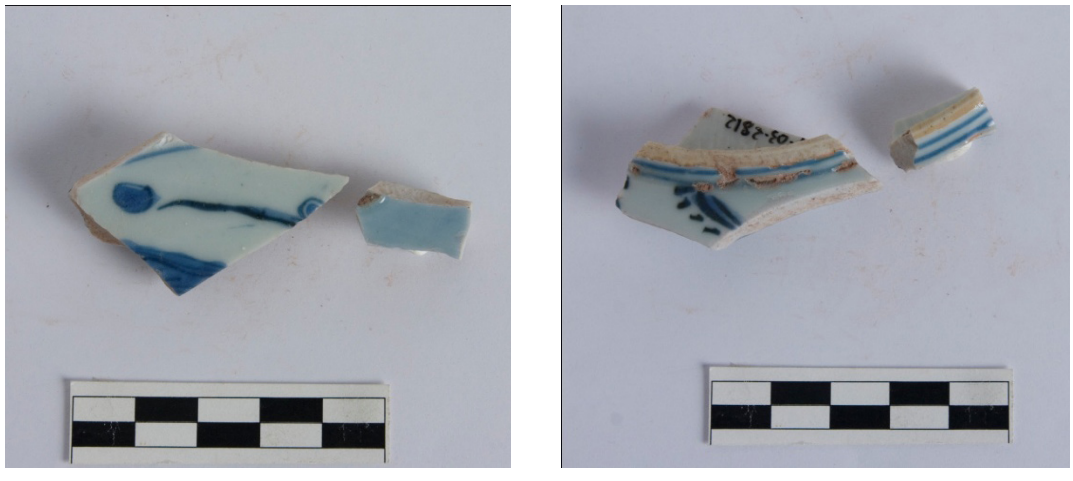


Fig. 161. Blue and white shards. Late 16th century, Wanli reign Inv. no. MHAN 07-03-2812. Museum of Nájera.

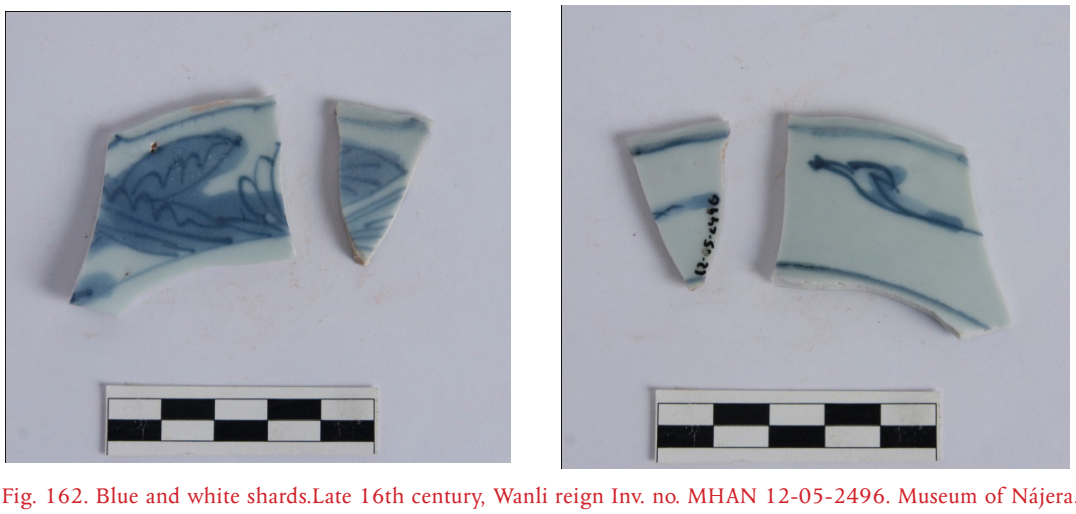


Fig. 162. Blue and white shards.Late 16th century, Wanli reign Inv. no. MHAN 12-05-2496. Museum of Nájera.



Fig. 163. *Kraak dish*, 4th quarter of the sixteenth century. D. 20 cm. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7353.

4.1.10. *Aragón*

4.1.10.1. *Zaragoza*

A celadon shard (figs 164 ,165, 166) was found in the Aljafería Palace, a building of the Hudi dynasty in the city of Zaragoza.[748]The second sultan of this dynasty, Ahmad ibn Suleyman, ordered the palace built in 1065 after the victory over the Christians. When the Cordoba Caliphate fell into decline, in the middle of the eleventh century, the Abbasid and Fatimid ascendancy over Al-Andalus brought about the adoption of new elements in art and the importation of silks and ceramics via Egypt from China. The shard could perhaps date from after the occupation of the city by Al-Mustain I from 1038-39 to the conquest by the Almoravids in 1110, as it was produced during the Northern Song (960–1279) or even Jin (1115–1234) dynasties.[749]



Fig. 164. Shard of a *yaozhou*-type celadon bowl, eleventh century. The interior of the piece with a carved decoration of lotus flower and leaf scrolls. Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Zaragoza. Inv. no. ALJ 93, CON. Photograph: José Garrido Lapeña.



Fig. 165. Exterior of the piece in fig. 141. Both images from B. Cabañero and C. Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoza', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, p. 255.

[748] Bernabé Cabañero and Carmelo Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoza', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, pp. 253-68.

[749] Cabañero and Lasa, 2003, p. 261.

The shard is from a *yaozhou*-type of celadon bowl of about 21 centimetres in diameter. The delicately carved decoration shows lotus flowers among scrolls. It was probably made at the Chengguan kilns. A similar bowl in the Freer and Sackler Galleries is decorated with a lotus scroll (fig. 166).



Fig. 166. *Yaozhou*-type bowl with moulded decoration. Northern Song or Jin dynasty, twelfth century. Stoneware with celadon glaze H. 6.5, W. 21.1 cm. Freer and Sackler galleries, Washington D. C. Inv. no. F1919.91.

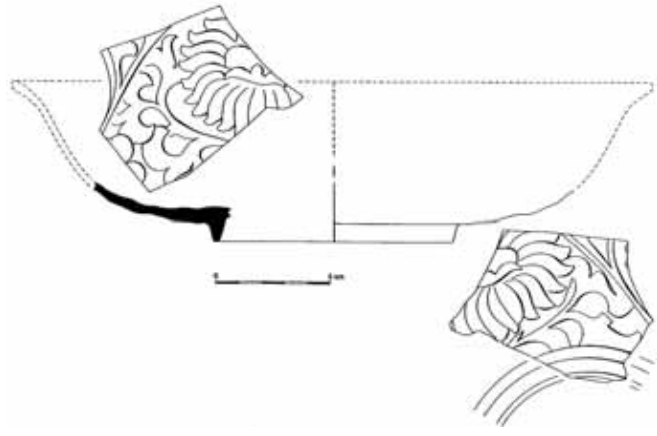


Fig. 166.1. Drawing by Juan Ángel Peralta and Alfredo Blanco Morte from B. Cabañero and C. Lasa, 'Nuevos datos para el estudio de las influencias del Medio y el Extremo Oriente en el Palacio de la Alfajería de Zaragoz', in *Artigrama*, no. 18, Zaragoza, 2003, p. 255.

4.1.11. *Galicia*

The Spanish Autonomous Region of Galicia is situated along the Atlantic coast of Northwest Spain. The proximity to Portugal meant that this region indirectly participated in the overseas expansion of their Portuguese neighbours and in the trade of goods from East Asia. Therefore an important number of Chinese porcelain shards have been found in the port cities of Bayona, Vigo and Pontevedra. In addition, a number of shards have also been discovered inland in cities such as Santiago de Compostela and Orense. Atlantic coastal trade between Galicia and Portugal was very important, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when merchants from Galicia were established in Lisbon and other areas like Porto, Viana do Castelo and Aveiro. Galicia imported sugar from Portuguese colonies that it sold to the northern Asturias province and the Basque region.[750]

[750] Etsuko Miyata Rodríquez, 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated form Northwest Spain (1)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, June 2008, pp. 8–10; and 'Chinese Ceramics Excavated from Northwest Spain (2)', in *The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines Newsletter*, July 2008, pp. 6–8. Also by the same author, an unpublished essay 'Chinese Ceramics from Spain: Their Significance in the 16th-Century Atlantic Coastal Trade', which she kindly handed to me in Seville in 2010. I am very grateful to her for drawing my attention to the shards found in Galicia.

4.1.11.1. *Pontevedra*

a. Bayona

This port had strong trade relations with Portugal during the reign of Philip II, as a large number traders from different nationalities had established links with Portugal and its products from the Far East.[751]

Site of Palma de Bayona



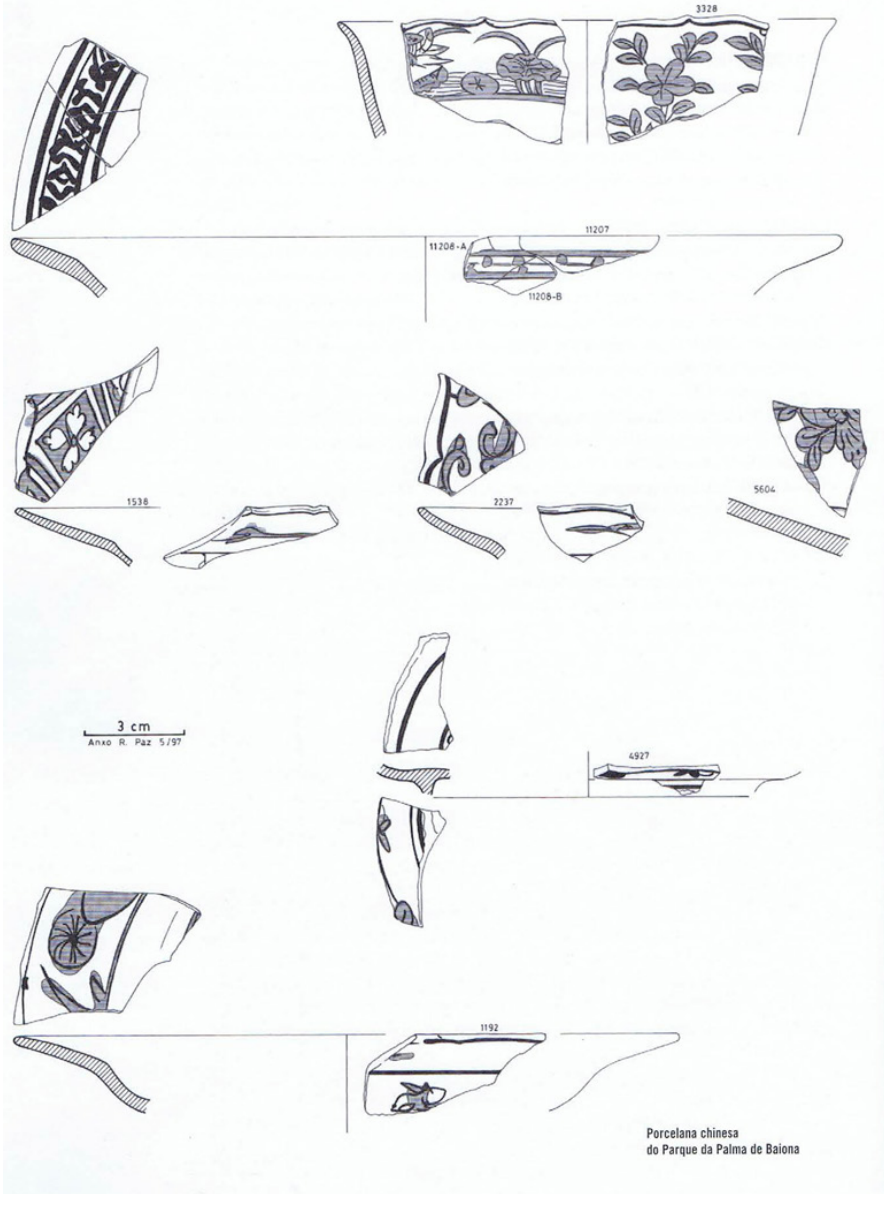
Fig. 167. Shards excavated at the Palma de Bayona site. Early to late 16th century. See fig. 168.

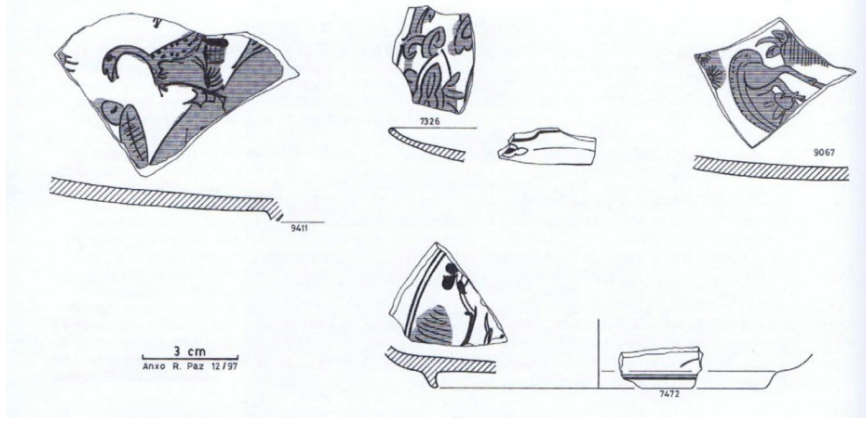
Thirteen pieces were found at the Palma de Bayona site in the city of Bayona during excavations in 1992 in the fort that surrounded the old city of Bayona.[752] Some of the shards are early, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as the shard of a rim decorated with a diaper pattern that was usually accompanied by cartouches containing Chinese characters, similar to the fragments found at the San Isidro site in León (see fig. 155). All the other shards from this site are typical *Kraak* porcelain decorated with motifs popular in the late sixteenth century early seventeenth centuries such as ducks on lotus ponds, spotted deer or pines trees. These shards are from bowls and dishes.

[751] Museo do Mar de Galicia (ed.), *Até o Confín do Mundo: Diálogos entre Santiago e o Mar*, Vigo, 2004, pp. 237.

[752] Vicente Caramés Moreira and Fátima Cobo Rodríguez, 'Porcelana chinesa de dinastía Ming procedente do Parque da Palma de Baiona,' in *Castrelos*, no. 13, 2008, pp. 96–106.

Drawings of the shards of fig. 167. and some shards from the same site, not in fig. 167. (see also fig. 169).





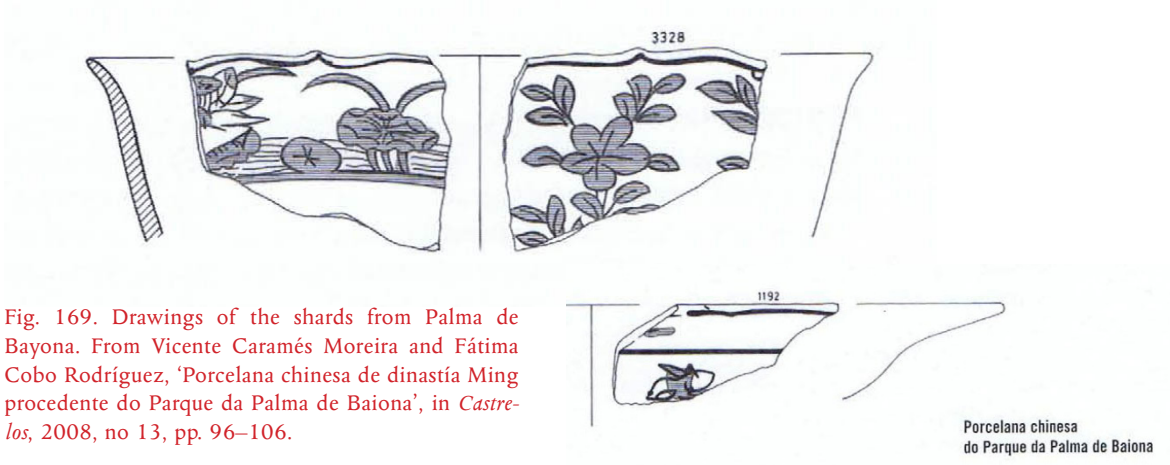


Fig. 169. Drawings of the shards from Palma de Bayona. From Vicente Caramés Moreira and Fátima Cobo Rodríguez, 'Porcelana chinesa de dinastía Ming procedente do Parque da Palma de Baiona', in *Castrelos*, 2008, no 13, pp. 96–106.

b. Vigo

Site of Calle Hospital

Three Chinese porcelain shards were excavated at this former military hospital and convent. The military hospital was constructed in the nineteenth century over a Franciscan convent dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. The convent was destroyed by a fire that broke out when Sir Francis Drake attacked the city of Vigo in 1589. The pieces were found near the wall structure together with German salt-glazed stoneware dating before the site was demolished in 1589. The first shard is a typical *Kraak* dish with a pointed bracketed medallion below a floral scroll with flowers and leaves (fig. 170). This type of decoration can be dated to the early Wanli period.



Fig. 170. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. 95. Shard of a plate with floral decoration inside a foliated border surrounded by a scroll. Museo de Vigo.

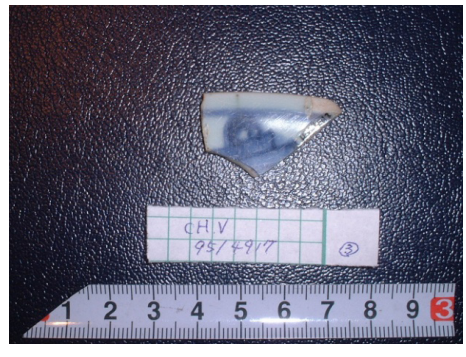


Fig. 171. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. CHV 951/4917. Blue-and-white shard decorated with part of a pair of books, an auspicious symbol. Museo de Vigo.



Fig. 172. *Kraak* porcelain, before 1589. Inv. no. H 95/ 7486. Shard decorated with a *lingzhi* (Fungus of Immortality) motif. Museo de Vigo.

The other two shards (figs. 171 and 172) are also *Kraak* porcelain, both fragments of a rim decorated with auspicious symbols, a *lingzhi* motif and a pair of books, one of the so-called 'Eight Treasures'.

4.1.11.2. *Orense*

a. Site of the Castle of Maceda

The Castle of Maceda (Orense) was a medieval fortress that was renovated during the sixteenth century as a residential palace. A few shards were discovered in the courtyard during archaeological excavations in 2003.[753] Due to their small size it is difficult to know the exact type of shape and decorations (fig. 173). What is clear is that all are of *Kraak* wares ornamented with panels, dots, and petals that date to the late sixteenth / early seventeenth centuries.

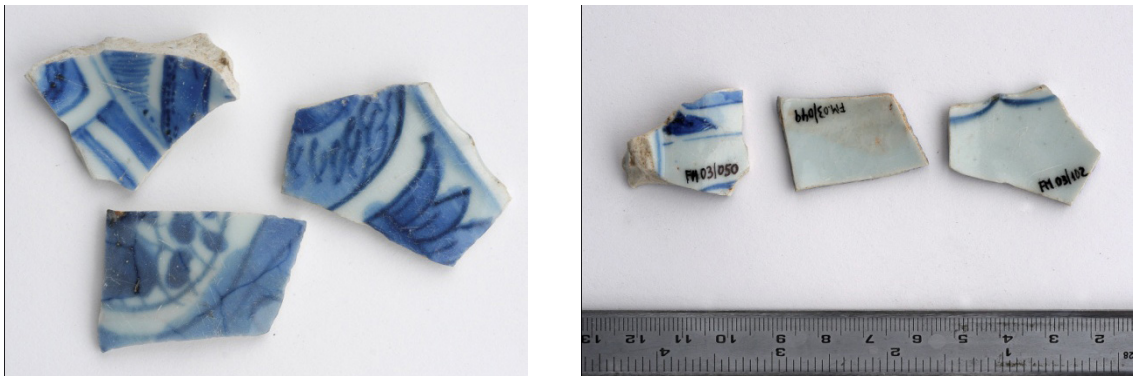


Fig. 173. Shards from the Castle of Maceda decorated with panels, dots and leaves. *Kraak* porcelain, late 16th century-early 17th century, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. fm 03/050, fm 03/049, fm 03/102.

b. Episcopal Palace

The building in which the Archaeological Museum of Ourense is housed was the former Episcopal Palace, the building of which commenced in the first third of the twelfth century on the orders of Bishop Don Diego II (1100–32). This Gothic building, which had five or seven towers, was later augmented with Renaissance and Baroque elements that enlarged and enriched the building to the present state. Several shards of Chinese porcelain were unearthed during renovation works in the palace. The first shard is part of a foliated rim of a *Kraak*-type dish dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth centuries. One side of the shard is decorated with a *ruyi* band, the other with a running horse (fig. 174).

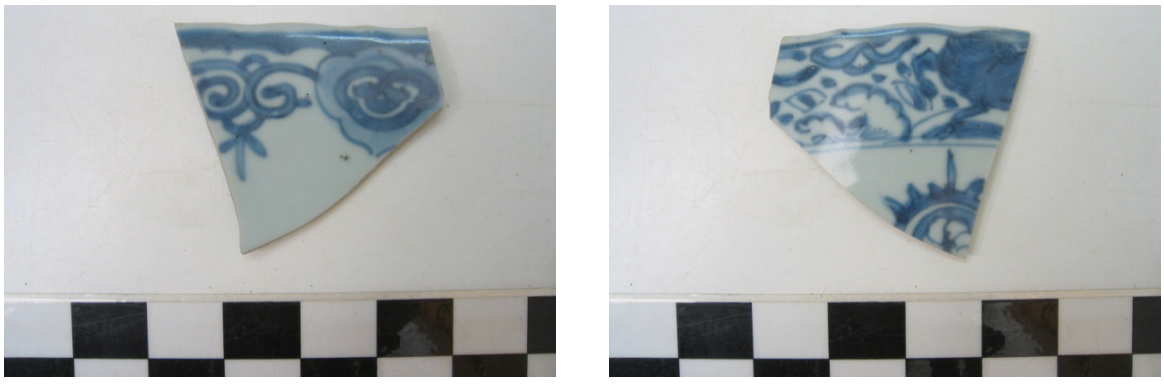


Fig. 174. Shard decorated on the inside with a *ruyi* (cloud motif) band, with a flying horse on the exterior., *Kraak* porcelain, c.1600, Wanli reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. DX-1005/32.

[753] Undertaken by María Jesús Iglesias Darriba in July 2003.



Fig. 175. Shard of a small coffee cup., 1730-40, Yongzheng-Qianlong reign. Archaeological Museum of Ourense. Inv. no. DX-1005/33.

The other shard is part of a small coffee cup with a handle that would have had a matching saucer, produced circa 1730–40. It is decorated with an *Imari*-type decoration with underglaze cobalt blue and red and gold enamels. The rim has a diaper band; the rest of the decoration shows a landscape and flowering plants.

4.1.11.3. *La Coruña*

Santiago de Compostela

An important number of shards were found in the province of La Coruña, in particular in the city of Santiago de Compostela. The shards are preserved in the Museo de las Peregrinaciones.[754] This city was an important pilgrimage centre and home to many religious orders with monasteries, churches and convents from medieval times. In the second half of the sixteenth century relations between Santiago de Compostela and Portugal was very close due to intense trade (especially in sugar) and therefore it is most likely that the these pieces arrived in Santiago via Portugal. A large number of *Kraak*-type shards were found in the Dean's Residence (Casa del Deán).

Dean's Residence (Casa del Deán)

Forty-two fragments were excavated at the Casa del Dean site on Rúa do Villar (Villar Street) at the rear of the Cathedral of Santiago. Three houses stood on the site that were bought by the town council and demolished in the eighteenth century to make space for a new building. The land and a private house had previously belonged to the sister of Canon Benito Méndez de Andrade, Mencía de Andrade. In 1571 it was administered by the town council and then given to the Foundation of the Chapel of San Pedro de la Catedral. Cardinal Antonio Espínola then lived in the house until 1647, followed by Canon Ignacio Sanz del Castillo, but Archdeacon Miguel de Vena is mentioned as its inhabitant in 1658, 1691 and 1696.[755] As we can see from figures 176 to 203, almost all of the shards are from *Kraak* porcelain dating from the late sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Only one piece is marked (fig. 178) – part of a bowl with an inscription on the base inside a circle meaning 永保長春 or *yong bao chang chun* ('everlasting Spring and eternal protection'). As we

[754] I am grateful to curator María Isabel Pesquera for her help in the Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

[755] The third house was privileged (with rights granted by charter) by the town hall to Canon Juan García between 1477 and 1479. Afterwards scribe Juan Pérez de Alen and María Pérez lived there between 1553 and 1556. In 1555 the new owner was Juan Rodríguez. In 1560 the property was again privileged by canons to the scribe Pedro de Zaldíbar and Catalina de Seoane. In 1578 the town hall gave it to Juan Pérez Dalén and a Maria Pérez, who lived there until his death. This information is from the unpublished dissertation by Maria Luisa Castro Lorenzo, *La vajilla de lujo en Santiago de Compostela en los siglos XVI y XVII: aportaciones de la arqueología*, Santiago de Compostela, 2006, p. 68.

can see from the photographs most of them are very small and difficult to date precisely, but from the motifs, most of them can be dated from the last quarter of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Different *Kraak* motifs can be recognised in the shards such as part of a lion with stylised *ruyi* clouds (fig. 177), overlapping petals (fig. 186), a stylised rock on a foliated border (fig. 188), narrow borders with dots typical of the divisions on *Kraak* plates (fig. 189), part of a *sika* deer decoration (fig. 191), equal panels decorated with floral sprays (fig. 192), a molded plate with a narrow panel with dots and diaper and part of an panel in reserve (fig. 184), part of an oval panel of the so-called *meizande* style (fig. 184), peaches and part of a tree trunk (fig. 182), a seascape with pagoda (figs. 179, 190 and 203), a gourd motif and horses' legs (fig. 193), pine branches with spirals in the background (fig. 195).

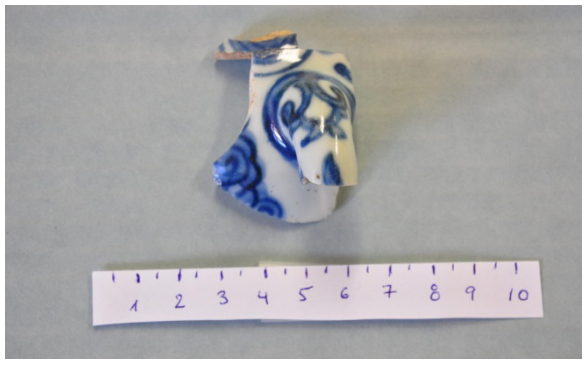


Fig. 176. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1. D-800; CD.04.3595,7980; 06/c29/b1/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.



Fig. 177. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.3765,7986,7992; 06/c29/B1/2. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

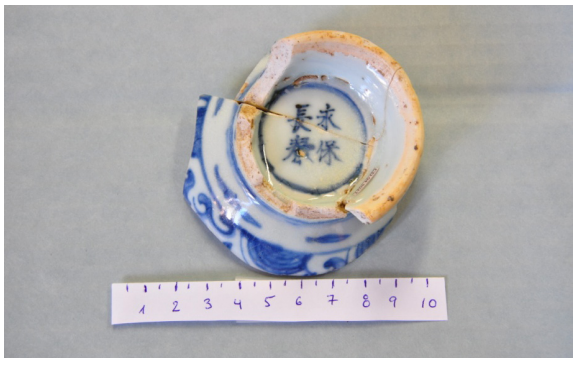


Fig. 178.Blue and white porcelain shard with mark. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04. 197,3595,5027,7980,7982; 06/c29/b1/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

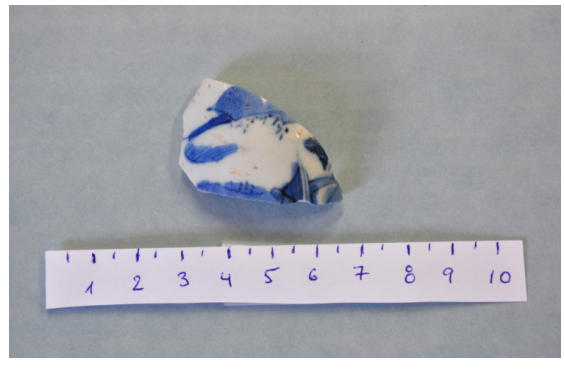


Fig. 179. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800/823; CD. 04.7979; 06 c29/b1/3. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

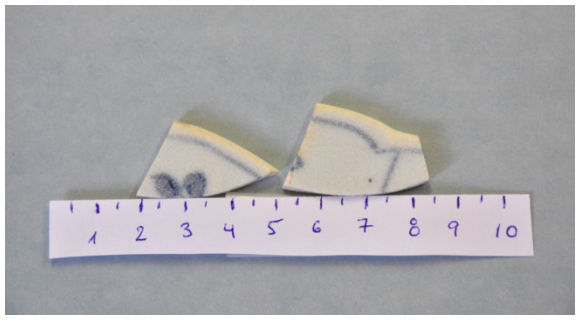


Fig. 180. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.190-191; 06/c29/b1/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

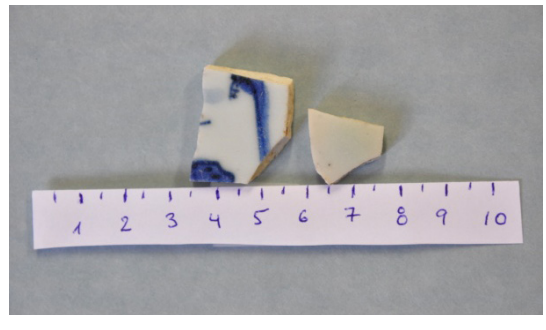


Fig. 181. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.194.195; 06/c29/b1/9. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

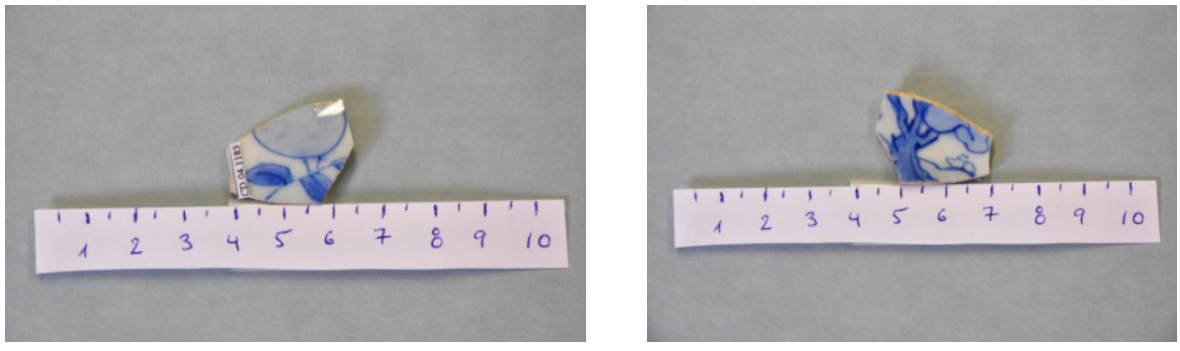


Fig. 182. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. O4.1183; 06/c29/b1/12. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

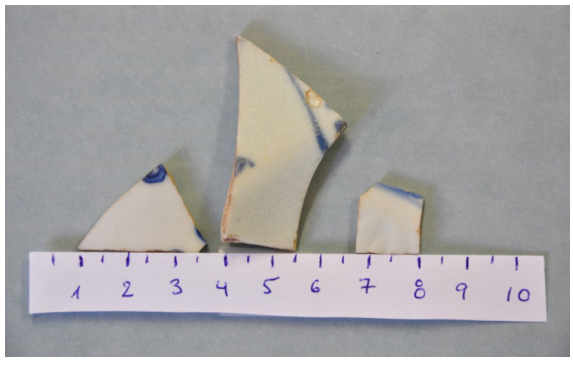


Fig. 183. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.1615-1616-1618; 06/c29/b1/15. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

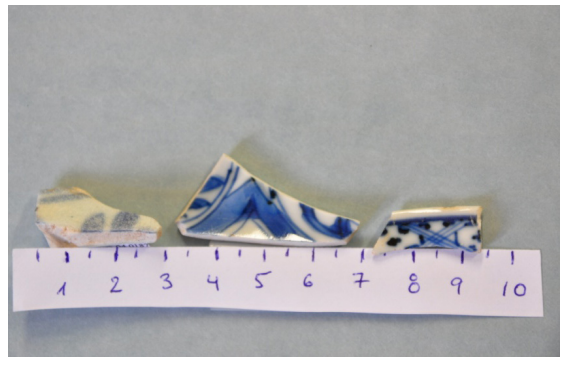


Fig. 184. Blue and white porcelain shards. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.187-189; 06/c29/b1/5. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

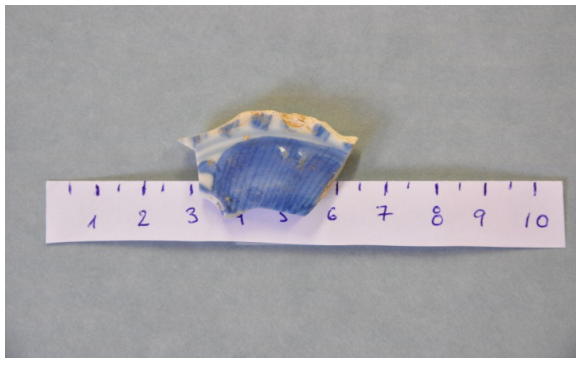


Fig. 185. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.193; 06/c29/b1/8. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

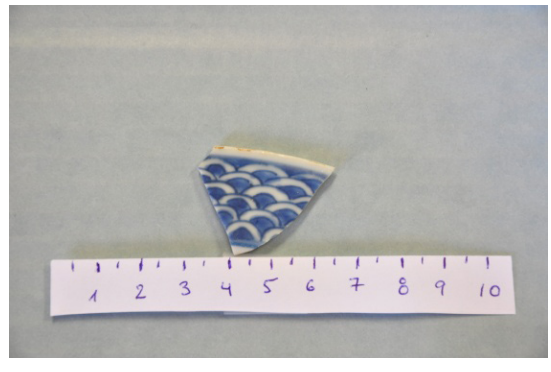


Fig. 186. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.O4.589; 06/c29/b1/11. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

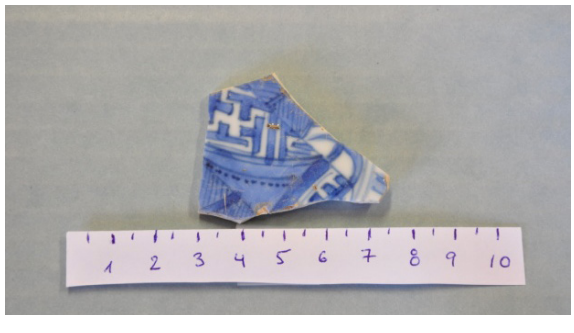


Fig. 187. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD. 04.192; 06/c29/b1/7. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

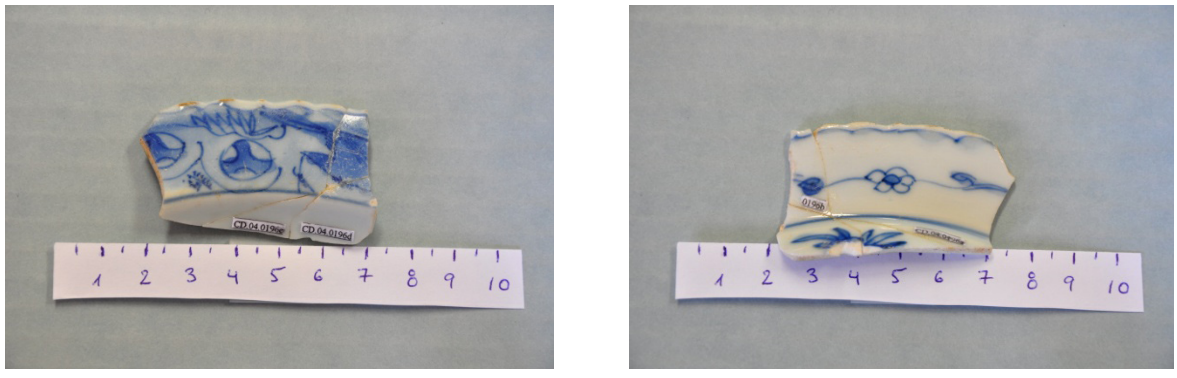


Fig. 188 (and underside). Shard of the rim of a dish. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04. 196.a-d; 06/C29/b1/10. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

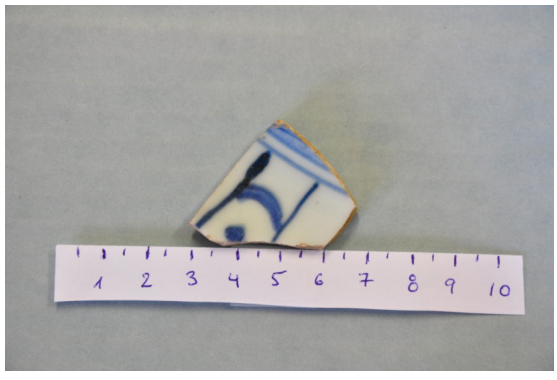


Fig. 189. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.1334; 06/c29/b1/13. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

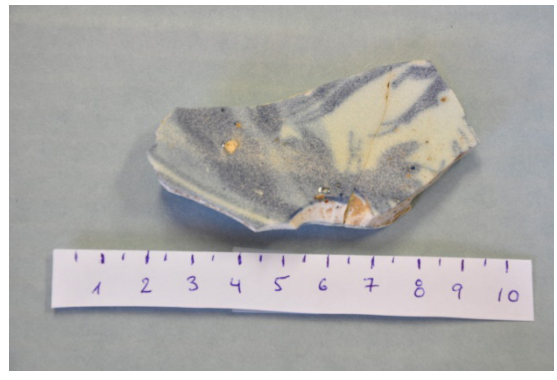


Fig. 190. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7975, 7981; 06/c29/b3/3. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

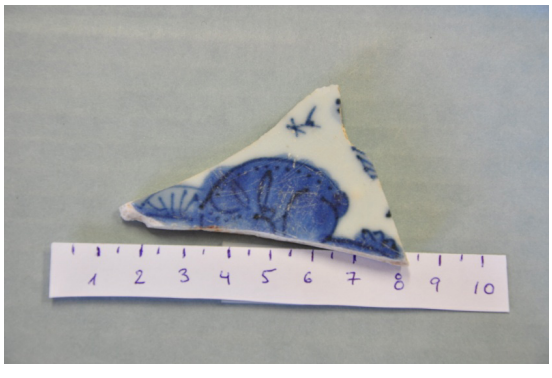


Fig. 191. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7984; 06/c29/b3/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

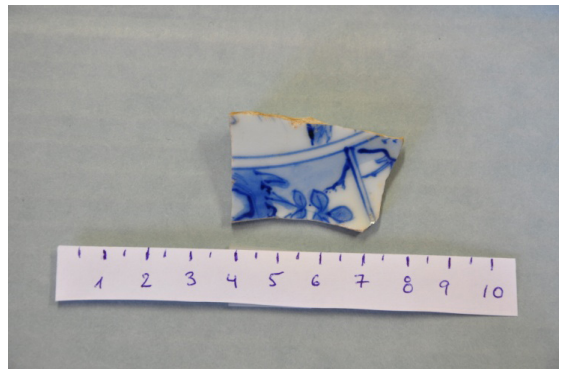


Fig. 192. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7988;06/c29/b3/9. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

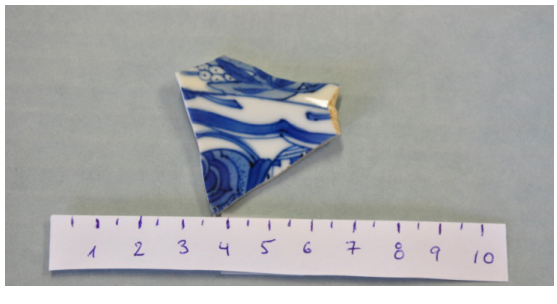


Fig. 193. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7983;06/c29/b315. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

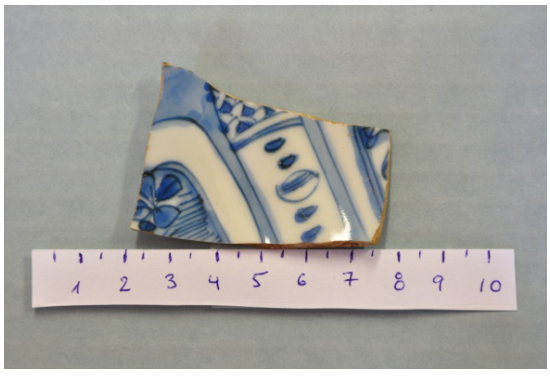
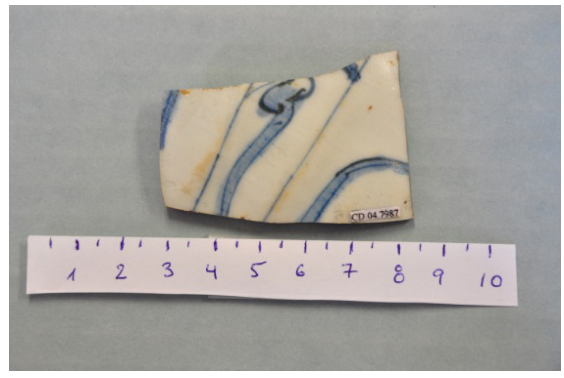



Fig. 194. (and underside). Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7987; 06/c29/b3/8. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela

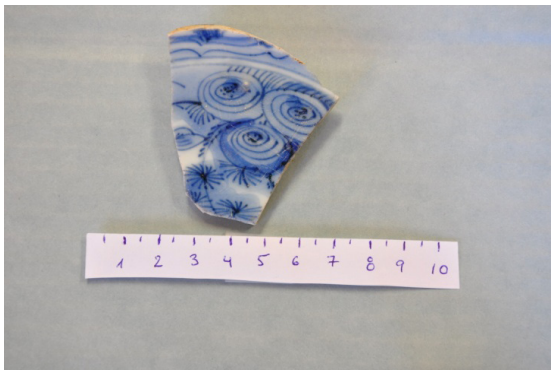


Fig. 195. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7977; 06/c29/b3/4. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

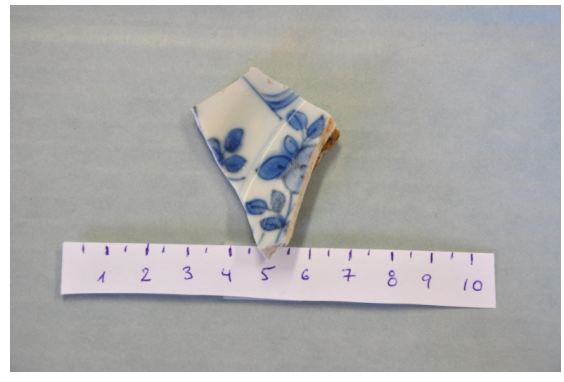


Fig. 196. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar, 1, D-800; CD.04.7985; 06/c29/b3/7. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

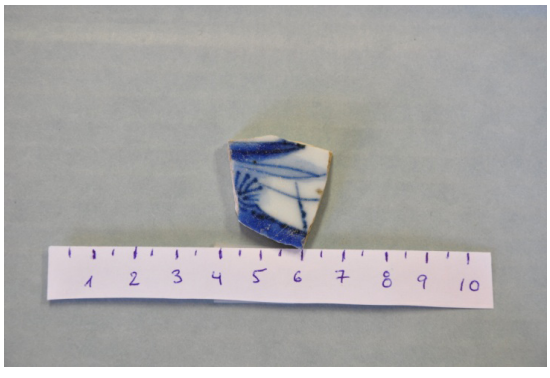


Fig. 197. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.3599;06/c29/b2/6. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

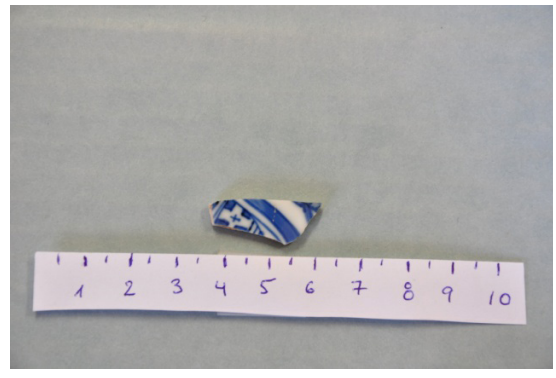


Fig. 198. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6019;06/c29/b2/12. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

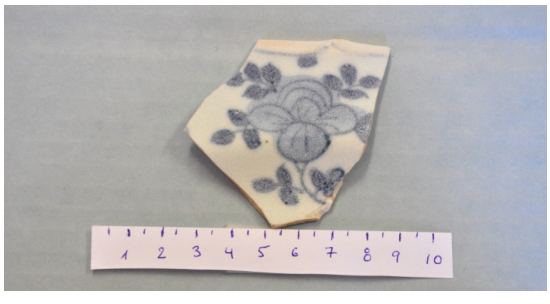


Fig. 199. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6279;06/c29/b2/15. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

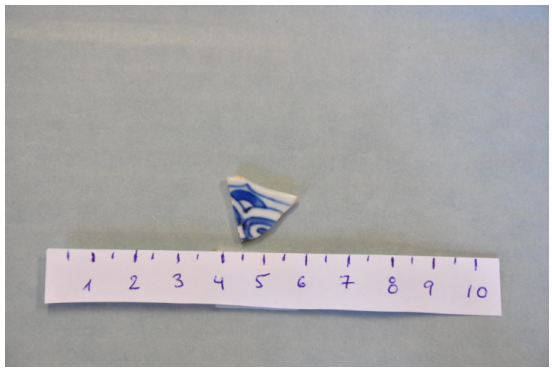


Fig. 200. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.5451-5452;06/c29/b2/11. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

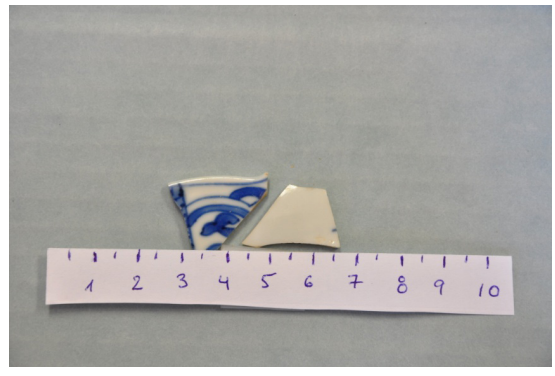


Fig. 201. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.6039;06/c29/b2/14. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

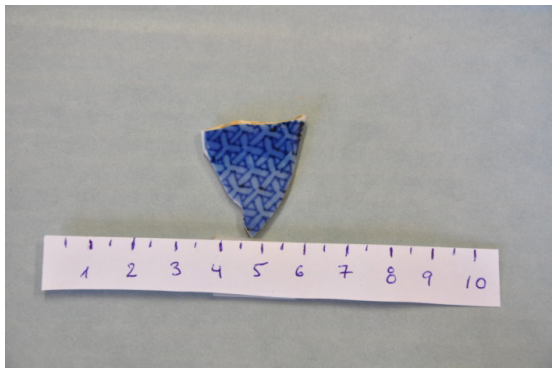


Fig. 202. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.1617; 06/c29/b2/1. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

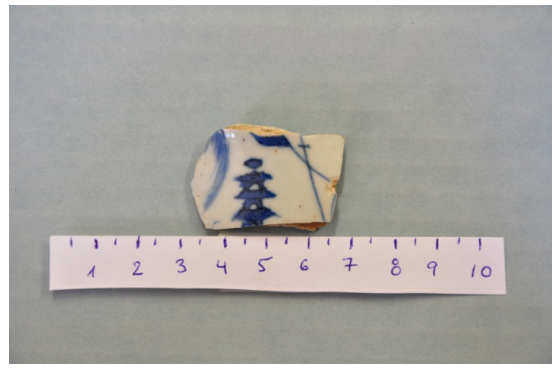


Fig. 203. Blue and white porcelain shard. Inv. no. Rúa do Villar 1, D-800; CD.04.5450; 06/c29/b2/10. Museo de las Peregrinaciones, Santiago de Compostela.

4.2. *Shipwreck Finds*

Porcelain from shipwreck finds, either salvaged by commercial companies or by marine archaeologists is another source of information, in particular if these precious 'time machines' have been left intact and their historical data could be preserved. Their cargoes can tell us much about the trade of different types of export porcelain at the time, about the intended distribution on different markets, the way porcelain was packed and transported; sometimes even information on the owners can be gathered.[756] Compared to Portuguese shipwrecks, however, there is a remarkable absence of Spanish shipwrecks - a gap that undoubtedly will be filled in the future.[757]

Furthermore, not all of these Spanish cargoes have been salvaged according to the rules of maritime archaeology and studied properly. Most are documented only by preliminary published or unpublished reports, or not at all. Among the better known shipwrecks that yielded porcelain, the following should be mentioned:

- *San Felipe*: This galleon sank in 1576 off the coast of Baja California. American and Mexican archaeologists recovered several *Kraak* plates and bowls and a few *Kinrande* pieces.
- *San Agustín*: This 200-ton galleon that left Manila in July 1595 but sank in Drake's Bay the same year. Mostly *Kraak* porcelain shards were recovered.
- *Santa Margarita*. This ship sank in 1601 near the Island of Rota in the Northern Mariana Islands. Recoveries from this wreck include a number of complete vessels and thousands of shards of *Kraak* porcelain.
- *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*: A large galleon that sank in 1638 off the southern coast of Saipan in the Mariana Islands.[758] This wreck site was known since 1674 when a Spanish expedition recovered 36 cannon. A large number of shards was recovered, mostly of *Kraak* and transitional wares.[759]

Apart from the Conception, that had a mixed cargo of Jingdezhen export wares,[760] all these vessels

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[756] Christiaan Jörg described the tension between commercial and academic interests and warned against recklessly destroying the data concealed in such 'time machines', see his *The Geldermalsen. History and Porcelain*, Groningen, 1986, pp. 6-7.

[757] For shipwreck finds see Roberto Junco, 'The Archaeology of Manila Galleons', in The MUA Collection, accessed 5 November 2012, http://www.themua.org/collections/items/show/1535; and the M.A. diss. by the same author *Periplo de la Porcelana China en Nueva España. Arqueometría y Arqueología histórica en la Costa Grande de Guerrero*, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, 2006; Roberto Junco and P. Fournier, 'Del celeste imperio a la Nueva España. Importación, distribución y consumo de la loza de la China en el periodo Ming tardío en el México virreinal', in Chen, et al. (eds.), *La Nueva Nao: De Formosa a América Latina*, Taipei, 2008; George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico*, Los Angeles, 1997; Frank Goddio & Monique Crick, *San Isidro Archaeological Excavation,* Manila, 1996, [unpublished excavation report in the National Museum of the Philippines]; Frank Goddio & Evelyne Jay, *Discovery and Archaeological Excavation of a 16th century Trading Vessel in the Philippines,* Manila, 1988; Jean-Paul Desroches, Fr. Gabriel Casal and Franck Goddio, *Treasures of the San Diego*, New York, 1996. See also Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific. With an Annotated List of the Transpacific Galleons 1565-1815,* Central Milton Keynes, 2011.

[758] W. Mathers and N. Shaw, *Treasure of the Conception. The Archaeological Recovery of a Spanish Galleon*, Hong Kong, 1993.

[759] Maura Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Load of the Conception', in William M. Mathers, Henry S. Parker & Kathleen S. Copus, (eds.), *Archaeological Report. The Recovery of the Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Conception*, Sutton, 1990, pp 397-470.

[760] It is remarkable indeed that the types of transitional porcelain in this cargo - mainly small bowls and some closed shapes - are not found in archaeological excavations in Spain and maybe they were destined for Middle America or other markets.

carried mainly variable amounts of *Kraak* porcelain and/or some pieces of Guangzhou ('Swatow') or local southern Chinese wares. This is conform what could be expected and as far as is known, no extraordinary or unexpected types were found. A detailed discussion of these finds, therefore, being the field of specialists on Chinese export porcelain, will distract from the main goal of this thesis, i.e. to give a survey of porcelain used in Spain. As an example, however, an exception should be made for the cargo of the San Diego, first because it is well-documented, secondly because I have given reference-illustrations from this cargo throughout the text of this thesis and thirdly, because an important part of the pieces recovered from that wreck are currently preserved in the Naval Museum in Madrid[761] and are regarded as part of Spain's cultural heritage.

The *San Diego*: sank off the coast of Fortune Island in Nasugbu, Batangas provinces. It was a trading vessel of about 300 tons that was made in Cebú. Governor of the Philippines at the time, Antonio de Morga, requisitioned the ship from traders Luis de Belver and Anton Thomas. On 14 December 1600, the fully laden *San Diego* engaged with the Dutch warship *Mauritius*, under the command of Admiral Olivier van Noort. The Dutch were interested in establishing direct trade links with the East as they had been denied access to the exotic markets in Lisbon, but on this occasion they clearly intended to seize the Manila galleon *Santo Tomás* that had been loaded with a million and a half of pesos of silver in Acapulco. Although the San Diego had been rapidly outfitted for a military mission, its decks and holds contained porcelain. This shipwreck yielded a total of about 1,200 porcelain pieces and other stoneware containers from southern China and South-East Asia together with Spanish and Filipino ceramics, other items like Japanese sword guards, glass and bronze objects, a gold and ivory crucifix and many other artifacts. The Chinese porcelain was probably bought in the Manila Parian (market) the year or just a few months before it was sunk. They were found underwater in lots, piled up according to shape and decoration and showed no sign of use. Most of the pieces were tableware; only a small number were for medical or hygienic purposes. Most common were small plates (62 in the Naval Museum Collection, Madrid) of about 20





Figs. 204-205. Blue-and-white dish and plate. The dish decorated with objects from a scholar's desk. c. 1600. D: 30.8 cm. The plate with a bird on a rock. D. 20.4 cm. From the *San Diego*. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. nos. 7501 and 7544.

[761] This collection was acquired by the Spanish Cultural Administration in 1999. The author prepares a catalogue of the collection.





Fig. 206-207. Blue-and-white garlic-head bottles, one decorated with naturalistic and auspicious motifs. c. 1600. D. 27 cm. The other with cranes and lotus among an all-over formal scroll. c. 1600. D. 26 cm. From the *San Diego*. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. nos. 7300 and 7301.

centimeters in diameter, decorated with the popular deer-in-a-landscape motif. The plate (fig. 205) is a rare example decorated with a solitary eagle seen in three-quarters, symbolic of the hero who has risen to the heights. Plates by far outnumber bowls (25 bowls in the Naval Museum Collection, Madrid). Other shapes represented in the Naval Museum in Madrid include serving dishes (9 pieces from 28 to of about 45 centimetres in diameter). Figure 204 has a wide, slightly oblique brim with a polylobulated outline, decorated with trapezoidal radial panels, and containing varied motifs such as floral branches and symbols of good wishes, including the double gourd bottle (characteristic of Daoist immortal Li Tieguai), a bamboo tube (a type of wind instrument, characteristic of another of the Eight Immortal Taoists, Zhan Guolo), the ruyi (a symbol of realized wishes and good luck), and, lastly, several books representing knowledge of the past and erudition.The centre of the piece is decorated with motifs related to the world of the literati, including a brush container, a decorative folding screen or divider and a square table with convex legs and double lateral crosspieces, on which antique artifacts have been placed. The balustrades in the background add depth to the scholar's study. As in most dishes found in the San Diego, the central motif is framed by trefoils or ruyi over geometrical reticles. The underside of the brim is radially divided into lobulated panels containing simple floral motifs.The decoration on this dish illustrates the developing cultural environment in China during the second half of the 16th century. The economic growth at the time fostered the development of the art market, encouraging a considerable number of individuals to start collecting different kinds of artifacts, and even creating specific rooms within their domestic spaces for the learned person to evoke his millennial culture. It is worth noting that the same phenomenon developed simultaneously within the sphere of European collecting, giving rise to the creation of the so-called Kunstkammers or "cabinets of wonder". The Topkapi Palace in Istanbul owns a dish very similar to the one exhibited at the Naval Museum of Madrid.[762]

The variety of the San Diego cargo is remarkable and testifies to the appreciation for a wide assortment of good quality that apparently was saleable. Their excellent condition made it possible to use several pieces as comparison for excavated shards in the preceding section, or as references for objects mentioned in the inventories discussed. The collection in Madrid includes garlic-head and pear-shaped bottles (decorated with different motifs such as dragons, symbolic patterns and cranes and lotus among an all-over formal scroll reserved in white, fig. 207), Guan-type jars (2), kendi [763] – a drinking bottle for water without a handle and is held by the neck – and small boxes for condiments. It is unusual that no Kinrande porcelain was found on the San Diego.

[762] Krahl and Ayers, 1986, p. 773, il. 1466.

[763] Of the four *kendis* in the Naval Museum in Madrid one has a long spout and the other three have bulbous spouts.





Fig. 208. *Wucai* bowl decorated with a five-clawed dragon. Only the underglaze blue decoration and remains of green enamel are visible. c. 1600. D. 15.4 cm. From the *San Diego*. Mark: Da Ming Wanli Nian Zhi. Naval Museum, Madrid. Inv. no. 7484.

4.3. *Extant Pieces in Spanish Churches and Convents*

Taking into account the information gathered in the Spanish archives, archaeology in Spain, shipwrecks and taking as reference historic and extant pieces preserved in collections in other foreign countries, we can infer the type of porcelain vessels that were used in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty. Most of the pieces were blue-and-white *Kraak* porcelain[764] made in Jingdezhen (province of Jiangxi). *Kraak* or *Kraakporselein* was a term coined by the Dutch for a type of blue-and-white ware produced from around 1565–70 until 1650, the peak of production being from about 1585 to 1640. *Kraak* porcelain is distinguished by the prevalent arrangement of its underglaze blue decoration into panels that usually radiate to a bracketed rim, and have often unglazed patches where the glaze has retreated during firing. We also have to take into account other types of blue-and-white ware originally elaborated for the domestic markets during the Wanli (1573–1620) and Transitional (1620–80) periods that could have been exported. Some of the blue-and-white wares have been enriched with gold leaf in China (see fig. 209).

Polychrome porcelain or *Wucai*, literally 'five colours', was a popular type of decoration consisting of underglaze blue and overglaze enamels (iron-red, yellow, green, aubergine and black, this last colour fixed to the high-fired glaze under translucent enamels). The blue was used for specific elements in the decoration as a guideline for the subsequent enamelling. *Wucai* was produced at Jingdezhen and other kilns in southern China in Fujian province, and although this style was elaborated for the domestic market from the middle of the sixteenth century, pieces were also exported to Japan and South-East Asia during the Wanli period (1573–1620), and from the 1650s to Europe.[765] A bowl decorated with parts of prowling dragons in underglaze blue (fig. 208), still with traces of red and green enamel, was found in the wreck of the *San Diego*, which sank near the Philippines on 14 December 1600.[766]

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[764] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London 1989; Idem, '*Kraak* Porcelain. The History and Classification of Dishes', in *Heritage*, no. 8, National Museum, Singapore, 1986, pp. 1–15; Jorge Welsh (ed.), *Kraak Porcelain. The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries*, London and Lisbon, 2008; Christiaan J.A Jörg, '*Kraak*porselein', in *Antiek*, vol. 25, no. 2, Aug/Sept, 1990, pp. 53–64; Jessica Harrisson-Hall, *Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London, 2001; Christine Van der Pijl-Ketel, '*Kraak* Type Porcelain and other Ceramic Wares Recovered from the Dutch East Indiaman the "Witte Leeuw", Sunk in 1613', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 67, 2002–3, pp. 91–98.

[765] Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Famille Verte. Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels*, Groningen 2011, p. 10.

[766] Currently in the Naval Museum in Madrid.

Finally porcelain decorated with gold leaf in the *Kinrande* style was also exported to Spain. *Kinrande* is a Japanese term that can be translated as 'gold brocade' and this type of pieces have a gold leaf decoration, usually of floral scrolls. These gold brocade designs were applied with a light adhesive to the transparent glaze on the white ground, to underglaze blue decorations, to overglaze iron-red and green enamel pieces. Bowls were the most usual shape but other pieces have survived, including ewers, double gourd bottles and figures.[767] The inventories mention a large number of pieces with gilt decoration and most probably this gilding was applied in China, since pieces arrived in the Philippines already gilded and there is no documentary evidence of any payment to a Spanish gilding workshop in the palace bills consulted in the General Archive of the Palace.

We will also have to include Japanese porcelain exports to Spain from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Around 1645 the structured trade in Chinese export porcelain came to a halt due to the devastating civil wars and was replaced by irregular shipments by private traders. Japan started exporting porcelain even though its manufacture there had only begun in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, when 'porcelain from the Indies or China' are mentioned in in Spanish inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century these could have been Japanese as well. The first large order by the Dutch for the West was placed in 1657, although the VOC also bought porcelain for the inter-Asian market. Consequently, Japanese pieces could have arrived in the Philippines and Macao either via the Dutch who had the Western monopoly on the Japanese trade from 1639, or via the Chinese, who also had a trade settlement in Nagasaki. In addition to Japanese underglaze blue porcelain (see a blue-and-white shard in the Museum of Santa Cruz in Toledo, Chapter 4.1.7.2, fig. 150), Japanese potters were already using enamel colours to decorate porcelain from circa 1640 onwards.

A new phase commenced in China at the beginning of the 1680s when Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) ordered the restoration of Jingdezhen and production resumed. Porcelain decorated in underglaze blue was still dominant at the beginning of the Kangxi period but a new type decorated in enamel colours with various shades of green proved very popular and was later classified as '*famille verte*'[768]. Apart from *famille verte*, export porcelain could also be decorated in other enamel colours. One of the most popular was Chinese *Imari* [769]. Imari is the name of the port in southern Japan, from where porcelain from the Arita kilns were exported on a large scale in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term is used to refer to a type of porcelain usually decorated in underglaze blue and a predominantly red overglaze enamel palette with gilding. To summarise, at the end of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, there must have been a mixed bag of porcelain in Spain: production from kilns in Arita (Japan) and

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[767] See Harry Garner, 'Chinese Export Art in Schloss Ambras', in *Second Hills Gold Medal Lecture, The Oriental Ceramic Society*. London,1975; Seizo Hayashiya, *Chinese Ceramics from Japanese Collections: T'ang Through Ming Dynasties*, Tokyo, 1977; Fujio Koyama, *A Selection of Outstanding Kinrande Porcelains in Japanese Collections*, Tokyo, 1967. See other *Kinrande* porcelain in the Baur Collection, Geneva, in: John Ayers, *The Baur Collection*, vol. 2, Geneva, 1969, pls. A 171, A 172, A 173, A 174, A 175, A 176, A 177, A 178, A 179, A 180. Also in Seizo Hayashiya and Henry Trubner et al., *Chinese Ceramics from Japanese Collections*, New York, 1977, pp. 92–99; Fujio Koyama, *Red Decorated Wares of the Ming Dynasty: Kinrande*, Tokyo, 1967; Tokyo Nezu Gallery, *Kinrande*, Tokyo, 1982

[768] *Famille Verte* is a French term coined by A. Lacquemart and E. le Blant in 1862 in their treatise *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commercial de la porcelain*. For this type of ware, see Jörg, 2011.

[769] For Imari porcelain see the following publications: Luisa Ambrosio, *Kakiemon e Imari giapponesi nel Museo Duca Di Martina di Nápoli*, Naples, 1984; John Ayers, *The Baur Collection: Japanese Ceramics*, Geneva, 1982; John Ayers, Oliver Impey and J.V.G. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe*, London, 1990; Nishida Hiroko, *Japanese Export Porcelain During the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1974; Peter Pantzer, *Imari Porzellan am Hofe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*, Dusseldorf, 2000; Christiaan J.A, Jörg, *Fine and Curious: Japanese Porcelain in Dutch Collections*, Amsterdam 2003; Eva Ströber, *La Malade de Porcelaine – East Asian Porcelain from the Collection of Augustus the Strong*, Berlin 2000.

Jingdezhen (China), and wares from other Chinese kilns such as Zhangzhou, so-called Swatow wares (Guangdong province),[770] and wares from Dehua[771] (Fujian province), and Yixing (Zhejiang province).

I would have liked to end this chapter by examining a number of extant pieces, but unfortunately only three complete pieces have been found so far, all in the possession of religious organisations. I am sure, however, that pieces of Chinese or Japanese porcelain will be found in the future that will help us expand our knowledge of Chinese porcelain during the Habsburg dynasty.

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[770] Jorge Welsh (ed.), *Porcelana de Exportaçao de Zhangzhou, A porcelana conhecida por Swatow*, London, 2006; Sumarah Adhyatman, *Zhangzhou* (*Swatow*) *Ceramics*: *Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries found in Indonesia*, The Ceramic Society of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1999; Helen Espir (ed.), 'The Discovery of Kilns Making Swatow Type Wares at Pinghe in Fujian Province', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 60, London, 1997, pp. 37–46: Barbara Harrison, *Swatow in the Princessehof*: *The Analysis of a Museum Collection of Chinese Trade Wares from Indonesia*, Leeuwarden, 1979; Hessel Miederma, 'A Typology of Swatow Dishes', in *Oriental Art*, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 34–85; Museum of Oriental Porcelain in Osaka, *Gosu akae*: *Swatow ware* (*Chugoku toji shirizu*), Osaka Shiritsu Toyo Toji Bijutsukan, 1990; Rita C. Tan (ed.), *Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines*, Manila, 2007.

[771] See fig. 107 in Chapter 4.1.5. Archaeological finds in Spain from the Mercado del Born, p. 186. Inventory no. 32-01 UE 3147 dif.15, of a *Blanc de Chine* cup dating to the mid-seventeenth century in the Museu d'Història de Barcelona.

Bowl with gilded silver mounts in the Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca (Zaragoza)



Fig. 209. Blue-and-white Chinese bowl with gold leaf decoration applied over the glaze. Late 16th century. H. 7.7 cm, D. 10.5 cm, base 3.8 cm. Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca, Zaragoza. No inventory number.

The bowl (Fig. 209) has a very fine white body of very good quality and a transparent and glossy glaze without impurities. It is decorated under the glaze with cobalt blue, with a plum tree branch with birds, and a band around the foot with a stylised lotus panel decoration.[772] The interior of the bowl is ornamented with a flying, long-tailed phoenix. The commendation mark 精藝 ('masterpiece') is written within a square in underglaze blue. The decoration of the piece was enriched with a gold leaf decoration,probably applied in China, that consists of pine-like sprays and other incised details and leaves scattered around the central decoration; much of the gold has been worn away, however. Porcelains with gilt decorations are frequently described in Royal inventories.[773] A blue-and-white

[772] The bowl was published by Professor María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, head of the Department of Art History at the University of Zaragoza, 'Una porcelana Ming con guarnición de plata sobredorada de taller alemán en la iglesia de Santa María de los Corporales de Daroca (Zaragoza)', in *Artigrama*, no. 21, 2006, pp. 719–46.

[773] See for instance vol 2, doc. 20, p. 42; fol. 834; doc. 27, p. 93: no 22-23.





Fig. 210-211. Blue and white bowl dated 1600 with mounts made in Augsburg. H.9.5 cm. D. 18.3 cm Fig. 211. Blue and white bowl dated 1600 with mounts made in Augsburg. H. 7.6 cm and D. 14 cm. Both mounts made in Augsburg, c. 1600. Residenz Münich, inv. nos. Res. Mü. K.V. b. 433 and Res. Mü. K.V.b. 387. From Friederike Wappenschmidt, "…. Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen". Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstkammerinventar von 1598" in Diemer, 2008, p. 308.



Fig. 212. Leather case for the bowl of Fig. 209, in the Church of Santa María de los Corporales, Daroca, Zaragoza. No inventory number.

bowl with a dragon and a gilt decoration originally from the Vienna *Kunstkammer* of Archduke Ferdinand II is now preserved in the Kunsthistoriches Museum.[774] According to María Isabel Álvaro Zamora the bowl in Daroca has a silver gilt mount elaborated by the German silversmith Philipp Benner,[775] who worked in Augsburg from 1608 to 1610. The foot-mount rises from a tapered plain ring and is decorated with masks. The handles are cast as demi-figures and double scrolls. This ornamentation is characteristic of the late Mannerism style. The addition of the silver mounts made it look like a wide-mouthed beverage vessel called a *bernegal* (see glossary) that was very popular in silver at the time.[776] The mount has a jagged ring around the silver foot, which proves that it was silver tested at the time. It is also very probable that the silver was over-gilded later. Fire-gilding was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth,centuries; this expensive technique would not have included the interior of the silver base.[777] Two similar Augsburg mounts can be found on Wanli blue-and-white bowls from the Münich Residenz.[778] (Fig. 210 and 211).

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[774] Trenk & Vassallo e Silva, 2001, p. 43, fig. 3. See also the blue-and-white bowl with silver handles from the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century in the Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection, Oporto, Portugal, in *Exotica*, p. 212, fig. 94. The shaped case for this object, made of very thin wood and covered in leather, has also been preserved.

[775] Helmut Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede*, 1529–1868, vol. 3, Nov., Munich, 1980, pp. 138–39. Philipp Benner was born around 1580 and was approved as master silversmith in 1608. He died in 1634. I am grateful to Javier Montalvo, professor at Universidad of Alcalá for his suggestions on this matter.

[776] See the Radziwill *bernegal* made of gold, enamels, rubies, diamonds and emeralds, Nuremberg or Salzburg, c. 1600, in H. Bunner, *The Treasury in the Residenz Munich*, Munich, 1975, p. 41.

[777] The interior of the silver base could not be checked, of course. I am also grateful to Margarita Pérez Grande for her advice on this piece.

[778] Friederike Wappenschmidt, "…. Selzame und hir lands fremde sachen". Exotica aus fernost im Münchner Kunstkammerinventar von 1598" in Diemer, 2008, p. 308.

Fortunately, this very important piece in the church of Daroca preserved with its original leather case that is embellished with *repoussé* gilt floral motifs that follows the shape of the bowl (fig. 212).

Maria Isabel Álvaro Zamora, who carried out the research in the parish registry, did not find any documents or inventories recording the acquisition of the piece. The earliest mention dates to the nineteenth century. On 18 October 1852 an inventory by the general vicar and governor of the diocese in the registry includes 'Paramento del Altar Mayor' (Paraments of the High Altar) in the silver section. Nowadays this bowl is used as a chalice during the Feast of Corpus Christi (Corporales), but in 'the old days', according to the documents the officiating priest used it as a purification cup.[779]

Another mounted bowl, the celebrated 'Trenchard Bowl' in the Victoria & Albert museum in London is interesting because of its supposed Spanish provenance. The story goes that in 1506 Philip the Fair, King of Spain (1478–1506) and his wife Joanna 'the Mad' gave it to Sir Thomas Trenchard of Wolverton, Dorset, in gratitude for his hospitality after their ship wrecked off Weymouth in 1506.[780] However, the silver mounts are hallmarked 'London 1599/1600',[781] while the bowl itself is from the Jiajing period (1522–66). Therefore the story cannot be true. The mounts of the Trenchard Bowl are more elaborate than those on the Corporales bowl and concur with the northern European style of mounts at the time.[782] Other pieces with similar 17th mounts are preserved in the Hallwyl Museum in Stockholm and Peabody Essex Museum in Salem (U.S.A).



Fig. 213. The Trenchard Bowl, the mounts hallmarked London 1599/1600, made during the Jiajing period (1522–66). D. 23.6 cm. H. 13.9 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Inv. no. M.945-1983.

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[779] Álvaro Zamora, 2006, p. 720

[780] R. L. Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, London, 1923, p. 57; see fig. 3, 'from Mrs. Lane's Collection'. Hobson dates the mounts incorrectly to c. 1550, but he must have noted the discrepancy between the dates. Soame Jenyns, discussing this bowl in his *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1988 (2nd ed.), p. 182, raises the question of the differences in dating between the mounts and the porcelains they embellish.

[781] Philippa Glanville, 'Chinese Porcelain and English Goldsmiths c. 1560 – c. 1660', in *Victoria and Albert Museum Album*, vol. 3, London 1984.

[782] A bowl with silver mounts, dated to c. 1585 and related to the Trenchard Bowl, is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv.no. 44.14.3. A cowcup without panels decorated with a deer in a landscape, with very simple silver handles and stand, is in the Fondation Custodia (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris, (Inv. 8251) see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 158. See Orvar Karlbeck, *Catalogue of the Collection of Ceramic Art of China and other countries of the Far East at the Hallwyl Museum*, Stockholm, 1949, pl. 19, inv.nº. VIII: B..b. d.I and Sargent, 2012, p.110, cat. 30.

Garden seat in the Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo.



Fig. 214. Blue-and-white porcelain garden seat, reign of Emperor Zhengde (1506–21). H. D. 63 cm. Convent of the Capuchinas. Toledo. No inventory number.

The second documented piece of Chinese porcelain in situ is in the Capuchinas Convent in Toledo which was mentioned earlier when discussing the origin of the ceramic fragments preserved in the Santa Cruz Museum (see p. 205). Amazingly an intact porcelain garden seat is still among the convent's possessions. Most probably, it arrived with other exotic items and handicrafts from China and the Philippines in the annual consignment to Toledo from their sisters in Veracruz (Mexico). Another possible origin could be the bequest of Cardinal Pascual de Aragón (d. 1677). Nevertheless this second option is less likely, as most of the pieces were from Naples, where the cardinal and his brother had been viceroys.

The garden seat is in the form of a drum, a typical sixteenth-century shape, with two bands of studs in relief imitating those securing the skin of a drum that divide the body into three tiers (fig. 214). The upper part is painted with a trellis diaper, the middle with four lions playing with a brocade ball and two moulded monster-masks in applique. The lowest part has a panorama of mountains and sea, a metaphor for longevity and welfare. On the top, four lotus motifs surround an unglazed peony decoration in openwork (see fig. 47). The unglazed interior is hollow; it does not have a base. An identical piece, acquired in the Philippines, is preserved in The Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong,[783] while similar seats are also found at the Capital Museum in Beijing.[784]

[783] Hong Kong, *Yuan and Ming Blue-and-white Ware from Jiangxi*, 2002, ill. 73.

[784] Capital Museum (ed.), *Selected Ceramics from the Capital Museum*, Beijing, 1991, p. 127, pl. 118

Bowl found in the Convent of Saint Clare of Astudillo, Palencia



Fig. 215. Blue and white bowl. Early seventeenth century, reign of Emperor Wanli (1573–1620). D. 13 cm. Convent of Saint Claire of Astudillo, Palencia. No inventory number.

The third item is a Chinese porcelain that was found during renovation works in the well of the Convent of Saint Clare of Astudillo (Order of San Francisco). It was founded by María de Padilla, who was known to be King Pedro I the Cruel's lover. From a noble family from the city of Astudillo she decided to raise the monastery there in the mid-fourteenth century (1356). Having the consideration of 'Royal Monastery', the institution was later occupied by nuns who belonged to the nobility or important Castilian families. It is a very simple bowl (fig. 215), decorated on the outside with flower roundels with a fruit spray in the centre and petal panels around the base.[785] A double ring is painted around the lip and the base.[786]

[785] Cinta Krahe, 'En la España del siglo XVI porcelana china', in *Galería Antiquaria*, vol. 22, March 2004, no. 225, pp. 40–46

[786] Similar bowls are in Krahl and Ayers, 1986, vol 2, pp. 790–91, pl. 1538, 1540.

4.4. *Chinese Porcelain on Spanish Paintings*

Research into Chinese porcelain in Habsburg-era Spanish paintings has focused on paintings classified by subject: religious paintings, still lifes[787] and flowers, and genre works, with special attention commanded by the pictures painted by Velázquez during his time in Seville. There were four main subjects in the religious paintings analysed for this study: the last supper, the baptism of Jesus, the adoration of the Magi, and the death of the Virgin Mary (as she is generally depicted as being offered a vessel with water on her deathbed). Logically, there have also been detailed studies of Biblical meal scenes, because they immortalise different types of recipients, from rough bowls to elaborate services.[788]

Still lifes and paintings of flowers have come in for special analysis, because even in their era they formed a genre of their own, albeit only a minor one compared to the great number of religious paintings. However, Oriental pieces might still be found in still life depictions of vessels and household goods. According to Peter Cherry, the great specialist in Golden-Age Spanish still life painting, these compositions were a painter's exercise in imitating inanimate objects that 'subtly' reflected reality. Although many works were based on perfectly recognizable real models, the original objects cannot be entirely reconstructed from the painted versions. Accordingly, some objects may appear in a somewhat distorted form.[789] In addition, the still lifes by Spanish painters are much less opulent and grandiose than the Flemish and Italian, whose ornate interiors included costlier foods and a great many more exotic touches. Spanish still lifes are noted for being austere, quiet and formal.

The paintings produced by Velázquez during his time in Seville between 1617 and 1623 have also been analysed. Velázquez was the first Sevillian artist to do genre work, and his efforts in that area broke the bounds of the ordinary in the context of Spanish painting in the first third of the seventeenth century. Spanish collectors became accustomed to imported genre scenes, but the only Spanish genre specialists to arise were Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617/18–1682).[790] None of their works show any Chinese porcelain objects.

As we shall see, a search for Chinese porcelain in Spanish paintings in a great many publications[791]

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[787] The Spanish word for 'still life' is *bodegón*. According to Covarrubias' dictionary, a *bodegón* is a group of 'basement or ground-floor cellar containing the wine cellar, where prepared food is available, and drink to go with it, for those who have no one to cook their food for them.' The *bodegón* was therefore an establishment frequented by humble folk that served light food, in contrast to the alimentary opulence shown in some Flemish and Italian scenes of the same genre. Still life painting was consolidated in Madrid and Toledo as an independent genre at the end of the sixteenth century, led by Sanchez Cotán and Van der Hamen.

[788] For example, the luxurious silver service with a sideboard in Alonso Vázquez, *Lázaro and the Rich Epulón*. This painting's current whereabouts are unfortunately unknown, but a reproduction is printed in Peter Cherry, *El bodegón español en el siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1999, p. 31.

[789] Cherry, 1999, p. 33.

[790] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[791] The following publications were consulted in the search for Chinese porcelain in 16th- and 17th-century Spanish paintings: Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Juan de Arellano 1614-1676*, Madrid, 1998; Museo del Prado, *Lo fingido verdadero. Bodegones españoles de la colección Naseiro adquiridos para el Prado*, Madrid, 2007; Museo del Prado, *Pintura española de Bodegones y floreros de 1600 a Goya*, Madrid, 1983; Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, *Zurbarán. IV Centenario*, Seville, 1998; William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *El bodegón español de Velázquez a Goya*, Madrid, 1995; Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Thomas Yepes*, Madrid, 1995; Rafael Valls Limited and Caylus, *Naturalezas muertas de los siglos XVII al XIX*, exh. cat., London and Madrid, 2003 and 2004; William B. Jordan, *La Imitación de la Naturaleza. Los bodegones de Sánchez Cotán*, Madrid, 1992; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1993; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Carlos II*, Madrid, 1996; Museo del Prado, *Pintores del reinado de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1994; Francisco Fernandez Pardo,

yielded scant results compared to the variety of Chinese vessels in, for example, Flemish, Dutch and Italian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings. A number of works have nevertheless been selected, although the features of form and decoration of some of the porcelain objects shown in the paintings may be arguable.

Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608)



Fig. 216 . Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608), *Last Supper*, 1595. 266 x 409 cm. Oil on canvas. No inventory no. Cathedral of Córdoba, Córdoba.[792]

Rosemarie Mulchay et al., *Navarrete el Mudo, pintor de Felipe II*, Logroño, 1995; Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Ignacio de Ries*, Madrid, 2001; Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, *La memoria recobrada. Pintura valenciana recuperada de los siglos XIV-XVI*, Valencia, 2005; Werner Beutler, *Vicente Carducho en El Paular*, Cologne, 1998; Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Luis Tristán 1585-1624*, Madrid, 2001; Leticia Ruiz Gómez (ed.), *Juan Bautista Maino 1581-1649*, Madrid, 2009; Fernando Benito Domenech, *Los Ribalta y la pintura valenciana de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1987; Emilio Orozco Díaz, *El pintor Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán*, Granada, 1993; Salvador Salort Pons, *Velázquez en Italia*, Madrid, 2002; Mindy Nancarrow and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Antonio del Castillo*, Madrid, 2004; Javier Portús Pérez, *Fábulas de Velázquez*, Madrid, 2007; Arsenio Moreno, *Zurbarán*, Madrid, 1998; Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla (ed.), *Juan de Roelas h. 1570-1625*, Seville, 2008; Ministerio de Cultura and Fundación Juan March, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo 1617-1682*, Madrid, 1982; Enrique Valdivieso, *Historia de la Pintura Sevillana*, Seville, 1992; Ministerio de Cultura, *Pintura española de los siglos XVI al XVIII en colecciones centroeuropeas*, Madrid, 1981; Enrique Valdivieso and Juan Miguel Serrera, *Pintura Sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1985; Diego Angulo Iñíguez and Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Madrileña, primer tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1969; Idem, *Pintura Madrileña del segundo tercio del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1983.

[792] I am grateful to Julian León and his nephew for making this painting available to me to examine.



Fig. 216a. Detail of fig. 216 with Chinese porcelain.

Many Golden-Age painters used still life in their religious paintings when it suited the story, especially in the case of Biblical meals. In his 1638 treatise *El arte de la Pintura*, artist and art theoretician Francisco de Pacheco mentioned this particular *Last Supper* because the objects depicted in it are exceedingly opulent, and spectators risked being distracted from the main subject of the title (fig. 216).[793] Indeed, the ornate bronze objects are the first things the eye is drawn to in the painting, while the dining ware on the table is much plainer. At the far right are several objects that are possibly of Chinese provenance.

The first vessel is a bell-shaped cup (fig. 216a) with a flared rim decorated with a floral circular medallion inside panels, with floral scrolls at the top and around the base. The second is a cup with a straight rim decorated with similar medallions and scrolls. Each bowl is placed on a blue-and-white saucer with a floral scroll on the round border, a white *cavetto*, and a floral spray in the centre. The dating of the painting is 1595 but according to our present knowledge, this type of cup and saucers was introduced in the 1670's/80's at the earliest - the design on the cup and saucer seems more Kangxi, c. 1700 -, so perhaps our information on *Kraak* ware around this period needs to be re-examined. On the left, behind some oranges, is a plate with flared round sides, decorated with a geometric pattern.

[793] Jonathan Brown, *La Edad de Oro de la pintura en España*, London, 1990, p. 117.

Juan van der Hamen (1596–1631)

Juan van der Hamen was a second-generation Spaniard born into a Flemish family, the youngest of the three children of Juan van der Hamen, originally from Brussels. He was the main court painter of still lifes from 1620 to 1630.[794] One of his paintings, dated 1621, is a copy of the style of Frans Snyders. The still life is painted on wooden board, a base that afforded the painter a greater richness of colour and a more sensual way of handling his subject, in imitation of the northern European style of painting (fig. 217). In the centre is a wicker basket overflowing with ripe fruit and birds, the basket flanked by *Kraak* porcelain plates, one full of cherries, the other with plums. The segmented area of the decoration is very clear, with narrow panels containing small, knotted tassels and large panels containing flower sprays. Unfortunately, since the painting belongs to a private collection, a colour photograph could not be obtained for a more detailed analysis.



Fig. 217. Juan van der Hamen, *Still Life with Fruits, Two Plates with Fruits and Six Birds*, signed and dated, 1621. Oil on board, 57.21 x 100.3 cm. Private collection. From Cherry, 1999, p. 151.

In 1627 Juan van der Hamen signed this still life (fig. 218) in which he combined artichokes, flowers and various glass and porcelain vessels, arranging them on several different planes in a masterly blend of the taste for detailed, individual object description that flourished in the genre's early days in Spain and a compositional cleverness that makes this one of the most elegant still lifes of its time. The shapes, sparkling highlights and textures of the clay and glass vessels heighten the arrangement's refinement and delicacy. Next to the vase on the right filled with pink peonies, the artist has placed a Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish with cherries. The dish is of a type that has a straight, slightly flared, foliated edge. The panels on the gently curved *cavetto* are decorated with drop-shaped medallions that contain sunflower sprays. The underside is divided into segments by thin lines that frame groups of pearls and dots. A similar plate (fig. 219), is decorated with sunflower motifs in drop-shaped panels and 'ducks-in-a-pond' motif in the central medallion. Another piece is preserved in the Kobe City Museum. This piece has a rare six-character Wanli (1573–1620) mark on the base.[795]

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[794] Cherry, 1999, p. 150

[795] Blue-and-white *Kraak* plate in Kobe City Museum (D. 34.8 cm, H. 5.8 cm). In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 110.



Fig. 218. Juan van der Hamen, *Still Life with Artichokes, Flowers and Glass Vessels*, signed and dated 1627. Oil on canvas, 81 cm x 110 cm. Inv.no. PO7907. Prado Museum, Madrid.





Fig. 219. Blue-and-white saucer dish. D. 35 cm. From Welsh, 2008, pp. 126–29.



Fig. 220. Antonio Pereda (1611–78), *Still Life with* an *Ebony and Marquetry Table Cabinet*, signed on one of the boxes: 'Pereda f' c. 1652. Oil on canvas, 80 x 94 cm. Inv. no. GE 327. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Antonio de Pereda (1611–78)

The still life with an ebony cabinet by Antonio Pereda (1611-78) in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg is signed and dated 1652 (fig. 220). In this painting the artist arranged a number of objects have been arranged on a sumptuous red cloth, outlined against an olive green background.[796] On the table stands a bone or ivory *contrepartie* marquetry cabinet[797] with one drawer half-open from which a cloth droops. Numerous objects have been arranged on top of the cabinet, including two red ceramic vessels of the so-called *enchinado* type (which are decorated with small fragments of quartz in the shape of small flowers) from Tonalá, Mexico, a transparent glass vessel and a dark glass vessel with silver mounts (of European origin), and an Italian bowl. In the right foreground there are some wooden boxes, some cakes on a piece of paper and a piece of cheese. Next to them is a Talavera pottery vase with two handles (*jarro frailero*, or Monk's jar), which corresponds to the tricoloured type (elaborated in the last third of the sixteenth century and first third of the seventeenth century).[798] To the left, on a silver tray, is an arrangement of spoons and bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*). In front are a blue-and-white *jícara* probably Dutch Delftware, and a small lustreware bowl from Manises dating to the first third

[796] Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *D. Antonio de Pereda* (*1611-1678*) *y la pintura de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1978, pl. 18 and 19.

[797] I am grateful to Casto Castellanos for the exact description of the cabinet in this painting.

[798] I am grateful to Ángel Sánchez-Cabezudo for identifying some of the ceramics in this painting.

of the seventeenth century. Behind these ceramics stands a slightly larger, tall cup with a spreading mouthrim, which seems to be of a much finer body. The damaged rim is decorated in underglaze blue with a zigzag border inside; the outside is also painted in blue, probably with a landscape (the available digital images do not allow a better identification). One is tempted to regard this tall cup as a piece of Chinese porcelain, given the thinness, the spreading rim and the border design. More or less comparable tall cups or beakers are known from the early Kangxi period, of c. 1665–90, but as the painting is dated 1652, we have to place this example in the Shunzhi period (1644–61) or earlier. In fact recent studies by Teresa Canepa will show that these type of cups were already being made about 20 years earlier. Juan de Zurbaran depicts very similar cups on two still lifes that are even earlier, both being dated 1640 (figs. 228, 230, see pp. 246-47). There, one of the cups clearly is decorated with an all-over riverscape, matching the example depicted by Pereda.

According to Portús, this painting was sent to Russia with a companion piece, *Bodegón con reloj*, also signed and dated 1652 (fig. 221).[799] *Bodegón con reloj* is more exotic in composition and more symbolic in content. It was moved to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow in 1930. Dominating the centre of the painting is a clock carried on a satyr's shoulders, whose face bears the legible inscription 'Claud Railler/Á Paris,' a reference to a famous Parisian clock manufacturer. In front of the clock there are conch shells, nuts and red ceramic vessels, or *boccaro*, also probably from Mexico, and a piece of white Triana terracotta pottery on a Chinese blue-and-white dish with a flat rim, decorated on the rim with a probable decoration of ducks among acquatic plants and a white *cavetto*.[800] The underside bears the typical birds-on-branches and flowering plum branches. This type of dish was often decorated with deer in a landscape in the centre. The clock and the conch shells are associated with the concept of *vanitas*, a theme that later became the primary motif in Pereda's still lifes. The difference between the two still lifes may not be mere chance. While one shows the value of life, the other alludes to the fragility of life and the fleetingness of time. There is another pair of still lifes in Pereda's oeuvre that plays on the same antithesis: one with vegetables and kitchen utensils, the other with fruits (1651; both in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon).

Another painting by Pereda's, entitled *Two Figures in a Kitchen* (fig. 223), is a very naturalistic, densely coloured piece with clear brushwork. It shows a kitchen scene in an extremely untidy interior that has a symbolic meaning: The broken pottery and the overturned bronze saucepan refer to the loss of virtue. To the right, in the foreground, a servant who has been washing dishes from a banquet pauses in her work and imploringly addresses a young man, who seems from his dress to be a soldier. The table is crowded with the remains of an opulent meal and all kinds of vessels made of different materials, silver, bronze, glass, pottery and wood. Some of the pottery vessels might be Chinese, while others might be tin-glazed pottery copies of imported Chinese porcelain. The broken dish on the floor, for example, imitates the typical panelling of *Kraak* porcelain, perhaps Talavera or Delft, due to the thickness of the body. Inside a huge glazed earthenware bowl is a blue-and-white plate with compartmentalised decorations, probably Chinese, and there are also several polychrome and white bowls. Completing the assortment are a glazed stoneware jug from Germany, a Venetian glass goblet and two small terracotta vessels (*boccaro*), of the sort made in Portugal and Mexico. The magnificent platters and the worked silver pitchers placed to the right are quite eye-catching.

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[799] Description of the painting by Javier Portús in the catalogue of the exhibition in the Museo Nacional del Prado, *El Hermitage en el Prado*, Madrid 2011, p. 212, fig. 213..

[800] According to M. Rinaldi, it is a border II-type dish; see Rinaldi, 1989, p. 76.



Fig. 221. Antonio de Pereda (1611–78), *Still Life of a Clock*. Oil on canvas, 80 x 94 cm. Dated 1652. Inv. no. unknown. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



Fig. 222. Dish decorated with two deer in a landscape, with ducks among acquatic plants on the flat rim, late 16th century. D. 20.7 cm. Maura Rinaldi Collection. In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 78, pl. 53.





Fig. 223. Antonio de Pereda (1611–78), *Two Figures in a Kitchen*, 1650–65. Oil on canvas, 192 x 238 cm. Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd. Inv.no. 1421752. In the collection of Spanish pictures given to King Louis-Philippe by Frank Hall Standish; bought by the 1st Lord Penrhyn soon after the sale of Louis-Philippe's collection in 1853. From Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Amelia López-Yarto, Wilfredo Rincón García, *El Arte en tiempos de Guerra*, CSIC, Madrid, 1999, p. 280.

Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)

The iconographic content of this image (Fig. 224) chimes perfectly with the stories about the childhood of Mary and Christ that Spanish monks and nuns wrote during the second third of the seventeenth century. In this composition, the child Mary is posed as if asleep, although she is really deep in a spiritual dream. She wears a blue mantle that symbolises hope and fidelity, and her red gown represents love and royalty. She is depicted in a dark atmosphere, perhaps at some time around summer in Seville, early in the afternoon, when the windows are shut to keep the heat out. Everything around the Virgin Child is utterly simple and exquisite, and the room is decorated only with a rush-bottomed chair and a Chinese bowl with some flowers: the rose, a symbol of love; the five-petalled red carnation, the five wounds of Christ and fidelity; the lily, virginal purity.[801] The bowl in the painting is one of the most delightful and typical of all *Kraak* bowls a comparable dating to c. 1600. The outside is divided into ten panels framed by a single line. In each panel there is a deer that is either white or spotted, the latter believed to represent a *sika* deer. In China the deer is a symbol of long life and considered the only animal capable of finding the fungus that, according to legend, bestows

[801] Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, *Zurbarán*, Seville, 1998, p. 222.



Fig. 224. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *La Virgen niña dormida*, 1664. Oil on canvas, 110 x 93 cm. Fundación Santander Central Hispano Collection, Madrid. Inventory number unknown.





Fig. 225. *Kraak* bowl with deer in the Naval Museum, Madrid, from the San Diego wreck, c. 1600. D. 14.2 cm. Inventory nº.7471.



Fig. 226. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), *Saint Hugo in the Refectory*, c. 1630-35. Oil on canvas, 262 x 307 cm. Inv. no. CE 0174p. Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

immortality. Zurbarán painted the sleeping child Mary twice; one painting is in the Banco Santander Central Hispano Collection, the other is in the Cathedral del Salvador in Jerez de la Frontera.

Zurbarán's next work, *Saint Hugo in the Refectory* (fig. 226) was painted in 1630-35 when the Carthusian Prior Blas Domínguez commissioned a series of works for Nuestra Señora de las Cuevas de Triana, Seville, and the members of the Carthusian Order founded by Saint Bruno. In this painting Zurbarán used a highly geometric composition on three planes. In the foreground stand Saint Hugo and the page; in the middle ground, the meal with jugs, bowls, loaves of bread and knives in an orderly frontal arrangement predominated by Talavera pottery jugs bearing the shield of the founder of the Carthusian monastery in Seville, Archbishop Gonzalo de Mesa. In front of each monk is a pottery bowl containing the monk's food and bread. An upside-down Chinese porcelain bowl, perhaps covering some spice or salt, and the jugs with the shield are the foremost items on the table. The Chinese bowl's decoration consists of a branch of flowers and a simple scroll around the foot.[802] The sides of this piece are fairly straight, the lip rim is round, and the footring is straight. This transitional bowl could be dated to the second decade of the seventeenth century. The table setting is completed with a number of shared knives for cutting bread or meat. They help break up the arrangement, which might prove monotonous if not livened up by something to disturb the symmetry. Each friar has a

[802] Compare similar designs in Butler, 2002, figs. 2 and 26. In these two examples however, the footring is wider that the bowl in Zurbaran's painting.

loaf of bread in front of him, which he would break at mealtime, and two friars shared one jug. On the rear plane, Saint Bruno (in the centre) and the rest of the order's founding monks are coming out of a dreamlike state, heads lowered, paying no attention at all to the recent arrivals. On the wall is a painting (which looks more like a window into Heaven) showing Mary with Baby Jesus and Saint John the Baptist; this reminds us that they are the Order's two main protectors. The painting's reading is clear: After abstinence, silence is the Order's other great custom. The painting originally hung in the sacristy of the Monasterio de la Cartuja de Santa María de las Cuevas, Seville, but it is now on display in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla.

Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49)

Juan de Zurbarán's still life with a teapot, bowls and sliced oranges (Fig. 227) reflects the custom of drinking orange water, a typical beverage in Golden-Age Spain. Although the container the painter has depicted is a Chinese teapot decorated with plum branches, such a teapot would not have been used for tea, but for orange water. Orange water is in fact visible in the bowls. In addition, at the Spanish Court and in society at that time, fruit was eaten candied, not fresh; so the sliced oranges would necessarily have been used to make the refreshing beverage. Another Chinese bowl contains chunks of sugar, which would have been used to sweeten the beverage, indicated by the small spoon on the tablecloth. On the cake stand, inside a crumpled piece of paper, the artist has placed a number of glazed pastries. Marie Louise of Orléans, Charles II's first wife, used to drink cool summer beverages such as lemon water, cinnamon water, frozen milk and orange water.[803] The artist probably changed the pieces' original colouring; the original teapot was most likely the darker stoneware of the Yixing kilns. If this assumption is correct this would be the earliest depiction of Yixing ware in an European context. The exact date of this painting is unknown.



Fig. 227. Juan Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life of Fruit and Porcelain,* 1620–49. 36.3 X 62.8 cm. Oil on canvas. Cincinnati Art Museum. Inv. no.unknown. From McClure Mudge, 2000,p. 71.

[803] Simón Palmer, 1982, p. 35. I am grateful to Saúl Pérez-Juan for his comments on this matter.



Fig. 228. Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life with Chocolate Service*, signed and dated 1640. Oil on canvas, 40 x 75 cm. Inv. no. unknown. Museum of Oriental and Western Art, Kiev.

One of Juan de Zurbarán's most innovative paintings is the *Still Life with Chocolate Service* (Fig. 228), dated and signed 1640, when he was just 20 years old. Unlike his father, given to orderly compositions, Juan chose a more intuitive, asymmetrical grouping with items in front of and behind each other. As can be observed, this painter saw painting as an artistic *tour de force* in which he depicted the different qualities of the objects he had chosen. The pieces are arranged on a black background, with the chocolate beater on the right in an unstable equilibrium. The painter reflects on the different materials of the depicted objects. In this context, the most interesting pieces are the two tall, narrow, bell-shaped cups or beakers (*jícaras*) which, given the title of the still life, were used for drinking chocolate. One is decorated with a river scene covering the entire surface, a motif that was used quite often on Transitional porcelain of c. 1625–45. The other cup, on the right, shows the characteristic elements of a *Kraak* decoration with leaf- and flower sprays in vertical panels. As discussed previously (fig. 220, p. 239), such tall, bell-shaped cups seem to be unrecorded in the existing literature. Not only the cup with the Transitional-style riverscape is a novelty, but such a tall *Kraak* style cup is unknown as well. The best comparison is a lower and wider *Kraak* cup or bowl as illustrated by Rinaldi (see fig. 229), but it is obvious that the cup depicted by Zurbaran is different, even if we keep in mind that a painter might exercise some freedom in depicting a model. Furthermore, the shape is a logical one for drinking chocolate, as this beverage was foamy.

Thus, we have found not only a new shape in Transitional style, but also in *Kraak* style. It is suggested here that the reason why the shape is not yet represented in the existing literature is because most *Kraak* and Transitional porcelain collections are located in Northern Europe, based on Dutch and English imports. At that time, drinking chocolate was fashionable in Spain, in its colonies and in Portugal, but not yet in the north, and therefore it is likely that Spanish traders asked for specific shapes. These were widespread in chocolate-drinking countries, but not elsewhere and thus did not enter the northern collections assembled later. Finally, in Zurbaran's *Still Life with a Bowl of Chocolate*, also dated 1640 (fig. 230), a third version of the tall chocolate cup or *jícara* is shown, decorated with an all-over pattern of leaf sprays on the upper half, and a border of stiff leaves(?) around the foot. Here again, the thin material greatly resembles Chinese porcelain, while the high footring with a blue circle is another indication of a Chinese origin. The shape is similar to the preceding Transitional and *Kraak* cups, but here the type of decoration is another puzzle, because it is unknown on porcelain from this period. As Zurbarán very carefully and naturalistically depicts the objects in his paintings, we should not immediately assume that he changed the decoration to something he preferred. Unless more documentation becomes available, we can assign this combination of shape and decoration to the novelties in Transitional porcelain, too. In this still life the objects are again arranged on a black background. The central piece is a silver *salvilla* with a bowl with handles, filled with chocolate; on the left a copper jug and a chocolate beater, on the right a red ceramic vessel *bucaro*. The cups undoubtedly connect to Chinese shapes, but the decoration is clearly not Oriental. It might be an example of the fashion among painters to not reproduce a model faithfully, but to change the decoration as they saw fit for the composition, colour scheme or atmosphere.



Fig. 229 . Bell-shaped cup with steep walls decorated with flowers and birds and narrow panels that contain pendent bows. D. 9.7 cm, H. 8 cm. Custodia Foundation (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris. Inv. no. unknown. VII.3. In Rinaldi, 1989, p. 158.



Fig. 230. Juan de Zurbarán (1620–49), *Still Life with a Bowl of Chocolate, or Breakfast with Chocolate,* dated 1640. Oil on canvas, 52 x74.5 cms cm. Inv.no.unknown. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archeologie, Besançon.



Fig. 231. Francisco Herrera el Mozo (1627–85), *Still Life with Rabbit and Mortar*, c. 1660–70. Oil on canvas, 65 x 98 cm. Inv. no. unknown. The painting was in the collection of Pietro Lorenzelli in Bergamo. From Jordan and Cherry, 1995, p. 97.

Francisco Herrera el Mozo (1627–85)

Although the authorship of this painting is disputed, one of the artists suggested as its creator is Francisco Herrera el Mozo (Herrera the young).[804] Herrera el Mozo trained in Seville and Rome and was elected president of the Academy of Painting of Seville in 1660. The objects making up this still life (fig. 231) are a *Kraak*-type porcelain bowl on the right, a metal jug and a pot with handles, a skimmer spoon for olives, a mortar and a rabbit half hanging off the edge of the display surface. These objects emerge from the darkness in a balanced group. Unfortunately, since the painting's current whereabouts are unknown, its details cannot be studied further. As we can infer from the shape of the Chinese *Kraak*-type bowl the sides are fairly straight and the lip rim is round while the decoration on the outside consists of peony flower sprays inside narrow panels with knotted bows. A similar bowl was recovered from the Hatcher junk (1643–46) although the rim is foliated and slightly everted (fig. 232).



Fig. 232. *Kraak* bowl decorated with peony and insect panels. D. 13.2 cm. From Sheaf and Kilburn, 1988, p. 35.

[804] Jordan and Cherry, 1995, p. 97.

Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74)



Fig. 233. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Florero y cuenco de cerámica*, signed 'P de Camprovin'. Oil on canvas, 77 x 58 cm. Inv.nº.PO7917. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Pedro de Camprobín was a most prolific painter of still lifes, and his success shows in the great number of his works listed in seventeenth-century Seville inventories. He worked in Seville in the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, and he depicted blue-and-white Spanish pottery influenced by Chinese wares and Chinese vessels in some of his works. In *Florero y cuenco de cerámica* (*Flower Vase and Ceramic Bowl*) he displayed his love of minor details such as the butterfly and the petals on the table (fig. 233).[805] The central vessel is a magnificent bronze vase containing a chromatic bouquet of flowers next to which is a blue-and-white bowl. The shape and radial decoration of the bowl seem to be derived from *Kraak* bowls, though the three-lobed panel ornamenting it is not typical of Chinese decoration. A carnation has been placed in the bowl, which is filled with water. Three other paintings by Camprobín include somewhat Westernised versions of Chinese pieces. *Dish with Apricots, Plums and Cherries* includes on the right a bowl with a flower sprays, filled with water in which two flowers stand and a larger bowl decorated with petals (fig. 234). *Still Life with Fruits and Flowers* has a blue-and-white jar decorated with a flower spray, its shape more or less related to the Swatow type jarlets found in the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) (fig. 235).[806] The last painting, *Dish with Fruits* (fig. 236) has a radial ornamentation inspired by *Kraak* porcelain, although the artist has transformed the decoration and adapted it to his own taste. Camprobín's paintings evoke the luxurious mode of life of Seville's aristocracy, and although Camprobín learned his craft in Castille, he reflected in his still lifes the influence of the local tradition exemplified by Zurbarán's work, especially in his use of blue-and-white porcelain vessels containing flowers.



Fig. 234. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Dish with Apricots, Plums and Cherries*, signed and dated 1652. Oil on canvas, 36.5 x 46.5 cm. Inv. no. unknown. Naseiro Collection. Published by Cherry, 1999, pl. XC.

[805] Javier Portús, 'Florero y cuenco de cerámica', in *Lo fingido verdadero. Bodegones españoles de la colección Naseiro adquiridos para el Prado*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 72–73.

[806] Van der Pijl-Ketel, 1982, p. 210.



Fig. 235. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Still Life with Fruits and Flowers*, signed and dated 1646. Oil on canvas, 37 x 47 cm. Private collection, Madrid. Published in Cherry, 1991, pl. XCI.



Fig. 236. Pedro de Camprobín (1605–74), *Dish with Fruits*, signed and dated 1656. Oil on canvas, 54.5 x 75 cm. Private collection.

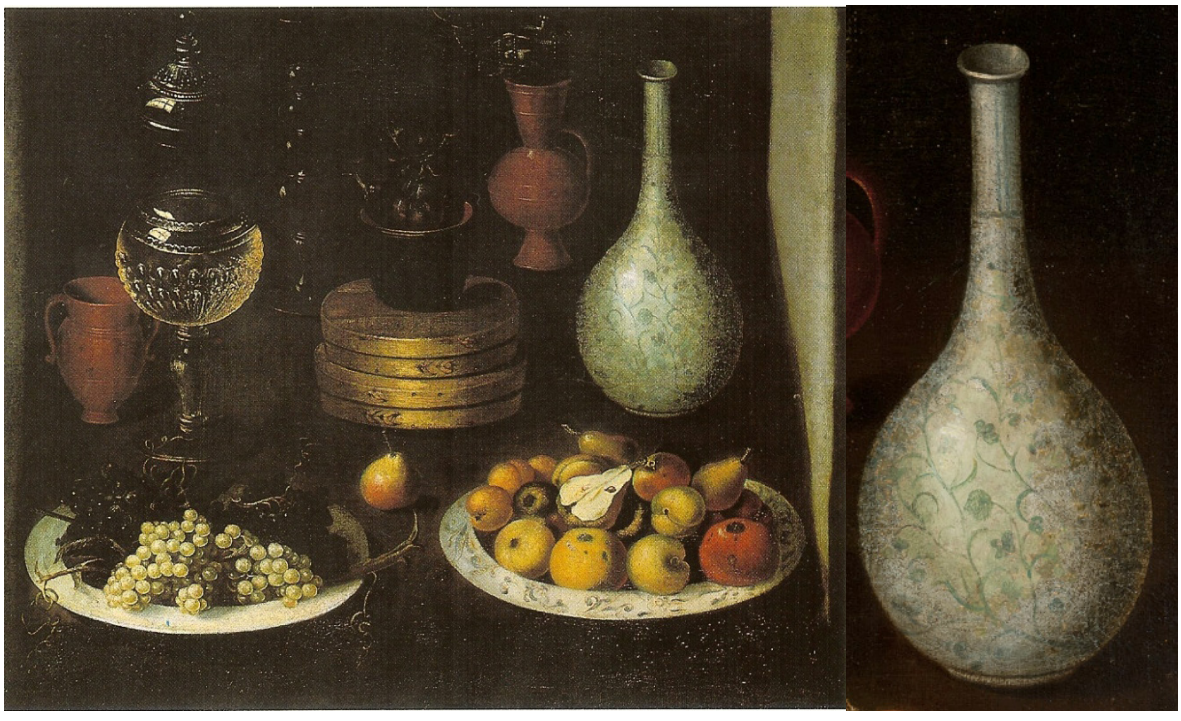


Fig. 237. Anonymous, *Still Life with grapes, pears, glass and boccaro.* 1625. Oil on canvas, 70 x 83 cm. Inv.no. unknown. Santander Central Hispano Collection.

Anonymous Spanish Painters of the Seventeenth Century

The last works are two anonymous paintings that probably include two Chinese pieces mixed in with other objects made of different materials. In the first painting, the artist has placed two plates, made by the Spanish potters of Talavera de la Reina and filled with fruit, in the foreground. Behind them, standing out against a dark background, are *boccaro* from Tonalá, Mexico, dark glass objects, and a Venetian-style lidded glass goblet of the style known as *façon de Venise*. Venetian glass was the most highly prized glass in the latter half of the fifteenth century, throughout the sixteenth century and for a good part of the seventeenth. Although the Venetian authorities did all they could to prevent the glass-blowing techniques of Murano from being divulged (glass-blowers could not leave the island without permission, on pain of death), glassworks gradually appeared elsewhere in Europe that made glass of the same type, *façon de Venise*. It was a colourless, delicate, fine-walled glass. It might bear a decorative appliqué of cordons, like the piece in the painting.[807] On the right the artist has placed a tall, pear-shaped bottle with a long, narrow neck and a spreading mouthrim. It is decorated with an all-over design in blue of a complex, upwards winding flower spray. Like the bell-shaped cups (*jícaras*) in the preceding pages, this is a puzzling piece and identification is problematic. The shape could very well have been derived from pear-shaped *Kraak* bottles that sometimes have a spreading mouthrim too, although such bottles do not have such a long neck. The vertical pattern on the neck could also be derived from *Kraak* models but an all-over floral decoration does not exist on *Kraak* wares. As a decorative style the continuing floral spray is known in much sturdier versions of late 14th- to early 15th-century porcelain, but those wares usually have decorative bands closing the design and the flower sprays are less 'thin' and less randomly distributed over the surface. Nor is such a bottle shape known for the early Ming. In this case, therefore, we could assume that the painter loosely based himself on a Chinese, 'exotic' *Kraak* bottle, but exaggerated the shape and invented a

[807] I am grateful to Susana Arbaizar for her comments on the glass in this painting.

similarly 'exotic' decoration, probably guided by textile patterns such as those seen on Indian chintz or Oriental embroideries. In doing so, the artist is a representative of the fashion among painters to not reproduce a model faithfully, but to change the shape and the decoration as he saw fit for the composition, colour scheme or atmosphere.

In the second anonymous painting (fig. 238), known as *El bodegonero*, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, a *bodega* owner holds a bowl full of soup over a table covered of an array of foods. Next to the food, on the right, one can dimly see a small bowl with a blue-and-white decoration and a floral scroll around the rim. Beside it is a *klapmuts* bowl full of a type of doughnut cake with a compartmentalised decoration.

To conclude, it is clear that the study of paintings has proved to be very fruitful in establishing additional knowledge about Chinese export wares in a Spanish context. New types of wares from the first half of the seventeenth century have been identified, specifically made for Spanish customers. In general, the porcelains depicted on paintings confirm the archaeological evidence that mostly *Kraak* wares were used in well-to-do Spanish households, even if they had become old-fashioned in the second half of that century.

Fig. 238. Anonymous, *El bodegonero*. Dated 1610-1625. Oil on canvas, 100 x 122 cm. Inv. no. sk/a/2962. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.





Fig. 239. Detail of fig. 212, with a blue-and-white *klapmuts* and bowl. The decoration of the piece, although not clear, appears to consist of ogival panels and hanging bows.



Fig. 240. Steep-walled *klapmuts* decorated with ogival panels with flower sprays and narrow panels with beaded pendants. 1595-1610. Troesch Collection, Switzerland. D: 10.5, H: 5.6 cm. From Rinaldi, 1989, pl. 130, p. 122.

