Driven by Power:
Four Case Studies of the Possession and Appropriation of Chinese Porcelain in 18th-Century Europe and China

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Chapter 1: Introduction

After the long and elaborate production process of being glazed and burned for the last time and cooling down, a ceramic or porcelain object comes into being as a finished work. Hence, any further handling of this finished work, especially to directly and physically alter it—i.e. mounting it with an extra component, glazing or painting it over again, inscribing it, etc.—would immediately arrest one's attention. For example, after its arrival in Europe a Chinese porcelain vase was altered and fixed with metal mounting—its neck was cut off, the shoulder area cut open and mounted as a lid, and the body bolted with metal handles and a pedestal at the base. In the end it was transformed as a lidded jar. Another case regards an ancient Chinese green glazed pottery jar from the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 AD) whose surface was inscribed with two poems of the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) under his order.

Furthermore, the handlings can be indirect, invisible, or abstract. For example, Chinese ware was taken as a paradigm for ceramic/porcelain production in diverse manners and geographical locations, with its properties inspiring other art practices, such as painting and designs. These handlings—mounting, inscribing, and reproducing—are striking, thus prompting me to ask the question "Why were they carried out?" It is this question that motivates this dissertation.

In the last few decades there has been a number of prominent research on the extraordinary handling of Chinese porcelain—research that provides immensely valuable material that illuminates my own work. On the Chinese porcelain mounted in Europe Arthur Lane (1909-1963) has conducted pioneering research, reconstructing

the history of a Chinese Yuan-period (1271-1368) porcelain vase mounted under the mandate of Charles II of Anjou-Sicily, the King of Naples and Jerusalem (1254–1309), carefully elucidating how it was further handled and transferred from court to court in the following centuries, and how it was given to the national Museum of Ireland in Dublin in the end and received its name, the noted Gaignières-Fonthill vase.[1] Focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sir Francis Watson (1907-1992) is another prominent scholar dedicated to cataloguing and reconstructing the history of various mounted porcelain collections, such as the Wallace collection in London, the Wrightsman collection in the Metropolitan Museum, and the J. Paul Getty collection.[2] Lunsingh Scheurleer's voluminous publication can be counted as a comprehensive illustrated catalogue of Chinese and Japanese porcelain mounted in Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.[3] Another pioneering study of Chinese porcelain in French mounts achieved by Kristel Smentek focuses on the inseparable relation between the mounted pieces and Rococo art, whose development has had a close relation to Nature regarding to the forms and styles.[4] In the recent years Anna Grasskamp has also worked on the mounted objects with focus on the curiosities of all kinds that are mounted, collected, and displayed in the treasure chambers (*Schatzkammer*), originally belonging to the 17th-century European courts.[5] She has also drawn a parallel between the European mounted objects and the Chinese curiosities in mounts or displayed on the pedestals situated in the studies of literati of

[1] Arthus Lane, 'The Gaignières-Fonthill Vase; A Chinese Porcelain of about 1300', *Burlington Magazine* (April 1961), pp. 124-132.
[2] Francis Watson & Gillian Wilson, *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, L.A., The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999. See also: F. Watson, *Chinese Porcelain in European Mounts*, N. Y.: China House Gallery (1980), etc.
[3] Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und japanisches Porzellan in europäischen Fassungen*, Braunschweig: Verlag Klinkhardt & Biermann (1980).
[4] Kristel Smentek, *Rococo exotic: French mounted porcelains and the allure of the east*, N.Y.: Frick Collection (2007).
[5] Anna Grasskamp, "Kuang Jia Zi Ran 框架自然：從清宮中的三件珊瑚藝術品論起"; the article will be published in *National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* 故宮文物月刊 in 2015/ 2016.

the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).[6] Apart from the collections mentioned above, the following institutions also possess a good volume of mounted porcelains for study: the Walter's Collection in Baltimore, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Washington National Gallery of Art, the Toledo Museum of Art in Toledo, Ohio, Thyssen-Bornemisza in Lugano, Spain, Munich Residenz, Hessian State Museum (Hessisches Landesmuseum) in Cassel, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Waddesdon Manor in Aylesbury, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof in Leeuwarden, Musée National du Louvre, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, and Musée Nissim de Camondo in Paris, among others. And the following institutions hold the immeasurably valuable and prominent collections of other mounted art objects made of diverse materials through different centuries from different areas, and provide crucial visual comparisons to the mounted porcelain: Musée National du Louvre, Green Vault (Grünes Gewölbe der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen) in Dresden, Kunst Historisches Museum Wien, Schloss Ambras, the British Museum, Museo del Prado, the Silver Museum (Museo degli Argenti in Palazzo Pitti) in Florence, Hessian State Museum (Hessisches Landesmuseum) in Cassel, among others.

The Chinese porcelain imitated by European manufactories immediately recalls the successful Meissen Manufactory, generally acknowledged as the first European manufactory that was able to manufacture 'China-like' hard-paste porcelain. Painstakingly combing the dealing records between the Meissen Manufactory and its prominent French customers—for example, the inheritance inventories of Marquis de La Faye (1731) or Comtesse de Verrue (1736), auction catalogues compiled by the famous Parisian Edme-François Gersaint for Vicomte de Fonspertuis' collection (1747), the working records and inventories constructed inside the Dresden court as

[6] Ibid.

well as the delivery list of the Manufactory for the Japanese Palace of the Dresden court, Julia Weber's volumed catalogue focuses on one of the prominent production lines of Meissen during the first to the second quarters of the eighteenth century—allowing one to track the reproduction of Chinese and Japanese porcelain since it began to be able to produce white hard-paste porcelain like the real Chinese ones in the beginning of the century.[7] Two prominent picture albums, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien* (1978) and *Exotische Welten: der Schulz-Codex und das frühe Meissener Porzellan* for an exhibition of the same name that took place in the Grassi Museum of Applied Art in Leipzig in 2010, both publish Johann Höroldt's drawings, which served as patterns or exemplars inside the manufactory for the creation of the Chinese style.[8][9] Accompanying research articles expound how these drawings are restored and catalogued, what kinds of materials for these *chinoiserie* images possibly serve as sources for Höroldt, and how they are transferred onto porcelain decoration. The images demonstrate European creations of the Chinese and/or Far Eastern world, with a frequently appearing theme of tea preparing and drinking. Ulrich Pietsch also published a finely trimmed catalogue on the Meissen products in the forms and styles of East Asian porcelain.[10] Diethard Lübke researched Höroldt's career development as a porcelain decorator in Vienna, as well as compared porcelain production in Du Paquier and Meissen.[11]

The picture album titled *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux*

[7] Julia Weber, *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*, München: Hirmer (2013).
[8] Rainer Behrends, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien,* Leipzig: Edition Leipzig (1978).
[9] T. Rudi, *Exotische Welten : der Schulz-Codex und das frühe Meissener Porzellan*, München: Hirmer (2010).

[10] Ulrich Pietsch, *Meissener Porzellan und seine ostasiatischen Vorbilder*, Leipzig: Ed. Leipzig (1996).

[11] Diethard Lübke, *Chinesische Nachahmungen von Meißner Porzellan*: 1735-1755, Bramsche: Rasch (2012).

de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon..., created by Jean-Antoine Fraisse (1680-1739) in 1735, includes the pattern sheets used inside the Chantilly factory to create *objets d'art* with oriental motifs, accompanied by a short but essential history.[12] The pattern sheets refer extensively to the patterns on the oriental objects—that is, porcelain, lacquer ware, or textiles—belonging to Louis IV Henri de Bourbon-Condé (1692-1740), known as duc de Bourbon; however, the great majority of them still display European imagination and recreation of the Orient. Publications on another hard-paste porcelain manufactory, the Du Paquier, or on soft-paste porcelain manufactories—for example, Saint-Cloud, Chantilly, Bow, or Tournai—respectively provide manufactory and production histories, including an introduction to the production line imitating Chinese and Japanese porcelain.

For Chinese ceramics inscribed with Qianlong Emperor's poems Stacey Pierson's publication titled *A Collector's Vision: Ceramics for the Qianlong Emperor* (2002) is one of the earliest works on pieces inscribed with Emperor Qianlong's poems that are possessed by the Percival David Foundation.[13] In each entry the inscribed poem, the inscribed seals, and the English translation are provided. By means of studying Qianlong Emperor's poems Hsieh Ming-Liang has also published a research article (2003) introducing how Qianlong carried out his various connoisseurly practices with the imperial collection of ancient or old ceramics.[14] Hsieh's article has offered a sharp insight into Qianlong's realization of his political

[12] N. Garnier-Pelle (ed.), *Livre de desseins chinois: tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce par le s'Fraisse, peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc, dédié à Son Altesse Sérénissime, et publié à Paris chez Ph. Nic. Lottin, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Saint-Jacques, proche de S. Yves, à la Vérité, M.DCC.XXXV, Avec Privilège du Roy,* Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau, Hayot (2011).

[13] Stacy Pierson, *A Collector's Vision: Ceramics for the Qianlong Emperor*, London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art (2002).

[14] Ming-Liang Hsieh, *Qianlong di de tao ci jian shang guan* 乾隆帝的陶瓷鑑賞觀, Taipei: National Science Council (2003). See also his *Tao Ci Shou Ji 2* 陶瓷手記 2, Taipei: Shitou (2012).

vision as a Manchu-emperor by connecting the ceramic objects, his poems, and historical facts.

In 2012 an exhibition titled *De jia chu: Qianlong huangdi de taoci pinwei* 得佳趣：乾隆皇帝的陶瓷品味（*Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics*) took place in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, at which various ceramic objects inscribed with Qianlong's poems were exhibited. Accompanying this exhibition was a catalogue compiled by Yu Pei-Chin offering the inscribed poems and her relatively brief but valuable interpretation or historical reconstruction of select objects from the Taipei Palace Museum collection.[15] Other valuable properties of this catalogue are the indexes compiling lists of the ceramic works inscribed with Qianlong's poems, now collected in the Taipei Palace Museum, the Beijing Palace Museum, and the British Museum (originally the Percival David Foundation), in which information like the poems and periods of inscription are provided; others are eight picture albums of selected precious bronze and ceramic objects compiled under the mandate of Qianlong to accompany his plans of having the precious objects equipped with cases.

The catalogue titled *De jia chu: Qianlong huangdi de taoci pinwei* mentioned above and the other, titled *The Three Emperors, 1662-1795*, edited by Jessica Rawson and Evelyn Rawski, published in 2005, both introduce several porcelain objects reproduced by the Imperial Household Department at the early Qing court, which intended to reproduce the imperial ware from the Song dynasty or to imitate the forms

[15] Pei-Chin Yu, *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics,* Taipei: National Palace Museum (2012). See also her doctoral thesis titled *A Study of Qianlong Official Wares and the Ideal of a Sagacious Ruler*, Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2011.

of the ancient bronze ritual ware.[16] The latter one also introduces the court production of some vessels imitating the forms of the Tibetan ones. The catalogue titled *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum* by Tsai Mei-fen includes not only the early Qing-court collection of Tibetan art, but also the vessels reproduced for various purposes under the mandate of the first few Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty; in addition to the catalogue, Tsai also provided the history of the objects that they are involved with.[17]

Surveying the research mentioned above, we can observe that it is chiefly dedicated to reconstructing the historical facts of these objects; however, few scholars have closely observed the relation between the objects and their social contexts. The contexts that the objects were affiliated with in their own time and space, or were forced to be affiliated with, are crucial to my inquiry. By cross-referencing the historical factors identified by the previous researchers and other related primary sources, my dissertation will reconstruct an assemblage of Chinese porcelain and these extraordinary handling—that is, how the contexts of this assemblage converged, and the correlation between the 'processed' objects (Chinese porcelain after it was handled) and the contexts that they were manipulated to be affiliated with.

Along with the reconstruction, another objective of this dissertation is to uncover diverse types of power relations, as we will observe how a Chinese ceramic or porcelain object is transplanted into new scenarios to perform other roles according to the schemes of its possessors. And these power relations are particularly intricate

[16] Evelyn Rawski & Jessica Rawson, *China: the Three Emperors, 1662-1795*, London: Royal Academy of Arts (2006).
[17] Mei-Fen Tsai, *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum,* Taipei: National Palace Museum (1999).

and tense, with the possessors discussed in this dissertation having different geographic and ethnic origins than the Chinese porcelain itself. Hence, the study of power relations between Chinese porcelain and its possessors is also the study of cultural appropriation, for as Ziff and Rao note, cultural appropriation can be defined as "the taking—from a culture that is not one's own—of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge."[18] Diverse and specific properties of Chinese porcelain were learned and intentionally utilized as mediums through which to achieve the political purpose of expressing or increasing power.

My argument in this dissertation will proceed through four case studies in four respective chapters. Chapter 2 deals with Chinese porcelain pieces mounted in Europe during the eighteenth century, primarily in the forms and styles of the antiques. These works pertain to the European concept and convention of having art works fixed with mountings in diverse manners as decoration or protection already existed during the ancient Greek and Roman period and therefore the power system was transmitted through the act of 'mounting.' Moreover, some properties of Chinese porcelain, especially its materiality of 'earth' or its conceptual 'antiquity' acquired from the great ancient civilisation of China, were appropriated and mounted to easily perform its zeitgeist of reproducing ancient Greek and Roman art and culture.

Chapter 3 addresses how Chinese porcelain was physically and conceptually created in three different manners in eighteenth-century Europe. First, several European manufactories were eventually able to produce 'China-like' porcelain in terms of materials, forms, and styles. Among them the Meissen manufactory was the

[18] Ziff, Bruce & Rao Pratima V. 'Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis.' *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation.* N.J. 1997. P.1

most successful example. Second, for decorating porcelain or other *objets d'art* the European manufactories managed to refer to diverse written and visual sources that created their own representations of Chinese images with specific themes. Third, Chinese porcelain was 'conceptualized' and utilized as a theme of design. Moreover, the materiality of Chinese porcelain was appropriated as a counter point to 'shell' and 'curiosity,' which it encountered in the context of another art style, Rococo.

Chapter 4 deals with the ancient Chinese ceramic objects of the Han and Song dynasties in the imperial collection selected by the Manchu Emperor Qianlong of the early Qing period for his connoisseurly enjoyment and as themes for his numerous poems. Qianlong also ordered the Imperial Household Department to have his poems inscribed on the surfaces or bottoms of these ancient objects. To *shangwan* 賞玩—to admire the beauty of the ancient ceramics as well as to write poems about them were certainly noble and refined activities or diversions of his; however, together with the inscriptions, his power as a possessor can be detected in the distortion and disassembly of the original contexts of these objects in the imperial collection. The specific properties of the ceramic works and the works as physical objects were appropriated as mediums for conveying the messages of the emperor. In his poems Qianlong displayed his solid knowledge of ancient ceramics as well as his cultivated appreciation of various classical literary works in which the Han-civilization was rooted; at the same time he connected the ceramic works and the literary works to his ideas about ruling a country. The political intentions of his poems are explicit.

Chapter 5 explores how the Manchu emperors of the early Qing period intentionally produced certain types of porcelain vessels in vast amounts, either reproducing the imperial wares of the Song and Ming dynasties or imitating the forms

and styles of the ancient ritual bronzes of the Shang and Zhou periods as well as the Tibetan vessels. The active participation of the emperors in planning porcelain reproduction was demonstrated as well, as their strict requirements of form and style of wares manifested the strong intention of setting up and administering their rule. In this context porcelain reproduction was assigned political functions again.

I choose to construct and examine these four case studies together here due to their shared properties described in the course of this dissertation, through which they manifest the extent to which power relations structured their production and reproduction. Power relations offer a central narrative in studying of each case and point to why Chinese porcelain was processed with different handling. The processed objects are further manipulated to speak to other contexts in accordance with their possessors' wishes.

The reason why I limit the time frame of these four cases to the eighteenth century has to do with the significance of the period for the kinds of transactions described in this thesis. To focus on the eighteenth century is not only to narrow the scope of the dissertation, but more importantly to create symmetry between the European and the Chinese cases, thus affirming my argument that the possessors in the Chinese cases were Manchu emperors who were ethnically different from the Han ethnic group, and different from the original creators of the Song-period ceramic works and their imperial users. Nowadays it might be thought improper or politically incorrect to differentiate between ethnic groups according to the concept of 'zhonghua minzu 中華民族' (the Chinese people); however, it was an immense threat to the Han-folk at that time, as other ethnic groups (which were normally called 'barbarian tribes') invaded the Central Plain and even built powerful dynasties. The

Mongolian-Yuan is another example. The Manchu ownership can be compared to the possessors in Europe who were also ethnically different. Both possessed objects from another culture.

Moreover, it can be observed that in both the Chinese and European cases ‘form’ had been considered as a significant property in art production since the ancient time. Forms were intentionally followed or set up which then became paradigms. People who could establish or own paradigms also established norms. To set up norms was another way to manifest power. In China the forms of bronze vessels from the ancient Shang and Zhou periods, used in rituals and daily life, were the paradigms of vessel production (regardless of which material) in all the Chinese dynasties, and were given the close attention of most rulers, as this norm also signified the main Han civilization. As in Europe the creation of art works intended to closely follow the ancient Greek and Roman forms and styles, the foundation of European civilization. Both cases emphasize the significance of conceptualizing and forming forms, copying or imitating models (establishing the paradigm), and in the end, most importantly, setting up norms.

Chapter 2: The Chinese Porcelain in European Mounting

Visiting Chinese ceramic collections in European or North American institutions offers a wonderful opportunity to see Chinese porcelain fixed in European mounting. It could be a celadon bowl of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) that is mounted as a goblet with gilt silver lid and pedestal (fig. 2-1). It could be the export ware from the Wanli period (1573–1620) in the form of a mug, wine pot, or kendi mounted with gilt bronze lid, handle, and sometimes with pedestal as well as spout to form a tankard, wine pot, coffee pot, or lidded bottle. It could be two Chinese celadon bowls presented together in mounting to compose a potpourri (fig. 2-2), or a Chinese porcelain vase with the neck cut off, shoulder area cut open, and mounted as a lid, with the body fitted with metal handles and a pedestal at its base. In the end the vase is altered to be a lidded jar. Sometimes the Chinese porcelain vase is drilled, and then fixed with a spigot and pedestal that can function like a cistern (fig. 2-3). In some cases, like the pair of gourd-formed vases in fig. 2-4, the objects are not altered at all and simply mounted with pedestals, handles, and decorative elements.

Indeed, 'to have something mounted with extra constituent parts' has been one of the conventions of European art practice. This convention may originate from ancient Greek and Roman as well as Byzantine architecture and interior art, and is much related to the context of ornaments and the power system that they convey, as ornaments are carried out not only for embellishing but also for stressing significance, value, and possession of the objects.[1] In a large scale 'to mount' can be to add,

[1] Cyril A. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. See also: Robin Cormack, *Byzantine art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Research in relation to this argument has been partially published, see: Wen-Ting Wu,

namely by affixing ornamental elements to architecture; for example, the distinctive capitals and entablatures in the classical architectural orders, friezes, and pediments of Greek and Roman architecture, or various ornament types that can be engraved, painted, or composed of mosaics in the interior architecture of Byzantine churches—icons of the sacred, saints, and rulers, decorative paintings in various religious themes represented in roundels, panels, or on large surfaces, and band decorations along with the icons at vaults, friezes, walls, pillars, etc., such as what can be observed in the interior of Basilica San Vitale in Ravenna, for example, built during the sixth century (fig. 2-5). Observed more closely, the ornaments 'mounted' in its interior include several different sacred mosaic icons like Jesus and the Apostles, Emperor Justinian and his retinue, Empress Theodora and her attendants, etc., which denote the sovereign power of Christianity and the rule of Justinian of the Eastern Roman Empire.

When we restrict the concept of ornamenting to the small scale, 'to mount' can be to have ornamental components, principally those made of gems, precious stones or gold pieces, mounted on surfaces of religious icons, paintings, or objects in order to emphasize the sacredness or particular value of objects. Fig. 2-6 is a chalice, called the chalice of Emperor Romanos, made of sardonyx and mounted in silver-gilt with a border around the opening and a pedestal at the bottom, where icons of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, archangels, and saints in pairs are painted with enamels,[2] and gems are mounted not only for further ornamenting, but also to indicate the value and religious significance 'mounted' by these elements and the church. 'To mount' can also be to

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„*Shiba Shiji Yi Zhongguo Ciqi Wancheng de Ouzhou Jinshu Xiangqian Gongyi* 十八世紀以中國瓷器完成的歐洲金屬鑲嵌工藝", *Sun Yat-sen Journal of Humanities* 34, Jan. 2013. P. 109.

[2] 'Entry 10 Chalice of the emperor Romanos (with handles)'. *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*. Milan. 1984. P. 131.

frame something—for example, paintings, sacred icons, icons of rulers, etc. Otherwise, it can be to have objects—indeed sacred or valuable objects—affixed with extra structures, made of precious metal like gold and silver, or gilt bronze, which can be finials, lids, handles, spouts, pedestals, or decorative elements. Most of these mountings imitate the ornamental elements from capitals and plinths of pillars, friezes, and antefixes of ancient Greek and Roman architecture and the interiors of Byzantine churches. In this sense, forms, styles, and ornaments as well as the meanings they carry, which are observed in mounting of large scale, are scaled down but applied as essential factors of small-scale mounting. Occasionally some characters from Greek and Roman mythology are visualized as ornamental elements as well.

In the following centuries, the vessel types, materials, and functions of mounted objects varied constantly. Several representative collections like *Kunstkammer* or *Schatzkammer* (treasure chambers) in Vienna, Grünes Gewölbe (Green Vault) in Dresden, Museo degli Argenti in Florence, and the Museum of Hessian History in Kassel, etc., showcase the diversity. The objects that are mounted can be made of precious stones like brown sardonyx, ligneous agate, amber, jasper (red, amethystine, green, grey jasper with ochre spots), crystal, lapis lazuli, ophite, granite, etc., or rare exotic plants and animals like cocoa pod, coconut, tree burl, nautilus, mother-of-pearl, rhinoceros horn, buckhorn, buffalo horn, ivory, ostrich egg, etc. The finished products are mounted as well—for example, Gold Ruby glassware (Cranberry glass), or porcelain ware (mostly Chinese and Japanese), the latter especially in enormous quantity. Moreover, after being mounted, the objects perform diverse vessel types and are associated with different contexts—for religious contexts: goblet, chalice, aspersorium, ornamental caskets (*Prunkkassette*); for contexts relating to banquets, gift-giving, or politics at court, aristocratic and rich houses: sauceboat, saltcellar,

flagon, double mazer, flask, tankard, beaker, drinking horn, double cup, cup or bowl in shell or animal shapes, coffee pot, pitcher, jug, banquet dish, table fountain, basin and water jug.

Chinese porcelain, mounted in such diverse forms as those mentioned above, stood for ‘precious’, ‘rare’, and ‘exotic’ like other materials, and also strongly engaged with the contexts that other mounted objects did. However, Chinese porcelain is a finished product, and for Europeans, it is a product from a foreign culture with an ancient civilization. We would thus like to ask: in which situations and with which ideations did the Europeans decide to alter Chinese porcelain with the mounting tradition? What are the differences among the mounted porcelain from the eighteenth century and before that era in terms of the forms, styles, functions, and contexts with which they were associated? What do these differences mean—or, more precisely, what were the changing perceptions of Chinese porcelain in Europe? This chapter aims to answer these questions by first introducing several pieces of Chinese porcelain mounted before the eighteenth century, and then analyzing the forms and styles of those mounted during the eighteenth century.

2.1 Chinese Porcelain Mounted before the Eighteenth Century

2.1.1 The Early Works:

The beginning of the tradition of mounting Chinese porcelain cannot be traced precisely. What follows, however, are several rare possibilities regarding the earliest objects:

1. A blue-and-white porcelain bowl of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) owned by Louis duc d’Anjou (1339-1384) and ordered to be mounted as a goblet with silver-gilt in 1365; it is recorded that the bowl was mounted in an ecclesiastical style with the stem

surmounted by six busts of apostles and a silver rim with hunting scenes in enamels. Along with the rim three enameled shields displaying the duke's arms are affixed.[3]

2. The Gaignières-Fonthill vase, a pear-shaped *qingbai* porcelain vase in bluish glaze of the late Yuan dynasty (beginning of the fourteenth century), mounted with silver-gilt in the shape of a wine pot with lid, handle, spout, and pedestal; it is mounted under the mandate of Charles II of Anjou-Sicily, King of Naples and Jerusalem (1254–1309) as a gift to one of his sons, was then inherited by Louis the Great of Hungary (1326–1382) who ordered to have it incised with another crest and inscription around 1381 in order to present it to Charles III of Durazzo on his accession to the throne of Naples later in 1381, and was then inherited by his son King Ladislaus.[4] In the following centuries this object was circulated among different possessors and in the end passed to William Beckford (1760–1844) and his son-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton (1767–1852); the Dublin Museum obtained it (without mounting) from the Hamilton Palace Sale in 1882.[5] Around the neck, on the cover, on the handle, around the lip, and on the spout of the mounting, different heraldic charges and inscriptions through which we can trace this history of possession are engraved.[6]

3. A celadon bowl, probably a Longquan ware of the early Ming dynasty (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), acquired by Phillip the Elder, Count of Katzenellenbogen from his trip to the Middle East between 1433 and 1444, mounted as

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[3] See an inventory entry listed between 1379 and 1380 in *Glossaire français du moyen âge, à l'usage de l'archéologue et de l'amateur des arts, précédé de l'inventaire des bijoux de Louis, duc d'Anjou* (1872), p.107, cited by Sir Francis Watson in *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum.* L.A. 1999. P. 3 & 18.

[4] Lane, Arthur. „the Gaignières-Fonthill Vase; A Chinese Porcelain of about 1300". *Burlington Magazine (April 1961)*. P. 125.

[5] Ibid. P. 129-130. See also Lane, Arthur. "The Gaignières-Fonthill Vase; A Chinese Porcelain of about 1300." *Burlington Magazine* (April 1961), pp. 124-132. The ownership of this vase was later handed down to King Ladislaus of Naples, Joanna II, René of Anjou, Jean Duc de Berry, and then to William Beckford of the Fonthill Abbey, where the vase obtained its present appellation. It was sold again to Robert Hume on behalf of Duke of Hamilton, and this time its mount was dismantled. The form of mounting refers to a drawing made for Roger de Gaignières dated 1793 or the illustration in John Britton's *Graphical and Literary Illustration of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire*, published in 1823.

[6] Ibid. P. 125-126. Arthur Lane has given details on the crests and inscriptions engraved on the mounting.

a goblet in silver-gilt probably between 1434 and 1453, after being brought back to Europe, and now located in the Hessian State Museum, Cassel, Germany.[7]

4. A celadon bowl of the early Ming dynasty (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century) in English silver-gilt mounting dating from the early sixteenth century, now collected by Oxford University. It was presented by Archbishop William Warham (ca. 1450–1532) in 1530 to New College, Oxford.[8]

Though it is difficult to trace the first Chinese porcelain piece transported to Europe, Chinese porcelain had been recorded and made familiar, as this entry from 1402 in *Libellus de Notitia Orbis* (*On Knowledge of the World*) illustrates:

> "Noblemen eat and drink from these vessels. Porcelain is said to be efficacious against poison, and whatever there may be inside, poison or anything drinkable, it absorbs all the impurities, etc. of the poison and purifies it entirely."[9]

No doubt at that time in Europe, Chinese porcelain was allochthonous, rare, precious, and therefore led automatically to contexts of tribute, gift-giving, commemoration and religious affairs within courts, aristocracies, and churches, and involved mountings, crests and inscriptions, including abbreviations of names, occasions, or years engraved on the mountings which approved their preciousness. In observing mounted Chinese porcelain in terms of cross-references to other mounted objects during this period, several similar features are noticeable. Firstly, the materials of mountings were gold or, most frequently, silver-gilt. Secondly, the objects were mounted like being locked by mountings, as many mounted vessels are in the form of bowls and mounted to be

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[7] Scheurleer, Lunsingh. ‚Kapitel 2: Montierte Keramik aus der Ming-Dynastie (1368-1644)', *Chinesisches und japanisches Porzellan in europäischen Fassungen*, (Braunschweig, 1980), p. 9-10. And F. J. B. Watson, 'Introduction: The Mounting of Oriental Porcelain' in *The Wrightsman Collection, Vol. IV Porcelain*, (N.Y., 1970), Carl Christian Dauterman ed., p. 378. According to the armorial bearings on the mount, the bowl was mounted before 1453.

[8] Watson, F. & Wilson, G. *Mounted Oriental Porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. L.A. 1999. P. 5-6.

[9] Cited by J.M. Massing in '16 Katzenelnbogen bowl' in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. Jay Levenson ed. New Haven. 1991. P. 132.

chalices or goblets for churches or use in commemorative events. They are not or just slightly altered and mounted like 'landing' in the valuable metal structure which frequently stands with a stem, and then 'clamped.' Such a form of mounting also offered the objects protection in an enclosed manner and emphasized their significance again. Thirdly, on the mountings the heraldic charges and inscriptions that were engraved indicated the identity, status and power of the owners. Chinese porcelain pieces were highly valued at that time in Europe, as they were mounted as chalices or as political gifts by European courts and dioceses.

2.1.2 Brief Introduction to Chinese porcelain mounted between the late 16th and 17th centuries

During the age of discovery that began in the fifteenth century the Portuguese successfully reached Canton (1517) and started to load up in Macao (1557) after a long negotiation process with the Chinese court.[10] Chinese porcelain, purchased from local handlers or supplied by the Canton or Fujian kilns, was one of the major trading items of the Portuguese. A considerable amount of porcelain ware was transported to Europe, and this 'production upon orders' type of business gradually transformed Chinese porcelain into a commodity.

In 1568 the Netherlands launched the war for independence against Spain and joined the maritime trade struggles. After taking the offensive on the Portuguese carrack São Tiago and robbing thousands of Chinese blue and white porcelain on board, the Netherlanders launched the war for maritime hegemony.[11] In the same year

[10] Sheurleer, D.F. Lunsingh. ‚Kapitel 2: Montierte Keramik aus der Ming-Dynastie (1368-1644).' *Chinesisches und japanisches Porzellan in europäischen Fassungen*. Braunschweig. 1980. P. 7-8.
[11] The Spanish king Philip II was aware of the Dutch ambition to gain maritime hegemony, so in 1580 he forbade the ships of the Netherlands from berthing at the Spanish and Portuguese harbors. In 1601 the Portuguese undertook the massacre of Dutch sailors in Tidore. In order to take revenge, the Dutch

Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (V.O.C.), the Dutch East India Company, was established in Batavia. It is estimated that during the years of Dutch hegemony the Dutch cargo vessels transported an average of 100,000 pieces of oriental porcelains back to Europe per year, with one estimate claiming that from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century V.O.C. imported around forty-three million pieces, while the English, French, Swedish, and Danish East India Companies took roughly thirty million pieces of oriental porcelain back to Europe.[12] This does not include the great amount of porcelain pieces in the sunken vessels.[13] Until this period, Chinese porcelain was widely known and collected, and the possessors were not only from the courts, aristocracy, and churches, but also from other high social classes, and bourgeoisie. To meet the large market demand in Europe, Chinese porcelain was produced within a short time and quickly uploaded for sailing; the production had to satisfy various assignments by vessel types, functions, decorative styles, and huge number. Hence Chinese porcelain was, to an extent, turned into a commodity for everyday consumption in the European context as well. Nevertheless, it was still of high value and considered precious.

During this period the contexts of Chinese porcelain became broader, as can be observed from the history of mounted Chinese porcelain. It was still significantly related to the commemorative context. Chinese porcelain was also intensely associated with luxury—with, for example, feasts, collection, and display—as can be observed in Dutch still life or genre painting from this time. It was more related to daily life, and as

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carracks attacked the Portuguese carrack São Tiago and stole thousands of pieces of Chinese blue and white porcelain on board. See Maura Rinaldi, 'Introduction' in *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade.* London. 1989. P. 41-44.

[12] Finlay, Robert. 'The Pilgrim of Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History.' *Journal of World History*. Vol. 9 No. 2 (Fall 1998). P. 168.

[13] Roth, Stig. *Chinese Porcelain Imported by the Swedish East India Company*. Gothenburg. 1965. P. 12. For example, the vessel of the Swedish East India Company sank with 700,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain near a Swedish port in 1745.

stated earlier, its user group was enlarged. It was a commodity, and a luxurious one. Though the combination of pictorial elements in paintings were decided by the artists, we can observe how the related contexts provided by the 'chosen' objects were affiliated with each other, especially when different artists chose similar elements for their compositions. Whether mounted or not, in still life Chinese porcelain was frequently placed together with silverware, gilt silverware, other luxurious mounted objects (most frequently nautilus and glassware) (fig. 2-8, 2-9, 2-10, 2-11), and feast food (lobster, oyster, plenty of fruits, etc.) for composition (fig. 2-11, 2-12). These pictorial elements, due to their allochthonous forms or provenances—for example, the glass goblet in Venetian style with wine (fig. 2-8), the glass goblet in the mounting which may actually have referred to the drawing of Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8–1543) in the German Renaissance style (fig. 2-10)—or due to their extraordinary designs—for example, the nautilus cup in mounting composed of figures of Neptune, Triton, and Dolphins, mythical creatures (fig. 2-8, 2-11) that referred to the design of a real mounted nautilus cup by Jan Jacobsz van Royenstein (ca. 1549–1604)[14]—all mirrored European evaluation and perception of Chinese porcelain at that time. Furthermore, such composition of diverse special creatures, whether natural or man-made, standing for preciousness and rareness, was also associated with the high interest of *Wunderkammer* or *Kunstkabinett* (cabinets of curiosities; cabinets of wonder) during that time, and certainly Chinese porcelain was included (fig. 2-13). Robert Batchelor has pointed out that since the seventeenth century, Chinese porcelain in Europe had addressed these three 'ruptures': 'incorporating into daily life the commodity that seemed to be a hybrid of nature and culture (materiality and inscription), comprehending the overlaps between various systems of symbols

[14] Dongen, Alexandra Gaba-van. 'Alltägliches & Außergewöhnliches Gebrauchsgegenstände und Prunkobjekte bei Willem Kalf.' *Gemaltes Licht. Die stilleben von Willem Kalf 1619-1693*. München. 2007. P. 30.

occurring because of exchange processes, and finally reconciling the multiple perspectives raised by the previous two ruptures.'[15] Taking Batchelor's statement a step further, one could suggest that the 'reconciling' stage was carried out by having Chinese porcelain mounted after arrival in Europe, reflecting the convergence of dissimilar contexts in material, geographical, cultural, and functional aspects.

2.2 Chinese porcelain mounted in the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century Chinese and Japanese porcelain became more popular due to the brisk art market for oriental luxury goods. To take Paris (which was likely the centre of the liveliest deals of the period) as an example, people who could afford could walk into the shops to make selections, and the court, aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and tourists, home or foreign, were all supplied directly by the shops or dealers.[16] Moreover, people could make selections from among mounted or un-mounted porcelain pieces, or request to have their porcelain pieces mounted. The fashion was to have the porcelain pieces, when not mounted, displayed as *garniture* above the fireplace or on luxury furniture (frequently in front of a large mirror framed with scroll ornaments), and when mounted, either displayed or applied to various functions—as boxes for smoking or writings tools, drinking and eating vessels, potpourri, candelabra, etc. The return to the fascination with classicalism in the eighteenth century had an immense impact on art form and style, and the mounted objects inevitably performed the zeitgeist.

2.2.1 Return of the Antiques: forms and styles of eighteenth-century

[15] Batchelor, Robert. 'On the Movement of Porcelains: Rethinking the Birth of the Consumer Society as Interactions of Exchange Networks, China and Britain, 1600-1750.' John Brewer & Frank Trentmann ed. *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges.* Oxford. 2006. P. 97.
[16] Sargentson, Carolyn. ‚Introduction.' *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*. London. 1996. P.1.

mounted Chinese porcelain

Eighteenth-century European mountings explicitly oriented their forms and styles towards ancient Greek and Roman art, especially the decorative elements of architecture. Having been affixed with mounting, Chinese porcelain was ingeniously arranged to perform the fashionable classical style. The following are several classical elements or themes that characterize the mounted Chinese porcelain of this period:

1. A pair of rams' heads:

Fig. 2-14 shows a Chinese porcelain vase in jasper-red glaze of the Qianlong period (1736–1795) mounted with gilt bronze in the theme of a pair of sacrificed rams. The vases are paired and in the form of *gu* 觚, a kind of wine vessel from the late Shang period (700–1,000 B.C.) of China, which interestingly created a 'double' ancient style together with the mounting in the ancient Greek style. At the neck of the vase a pair of rams' heads is mounted in high relief; the heads are opposed to each other and linked by spiral strings with drapery-like and tassel ornaments. The lip is mounted with leaf-and-dart molding, whereas the foot is bordered with guilloche. The images of paired rams' heads can be traced back to ancient Greek. After being ritually sacrificed, rams' heads were hung up in pairs on the columns in front of temples (fig. 2-15).[17] Such an image and the concept of 'making a pair' and 'symmetry' would be transferred through different media to art works, for example, the form and style of mounting mentioned here.[18] Some early Hellenistic objects—for example, a silver hoop from the late forth century B.C. (fig. 2-16) or a silver trefoil oinochoe from the late sixth century

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[17] A drawing shows that a pair of rams' heads are hang on the pillar head of a temple after sacrificing, see: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies,* Vol.2 (1881), PL.XV.

[18] Research in relation to this argument has been partially published in: Wen-Ting Wu, „*Shiba Shiji Yi Zhongguo Ciqi Wancheng de Ouzhou Jinshu Xiangqian Gongyi* 十八世紀以中國瓷器完成的歐洲金屬鑲嵌工藝", *Sun Yat-sen Journal of Humanities* 34, Jan. 2013. P. 115-117.

(fig. 2-17)[19][20]—also nicely compare to the representation of paired rams' heads on the mounting affixed to this Chinese vase. Concerning the image of rams' heads in pair, Murray argues that the design represents 'a true sense of the organic unity in a creature or object symmetrical in its two sides,'[21] and the concept of 'making a pair' and 'symmetry' has existed since ancient Greek. Not only the decorative elements, but also very frequently the productions of different craft works all followed this concept.

2. Themes & elements from mythology:

Fig. 2-18 is a large-sized Chinese vat in 'bleu soufflé' glaze from the Qianlong period, supposedly originally made for cultivating koi, recorded to have been mounted as a standing vase by a French *bronzier,* Pierre-Philippe Thomire.[22] The vat was braced vertically with four gilt-bronze strips, upon which the high relief works that represent the head with the large horns of Pan, the god of the wild, nature, and flocks in Greek mythology, or of Pan's fellow Satyr, were applied at the top, and the goat's feet at the end.[23] In order to extend this Greek mythological theme, the images of Pan or Satyr, who are the followers of the wine god Dionysus and pleasure seekers, are accompanied by branches of vines from which bunches of grapes are hanging. The decoration with the image of Pan or Satyrs can be seen very often in wine or drinking vessels. Fig. 2-19

[19] A pair of silver hoop, Greek (early Hellenistic), late 4th century B.C., Diameter 5.5 cm, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.73).
[20] Milleker, Elizabeth J. 'Greek and Roman.' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series, Vol. 49, No. 4, Ancient Art: Gifts from the Nobert Schimmel Collection*, Spring 1992, p. 61. See also Dietrich von Bothmer, 'A Greek and Roman Treasury,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series, Vol. 42, No. 1, A Greek and Roman Treasury*, summer 1984, p. 29.
[21] Murray, A. S. 'Perspective as Applied in Early Greek Art.' *The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. 2 (1881)*. P. 320.
[22] Watson, Sir Francis. 'Catalogue: Mounted Oriental Porcelain No. 21.' *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum.* L.A. 1999. P. 102.
[23] According to the Getty catalogue in 1999, the relief works present the heads of Satyr. Both Pan and Satyr shared the same physical features of large horns and goat's low legs and are the followers of the wine god Dionysus. Nevertheless, Pan is supposed to be one of the Greek gods, whereas Satyrs can be numerous. See R. Branham, 'Introduction', *Satyrica*, R. Stoneman ed., (L.A., 1996), p.xxiii; also Edwin L. Brown, "The Lycidas of Theocritus *Idyll* 7", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, (1981), pp. 59-65; also P. Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God: his Myth in Modern Times*, Harvard University Press, (Cambridge, 1969), p. 7.

and fig. 2-20 shows an Etruscan black glaze pottery oinochoe and a silver oinochoe from the fourth century, whose handles are decorated with relief works of Satyr's heads.[24] In another example in fig. 2-4 the shoulders of a pair of black-glazed vases in double-gourd form are encircled with mount work in the design of grapevines and collocated with long ear-formed carrying handles, which recall the form of the ancient Greek vessel 'Kantharos' (fig. 2-21).

Another example showing the ancient Greek influence on metal works or mountings presents the image of a dolphin ridden by Poseidon (god of the sea) or Triton (Poseidon's son). Fig. 2-3 is a Chinese vase mounted as a cistern standing at three legs in the form of dolphins. Fig. 2-22 is a nautilus sauceboat made in a Chinese manufacture before 1578, probably in Canton, painted and processed with mother-of-pearl to create Chinese scenes, and mounted with silver in France.[25] Fig. 2-23 is an early eighteenth-century Japanese Imari bowl mounted with a tripod standing with three legs in the form of a dolphin, created in France around 1740. Typically the images of Poseidon, Triton, or dolphins that appear in art works—for example, here by mounting—are associated with water to a certain extent, as can be observed from these three examples.

Some sixteenth-century silverware designs or mounted works also offered the eighteenth-century *bronzier* a great volume of direct visual references to create the antique themes, as the Renaissance had stirred up a great flow of classicalism in different media for creating art works. Most of the well-known and influential

[24] Vickers, M. & Impey, O. & Allan, J. 'Greece and Rome.' *From Silver to Ceramic: The Potter's debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds*. Oxford. 1986.
[25] Mosco, Marilena & Casazza Ornella. 'The Medici and the Allure of the Exotic.' *The Museo degli Argenti: Collection and Collectors*. Florence. 2004. P. 176-177. This work was probably mounted by a French goldsmith, François Crevecueur, who worked for the court of Catherine de'Medici.

sixteenth-century mounting works were made in workshops in German-speaking areas, the Low Countries, and Italy, mainly located in Augsburg, Nurnberg, Antwerp, Florence, and Rome.[26] The works created in the Augsburg workshops were legendary, as they were called '*Augsburger Pracht*' (Augsburg splendor),[27] or Antwerp, which became another key gold and silversmith center in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century,[28] from which a great number of mounted objects or silverware were designed according to the pattern book of Cornelis Floris (1514–1575).[29] Those grotesque images associated with the Greek mythology in Floris' drawings (fig. 2-24), especially the figures of Triton or Satyr that appeared on mountings or silverware of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became the paradigm for the eighteenth-century representation of sea or wine gods.

3. Border decorations of the ancient Greek architecture:

Apart from the decorative themes, most of the porcelain pieces are mounted elaborately with fine border ornamentation around lips and stands (or lids, when applicable), mostly composed of two to three layers of different border designs. They reproduce the Greek and Hellenic border ornaments around columns and plinths, along with the friezes of ancient architecture (fig. 2-25), and also refer to the ornamentation on ancient pottery—for example, the fine ancient Roman pottery, the red-gloss *terra sigillata* ware from the first half of the second century, and in the Gaul areas (today France and the Rhineland) the Gaulish sigillata ware, which was created

[26] Schmidberger, Ekkehard & Richter, Thomas. *Schatz 800 bis 1800 Kunst: Kunsthandwerk und Plastik der Staatlichen Museen Kassel im Hessischen Landesmuseum Kassel*. Kassel. 2001. See also Marilena Mosco & Ornella Casazza, *The Museo degli Argenti: Collection and Collectors*. Florence. 2004.
[27] See the press release of the exhibition *Showpieces: Masterpieces of Goldsmithing from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection* in Alte Galerie at Schloss Eggenberg, Graz, from 5th May to 31st Oct 2010.
[28] Schmidberger, Ekkehard & Richter, Thomas. ‚Antwerpener Nautiluspokal.' *Schatz 800 bis 1800 Kunst: Kunsthandwerk und Plastik der Staatlichen Museen Kassel im Hessischen Landesmuseum Kassel*. Kassel. 2001. P. 134-135.
[29] Cornelis Floris' drawings can be seen in Robert Hedicke's *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration* 1 & 2, Berlin, 1913. Floris was an architect and sculptor who was active in Antwerp.

between the late first and the early second century.[30] Certainly the silverware as well as the mounted objects from the Renaissance period introduced the Greek and Roman border designs.

According to my observations, egg-and-dart, leaf-and-dart, ovolo, gadroon, and guilloche are most frequently seen among these ancient Greek border ornaments adopted by mounting designs, which are listed with illustrations in the following table (fig. 2-26).[31] Of these, the egg-and-dart border has been the most seen over the centuries and was developed in various types by length and form of egg or dart. There are abundant examples of different egg-and-dart borders— for example, the lip rim of the oinochoes from the Oxford Ashmolean Museum and Verghina Archaeological Museum in fig. 2-19 and 2-20, or the English silverware as well as the French mounting to Chinese porcelain in the following table.

Fig. 2-26 Different types of the border designs

egg-and-dart		
	Covered cup. Chinese porcelain in English silver gilt. 1565-70. H: 7 3/8 in. Irwon Untermyer Collection	Chinese Porcelain in copper red glaze. ca. 1720-1750. French ormolu mount. 1760-1780. The Walter's Art Museum
leaf-and-dart		
	Jug. Earthenware in English silver gilt.	Pair of Vases. Chinese porcelain of

[30] Hayes, John W. 'Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports.' *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 32, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports*. N.J. 2008. P. 190, 193, 336. This is an excavation report conducted by Hayes of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 2008, which studies the Sigillata pottery found in Agora. See also Maria T. M. Moevs, 'Cosa: The Italian Sigillata', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes, vol. 3, Cosa: The Italian Sigillata*. 2006. Plates 3-85.

[31] The illustrations are selected from the following publications in relation to mounted objects: Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan in Europäischen Fassungen*, Braunschweig, 1980, p. 173-203; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and other Silver in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, London, 1963, Plates 1-12; Christopher Hartop, 'Acquisition and Use', *A Noble Pursuit: English Silver from the Rita Gans Collection at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond, 2010, p. 16-17.

	1555. H: 7 3/4 in. Irwin Untermyer Collection	the Kangxi period (1662-1722). French gilt-bronze mount. ca. 1770-75. J. P. Getty Museum
Ovolo		
	Chinese porcelain vase. French Goldware. 18th century. H: 47.7 cm. Aylesbury, Waddesdon Manor. It is noteworthy that the vase is mounted likely to perform the form of the ancient Greek vessel 'Volute-crater.' However, the scroll-shaped handles of the antetype are replaced by figures of Venus.	
Gadroon		
	Cistern, English silver, 1709, L: 32 in., Irwin Untermyer Collection	Chinese porcelain vase, ca. 18th century, French gilt-bronze mount, ca. 18th century, Museum for applied art, Frankfurt am Main
guilloche		
	Wine cooler in pair, English silverware, 1716, H: 8 1/4 in., Irwin Untermyer Collection	Chinese porcelain vase, French gilt-bronze mount, ca. 1760-70, H: 23 cm, The Metropolitan Museum

4. Appreciating Nature:

The forms and styles of mountings to Chinese porcelain were associated with more natural themes during the eighteenth century. With the abatement of excessive or grotesque decorations from the earlier centuries, the natural elements were accentuated and appreciated for their simple style. Many decorative elements or motifs in relation to nature originate from ancient Greek and Roman art and mythology, as Winckelmann confirmed that antiquity is much rooted in natural forms. In his *Reflection on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* he noted that when the great sculptor Lysippos (c. 395–305 BC) was asked about the themes that he chose in

creating his art works, he replied "None; but nature alone."[32] In his discussion of sculpture in *Salon de 1765* Diderot also mentioned: "Anyone who scorns nature in favor of the antique risks never producing anything that is not small, weak and paltry in its outline, character, drapery and expression. Anyone who neglects nature in favor of the antique risks being cold, lifeless and devoid of the hidden, secret truths which can only be perceived in nature itself. It seems to me that we have to study the antique in order to learn how to see nature."[33] Diderot also claimed that the natural elements could not be disregarded when pursuing the antiques, and that to return to nature by creating art signified the rediscovery of originality in the form and method of ancient Greek and Roman art.

Eighteenth-century mountings adopted natural elements from ancient Greek and Roman art based on the following sources:

a. direct visual references:

The scrolled and foliated designs on mounting can be observed on the ancient Greek and Roman temples or tombs, especially at friezes, antefixes, or capitals of pillars, mostly from the façades of architecture. For example, scrolling acanthus leaves as decoration on mountings originate from the Corinthian order, one of the three Greek classical orders (fig. 2-27). In *Reflection on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* Winckelmann suggested that Corinthian capital presents abundant compositions of acanthus, which can provide one of best natural elements for creating art in an ancient style.[34] Other often-seen plant elements are

[32] Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. 'Answer to the Foregoing Letter.' *Reflection on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks: with Instructions to the Connoisseur, and an Essay on Grace in Works of Art*. trans. Henry Fusseli. London. 1765. P. 100-101.
[33] Diderot, Denis. *Œuvres complètes*, vol. XIV. H. Dieckmann, J. Proust, and J. Varloot ed. Paris. 1975. P. 278-9. See also Russell Goulbourne, 'Diderot and the Ancients,' *New Essays on Diderot*. James Fowler ed. Cambridge. 2011. P. 14.
[34] Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. 'Objections against the Foregoing Reflexions.' *Reflection on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks: with Instructions to the Connoisseur, and an Essay on Grace in*

palmettes (fig. 2-28 & 2-29). Further, the design of porcelain vessels affixed with metal finials in shapes of shells or coals performs inspiration from another natural element. Sometimes the veins and forms of shells are adopted by ornaments or mouldings of mountings, as they were also partially adopted by Greek and Roman art or architecture. For example, the famous Italian etcher, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), created a series of engravings on comparable shells and Greek vases, and also claimed that the features of the shells had inspired the ornamentation and moulding of Greek ceramic vessels (fig. 30).[35]

b. allegories:

In the sixteenth century, shells and mounted nautiluses were fashionable collectable items for the cabinets of curiosity, and urged by numerous publications on shells; this trend reached a feverish pitch during the eighteenth century. In some ways shells and porcelain share the same features in terms of appearance—creamy white, smooth, glassy, beautiful, rare, and maritime, they are analogous to each other. The most well-known Parisian art dealer of the time, Edme-François Gersaint (1694–1750), believed that porcelain and shells shared similar features as curiosities, as he expressed in his catalogues *Catalogue raisonné des bijoux, porcelaines, bronzes, lacqs, lustres de cristal de roche et de porcelaine… provenans de la succession de M. Angran, vicomte de Fonspertius* (1747) and *Catalogue raisonné des coquilles et autres curiosités naturelles* (1736).[36] The French gazette and literary magazine *Mercure de France* included an article about Gersaint in

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Works of Art, trans. Henry Fusseli. London. 1765. P. 119-120.

[35] Jenkins, Ian & Sloan, Kim. 'Curiosities.' *Vases & Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and His Collection.* London. 1996. P. 234-235. This plate and other relative design images of Piranesi can be seen in: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, "Various archtectural features and decorative statuary", in: *Diverse Maniere D'Adornare I Cammini*, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (print), Roma, 1769, [pl. 2].

[36] *Mercure de France*, (Oct. 1740), p. 2286, in Kristel Smentek, *Rococo exotic: French mounted porcelains and the allure of the east*. N.Y. 2007. P. 21.

October 1740, which mentioned his specialty in "everything of interest that China and Japan can supply as well everything most agreeable that Nature and Art can produce"[37] that also prompted to relate shells, sea, and nature to Chinese porcelain.

c. Greek and Roman mythology:

The stories of ancient mythology are visualized and presented in different types of media. For example, a hollowed-out porcelain vase in white glaze altered and mounted to be a table fountain (fig. 2-31), or a pair of porcelain vases in *jihong*-red (*sang de boeuf*) glaze altered and mounted to be ewers (fig. 2-33), chose the famous mythological stories in "Leda and the Swan" as the central theme, as we can observe from mountings styled as swans and reeds, and interestingly made not only of gilt bronze, but also 'of porcelain'; the swans in fig. 2-31 that were subsequently added were made by the Meissen factory. "Leda and the Swan" turns to be a well-known art theme in those masterpiece paintings of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 2-32) as well as their copies. Other compositions include grapes, grape vines, goats' heads symbolizing Satyrs, shells symbolizing Venus or Triton, and dolphins symbolizing Triton or Poseidon, etc., all of which appear as decorative themes as well. The image of the dolphin-like fish, which is associated with the concept of water, can often be found elsewhere—for example, on the mounting to the Japanese Imari bowls (fig. 2-23), which can be compared to the sculptures on fountains built during the eighteenth century in southern Italy (fig. 2-34), or even the contemporary decorations on street lamps along the Thames River in London (fig. 2-35).

The dragon image on eighteenth-century mounting did not directly adopt the

[37] Ibid.

'dragon-like' image of ancient Greek and Roman art, as the dragon was conceptualized as a 'sea monster' or 'serpent' and depicted without wings (fig. 2-36). However, such a concept has remained in European pictorial tradition, and the representation of the dragon is mostly associated with contexts relating to water or monsters. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dragon image became more concretized, but was featured with demons' wings. The image can be observed in European manuscripts, sculptures, and tapestries.[38] Later, during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, water vessels made of gold or silver were decorated with dragons' images, with wings around the spout or handle areas summoning the context of water, and the dragon serving as a symbolic protector of the liquid in vessels. An example is a golden jug decorated with a protome, with an image of a winged dragon (fig. 2-37) whose form and style must have provided the visual reference to an eighteenth-century mounting design that can be viewed in the case of a mounted Chinese Ge-type vase (fig. 2-38).[39]

Nevertheless, not all the natural elements applied to the eighteenth-century mountings necessarily referred to ancient mythology. For example, hound-shaped handles can often be seen in the eighteenth century. Presumably this motif was associated with the hunting culture, especially hunting dogs, as hunting was one of the most important aristocratic activities in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. The paintings from these two centuries abound with hunting scenes or portraits of aristocrats with their dogs. In addition, the development of a great interest in natural history during this century stimulated many publications

[38] Privat, Jean-Marie Privat. 'Des dragons et des homes.' *Dragons: Entre Sciences et Fictions*. Paris. 2006. P. 5-10.
[39] Kuehn, Sara. 'Part IV: the Dragon in Astrology, Alchemy, Medicine and Magic. Vestiges of Ancient Dragon Iconographies.' *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art.* Leiden. 2011. P. 156.

relating to this field and provided artists with a wealth of visual depictions of natural elements. For example, the outstanding drawings by the Rococo master, Juste Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750), engraved by Pierre-Quentin Chedel (1705–1763) and published as *Livre de legumes* (Books of Vegetables) (ca. 1734–1738) and *Œuvre de Juste Aurèle Meissonnier (Paris, ca. 1750)* (fig. 2-39), inspired the interior design or designs of diverse objets d'art with motifs learned from nature and the marine life thereof.[40] To observe the French mounts of the eighteenth century is to find similar elements from the designs of Meissonnier. Some of his drawings were intended to recreate daily-used objects—for example, the tureens in fig. 2-40 offer a visual reference for the mounting of the lidded Chinese porcelain bowl in fig. 2-41.

Natural elements can be observed in a wide range of art forms from the eighteenth century. Even the frames or cartouches of illustrations or engravings in the magazines of this era—the designs, forms and styles of spiraling sprays of leaves and flowers, veins of shells, or shells, etc. (fig. 2-42)—can be compared to mountings to Chinese porcelain. With the presentation of a great volume of the most representative natural elements (the scrolling acanthus and shells), the eighteenth century acquires its own account of artistic and decorative style—Rococo—which reflects the form and style of mounts.

2.2.2 Some historical factors and their impact on the development of eighteenth-century mounting

1. The Grand Tour & the circulation of knowledge

[40] Kristel Smentek, *Rococo exotic: French mounted porcelains and the allure of the east*. N.Y. 2007. P. 27-28. See the engraving works of *Livre de legumes*: Victoria and Albert Museum online-database: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O693707/livre-de-legumes-print-chedel/.

To undertake trips is supposed to be one of the most efficient ways to come to know another country; but fascinatingly, for eighteenth-century folk travel was also a means to acquire knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman art and culture. During this period the allure of the Grand Tour reached its climax. Upper-class European young men continued to travel to other European countries as a rite of passage, and while their journeys focused mostly on France and Italy, some traveled as far as Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Several months or years later, having observed other cultures, polished their knowledge, and become acquainted with the cultural legacies of the foreign countries, the sojourners returned home with a wide range of souvenirs, including paintings, sculptures, craft works, books, and objects of culture and natural science. As one of the highlight destinations of the Grand Tour was Italy, ancient Greek and Roman art, either from the ancient or the Renaissance period, was encountered anew. The old and newly acquired knowledge, including that of art, was put together, examined, re-worked, published, translated, circulated, and in the end influenced eighteenth-century art practices. The representative publications from this period are: *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks in Dresden* (1755), and *The History of Ancient Art* (1764) by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768); *Anthology of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1752–1757) by Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus (1692–1765); *Discourses on Art* (originally lectures delivered from 1769 to 1790) by Joshua Reynold (1723–1792); *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1766) by Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803), the British ambassador to the kingdom of Naples; *Observations upon the Antiquities of City Herculaneum* (1754) by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard (1726–1786); and other publications by the French architect Jacques-Gabriel Soufflot (1713–1780), Marquis de Marigny (1727–1781), as well as reports on excavations in progress at Pompeii and Herculaneum in 1738—for example, *Le*

Antichita di Ercolano (*The Antiquities of Heculaneum*) (1744–1792), a collection of images of archeological finds from the excavations at the Roman city of Herculaneum.[41] These works not only review old knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman art but also establish new knowledge from the new excavations that offered artists abundant sources for creating art works in the form and style of the antique, further catalyzing the emergence of neo-classicalism.

Moreover, the mounted Chinese porcelain vat (fig. 18) possibly intends to perform the form of the ancient Greek vessel 'Volute-crater.' Nevertheless, the scroll-shaped handles of the antetype are replaced by Satyr's heads and horns. It is noteworthy that, as the pursuit of antiques was prompted by the great volume of publications on the ancient Greek and Roman period that appeared during the eighteenth century, it was commonly argued during the latter era that art should not excessively imitate the ancient style. This also reflected the zeitgeist of the century, when the knowledge was thought to be constantly reworked, debated, and demonstrated. In his *Discourses* Reynold suggested his contemporaries not only borrow ideas from their predecessors but also try to invent their own style inspired by them, whereas Hamilton claimed that it was improper for artists to merely work on the antiques rather than create works.[42] In his *Plea to Goldsmiths, Carvers, Wood Sculptors, etc.* (1754) Cochin criticized the overflowing "S-shaped contours" or "plethora of convoluted, extravagant ornamentation" that was inherited from the elaborate but grotesque features of the Baroque style from the earlier century.[43]

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[41] Jarrassé, Dominique. 'The Classical Revival and the French Revolutin.' *Eighteenth-Century French Painting*. Paris. 1998. P. 162. See also Viccy Coltman, 'Sir William Hamilton's Vase Publications (1766-1776): A Case Study in the Reproduction and Dissemination of Antiquity' in *Journal of Design History vol. 14, no. 1.* Oxford. 2001. P. 8.

[42] Coltman, Viccy. 'Sir William Hamilton's Vase Publications (1766-1776): A Case Study in the Reproduction and Dissemination of Antiquity.' *Journal of Design History vol. 14, no. 1.* Oxford. 2001. P. 1-2.

[43] Jarrassé, Dominique. 'The Classical Revival and the French Revolution.' *18th-century French*

Winckelmann also maintained that if the artists imitated the antiques too closely, they would encounter a kind of cultural barrenness.[44]

2. *Marchands merciers* & the trend of mounting

During this period the collectors were able not only to purchase Chinese porcelain from the shops but also to leave their commissions to have the porcelain pieces (or other art objects) altered and mounted. In France the kind of antiquaries that provided the mounting service were called *marchands merciers*, who were the real impetus behind the fashion of possessing mounted porcelain pieces or objets d'art in the last decade of the seventeenth century.[45] The sales ledgers of *marchands merciers* then became a very important reference source. For example, the *Livre-Journal* of the well-known *marchand mercier* Lazare Duvaux recorded the deals of the mounted oriental porcelain during the peak years, namely the decade from 1748 to 1758.[46] It included a wide range of information, including the prices of mounted and un-mounted porcelain, the cost of mounting, collectors' names, some craftsmen's names, and even Duvaux's personal evaluation of certain Chinese porcelain pieces. It seemed that Duvaux tended to sell his customers the mounted celadon pieces at the highest price; for example, Marquis de Voyer (1722–1782) paid him 3000 *livres* for a pair of large mounted celadon vases,[47] and a pair of celadon vases painted with slip, underglaze copper red, and blue, altered and mounted with gilt bronze to be ewers, were sold to Madame de Pompadour, and another pair to Chevalier de Genssin (fig. 2-45), with the

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Painting. Paris. 1998. P. 162.

[44] Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. 'Answer to the Foreign Letter.' *Reflection on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks: with Instructions to the Connoisseur, and an Essay on Grace in Works of Art*. trans. Henry Fusseli. London. 1765. P. 100-101.

[45] See Pierre Verlet, 'Le Commerce des objets d'art et les marchands merciers,' *Annales, E.S.C*. 13, 1958, p. 21-22, quoted in Kristel Smentek, *Rococo exotic: French mounted porcelains and the allure of the east*. N.Y. 2007.

[46] Watson, Francis. 'Introduction.' *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Gillian Willson rev. L.A. 1999. P. 12.

[47] See Louis Courajod, *Le livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, Paris, 1873, quoted in Kristel Smentek, *Rococo exotic: French mounted porcelains and the allure of the east.* N.Y. 2007. P. 14.

record noting the cost of transforming the vases into ewers.[48] Other *Livre-Journals* of *marchand merciers*—for example, Edme-François Gersaint's *Catalogue raisonné des bijoux, porcelaines, bronzes, lacqs, lustres de cristal de roche et de porcelaine… provenans de la succession de M. Angran, vicomte de Fonspertius* (1747), *Catalogue raisonné des coquilles et autres curiosités naturelles* (1736), etc.—showed the great market demand for oriental craft works, stylish mounted objects, and their circulation. As mounting related to design, cost of material and craftsmanship, and commission, the mounted pieces were sold at a higher price, which meant high profits for the *marchand merciers.*[49]

Due to the great market demand and commodification of mounted porcelain, as well as the circulation of the fashionable neo-classical style, an object was almost unlikely to be mounted in an 'exclusive' style. For example, the mounting in form and style of a spiraling spray of leaves that could be observed in the silverware or cartouches of engravings in magazines, as mentioned earlier, also appeared in interior design, mountings to furniture, etc. Sargentson attributed this to the *marchands merciers,* as they had to know the addresses of skilled designers and craftsmen, and moreover, they had drawings of various designs for advising customers who wanted to have their objects mounted.[50] One *marchand mercier*, Dominique Daguerre, had drawings of plaques with detailed borders and affixed designs in neo-classical styles—for example, various border designs (inspired by ancient Greek architecture), rams' heads, acanthus, etc. for mounting surfaces, edges, or corners of oriental lacquer, furniture, and boxes, which were further used, in part, for designing mountings to

[48] See Louis Courajod , *Le livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, (Paris, 1873), p. 104 & 55, Entry no. 967 & 549, quoted in Gillian Wilson, 'Catalogue: mounted oriental porcelain No. 12', *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. L.A. 1999. P. 64-65.
[49] Sargentson, Carolyn. ,The Mercers' Role in Design.' *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*. London. 1996. P. 46-47.
[50] Ibid. P. 45.

smaller objects, namely porcelain vessels, clocks, candelabras, etc.[51] The mounting decoration in the form of spiralling sprays of leaves and flowers on surfaces of commodes (fig. 2-43) was adopted for the mounted pedestals of porcelain objects or clocks (fig. 2-44).[52] The forms and styles of decorative elements applied to different types of objets d'art promoted by *marchands merciers* should be considered here as part of the development of the major art forms and styles of the eighteenth century—rococo and neo-classicalism, the speedy dissemination and prevalence of which could be attributed to the *marchands merciers.*

2.3 Chinese Porcelain as Medium

Altered and mounted in Europe, Chinese porcelain was intended to reflect other contexts, whose original functions and meanings were neglected or partially borrowed. As stated earlier, the concept of having objects mounted related not only to creating ornamentation but also to accentuating the subjects chosen to be mounted as well as the contexts with which they were associated. Mounting asserted ownership and demonstrated the European custom of implicating precious (mounted) objects in power contexts or systems, and Chinese porcelain functioned as a medium thereof. Before the eighteenth century, mounted objects were mainly situated in religious and political contexts, and would be owned and displayed in churches or courts. Chinese porcelain, standing for preciousness, was the medium utilized to perform these contexts, and mounted as sacred objects or mementos; take, for example, the Gaignières-Fonthill vase mounted in the fourteenth century, the celadon bowl of Count of Katzenellenbogen in Cassel in the fifteenth century, etc. In its role as a medium of political and religious power in the eighteenth century, Chinese porcelain

[51] Ibid. P. 47. See also illustrations in p. 47- 56.
[52] Ibid. P. 56.

was altered and mounted to satisfy different demands and perform different roles, including

2.3.1. luxury daily usages:

In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* John Locke (1632-1704), an English philosopher immensely influential in the Enlightenment, pointed out that man's purpose lies in 'a careful and constant pursuit of happiness.' His claim can be understood as a leitmotif of eighteenth-century lifestyle, art and culture—in its resplendent and luxury style,[53] Chinese porcelain—its collection, display, and usage—also aimed at this pursuit. Like other luxury goods, Chinese porcelain was the metaphoric equivalent of a beautiful outer garment for people who possessed and used it—a marker that emphasized the social identity of the owner. With glaring mounts the appearance of Chinese porcelain became more splendid and suitable for spaces like palaces, residences, and rich houses, where porcelain pieces were not only mounted as striking display pieces but also for daily utilization that showed the status and welfare of the owners. The pieces were altered and mounted as eating and drinking vessels, potpourri, candelabra, smoking or writing boxes, etc. that catered to European everyday practice. After being altered and mounted, the features of Chinese porcelain were diminished, for as Watson suggests, "the mounts not only softened the strange character of the Eastern material and made it more readily assimilated by the European eye; they also made it fit more easily into the French interiors where such pieces had inevitably to be displayed."[54] However, porcelain's features of exoticism, extraneousness, beauty, luxury, and being like shells were borrowed when assigned to play a new 'given' role in a European scenario.

[53] Wilson, Michael. "Introduction." *Eighteenth-Century French Painting*. Oxford. 1979. P. 3.
[54] Watson, F. J. B. "Oriental porcelain." *The Wrightsman Collection vol. IV Porcelain*. Carl Christian Dauterman ed. N.Y. P. 386.

2.3.2 to reproduce the classical form and style

To have Chinese porcelain mounted in Europe creates various convergences between different materials of production, different craft practices, different usages, and different and distant cultures. Furthermore, when Chinese porcelain was mounted in the ancient Greek and Roman style, the combination of mounting and Chinese porcelain performed another kind of convergence—an encounter of two ancient cultures. Through the Chinese-European contact of earlier centuries the Europeans learned about China principally through objects transported to Europe as well as through various written and oral reports; the information stayed in certain social realms and was circulated on a limited scale. This was a long process of accumulating information about China, and the impression was that of a remote, indistinct, old, and fine culture. In the eighteenth century more and more information accumulated and circulated in Europe, based to a large extent on the letters of French Jesuits Louis le Comte (1655–1728) and Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743), the letters exchanged between Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and missionaries in China, as well as the reports of other missionaries, envoys, and East India Companies, all of whom played a significant role in constructing the European image of China. Meanwhile, the information about China was collected, examined, analyzed, translated into different languages, extensively circulated, and then gradually systematically organized as knowledge in Europe as part of the performance of the zeitgeist of the Age of Enlightenment. In this era Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), Rousseau (1712–1778), and François Quesnay (1694–1774), among others, gave their observations to urge and inspire people to read about China, an ancient civilization in a faraway land.

To return to the subject of art objects, Rosenstein argues that the concept of the

antique is defined as such in European history: an antique is not merely an artifact, nor a souvenir, nor a trophy, nor a religious relic, nor a collectible.[55] It is, rather, as he defines it:

> *a primarily handcrafted object of rarity and beauty that by means of its associated provenance and its agedness as recognized by means of its style and material endurance, has the capacity to generate and preserve for us the image of a world now past.*[56]

Indebted to this concise elucidation, I wish to connect Rosenstein's definition to my discussion here of the traits of Chinese porcelain that Europeans contrived to fit into certain contexts: Chinese porcelain is, from the eighteenth-century European perspective, a collectible, a souvenir, a trophy, and also suitable for creating new artifacts that cannot be classified as 'antique.'[57] However, due to its provenance of an ancient civilization of longue durée parallel to or even prior to ancient Greek and Roman civilization, as well as to their role as valuable artifacts, Chinese porcelain objects were thought to be the equivalent of archaistic art works. In such a framework Chinese porcelain pieces in mounts with decorative elements or ornamentation of an antique style helped eighteenth-century Europeans to imagine "a world of the past in recurrence, a world presumably a real world in space and time but does not exist any more."[58] In other words, the 'ancient' attribute of Chinese porcelain was borrowed by Europeans to communicate with the ancient Greek and Roman period. Furthermore, Locke maintained that 'having Ideas, and Perception [are] the same thing,' that is,

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[55] Rosenstein, Leon. "Preliminaries: Understanding Antiques" *Antiques: the History of an Idea*. N.Y. 2009. P. 22-25.
[56] Ibid. P. 14.
[57] Rosenstein's perception of antique in relation to the religious relic is not applicable here, as China and Europe do not share the same religious originations.
[58] Ibid. P. 18. Rosenstein: "Antiques set up (create/ re-create) the image of a world of the past—a presumably real world in space and time with all the associations and interpretations appropriate to it […] but a world that no longer exists."

possessing ideas (of something) exists with perceiving it.[59] Eighteenth-century Europe strongly associated Chineseness with the Chinese cultural product, Chinese porcelain—with qualities such as 'ancient,' 'antique,' and 'luxury'—but at the same time Europeans were aware that in reality they were not very antique, as porcelain pieces were 'freshly made' before being transported to Europe. Hence, this representation, namely mountings in European antique style affixed to the Chinese porcelain, was equivalent to European perception of Chinese porcelain—the 'antique' quality of Chinese porcelain was borrowed. In other words, Chinese porcelain was arranged to correspond to the European idea of the antiques in the eighteenth century.

Fig. 2-45 shows one of a pair of Japanese Arita porcelain bowls in celadon glaze in the form of a shell, fitted with gilt-bronze mounting composed of a lid formed as a pierced leaf of coral with a handle formed as a branch of seaweed, and a tiny shoe-like pedestal in the form of shell and coral, which functioned as potpourri bowls. They were recorded in the sale of a cabinet of M. de Julienne in 1767; the sale report no. 1403 describes this piece thus:

> *Deux belles coquilles couvertes* ***d'ancien & bon céladon uni****, à rebords coloriés d'un beau fond rouge, elles sont de la plus grande perfection & garnie de bronze.*[60]

Though this piece was not made in China and therefore is not a perfect example here, to some extent it nevertheless bears out the point that people of that time associated oriental porcelain with the qualities of ancientry and fineness of the objects themselves or, in this case, the fine and old celadon technique.

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[59] Locke, John. "Book II: of Ideas, Chap. 1 Of Ideas in general, and their Original, No. 9." *John Locke: An Essay Concerning Human Understanding in Focus*. G. Fuller, R. Stecker, & J. P. Wright, ed. London. 2000. P. 68.

[60] Willson, Gillian. "No. 16 Pair of Potpourri Bowls." *Mounted oriental porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. L.A. 1999. P. 80.

Chinese porcelain mounted in ancient Greek and Roman style also reflects, in a Lockean way, human categories for establishing the knowledge of things. In Locke's opinion humans perceive things with intuition first and produce different ideas at the same time; these ideas then begin to interact, but as they might not relate to one another, a reasoning process takes place through which a conclusion eventually takes form and is demonstrated. Locke suggested that with intuition 'the mind perceives the agreement or disagreement of two ideas immediately by themselves, without the intervention of any other', and 'where-ever there is Sense, or Perception, there some Idea is actually produced, and present in the Understanding.'[61] Chinese porcelain was noteworthy for the way it connected the ideas and qualities of antiquity, ancient civilization, and rareness, which were observed and borrowed in eighteenth-century Europe; however, it was a luxury contemporary commodity at the time. To alter Chinese porcelain in the relatively larger sense and to affix it to mounting to reproduce the ancient Greek and Roman style reflected a context in which different perceptions of Chinese porcelain formed, crossed each other, and then offered a kind of visual conclusion. This process recalls what Locke pointed out about the subsequent stage of knowledge, called *demonstrative*, through which 'the mind cannot so bring its ideas together, as by their immediate comparison, and as it were Juxtaposition.'[62] As the mind may be puzzled about the ideas formed during perception, it commences another process, through which it attempts to ascertain a proper order to all the ideas in relation to each other—it is this process that Locke called reasoning. Accordingly, I suggest that displaying Chinese porcelain in European mounts of an antique style was a way for Europeans of the eighteenth

[61] Locke, John. Book IV: of Knowledge and Opinion.' *John Locke: An Essay Concerning Human Understanding in Focus*. G. Fuller, R. Stecker, J. P. Wright, ed. London. 2000. P. 140.
[62] Ibid. P. 10 & 141.

century to work out their ideas through perception, juxtaposition, reasoning, and visibility—a process that allowed them to fit Chinese porcelain into the pursuit of classicalism that defined their epoch.

2.4 Brief Conclusion

Rawson has pointed out that "in the West, the manipulation of ornament has been similarly effective in its impressive capacity to convey important messages about social, political and religious hierarchies,"[63] from which it can also be well understood that to mount something with ornamentation in the Byzantine time was also a convention implicating mounted subjects and ornamentation in prevailing power relations. Hence, a composition of 'Chinese porcelain in European mounting' displayed a power relation, with the possessors manifesting their power over an object that they possessed by fitting it with various functions; so it was that Chinese porcelain was mounted in the fourteenth century for political occasions and in the eighteenth century for reproducing the art forms and styles of ancient Greek and Roman culture.

As Europeans chose Chinese porcelain to create mounted objects, they must have considered its value and concluded that it was rare, precious and culturally valuable. Due to the provenance of Chinese porcelain in an ancient civilized culture, Europeans found it suitable for creating a new composition that displayed their enthusiasm for, and fascination with, ancient Greek and Roman culture. In 're-interpreting' and 'modernizing' ancient Greek and Roman art with the representation of 'Chinese porcelain in the European mounting of an antique style',

[63] Rawson, Jessica. ‚Ornament as system: Chinese bird-and-flower design.' *The Burlington Magazine. CXLVIII.* June 2006. P. 389.

eighteenth-century Europeans demonstrated a process of learning, understanding, appreciating, and reproducing an art tradition of their own by affiliating it with that of the Other. Hence, mounted Chinese porcelain reflected harmony and disharmony—among and between Rococo and neo-classicalism, the classical and the new, the East and the West, the ancient time and the present (of the eighteenth century).

Certainly, the European mounting of Chinese porcelain provided evidence of European appreciation of another culture; however, in this relationship the appreciator (the European) was dominant, whereas the appreciated (the Chinese) was passive. Ziff points out, "cultural appropriation is not only about the value of celebrating different cultural traditions; it is also about political praxis. This is true at least if the success of oppressed groups depends partly on the construction of a strong cultural identity. That identity becomes a glue that binds the movement"—a view that Charles Taylor supports in claiming that 'our identity is shaped partially through recognition by others and partially through misrecognition and non-recognition.'[64] The mounting of Chinese porcelain has a complex history with a complex set of significations. Through their appropriation of the form, eighteenth-century Europeans declared and displayed their pride in their historical origins and cultural traditions, their sense of racial superiority, and their hegemonic attitude toward other cultures. This appropriation produced an artistic product that emerged out of the collective beliefs and experiences of Europeans at that time.

[64] Zieff, Bruce & Rao, Pratima. ,Introduction to Cultural Appropiation: A Framework.' *Borrowed Power*. N.J. 2011. P. 11

Chapter 3:

Appropriating China in Europe: The European Creation of Chinese Porcelain

During the eighteenth century, Chinese porcelain received an overwhelmingly welcome response in Europe. It would appear at courts and in the houses of the aristocracy, which were able to afford such Oriental and therefore 'exotic' luxuries. Indeed, the personal possession of Chinese porcelain at home denoted the social status of the owner and enjoyed a prominent place in social activities such as gift exchanges, banquets, tea drinking, etc. The story of possession is complex. As argued in an earlier chapter, Chinese porcelain as a cultural product associated with ancient Chinese civilization deserves particular attention in the context of its translation to other cultural spheres. Yonan has pointed out that eighteenth-century European thinkers considered China as an ancient and prosperous empire whose achievements paralleled Europe in their sophistication.[1] As this was the period that archaism and neo-classicalism pervaded Europe, the features of an art form 'originating from an ancient civilisation' and 'ancientry' were aggrandized and promoted in the cultural marketplace.

After 'being fond of', 'admiring', or 'collecting' something, 'imitating' may be the next stage of cultural possession as a matter of course. What does the case of the European imitation of Chinese porcelain manifest, as it has crossed not only geographical boundaries but also cultural borders? In 1710 Johann Friedrich Böttiger

[1] Cavanaugh, Alden & Michael E. Yonan. 'Introduction'. *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain.* Alden Cavanaugh ed. Burlington. 2010. P. 7.

(1682-1719) of the Meissen porcelain manufactory resolved the mystery of Chinese porcelain by producing red stoneware, and sometime later the manufactory as well as other major European manufactories gradually managed to be able to produce hard-paste or soft-paste white porcelain; the imitation of Chinese porcelain was at its peak in Europe. What these manufactories attempted to achieve—and did indeed achieve—was not only the production of wares made of porcelain but also the semblance that their products were Chinese ones or affiliated with the Chinese context. From there the European creation of Chinese porcelain assumes varied appearances. What did these phenomena indicate? How did imitation and possession come together? The issues raised here are very much related to cultural appreciation and perception, appropriation and possession, and in the end power relations. The aim of this chapter is to divide different modes of 'European creation' of Chinese porcelain into three categories and through analyzing them to formulate how Chinese culture and the cultural product, i.e. Chinese porcelain, were perceived and possessed in Europe.

3.1 Category 1: European manufactories' imitation of Chinese porcelain

This category aims at showing the obsessive determination with which eighteenth-century European manufactories produced 'Chinese-like' porcelain ware. Throughout this period all the European manufactories tried more or less to create this product line; the examples are many and multifarious. In what follows, several examples are given of European manufactories whose productions strikingly resembled Chinese prototypes.

3.1.1 Meissen manufactory:

The Meissen manufactory most exemplifies this tendency, as it contrived a

whole range of designs with a striking resemblance to the real Chinese ones. The following are several notable types of Meissen products that aimed at reproducing Chinese porcelain. Since the reproduction was carried out in a way that presented the features of the Chinese prototypes quite accurately, we can even categorize them with reference to their Chinese equivalents:

a. Böttger stoneware vs. Yixing ware:

Though Böttger stoneware and Yixing ware are not categorized as porcelain, Böttiger stoneware's strong resemblance to Yixing ware denoted that the European production of porcelain was only a short step away from Chinese-like productions. To some extent similar to *zisha* clay 紫砂土 for making Yixing ware, the clay of Böttger ware contained kaolin, a high percentage of iron, and other mineral substances, so that it was able to perform a texture (especially thin and brittle biscuit) close to yixing ware and also hues ranging in reds and browns, depending on the vitrification and oxidation development during the burning process.[2] Ary de Milde (1634-1708) was a forerunner in producing yixing-ware-like stoneware in Delft during the later seventeenth century, whose production was imitated by Böttger at the experiment phase as well.[3] In comparing de Milde's and Böttger's ware (production from its mature phase) in hand, one can tell that the body of Böttger's ware appears much finer than the Delft 'Mr. Theepot-backer's' in terms of the making of its clay—its pureness and compact texture, which can be observed in the finished products, are supposedly harder and closer to the Chinese prototype. According to an analysis of the material composition of the main components obtained for stoneware made by Yixing, Böttger, and de Milde achieved by IBA (ion beams analysis), Böttger ware has closer

[2] Neuwirth, Waltraud. *Bestandkatalog zur Ausstellung "Böttgersteinzeug, Yixing und andere rote Ware" im Österreichischen Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Wien (25. 11. 1982 bis 30. April 1983)*. Band II. Wien. 1982. P. 10.

[3] Eberle, Martin. 'Einleitung.' *Das Rote Gold*. Gotha. 2011. P. 19.

numerical values to Yixing by six of the eight main components summed up by the analysis: Al_2O_3, SiO_2, K_2O, CaO, TiO_2, Cr_2O_3, MnO, Fe_2O_3,[4] from which Al_2O_3 and SiO_2 (together with $2H_2O$) form the formula of kaolin, $Al_2Si_2O_5(OH)_4$.[5] Moreover, many de Milde red stoneware objects were covered with a layer of fluid clay on their surfaces,[6] which did not characterize Yixing and Böttger ware. A great amount of Böttger stoneware was moulded into tea pots, cups, and tealeaf jars (fig. 3-1).

b. Blue-and-white ware:

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, the Meissen manufactory was able to produce blue-and-white ware that was undeniably equivalent in quality to that produced during the Kangxi period of Qing-China. The texture of the porcelain body of the Meissen production was very fine, pure, and white, and the blue pigment used for depicting decorations performed a very similar quality of the cobalt blue used for the Kangxi ware. As a dedicated collector of Chinese blue-and-white ware through purchases and exchanges with other kingdoms, Augustus the Strong (1670-1733) earnestly wished that his factory was able to produce ware like the Chinese ones. In 1717 he bestowed 300 taler on Mehlhorn and Hunger, the staffs of Böttger, for their invention of a new blue colour, which played a leading role in the production of blue-and-white ware.[7] Moreover, we can observe that the Chinese motifs and depicting strokes were closely attended to by the decorators. Fig. 3-2 is a tea dish produced by the Meissen manufactory. The chrysanthemum *mon* pattern[8] in the

[4] Schmidt, Bernd & Wetzig, Klaus. 'Special Ion Beam Applications in Materials Analysis Problems: Ion Beam Analysis in Art and Archeometry.' *Ion Beams in Materials Processing and Analysis.* Wien. 2013. P. 396-399.
[5] The formula of kaolin see http://www.handbookofmineralogy.org/pdfs/kaolinite.pdf
[6] Szelegejd, Barbara. ,The Netherlands- Ary de Milde (1634-1708).' *Red and Black Stoneware and Their Imitations in the Wilanów collection*. Warsow. 2013. P. 57.
[7] Rückert, Rainer. *Biographische Daten der Meißener Manufakturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*. München. 1990. P. 51
[8] *Mon*, also *monshō*, or *kamon*, are emblems created to distinguish different noble houses in Japan during the Sengoku period (the Warring States Period) (i.e. by *buke,* martial houses, or *kuge*, the

middle of the dish, the flower scroll ornaments, and a bordure along the border, composed of brocade pattern and flower-cartouches, are decorative elements that are frequently seen on Chinese and Japanese export porcelain. Fig. 3-3 is an octahedral plate painted with peony bush, bamboo, and flowers behind a zigzag fence in a garden. The petals of peony were depicted as two horns, which is a style often seen in the art works of the Kangxi period (fig. 3-4). The eight treasures of Tibetan Buddhism decorate the margin of this octagonal plate. Fig. 3-5 is a large plate decorated with a multilayered pattern. The flower pattern in the centre is surrounded with a twelve-cloud pattern in the form of *ruyi*. Around the centre are twelve panels filled with flower patterns—peony, Chrysanthemum, mallow, and other flower types by turns. Corresponding to the petal-formed border, twelve larger panels with further flower patterns are arranged. The brocade pattern fills up the space amongst the panels and on the lip. Such decorative elements and composition are frequently seen on the blue-and-white export ware from the Kangxi period, especially those of size—for example, large plates and lidded jars (fig. 3-6). This style was supposedly inspired by the Yuan-period lotus-formed panel design and also derived from the panel design on export Kraak-porcelain from the Wanli period (1573-1620) of the Ming era for the European market. A comparison of these two plates leaves no doubt that Meissen could copy the Chinese piece well. The sizes of both pieces are almost identical—the Meissen piece has a diameter of 22.6 cm and a height of 3.3 cm, and the Chinese prototype has a diameter of 22.2 cm and a height 3 cm. Also, the depiction of decorative details on the Chinese object was closely followed and reproduced by the Meissen decorator.

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aristocratic class or imperial court), and to decorate their possessions. In the late seventeenth century, *mon* became a pattern appearing on the Japanese export crafts, like lacquer or porcelain ware, which later also offered the Chinese export ware some paradigms in decoration.

c. *Wucai* (five colours):

The decorative technique of fig. 3-7 performs the Chinese *wucai* style. In *wucai* part of the decorations are depicted in cobalt blue directly on the porcelain body, which is glazed transparently and in the next stage burned with a temperature between 1200°C to 1300°C; the remaining decorations, composed of iron red, enamel yellow, and enamel greens, are then gilded, as with this example, and further depicted over the glaze. In the end the objects need to be burned again at a lower temperature between 750°C and 850°C. The composition of this dish directly referred to its Chinese prototype (fig. 3-8). With the Meissen production, the circles depicted in underglaze blue divide the dish into several circle areas for further depictions in overglaze—a mini landscape in the center area, surround by a bordure patterned with zigzag and flower that is inserted with three rosettes of plum blossom, peony and chrysanthemum, then another bordure in the pointed form, and on the rim a bordure outlined in underglaze blue and coloured with overglazed iron-red, upon which the gilded brocade pattern is displayed and four cartouches with flower pattern are inserted. Its likeness to the Chinese prototype can be clearly recognized.

d. *Imari & Kakimon style*:

As the Europeans turned to the Japanese manufactories in Arita for further obtainment of porcelain during the political turbulence in China (due to the Ming-Qing dynasty transition and the export of Arita products to Europe through the port Imari), the term "*Imari* porcelain," which denoted a style of export porcelain for the European market, came into being. In the middle of the seventeenth century, numerous Imari porcelains were supplied to Europe and the collection of Augustus the Strong through the handling of the V.O.C. With the recovery from political turbulence Chinese products returned to the European market, this time with a new product line,

the Chinese Imari. The Chinese were able to easily manage this, as the Arita manufactories acquired many techniques by referring to Chinese porcelain, notably in blue-and-white and *wucai* styles, whose decorations were composed of underglaze cobalt blue, or of overglaze iron red, green, blue, black, etc., and gilded. However, due to its pictorial and design traditions, the Japanese Imari ware had its own unique object forms and decorative styles, which had an impact on the Chinese and European Imari reproductions. Among these styles was the Kakiemon style with exquisite overglaze techniques and motifs—for example, the flower motif, birds, running squirrels on grape vines, quails and millets, tigers, etc.—which was also developed from the Arita area and greatly influenced the decorative style of those attempting to imitate the Japanese ware (fig. 3-9). In reviewing the Meissen reproduction of Imari objects in different museum collections or catalogues, it can be observed that apart from reproducing an almost full range of Japanese Imari ware, the Meissen manufactory also managed to reproduce the Chinese Imari style. Fig. 3-10 is the Meissen reproduction and fig. 3-11 is its Chinese prototype[9] in a motif of plum blossom and chrysanthemum on the limb, in which the almost identical pictorial techniques and styles in underglaze blue, overglaze iron red, and golden pigment can be well observed.[10] The prototype and the imitation both presented a combination of Japanese Imari and Kakiemon decorative techniques and styles. A composition like this can frequently be observed on both Japanese and Chinese export ware for the European market. Fig. 3-12 is another Chinese production. In the collection of Augustus the Strong both Japanese and Chinese Imari ware were classified under a

[9] The Chinese prototype was from the collection of Augustus the Strong. In Weber, Julia. "Dekore in Unterglasurblau und Aufglasurfarben nach chinesischen und japanischen Vorbildern." *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*. Band II. München. 2013. P. 59.

[10] Weber, Julia. "Dekore in Unterglasurblau und Aufglasurfarben nach chinesischen und japanischen Vorbildern." *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*. Band II. München. 2013. P. 59

category named 'Japanese Porcelain,'[11] which indicated that the Meissen reproduction of Imari converged the forms and styles of these two Imari originals.

Indeed, in reviewing Meissen's 'East Asian productions,' we discover that the Japanese Kakiemon style was one of the most frequently imitated. The pattern of tiger, dragon and bamboo was frequently copied, and other compositions mentioned earlier—such as the squirrel on the grape vine, the *katami-gawari* style with plum blossom on the limb, etc.—were copied not only by Meissen but also by other European manufactories. In the Meissen manufactory, both Imari and Kakimon were highly evaluated. The reproduction was of a great amount. It has been recorded that the king had ordered to have Imari ware produced as tea, coffee, or table services for court uses in Dresden and Warsaw.[12] In addition, the sales to Paris through a French dealer named Rodolphe Lemaire and in the Leipzig fair all urged the reproduction.[13] In addition to its blue-and-white ware, Meissen's Imari and Kakiemon ware can be considered as its most welcome production line due to its perfect imitation with refined depiction, precise glazing and burning techniques, and modelling.

e. *famille verte* & *famille rose*:

Pieces decorated with these two overglaze techniques developed between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were not left out by the Meissen product lines. The Meissen *famille verte* plate in fig. 3-13 presents a similar composition to the Chinese prototype in fig. 3-14—with a main scene in the flower-bird motif in the centre and with a flower border on the rim, divided by the cartouches in vegetal motif—by using different levels of green enamel as well as

[11] Ibid. P. 43.
[12] Ibid. P. 45.
[13] Ibid. P 46.

other overglaze colours, namely blue, iron red, and black.

Fig. 3-15 shows a pair of Meissen vases in the form of *jiangjun guan*[14] decorated in *famille rose* style. Weber has pointed out that according to the 'Augustus Rex' monogram written in underglaze blue, the vases should be made by request of Augustus the Strong or his son Augustus III to produce pieces precisely like the Chinese one.[15] The vases can be referred to a pair of Chinese vases now collected in the Museum for East Asian Art, Cologne (fig. 3-16).[16] It is amazing how closely the decorations of the Chinese prototype were imitated—the lambrequin-formed depiction on the lid as well as shoulder, filled with a peonies-and-whirl pattern, then the pomegranate-formed depiction over the foot, embellished further with eight Tibetan Buddhists treasures by turns, and then the motif 'bogu 博古' ('admiring the antiquities') presenting details in relation to ancient art appreciation (i.e. a teapoy, vases in ancient bronze forms, picture in frame as a screen, and vases with flowers). In addition to these, the modelling of the vases—that is, in the form of Chinese *jiangjun guan*—was also closely attended to by the Meissen modellers.

During the eighteenth century a Chinese made *famille rose* flat dish like fig. 3-17, with lobed rim and bordure decoration consisting of peonies, flowers and whirl pattern set off against the central depiction of several large delicate peonies in blossom, and painted with rose coloured enamel and other overglaze colours, was one of the favourites in the European market and certainly not left out from Meissen's

[14] The form *Jiangjun guan* first appeared in the latter part of the Ming dynasty around the Jiajing and Wanli periods and became popular during the Kangxi period of the Qing dynasty. It may obtain its name from the form of the lid with knob, which looks like the helmet of a general, namely *jiang jun* in Chinese. It is believed that originally the jars were used for collecting ash.
[15] Weber, Julia. "Dekore in Aufglasurfarben nach chinesischen Vorbildern." *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*. Band II. München. 2013. P. 398.
[16] Ibid., P. 396.

production list. Fig. 3-18 shows a Meissen production of such dishes, with *bogu*-motif as its central decoration. It is noteworthy that this Meissen dish proves that the manufactory had managed to decorate ware with enamels and other overglaze pigments, and more importantly it was able to rightly present the *famille rose* style—that is, to decorate chiefly with overglaze rose (or carmine) coloured enamel carried out by mixing rose or carmine enamel with lead arsenate white enamel. The depictions (mostly of flowers) will nicely present some shades. Moreover, due to the chemical composition and relatively lower burning temperature, the colour of the flowers painted with rose and lead arsenate enamels has come off, which can be observed on the reproduction as well.

f. "celadon" ware:

With these two categories the Meissen manufactory attempted to present its glaze technique, namely another glaze type and colour appearing to be the Chinese *ru* ware celadon glaze (fig. 3-19), or *celadon* ware to some extent (fig. 3-20). The manufactory created a new product line named 'Meergrün' ('sea green'), though the nature of Meissen glaze is actually different from that of the Chinese celadon. It is also known that with the Chinese celadon ware the decorations were performed through modelling, carving, and attaching reliefs. The glaze performance in fig. 3-19 is quite close to the *ru* ware; however, its shape and decoration, composed of a tiger, birds, and flowers in a garden, were much inspired by the Japanese Imari ware in Kakimon style.

According to the inventory list in the Japanese Palace of Augustus the Strong,

“an object in the celadon colour was produced in 1726.”[17] The Jesuit missioner François Xavier d’Entrecolles’ report on the old and valuable Chinese celadon should have provided some information to the Sachsen court between 1717 and 1723, after the reports were published in 1717.[18] Later ‘celadon’ was used by the Meissen chemist Samuel Stöltzel (1685-1737) to give appellation to the ‘meergrün’ (sea green) series in 1731.[19] The reproduction of celadon ware was then carried out with more or less this information.

g. Other overglaze colours:

Fig. 3-21 is a deep bowl decorated with a bordure patterned with flowers within honeycombs drawn in black and colored in rose (all overglaze) on the rim and Chinese landscape depicted in the traditional Chinese style, primarily the *cun fa* 皴法 when depicting rocks on the surface, which can be referred to the decorations on the tea cups and saucers produced during the Yongzheng period (fig. 3-22). Here the Meissen object (with a diameter of 17.1 cm and a height of 8.2 cm) decorations are painted on deep bowls that are much larger than tea cups as they are supposedly easier to work with; it is quite remarkable that the decorators were able to adapt the Chinese skill in order to present the texture of the rocks.

3.1.2 The Du Paquier Manufactory (1718-1744)

Founded by Claudius Innocentius du Paquier with technical assistants who once worked at the Meissen manufactory, the Du Paquier manufactory in Vienna was the

[17] The record reads, ‚Ein dergleichen Celadon Couleur, No. 105, gefertigt ao. 1726.’ In Weber, Julia. "Meergrüner Fond." *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*. Band II. München. 2013. P. 404.
[18] Ibid. P. 406.
[19] Ibid. P. 404.

second manufactory that was able to produce hard-paste porcelain ware in 1718.[20] In the same year King Charles VI (1685-1740) bestowed Du Paquier with the privilege by which the production of porcelain, majolica, and services patterned 'Derley Indian' of his manufactory, and his business, were able to have a twenty-five year long monopoly in the kingdom ruled by the House of Habsburg.[21] Moreover, the court also ordered the manufactory to produce ware competing with porcelain imported from China. Supposedly this demand as well as Du Paquier's close relation to the court granted him the opportunity to refer to the king's collection of Chinese porcelain and offered some paradigms for his production.

a. *wucai*:

Fig. 3-23 is a lidded jar with lugs in *wucai* style painted in underglaze blue and light overglaze colours. The decorative motif presents a scene derived from a Chinese novel or drama with figures like a lord or an officer of high position, his wife, and other officers looking at flowers in the garden. The depiction of figures or the screen behind is fine and extremely close to the Chinese prototype, and its blue pigment remained stable in the porcelain body after the burning process. Such a representation is very unique among the European reproductions, as not another reproduction object has been found that is painted like this. Though the scene cannot be defined in terms of its origin, it is likely derived from scenes from the Ming and Qing period novels and dramas which were frequently appointed as decorative motives on Chinese export porcelain. Fig. 3-24 is another example performing a finely depicted garden scene with peony shrubs and rock, which can be frequently observed on the Chinese export porcelain from the Kangxi period (fig. 3-25). Fig. 3-26 is another presentation of peony shrubs and bird in underglaze blue and overglaze enamel rose and yellow,

[20] "Die Geschichte der Manufaktur." *Claudius Innocentius du Paquier: Wiener Porzellan der Frühzeit 1718-1744.* Elisabeth Sturm-Bednarczyk ed. Vienna. 1994. P. 11-12.
[21] Ibid. P. 11.

performing a kind of mixed style of wucai and *famille rose*. The strokes depicting peonies and leaves on the wavering shrubs have been compared with the Chinese export prototype.

b. *Imari*:

Du Paquier's Imari production presents a mélange style combining the Japanese and Chinese Imari as well as *wucai* style. In fig. 3-27, 3-28, and 3-29, peony acts as the main decorative element, blossoming either on the shrubs in a garden or in an antique vase pursuing the *hua bogu*-motif 花博古 ('appreciating antiques and flowers in vases'); moreover, other floral types—i.e. mallow, morning glory, chrysanthemum, sometimes lotus, and unknown flowers—appear as supplements to give flourish to the decoration. Compositions like these are some of the most typical. The blue pigment used for painting the underglaze decoration was applied in a dense way that attempted to imitate the almost black-like deep cobalt blue of Japanese Imari, but as we can observe, the result was relatively lighter and much closer to the Chinese one. Fig. 3-30 is another example with its Chinese comparison in fig. 3-31.

3.1.3 The Saint-Cloud manufactory

The establishment of the Saint-Cloud manufactory was originally a royal privilege given to a Parisian named Claude Révérend to "produce faience and to imitate porcelain in the manner of the Indies" in 1664.[22] The "Indies" here was supposed to be "Chinese" or "Japanese," and the intention of the manufactory to produce Chinese-like porcelain pieces was manifest. Sponsored by duc d'Orléans, a great porcelain collector and the brother of Louis XIV, and technically instructed by

[22] Rondot, Bertrand. "The Saint-Cloud Porcelain Manufactory: Between Innovation and Tradition." Bertrand Rondot ed. *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory ca. 1690-1766.* New haven & London. 1999. P. 18.

Pierre Chicaneau,[23] the manufactory produced soft-paste porcelain in the styles resembling the Chinese blue-and-white, overglaze colours, *famille rose* and *famille verte*, and a style called "*fleurs indiennes*"—that is, “flowers of the Indies”—which was strongly based on Japanese Kakiemon-ware. The manufactory had access to the Chinese and Japanese porcelain collection of duc d’Orléans and was able to imitate the oriental designs closely.[24] According to a record of the manufactory in 1717, there were “3,469 pieces of porcelain from Japan, China, the Indies, and Saint-Cloud” on the shelves at the Saint-Cloud shop in Paris on the rue Coquillère, and amongst these oriental pieces some had been imitated by the workshops.[2526]

The formula for making Saint-Cloud soft-paste porcelain was analyzed and recorded by a French mineralogist named Jean-Étienne Guéttard (1715-1786) in a memorandum to Académie des Sciences in 1765. It contains Garches (a kind of clay appearing to be white), sand (to compose glass), and potassium (an alkaline flux).[27] Guéttard’s analysis has been approved by modern analysis, which resulted in further discovery of the extra constituent: lime content derived from chalk or gypsum.[28] It is also called frit porcelain (deriving from its glass constituent) and burned with a temperature around 1100°C, relatively lower than the hard-paste porcelain. However, with its unique formula, the porcelain body of the soft-paste porcelain performs a texture that is very close to the Chinese blue-and-white ware from the Kangxi period, and it looks even whiter and harder than the hard-paste porcelain. The ware can be

[23] Ibid. P. 21, 24-25.
[24] Ibid. P. 28.
[25] Ibid. P. 28, 34.
[26] Ibid. 32. The manufacture of soft-paste porcelain with the East Asian designs in Saint-Cloud continued until 1766 when it was not competitive any more for its contemporary manufactories (i.e. Chantilly and Vincennes porcelain), and ended up closing down.
[27] Ibid. P. 40. In Jean-Étienne Guéttard’s *Histoire de la découverte faite en France de matières semblables à celles dont la porcelaine de la Chine est composée*, written in 1765.
[28] Ibid. P. 40. The modern analysis was conducted by W. D. Kingery and published in *Ancient Technology to Modern Science* in 1985.

thin as well. Hereunder are the two main types in which Saint-Cloud presents its imitation of Chinese porcelain:

a. Blue-and-white:

Fig. 3-32 is an earlier Saint-Cloud production whose depiction of flowers and limbs in underglaze blue is reminiscent of the Chinese blue-and-white from the Kangxi period, though the band decoration around and under the opening can be immediately recognized for its European origin. We can observe that after the burning process the depiction in underglaze blue came to the superficial level of the glaze and dispersed. This flaw was supposedly amended through changing the ratio amongst the constituents, as observed by the later production of the manufactory—the body turned even finer and whiter, and the blue pigment was better absorbed by the porcelain body and remained stable through the glazing and burning process. Fig. 3-33 is a tea set composed of cup and saucer with even whiter ware body and a very 'clean' performance of the depiction in underglaze blue with patterns of a bundle of books and Artemisia leaves on the border of the dish and cup, and a plantain in the center of the dish. These patterns can frequently be seen on the Kraak-porcelain produced during the Wanli period of the Ming dynasty. Fig. 3-34 presents a comparison between the soft-paste porcelain in underglaze blue produced by Saint-Cloud and a Chinese ginger jar made between the late Ming and early Qing period. Though the Saint-Cloud object did not fully imitate the Chinese one, we can observe that its shape as a ginger jar, its performance of underglaze blue, and its depiction of two different garden scenes, namely lotus and water plants upon water, as well as *bogu* motif, have made the reproduction resemble its prototype. Another example that invites comparison is fig. 3-35, also a ginger jar made in the Saint-Cloud factory, with the side depicting chrysanthemums on rock. Interestingly, if we were to observe the foot of the Saint-Cloud jar, we would see that the maker removed the glaze a few

millimetres above the foot to resemble the Chinese one.

It is worth mentioning that one piece of the Saint-Cloud blue-and-white jars was also supplied to the Dresden court. It was recorded in the Dresden inventory dated 1721 as "Blau und Weiß Indianisch Porcelain,"[29] which confirmed its strong resemblance to the Chinese ware in a way.

b. Overglaze colours:

Fig. 3-36 is a lidded jar with overglaze decoration in a style between *famille verte* and *wucai* showing a scene of two ladies with child in a garden, which can be frequently seen on Chinese export porcelain. The spittoon in fig. 3-37 presents two different types of decorations composed of child figures and flowers in '*kaigunag* 開光' (pictures in panels) against a background in overglaze enamel green and black patterned-like pebbles, tending to perform the style of *famille verte* ware, and the motif of "squirrel and grapes" in the Japanese Kakiemon style. Such a combination was created by Saint-Cloud itself with the intention to imitate styles from Chinese and Japanese porcelain.

Another example worth mentioning is the soft-paste porcelain of the Bow factory in England, active between 1747 and 1764, which imitates Chinese blue-and-white, *famille rose*, overglaze colours, white ware with relief decoration, or Japanese kakiemon ware. Also the Tournai factory, active between 1751 and 1890, had achieved a wide range of soft-paste porcelain productions imitating Chinese blue-and-white ware, *wucai*, *famille ros*e, overglaze colours, and *guangcai* 廣彩. The reproductions from both factories present a striking resemblance to their Chinese

[29] Ibid. P. 101.

prototypes.

The Chinese ware imitated by the European manufactories was mostly export ware. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was a great amount of Chinese porcelain arriving at European courts, which offered the European manufactories sufficient information and knowledge when they intended to reproduce the Chinese pieces. The quantity of reproduction was great, which indicated that the court and market demands were too. As observed in this section, the European reproductions could be observed and categorized according to their strong resemblances to the Chinese equivalents. The materials applied to the production, the techniques, and the forms as well as styles of the reproductions were expertly carried out.

3.2 Category 2: European creations of Chinese images and motifs:

During the eighteenth century the reports on China written by the European missionaries and travellers were widely published, translated into different languages, and circulated throughout Europe. During this time there was also a significant amount of Chinese commodities, especially porcelain pieces, arriving in Europe to offer abundant visual depictions of China. The knowledge about China gradually accumulated, spread, and fomented its influence in Europe. China, Chinese culture, Chinese goods, and Chinese porcelain, which were attractive, interesting, and exotic to Europeans, seemed to be accessible and permeable. Apart from being able to reproduce Chinese porcelain with a strong resemblance to the original, as discussed in the last section, European manufactories also created Chinese images with concrete figures, plots, or motives by referring to the various sources mentioned above. This section is organized to examine how the Europeans observed, adopted, and then

transferred the information and knowledge about China to 'Chinese images' for porcelain decoration.

3.2.1 Collection, creation, and transference of Chinese images to porcelain decoration: Johann Höroldt' *chinoiserie* drawings & Jean-Antoine Fraisse' *Livre de desseins chinois*

As the European missioners and travellers arrived in China, what they first observed about the country was likely related to its residents' lifestyles, particularly their eating and drinking habits. The famous scene of Chinese preparing tea that appears on porcelain objects from the *chinoiserie* series of the Meissen manufactory was achieved under the instruction of Johann Gregorius Höroldt (1696-1775). Its tea preparing and drinking scenes are probably one of the most frequently seen decorative motives on the Meissen ware. The Meissen tea-scene always shows the tea being prepared in a joyful, almost enchanted atmosphere; the tea would be cooked in a large beautiful pot directly on fire gushing much smoke, and the people preparing the tea gesture like they are players in the theatre or magicians cooking magical soup (fig. 38). Apart from this, the people depicted in these scenes are all resplendent in their dresses. In the *chinoiserie* series the Meissen porcelain painters depicted the Chinese scenes principally according to the paradigms in the factory, namely a series of ink drawings totalling 124 pattern sheets of more than 1,000 sketches created by Höroldt referring to various visual sources collected in the Sachsen court. Amongst the sources for creating this *chinoiserie* series were objects directly from Asia: Chinese porcelain, wood prints, printed books, paintings, textiles or wall papers, and Japanese lacquers;[30] there were reproductions of European creations of Chinese images:

[30] Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen. ,Verknüpfungen herstellen: Zusammenhänge zwischen der Druckgraphik, dem Schulz-Codex und der frühen narrativen Malerei in Meissen.' *Exotische Welten*. München. 2010. P. 50-51.

graphic reproductions of 700 watercolour drawings of figures and parts of dinnerware for the French market, as well as Indian and Chinese patterns, Chinese and Turkish comedic characters, pictured plates titled *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria*[31] and *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung des türckischen Hofes*[32] engraved by Christoph Weigel (1654-1725) in order to learn the models of the figures, and engravings by Pieter Schenk and François Boucher.[33] Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the Jesuit missioner François Xavier d'Entrecolles' report on China had arrived at the Sachsen court and brought the manufacture some ideas to create 'China images.' Thus, Höroldt laid out his Chinese images based on the knowledge circulated by the European missioners, and his tea scenes corresponded to their reports on tea to a certain extent.

Almost all the missioners who travelled to China or Japan devoted some words to describing the tea. Until the eighteenth century tea drinking was widely known as a kind of high cultural ceremony representing China, the far East and the exotic, and tea offered magical remedies and tasted delicious. João Rodrigues devoted twenty thousand words to an account expounding that the tea ceremony and tea drinking had social and spiritual significance.[34] The Portuguese Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz

[31] The complete title: *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria : worinnen sehr curios und begnügt unter die Augen kommen allerley Aufzüg und Kleidungen unterschiedlicher Stände und Nationen : forderist aber ist darinnen in Kupffer entworffen die Kayserliche Hoffstatt in Wien*. The original work is dedicated to a preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara in Nuremberg and printed by Caspar Luyken (1672-1708). Weigel's copperplate is based on Luyken's version and published in 1703.

[32] The complete title: *Wahreste und neueste Abbildung des türckischen Hofes: welche nach denen Gemählden, so der königliche französische Ambassadeur, Monsr. de Ferriol, Zeit seiner Gesandtschafft in Constantinopel im Jahr 1707. und 1708. durch einen geschickten Mahler nach den Leben hat verfertigen lassen, in fünff und sechzig Kupffer-Blatten gebracht worden. Nebst einer aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzten Beschreibung*, with text explication of Charles de Ferriol (1652-1722), the French ambassador to Ottoman Empire from 1692 to 1711, and graphic works achieved by Jean Baptiste van Mour (1671-1737) in Constantinople (which was commissioned by Ferriol). Christoph Weigel's engraving referred to the texts and graphic works and was published in 1719.

[33] Lübke, Diethard. ‚Die Funktionen des Schulz-Codex in Höroldts Werkstatt. See also Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen. ‚Verknüpfungen herstellen: Zusammenhänge zwischen der Druckgraphik, dem Schulz-Codex und der frühen narrativen Malerei in Meissen.' In *Exotische Welten*. München. 2010. P. 24-25, 52-53.

[34] Finlay, Robert. 'The Primacy of Chinese Porcelain: Korea, Japan, and Continental Southeast Asia, 1400-1700.' *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*. Berkeley. 2010. P. 195.

(ca. 1520-1570) also put down, "whatsoever person or persons come to any man of quality's house, it is customary to offer him on a fair tray in a porcelain cup… a kind of warm water which they call cha… made from a concoction of somewhat bitter herbs."[35] It seems that João Rodrigues and another Jesuit believed that the tea preparing even related to cooking quite often. They gave accounts describing how the tea votaries from the higher class during the late Ming dynasty prepared the tea with some apricot and almond, which would be eaten after the tea was consumed; moreover, the Chinese prepared a quick meal by adding egg yolks and sugar to tea.[36] Another Jesuit, Johannes Grueber (1623-1680), also described how the Chinese barely drank any wine, but much tea and rice wine, preferring the warm beverages that they always cooked in a kettle on a fire near a table.[37] Interestingly, these accounts of Jesuits can be easily observed from the tea scenes on the Meissen ware; these scenes depict tea drinking as, for example, a social activity taking place in the houses of the higher class, or its cooking preparation on the fire, etc. Fig. 3-38 is a tea preparing scene painted on a dish and its prototype in ink drawing (fig. 3-39). From Höroldt's drawing we can observe how he had paid attention to the visual sources that would have provided him with some features of Chinese figures—for example, dressing in layers of fluttering gowns, wearing a jade pendant, carrying a folding fan, etc.

Along with figures preparing tea, literati-like figures can frequently be seen on the Meissen *chinoiserie.* These figures may appear alone or in pairs, having tea, holding something to read in their hands, posturing to express or read out something, writing on a stone piece, appreciating a picture, meeting each other in the garden,

[35] Ibid. P. 125.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Grueber, Johannes. 'Pekings Menschen und Sitten: Speisen und Getränke.' *Als Kundschafter des Papstes nach China: 1656-1664*. Franz Braumann ed. Stuttgart. 1985. P. 96-97.

playing chess, etc. In the eighteenth century the Chinese culture still met with a positive response in Europe, and as Mungello has pointed out, in the opinion of the Jesuits or the travellers at that time, apart from its lack of Christianity, the Chinese culture and its philosophy were equal or even superior to European culture and philosophy.[38] Even Confucianism enjoyed a positive reception, as the Jesuits thought that it contained truths derived from the natural world and human reason and lacked only the truths of revelation.[39] Some activities and manners related to the context of Confucianism—for example, the literati culture, meeting the neighbourhood, bowing and making a fist with both hands in front of the chest when meeting other people, the sacrificing ceremonies (though defined as superstitious rites by the Jesuits), kneeling down and kowtowing in front of people in a higher position or ancestors for worshipping, etc.—were expounded in the written or visual reports of the missioners. For example, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's (1674-1743) letters during his mission in China, or Johannes Grueber's (1623-1680) reports on Chinese people and their manners observed from his trip to China and Tibet from 1656 to 1664, which were later visualized by Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) in his *China Illustrata*, and Johan Nieuhof's sketch, etc. contributed written or visual sources documenting the Chinese way of greeting by bowing and making a fist with both hands in front of the chest or kowtowing, which can be observed at Höroldt's drawings (fig. 3-41 & fig. 3-43) and on the porcelain ware (fig. 3-40 & fig. 3-42).

The catalogue titled *Exotische Welten: Der Schulz-Codex und das frühe Meissener Porzellan* accompanying the exhibition with the same title that took place in 2010 in the Grassi Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Leipzig reprints the omnibus

[38] Mungello, D. E. "European Acceptance of Chinese Culture and Confucianism." *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*. Maryland. 2001. P. 59.
[39] Ibid. P. 60.

volume of 124 sheets of Höroldt's *chinoiserie* drawings. These drawings are named 'Schulz-Codex', as it was in the ownership of a Leipzig collector named Georg Wilhelm Schulz during the early twentieth century.[40] The end of this album also provides 121 groups of comparisons between the Meissen porcelain productions decorated in *chinoiserie* style and their possible ink drawing or etching exemplars created by Höroldt. When the drawings were applied to the porcelain ware, the decoration scenes may have had only one drawing as an exemplar, yet sometimes combined several different drawings to craft a new composition. Some decorations painted on the ware appear to have comedic or theatrical plots or atmosphere, and others seem to derive from the visual sources of the drawings—for example, from the French watercolour reproduction of the Chinese and Turkish comedic characters mentioned earlier, or Höroldt's imagination. Amazingly, a high percentage of his Chinese scenes can be further compared to actual Chinese culture or lives in ancient times. Hereunder are the recognized Chinese themes and the corresponding drawing examples, applied with the Schulz-Codex reference numbers (composed of a cipher, Roman numerals, and then one more cipher):[41]

a. tea culture:

-- tea preparing: 3,II,5; 43,II,1

-- tea drinking: 1,I,2; 4,III,1; 108,II,2

-- tea stand: 15,I,6; 102,I,2; 114,II,3

-- man sitting on a short stool, smoking a long pipe, and drinking tea: 3,II,2; 7,I,5

[40] About Schulz's collection context, see ‚Die Musterblätter: Provenienz und Beschreibung' in *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien* (1978), p. 11.

[41] The Codex numbers are provided by the picture album *Exotische Welten: Der Schulz-Codex und das frühe Meissener Porzellan.*

b. Confucian manners:

-- literati culture:

literati in garden: 3,I,3; 18,III,2; 32,II,4

literati painting: 3,I,5; 30,II,3

literati playing chess: 17,II,1; 73,I,4

literati with serving boy: 5,II,4, 69,I,3

-- people bowing and making a fist with both hands in front of the chest when greeting other people: 53,I,1

-- people kowtowing or kneeling down in front of people in a higher position: 8,IV,1; 10,I,1; 83,II,1

-- people worshipping their ancestors or deities: 4,I,1; 64,II,2

c. Selling scenes:

-- mobile sellers with miscellaneous articles: 6,II,1; 7,II,3, 7-8; 7,III,4; 8,I,1; 8,I,6; 116,I,3

-- the salesman selling in a Chinese steelyard: 108,III,1

-- the fishmen pouring fish into the basin of their buyers: 110,III,3

-- people putting up a shed to give some performances in order to merchandise their goods: 83,I,1

-- man with peeping box: 109,II,1

d. Tribute scenes: 87,II,2-3; 43,III,3

e. The high social rank:

-- man sitting on sedan chair or rickshaw: 2,I,3; 14,II,1; 93,I,3; 65,II,3

-- people loitering in the pavillon, rockery, garden upon a river or a pond, watching

birds and flowers: 1,II,2; 3,I,3; 16,I,3; 17,II,2; 41.1; 42.1;

-- people taking a boat trip and being accompanied by the music performers: 16,I,3

-- people celebrating at a banquet: 12,I,2; 93,II,3

-- a Chinese emperor or courtier at his reception (fig. 3-44): 28

-- a Chinese courtier at his reception with music or theatre performer: 12,I,1

f. The beautiful lady:

-- a lady: 47,I,4; 48,II,4

-- a lady plays *pipa* or a similar instrument in garden: 3,I,1; 12,I,1; 20,I,3

-- a lady with sun umbrella: 15,II,2

g. The hunter:

-- Chinese hunting scenes with resemblance to those in Chinese paintings or prints: 85,I,2

h. On the streets:

-- man loitering with a bird cage (with bird) in hand: 21,II,3

-- child paying attention to an elder (the elder is kind and loving to the child): 19,II,1

-- an itinerant entertainer, Taoist, or quack: 20,II,1; 13,II,3; 38,I,2; 67,I,3

i. Porcelain:

-- porcelain making: 80,II,1

-- porcelain selling: 1,II,1

Though he had different visual and written sources for creating Chinese scenes, inevitably Höroldt also mixed European cultural elements and pictorial traditions. For

example, the chess players in Codex Nr. 26,I,3 are playing backgammon, an old chess game developed during the ancient Greek and Roman period. Very often his Chinese figures gesture and posture like Europeans, who may drink tea from a coffee pot (Codex Nr. 22,II,3; 27,II,1). In some drawings or objects, we can see scenes in which the Chinese are served by African servants (Codex Nr. 78,I,1, or a dish with Inv. Nr. ES 102 now collected in Bavarian National Museum, Munich).

As stated, Höroldt's creation of Chinese images was based on his sources to certain extent; however, to create these images and to decorate the ware precisely like the Chinese were not concerns of his. His aim was supposedly to create Chinese images as the decorative motives for the porcelain ware produced in Meissen in order to please August the Strong by referring to various sources as well as to the real Chinese ware provided by the king. According to statistics mentioned by Finlay, by the time of August the Strong's death, more than 35,798 pieces of porcelain had been collected by him, amongst which roughly half were from his Meissen manufactory, and the other half were from China and Japan, as recorded in a royal inventory known as "East Indian Porcelain."[42] This shows that the collection of ware with East Indian/Asian provenance was not small; however, Meissen's invention of *chinoiserie* was still wished for. Moreover, according to the statistics, another half of the king's collection was entirely from his own Meissen manufactory, and consisted of a great amount of objects, suggesting that a substantial number were decorated with Höroldt's chinoiserie and confirmed his success in a way.

On a soft-paste porcelain vase produced by the Chantilly manufactory (fig. 3-45)

[42] Finlay, Robert. "The Secrets of Porcelain: China and the West in the Eighteenth Century." The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History. Berkeley. 2010. P. 61.

an interesting decorative motive related to Chinese daily life is depicted: several people are sitting around the table, using chopsticks, having tea, and enjoying each other's company, while the others are cooking tea. The decorative style referred to the Japanese Kakiemon ware; however, according to the hair style, clothing, manners of people, and the mode of tea preparation, the motive should be deduced as Chinese. This scene derived from a depiction album titled *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon...*, created by Jean-Antoine Fraisse (1680-1739) in 1735, and commissioned by Louis IV Henri de Bourbon-Condé (1692-1740), known as duc de Bourbon, who also established the Chantilly factory.[43] From the reproduction picture album, we can observe that Fraisse should have created this series of drawings and engravings, all in oriental style to some extent, by referring to forms, styles, and decorations of the Chinese and Japanese porcelain, Japanese lacquer ware, and Indian textiles collected by the duke. His work functioned not only like a pictorial record of the oriental images accumulated from difference sources that existed at court, but also as an easily obtained visual source for the Chantilly manufactory for creating further oriental motives in decorating its own porcelain products, textiles, wall papers, etc.[44] Fraisse's inspirations, which may be supplied by Chinese and Japanese porcelain, can be

[43] The complete title is *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce par le s'Fraisse, peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc, dédié à Son Altesse Sérénissime, et publié à Paris chez Ph. Nic. Lottin, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Saint-Jacques, proche de S. Yves, à la Vérité, M.DCC.XXXV, Avec Privilège du Roy.* In English: *Book of Chinese drawings, derived from the Persian, Indian, Chinese and Japanese originals, drawings and copperplate engraving by Fraisse, painter of Duke the Monsignor, especially for his majestic dignity, published by Ph. Nic. Lottin in Paris, printer & bookseller, Saint-Jacques Street, S. Yves, very truly, in 1735, with the royal privilege.* See *Livre de Desseins Chinois: D'après des Originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon Modèles de Jean-Antoine Fraisse pour les Manifactures du Duc de Bourbon.* Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau. 2011. See also Garnier-Pelle, Nicole. 'Instroduction.' P.15-17. See also LeDuc, Geneviève. ,Le goût pour l'exotisme, 1730-1750.' *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly au XVIIIe siècle*. 1996. Paris. P. 115-117. The Chantilly manufactory was founded by duc de Bourbon in 1725, and started to manufacture soft-paste porcelain under the technical instruction of Cicaire Cirou (1700-1751), a former porcelain manufacturer at the Saint-Cloud manufactory.

[44] 'La Manufacture indiennes.' *Livre de Desseins Chinois: D'après des Originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon Modèles de Jean-Antoine Fraisse pour les Manifactures du Duc de Bourbon.* Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau. 2011. P. 30-33.

observed in some degree by going through the inventory list of the duke between 1692 and 1740,[45] in which numerous 'old' Chinese and Japanese porcelain as well as Japanese lacquer purchased by the duke at astoundingly high prices are listed. Though the features of the objects in the inventory were not elaborated upon—mostly only item appellations, quantities, quantities of components (e.g. a cabinet), provenances, brief descriptions of features, sometimes forms and styles of mountings (if provided), and prices were supplied—we still can find entries indicating some features of Chinese and Japanese porcelain or lacquer ware that were probably adopted by Fraisse or the decorators of the Chantilly factory. Hereunder I list the motives observed from Fraisse's album or Chantilly production and their possible sources in the inventory:

-- For dragon motive: 1691 Item 12 petits compotiers de **porcelaine ancienne du Japan à Dragons** prisez ensemble 100 £ (Dans les cuisines dudit château [de Chantilly] Dans lesd. Armoires s'est trouvé:)

Hereunder is a soft-paste porcelain dish produced by the Chantilly factory (fig. 3-46). The dish is decorated with hoho-bird motive in the center and the dragon motive on the border. The hoho-bird motive may be inspired by a Japanese export ware mentioned in another entry, and the dragon motive may be inspired by Japanese or Chinese export ware, or even Meissen ware, as it had created the red-dragon series by that time.

-- For lattice/ borcade pattern in blue (see fig. 3-47 the border decoration): 1692 Item 12 petits compotiers de Porcelaine ancienne du Japon **en mosaïque bleue** prisés 50 £

During the second half of the eighteenth century the Chantilly factory launched a new series of table service named *mosaïque bleu* with lattice-like pattern in enamel

[45] Ibid. See appendix 'Inventaire du Duc de Bourbon (1692-1740)', p. 155-160.

blue deriving from the border decoration patterned like brocade on the Chinese export ware (fig. 3-2).

-- For pagoda motive: *1894 Item, 1 cabinet verny ancient Japon à deux portes garni de ses tiroirs le* ***touten relief à pagodes sur son pied de bois sculpté doré et verny en bleu****, 400 £ (Dans le Cabinet de la Chine au bout de lad. Galerie [des Géorgiques], f°412)*

2155 [f°451] Item, 2 grosses pagodes assises de porcelaine brute grise ancient la Chine prisez ensemble 80 livres (Dans une petite garderobbe ensuitte)

2156 [f°451] Item, 2 petits ***troncs d'arbres avec des pagodes aux pieds de porcelaine ancienne****, prises ensemble 20 livres (Dans une petite garderobbe ensuitte)*

3298 [f°578v°] Item, un grand ***pot pouris dans une cage à pagodes****, le tout de porcelaine du Japon garni de bronze en trépier, prisé 80 livres (Dans une garderobbe ensuitte de lad. Chambre [f°578v°])*

-- For flower basket motive: *3302 [f°579] Item, 2 petits* ***pots pouris en forme de panier*** *à ances de porcelaine de la Chine, prises 15 livres*

The basket motive illustrated in *Livre de desseins* (fig. 3-48) may derive from the image of flower baskets frequently seen on the Chinese and Japanese porcelain export ware (fig. 3-49).

-- For modelling (e.g. tripod) with leopard or lion foot design: *3322 [f°581v°] Item deux* ***léopards de porcelaine de la Chine de couleur assis sur leurs pieds de porcelaine*** *prises 60 livres (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For modelling with honeycomb design: *3331 [f°582v°] Item 2 grands cornets de* ***porcelaine celadon gauffrés avec de petits ances aux costés****, prisez ensemble 100 livres (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For deer and duck design/ floral & foliage motives: *3337 [f°583] Item un autre petit **cabaret de verni du Japon avec des cerfs dessus en relief doré, garni de 2 tasses en forme de canards**, de deux **souscoupes en forme de feuilles**, une petite **téyère forme de fruits**, le tout de **Porcelaine de la Chine verte et jaune**, prise 40 livre (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For landscape motive: *3338 [f°583] Item un autre petit **cabaret à paysage en relief doré de verni du Japon**, garni de 2 **tasses forme de fleurs**, 2 **souscoupes forme de feuilles**, le tout de **Porcelaine de la Chine jaune et verte,** prisé 40 livres (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For landscape with pagoda motive (fig. 3-50 & fig. 3-51): *3339 [f°583] Item une **boëte de verni du Japon forme ovale à paysage, pagodes et mosaïque** de dix pouces […] (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For branch and flower motive: *3343 […] [f°584] une petite jatte percée à jour, le tout de porcelaine ancienne du Japon **à branchages et fleurs de couleur**, prsiés ensemble 100 livres (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

-- For bird motive (fig. 3-52): *3346 [f°584] Item un **cabaret d'ancien lac du Japon avec deux oyseaux en relief dessus** […] (Dans la grande galerie appellée des Conquestes étante ensuite dudit Cabinet [f°580v°])*

It is worth listing here that the motives observed from *Livre de desseins chinois* as well as those possibly having their pictorial elements, depictions, or motives are

inspired by Chinese and Japanese porcelain:

-- exotic flower tree or fern patterns

-- Chrysanthemums and birds on limbs: inspired by the Japanese Kakimon ware

-- several different scenes of children playing games in a garden, Chinese or Japanese: inspired by Chinese porcelain, Chinese and Japanese woodcuts, Japanese lacquer

-- several different kinds of floral baskets, frequently seen with peonies and chrysanthemums yet sometimes mixed with European floral types: inspired by the Kangxi period export porcelain with *hua bogu*-motive, 'appreciating antiques and flowers in vases'; also inspired by Japanese Imari ware

-- Chinese officers meeting on a terrace: inspired by Chinese porcelain

-- well-dressed Japanese aristocracy in a pond garden

-- well-dressed Chinese aristocracy in a residence garden: inspired by Chinese porcelain

-- Chinese rock garden with pagoda: inspired by Chinese porcelain

-- a long horizontal scene of daily life in a rural place in a style of mixed Japanese and Chinese pictorial elements

-- musicians playing instruments for the emperor: with pictorial elements from Chinese and Japanese porcelain

-- Persians riding and playing martial arts

-- a Chinese garden scene of different motives deriving from the porcelain tower in the style from Johan Nieuhof's sketch,[46] a ritual scene presenting the episode of 'the

[46] In Johan Nieuhof's (1618-1672) sketch in *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China : waar in de gedenkwaerdighste geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche landtschappen, Quantung, Kiangsi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het keizerlijke hof te Peking, sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigste verhandelt worden : befeffens een naukeurige Beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden, godsdiensten, gebouwen,*

oath of brotherhood in the Peach Garden' from *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and children reading books, with some pictorial elements, namely figures or floral patterns, possibly referring to Chinese export porcelain

-- Japanese appreciating cherry blossoms on a terrace

-- a long horizontal scene of Chinese royal progress

-- Japanese selling or fishing scenes

-- lovers meeting in a blossoming garden: inspired by the Japanese Kakiemon ware[47]

-- crane couple in the garden with plum blossoms, bamboo, and '*wenren shi* 文人石' (‚literati's rocks'): inspired by Chinese and Japanese porcelain

-- peonies in the garden with literati's rock; peonies with petals which look like two horns: inspired by the Kangxi period export porcelain, see also 3.1.1

-- boy playing different traditional Chinese games: part of them can be referred to Chinese porcelain

-- Chinese eating, tea drinking, and tea selling scene

-- foreign missioners visiting the Chinese emperor in a pavilion

-- several different scenes of Chinese officers paying formal visits to the Chinese emperor

-- several different depictions of Chinese literati or aristocratic residences in garden: inspired by Chinese export porcelain

Apart from the cases of Höroldt's *chinoiserie* drawings for Meissen ware and Fraisse' *Livre de desseins chinois* for Chantilly ware, another interesting case worth mentioning here is Cornelis Pronk's (1691-1759) creation of Chinese motives, which

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drachten, schepen, bergen, gewassen, dieren, &c. en oorlogen tegen de Tarters : verçiert men over de 150 afbeeltsels, na't leven in Sina getekent, published in 1665.

[47] See the comparison in *Porcelaine tender de Chantilly au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 123.

were actually commissioned by the Dutch East India Company to send to China or Japan to have ware decorated with his design.[48] However, it can be noted that Pronk's compositions were still very much based on those observed from Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Fig. 3-53 is a design of Pronk's titled *Four Doctors* (another version is *Three Doctors*), which probably had a Chinese jar from the Ming dynasty with decorative motives of three star-kings (*fu*, *lu*, *shou* 福祿壽三星) as a paradigm (fig. 3-54).[49] This is also a case that relates to the context of the European collection of Chinese sources, the creation of Chinese images, and the transference onto porcelain decoration, even though this time the Chinese or Japanese porcelain decorators had to depict Chinese or Japanese images that were designed by a European.

3.2.2 The development of 'new' East Asian forms:

Along with decorating the ware with Chinese motives, the European manufactories also produced ware with forms resembling the Chinese ware. Apart from creating objects that directly copied the forms of the Chinese wares—for example, the lidded *jiangjun guan*-vase, the *gu*-formed vase originating from the ancient bronze drinking vessel *gu*, teapots or tea cups, etc.—the Meissen manufactory was also keen on creating porcelain in Chinese or Japanese forms. Fig. 3-55 is a cuspidor with a handle made by the Meissen manufactory. In looking at this object again, we can observe that it is composed of a dish, a teapot, and a handle, or a Japanese teapot with handle. Fig. 3-56 is a lidded olio-tureen with two ears for holding, and three feet, supposedly having the Chinese tripod or incense burner as its paradigm. A similar object with more feet in a smaller size (fig. 3-57) is produced as

[48] Jörg, C.J.A. 'The Pronk Porcelain.' *Pronk Porcelain: Porcelain after designs by Cornelis Pronk.* Groningen. 1980. P. 10-11, 14.
[49] Ibid. P. 30.

the butter or sugar box. As a whole, the form still looks European; however, its Chinese elements (e.g. modelling and decoration in Japanese Imari style) cannot be neglected; it is not simply an imitation, but a new creation.

The forms of ceramic works never developed alone, as they always combined various forms from different wares, times, and even cultures. In the case of Meissen ware, we can observe that the Chinese or Japanese ware as prototypes were observed by the manufacturer, and the information from those observations was accumulated, ruminated, and in the end performed through the new creation of forms. As we can observe from the examples mentioned above, the newly created forms present plural features deriving from different visual sources, which literally correspond to what Philip Rawson suggested in the third mode of his theory in regard to the form development of ceramic works: 'the forms would articulate, overlap and then elision.'[50]

3.3 Category 3: To conceptualize the Chinese porcelain

In this category I would like to examine several specific features of Chinese porcelain that were adopted, conceptualized, and applied to different contexts in Europe during the eighteenth century. To reiterate, Chinese porcelain was not simply copied as an object, but adapted drawing on one or more concepts.

3.3.1 "Blue-and-white"

The "blue-and-white" tonality of Chinese porcelain was also used in the *azulejo* (meaning "tile") design in Portugal. In the late fifteenth century it was a tradition to

[50] Rawson, Philip. „Part III Symbolism of Form." *Ceramics: Appreciation of the Arts.* London. 1971. P. 117.

decorate part or all of wall or floor surfaces with colourfully painted tiles to resemble fresco in the interiors of palaces, residences, churches, cloisters and monasteries. The seventeenth-century tile painting may present the influence of majolica ware and its decorative style with a visual effect similar to *horror vacui*.[51] In the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, the fashion of having white tiles painted with blue patterns, very often on the outside surfaces of architecture, came into being. When architecture was renovated (either the exterior or interior) during this period, the blue-and-white tiles were mostly chosen in order to maintain the vogue. Interestingly *azul* from *azulejo* means blue. The concept of blue-and-white was indeed inspired by Dutch blue-and-white faïence, which intended to present the features of Chinese blue-and-white porcelains from the Ming dynasty, even though the depictive themes are landscapes, religious, mythological, and literary subjects, or simply flora and fauna that are unallied with the Chinese themes.[52] Fig. 3-58 shows one of the outside walls decorated with blue-and-white tiles at the Superior Cloister of the Porto Cathedral. The tiles were painted between 1729 and 1731 by the famous painter Valentim de Almeida, whose pottery workshop was significant at that time, and the azulejos were certainly produced there.[53] Fig. 3-59 shows the hunting scene on the azulejos cut out from the long panels originally in Calhariz Palace, now at the main staircase of the National Museum of Azulejo in Lisbon.

3.3.2 The Materiality of Porcelain & the Natural Element

As mentioned in the last chapter, for a long while before and even into the eighteenth century Europeans believed that porcelain was made of shell due to its

[51] Refer to Lesley Brown, 'Vol. 1: A−M', *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. P. 360.
[52] Beall, Karen F.. 'Azulejos: Architectural tiles of Portugal.' *Ceramics Monthly*. No. 49-6. 2001. P. 84.
[53] Monteiro, João Pedro. '18th Century.' *The Tiles in Oporto*. Lisbon. 2001. P. 30.

pure white and fine presentation. They frequently associated porcelain with shell and expressed this association or transformation of the materiality of porcelain in various forms of art. This association can be easily acquainted with the rococo art style. The term "rococo" is derived from the French word *rocaille*, meaning shell or rock, and the French used *porcelaine* to describe a cowrie, a kind of shiny and smooth shell.[54] Apart from this, shell is one of the main ornamental elements of rococo style. Through the process of transforming the meanings of the materiality of porcelain, porcelain and shell are connected to each other to perform rococo in an ingenious way.

In attempting to come up with the concept, many European porcelain manufactories produced a large amount of porcelain pieces or dinner services either in the forms or with the motifs of shells or nautilus. Fig. 3-60 shows a shell-shaped porcelain box and cover produced by Meissen, whose notable "swan services" also contain the large tureens in the shape of shells. Another example is a pair of salt-cellars in the form of crayfish and shells made of soft-paste porcelain by the Chelsea manufactory (fig. 3-61). In their production of vessels, the Capodimonte manufactory near Naples and Plymouth were keen on the shell-shaped or scallop-shaped edges or painting with feathered rims suggesting shells,[55] probably due to the factor of geographical locations. Porcelain objects like these were enormously in vogue, as the rococo style prevailed throughout the century.

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[54] Yonan, Michael E.. 'Igneous Architecture: Porcelain, Natural Philosophy, and the Rococo cabinet chinois.' Alden Cavanaugh ed. *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century porcelain*. Burlington. 2010. P. 77.

[55] Finlay, Robert. 'The Secrets of Porcelain: China and the West in the Eighteenth Century.' *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History.* Berkeley. 2010. P. 73.

The comparison between porcelain and shell derived from a kind of misconception, but the association between porcelain and earth, or nature, can be comprehended better. The Meissen manufactory was able to resolve the mystery of producing pure white Chinese porcelain by discovering kaolin as the main material supporting its white and smooth feature, signifying that Meissen was able to handle and dominate the natural materials to produce objects as they wished. This demonstrates not only the enthusiastic attitude toward the natural sciences and the impulse to experiment in order to discover various mysterious materials from the natural world of eighteenth-century Europe, but also the intent to connect with other civilisations or cultures. Through connecting the materiality of porcelain to nature, European and Chinese cultures also connected with each other. This, as Richards suggests, "was the natural and 'worked' objects of this kind which represented nature transformed into culture, an expression of 'man's' knowledge and control over the natural world."[56]

Another example of connecting the materiality of porcelain with nature is the collection and display in the *Kunstkammer*, or *cabinet chinois*, in which diverse "*artificialia"* as curiosities are displayed together with porcelain, either Chinese or European. "*Artificialia"* indicates fantastic objects crafted by artists and artisans with materials from nature, for example, the large cup made of berg crystal, a cabinet made of amber, vessels made of nautilus, etc., and the knowledge of this subject matter; the collection of objects like these can be traced back to the Renaissance era, when artists paid close attention to the natural world and tried to utilize as many of the materials from it as they could to create art works.[57] This tradition became the vogue again in

[56] Richards, Sarah. "Introduction." *Eighteenth Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilized Society.* Manchester. 1999. P. 19.
[57] Katharina Pilaski Kaliardos, 'The Collection's Setting, its Contents and Their Display', *The Munich*

the eighteenth century, as it was an epoch for adopting the features of classicalism and the Renaissance. Hence the cognition of making a porcelain drinking vessel was the same involved in making a nautilus cup—that is, associating the features and materiality of porcelain with shell or earth. *In Kunstkammer* we frequently see objects made of shells, diverse precious stones, ivory, and ostrich eggs, crystal ware, enamelware, silverware, and porcelain ware that were displayed together to form a kind of material complex. At the same time, with this attribute, porcelain also inevitably contributed to an atmosphere of curiosity and exotica, as other groups of objects did.

3.4 Brief Conclusion

During the eighteenth century, Meissen and the other European manufactories resolved the mystery of Chinese porcelain and were capable of producing hard-paste or soft-paste porcelain ware, which should be regarded as a scientific and technical triumph first of all. By reviewing categories 1 and 2 the second triumph can be determined, namely the ability of Europeans to absorb the great amount of written and visual information about China that had arrived in Europe by that time and to create porcelain ware either imitating the real Chinese ware or performing their own Chinese style. The next triumph occurred when European architects, artists, porcelain producers, etc. brought their knowledge about China, their creativity, and their artistic skills into full play and utilized some of the concepts offered by Chinese porcelain or its decorative styles to create their works of art, as category 3 notes. Since the process of imitating Chinese porcelain is one of developing knowledge, category 3 can be

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Kunstkammer: Art, Nature, and Representation of Knowledge in Courtly Contexts. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. 2013. P. 10-11, 157-160. See also Wolfram Koeppe's online publication titled "Collecting for the Kunstkammer" at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002: https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kuns/hd_kuns.htm.

perceived as the final stage. The reason for the use of the word "triumph" here is that the European manufactories had aspired to produce Chinese-like porcelain for centuries and this goal was achieved and even surpassed during the eighteenth century, as the Europeans had even gone beyond stiff copy to reach creative innovation. Hence this triumph was more complex—when Chinese porcelain was understood as a cultural product that represented an ancient country and an old culture, and when porcelain was a metaphor for Europeans that referred to a wealthy kingdom, as pointed out by Glenn Adamson, what the Europeans achieved was a form of competition with the original. A bold precognition of Chinese decline in the nineteenth century probably resulted from this triumph. Finlay has mentioned that Augustus the Strong once commissioned a ceiling painting for his gallery of porcelain, stipulating that the first scene of the painting "will depict Saxony and Japan who quarrel over the perfection of their porcelain manufactories… The goddess [Minerva] will graciously bestow the award of the struggle into Saxony's hands. Jealousy and dismay will prompt Japan to load their porcelain ware back onto the ships that once brought them here…"[58] Though he referred to the case of Japan here, Finlay's description shows the ambition and will to power of Augustus the Strong. Thus, as the other chapters on the possession complex have demonstrated, the European imitation and reinvention of Chinese porcelain was the expression of a power relation—a culture perceived and possessed another culture, and the porcelain, either Chinese- or European-made, was utilized as an agent to declare and expand power.

[58] Finlay, Robert. "The Secrets of Porcelain: China and the West in the Eighteenth Century." The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History. Berkeley. 2010. P. 63.

Chapter 4: *Qing Gaozong Yu Zhi Shi* 清高宗御製詩, The Imperial Poems of the Qianlong Emperor Inscribed on the Chinese Ceramics

Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799) is the emperor reputed to have had the greatest obsession with art in Chinese history. After negotiating and managing court and political affairs, Qianlong spent much of his time reading ancient books on the subject of art connoisseurship, appraising and taking connoisseurly enjoyment[1] in his enormous art collection. In pursuing this obsession he spent a large part of his exchequer integrating his imperial art collection by recruiting and ordering the imperial workshop to manufacture more art objects of all types. It is believed that he spent a minimum of 76,482,967 taels (ounces) of silver to reconstruct the art works of earlier dynasties and enlarge his collection.[2] He would often exercise his authority in acquiring the art works, as he could force a merchant to sell him a piece for a reduced price or coerce an owner into presenting a desired piece to him as a gift.[3] His lavish imperial southern tours were all massive undertakings executed for the main purposes of declaring his power and inspecting hydraulic engineering, but they also transported numerous art treasuries or antique curios from *jiangnan* back to the North.[4]

Qianlong's obsession with art also prompted him to assign the Imperial Household Department with various tasks, such as creating various new artworks, processing or altering existed works, copying masterpieces of the earlier dynasties, etc.

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[1] I follow Craig Clunas' translation of *pin* 品 as classifying and *jian shang* 鑑賞 as connoisseurly enjoyment in his book *Superfluous Things*. Clunas, Craig. "Things of the Past." *Superfluous Things*. Honolulu. 2004. P. 89, 100.
[2] Kahn, Harold L. 'The Matter of Taste: The Monumental and Exotic in the Qianlong Reign'. *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor 1735-1795*. Phoenix. 1985. P. 291.
[3] Ibid. P. 295.
[4] Ibid. P. 297.

To make inventories of the whole imperial collection and to reorganize displays and collections of artworks in different palaces and cabinets were executed accordingly. Of all the assignments affiliated with his grand plan of examining and reorganizing the imperial collections and displays in diverse dimensions, Qianlong was particularly enthusiastic in working on the ceramic collection. He decided to have the pieces exactly classified, to have those of good quality chosen and classified again into different grades, and to have them equipped with cases made of precious woods and accordingly engraved with grade marks. The objects equipped with cases were then grouped, with some issued catalogue sheets (containing work descriptions, brief comments, depictions, and seals) that later were compiled into albums. One of the purposes of having this process conducted was to make curio boxes, and therefore at the same time groups of bronze objects were processed in the same way as the ceramics.[5] Working at the labor records of the Imperial Household Department, Yu Pei-Chin has pointed out that between the third and the seventh year of his reign, Qianlong's assignments focused on examining the ceramic works collected in the Yangxin, Chonghua and Qianqing palaces that were manufactured before the Qing dynasty; those manufactured during the Song period were especially targeted.[6] Between the thirty-fifth and the sixtieth year of his reign, his projects with ceramic works focused on reorganizing their displays in different palaces and choosing pieces delivered to the Maoqin palace and Ruyi building to be inscribed with his poems.[7]

What is actually behind this connoisseurly enjoyment and the related pursuits? What are the criteria for Qianlong's choices? What are his ideas and exact plans? In this chapter I would like to answer these questions by means of analyzing Qianlong's

[5] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Essay'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 26-30.
[6] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Chap. 6.' Doctoral Dissertation: *A Study of Qianlong Official Wares and the Ideal of a Sagacious Ruler*. Taipei. 2011. P. 246.
[7] Ibid. P. 247.

poems and those ceramic pieces inscribed with his poems. Accordingly, poems and primary sources relevant to my argument will be translated into English.[8] To study Qianlong's poems is a process of understanding his language, including his thoughts, as language is principally the most effective and powerful way to convey one's concepts. The ceramic works act as a vehicle for Qianlong to carry out his thoughts. Terry Winograd's pattern chart for studying material culture and establishing discourses can be good opening remarks for discussion in this chapter. His pattern concerns a relationship among the speaker's (or artefact's) intended meaning, the hearer's (viewer's or user's) interpretation, and the 'signs' provided by the text, utterance, or object.[9] To adapt this pattern to the chapter here, the 'speaker' can be Qianlong, and the 'hearer' can be a diverse audience—Qianlong himself, his courtiers, and his people; the 'signs' are provided by Qianlong's poems and the inscribed ceramic pieces. In the end, the analysis of the relation among these three groups will offer answers that respond to the central idea of this dissertation—Chinese ceramic ware acts as an agency engaging in a complex process of possessing another culture, a process in which power relation is produced and maintained. Here this case deals with Qianlong's imperial poems and those inscribed on the ancient Chinese ceramic works in the context of a Manchu ruler's ownership of the cultural products from the early dynasties and his declaration of reign and power over Han Chinese culture, and a nation rooted in this culture.

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[8] Qianlong's poems discussed here are excerpts from *Qing Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Quanji* 清高宗御製詩文全集 (*The Imperial Poems of the Emperor Qianlong*) published in Beijing by Renmin University of China in 1993 and the catalogue of the exhibition *De Jia Qu* 得佳趣 (*Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics*) in Taipei National Palace Museum published in 2012. I have undertaken the translation of Qianlong's poems and other classical texts into English.

[9] Hunt, John Dixon. "The Sign of the Object". *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*. S. Lubar & W. D. Kingery ed. Washington & London. 1993. P. 297-298. Terry Winograd's chart pattern in: "A Framework for Understanding Discourse." *Cognitive Processes in Comprehension*. M. Just & P. Carpenter ed. N.J. 1977. P. 67.

4.1 Qianlong's poems on the ceramic works: an introduction

Qianlong is well known for his affection for writing poems throughout his life. His poems and writings were first accumulated and compiled in *Yu Zhi Le Shan Tang Quan Ji Ding Ben* 御製樂善堂全集定本 in 1758 (the 23rd year of Qianlong's reign), a job conducted by the courtier Jiang Pu.[10] Addressing a wide range of issues and being also like Qianlong's diaries, these poems record his daily thoughts, observations, perceptions, interpretations, processes for constructing knowledge of things, and his joys in life—art and his art collection.

Amongst these poems, there are about two hundred items concerned with ceramics. Most of them concern objects manufactured in the imperial kiln of the Song dynasty or other famous ones from the same period, such as the *Ge*, *Jun*, *Ding*, and Longquan kilns. There are also a number of poems for pieces made, respectively, in the imperial kilns of the Xuande (1426-1453) and Chenghua (1465-1487) periods of the Ming dynasty, and several from the earlier dynasties, such as a flask in the shape of a cocoon from the Western Han dynasty, a green glazed pottery jar from the Eastern Han, a pottery jar from the Tang, etc. Most of the titles of the poems for the ceramic objects begin with the character *yong* 詠, meaning admire and praise, followed by provenance (normally the kiln name) and then the appellation of the object. This generally shows Qianlong's view on these ceramic objects—they should be appreciated and praised. Several titles begin with *ti* 題, meaning inscribe or write a colophon. Some titles only indicate the appellations of the objects. The themes mostly relate to connoisseurly delectation, archaism, and reflections on historical and

[10] According to *Wenyuange Si Ku Quan Shu* 文淵閣四庫全書 (2005), *Le Shan Tang Quan Ji* was first printed in the eighth year of Yongzheng's reign (1730). During the second and the twenty-third years of Qianlong's reign (1737 and 1758) it was amended and recompiled as *Yu Zhi Le Shan Tang Quan Ji Ding Ben* 御製樂善堂全集定本, in which some of Qianlong's poems and writings were removed.

political issues in relation to ruling a country. Qianlong would even write more than one poem on the same item, as he looked at the same object several times and then wrote poems reflecting his state of mind at the moment. For example, he wrote a total of three poems under two titles, *Yong Guanyao Liang'er Hu* 詠官窯兩耳壺 (*In Praise of a Two-eared Jar of the Imperial Kiln*) and *Zaiyong Guanyao Liang'er Hu* 再詠官窯兩耳壺 (*Again in Praise of a Two-eared Jar of the Imperial Kiln*), for a two-eared jar made in the imperial kiln of the Song period. In one of the two poems with the first title, he compared the attraction of this jar with ceramics made in the *Yue-* 越 or *Ru-* 汝 kilns, whereas in the other one he admired its patina and fineness as being better than the wares made during the Xuande or Chenghua period of the Ming dynasty. In the poem with the second title he questioned the criteria of art evaluation, as at his time people would place higher value on old pieces. He compared the jar to a hermit of noble character and integrity.

Qianlong then ordered his imperial workshop to engrave his poems on the surfaces of the ceramic objects that he had written about. Mostly the poems are engraved into the underside of the objects, but in exceptional cases into the inside of the mouth area or at the outside surfaces. In principle each piece is inscribed with only one poem, but some pieces are inscribed with more poems. For example, two jars from the Han period are inscribed with two or three poems on their bodies (fig. 4-1). Some poems were repeatedly inscribed on different pieces, whereas some poems were never chosen for an inscription. Most of the poems are engraved in *lishu* 隸書 (clerical script) or *kaishu* 楷書 (regular script), but several also show a freer regular script, almost a *xingshu* 行書 (semi-cursive script). Most of them are composed in the prosodic form of *lüshi* 律詩 with eight verses, each consisting of five or seven words, as the so-called *wuyan* 五言 (five- word) or *qiyan* 七言 (seven- word) *lüshi.*

Some poems are composed as *qi yan jueju* 七言絕句 with only four verses, each with seven characters. Some are more like prose texts consisting of more verses and mostly following the prosodic rules. Each type of poem has strict prosodic rules about rhyming, tone patterns, and antithesis; most of Qianlong's poems meet the rules, though some do not. At the end of the poems are Qianlong's reign title, a chronogram (years calculated after his reign), occasionally with an indication of the season, as well as seals with his name or two- or four-word phrases as annotations or comments on the ceramic pieces. The seals are round or square. Some pieces are inscribed with one large individual character, such as *jia* 甲 (best), *bing* 丙 (third), or *gu* 古 (old or ancient) in the middle of the bottom surface, determining the grade of the object. In such cases Qianlong's verses are engraved in a radiate way, not vertically. This happens mostly to *Guan-* 官 (imperial) or *Ru-* 汝 ware of the Song dynasty. Most of these one-character inscriptions had been engraved before Qianlong's time. Qianlong himself talked about them in his poems. The inscriptions could be uncolored or colored in black, red or gold. When the objects had pedestals or wooden boxes (usually made of expensive padauk or rosewood), they would be inscribed in the same way with the same poems, seals, or evaluating characters such as *jia*, *bing*, and *gu*. Yet sometimes the annotation seals engraved on the ceramic works and the pedestals are not identical, as the pedestals may have been added or inscribed at different times.[11] Most inscriptions on the pedestals are gilded, and the seals may be colored in red. Moreover, according to the laboring records of the Imperial Household Department, the assignments of inscriptions were achieved by craftsmen who were responsible for *kezi* 刻字（to engrave words) from the department. To go through the records, we can also observe Qianlong's instructions to have various objects from the imperial

[11] This happens more often to the works manufactured during the Qing period in imitating *Ru-* or *Guan-* ware of the Song dynasty.

collection engraved with his names, poems, dates, connoisseurly seals, etc. It is also necessary to notice that not all poems were composed by Qianlong himself. Not a small amount of them were contributed by his verse courtiers. Yu Pei-Chin has indicated that *Chujishi Xiaoxu* 初集詩小序 *(Preface to the Initial Collection of Imperial Poems)* has noted that some poems in the poetry collection were written by the emperor's courtiers whose literary grace had been approved by him.[12]

According to statistics mentioned in the catalogue of the exhibition titled *De jia chu: Qianlong huangdi de taoci pinwei* 得佳趣：乾隆皇帝的陶瓷品味（*Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics*), National Palace Museum in Taipei has about ninety pieces of ceramic works engraved with Qianlong's poems, whereas the Palace Museum in Beijing has about twenty-one pieces, and the Percival David Foundation in London owns about thirty pieces (now in the British Museum).[13] There should be more belonging to private collections. Based on the appendices no. 1-3 of this exhibition catalogue that give a brief introduction to the inscribed ceramics from the three collections mentioned above, hereunder I list the types, dynasties, and number of ceramic works that were engraved to carry out Qianlong's instructions:

Dynasty	**Kiln/ Ware Types**	**Total number of pieces in the Palace Museums Taipei and Beijing, and in the Percival David Foundation**
Eastern Han	Green glaze pottery	1

[12] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Essay'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 15.
[13] Ibid.

Western Han	Black pottery	1
Northern Song	*Ru* ware	20
Northern Song- Jin	*Jun* ware	1
Northern Song	*Qingbai* ware	1
?	*Cizhou* ware	1
Northern Song; Northern Song- Jin	*Ding* ware; *Ding*-type ware	8
Northern Song- Jin	White glaze	1
Southern Song	*Longquan* ware	2
Southern Song; Southern Song- Yuan	*Guan* ware (Imperial kiln)	24
Southern Song- Yuan; Yuan	*Ge* ware	15
Southern Song- Yuan	Milky- white celadon glaze	2
Jin- Yuan; Yuan	*Jun* ware	2
Yuan- Ming	White glaze	1
Ming	White glaze	6
Ming	Ruby red glaze (Xuande period)	1
Ming	*Ge* ware	1
Ming; Ming- Qing	*Guan* ware- Imitation	6
Qing	*Guan* ware- Imitation	20
Qing	*Ru* ware- Imitation	4
Qing	Celadon glaze	10
Qing	*Longquan*- Imitation	1

Qing	White glazed porcelain	5
Qing	Red glazed porcelain	2
Qing	*Lang* ware	1
Qing	porcelain with *Jiqing*-blue glaze	1
Qing	Brown glaze	1
Thailand	Earthenware	1
Unknown (probably of the Tang dynasty, a presumption made by Emperor Qianlong)	Celadon glaze (Two poems are about this piece, but not inscribed.)	1

The statistics show that *Guan* 官 (the imperial kiln), *Ru* 汝, and *Ge* 哥 wares of the Song dynasty were most often engraved, followed by *Guan*-ware imitations produced in the imperial kilns of the Ming and Qing dynasties, and *Ru* ware-type celadon of the Qing dynasty. The others were *Ding* 定 and *Longquan* 龍泉 wares of the Song dynasty, the white or red glazed pieces from the Xuande period of the Ming dynasty, *Lang* 郎– ware made during the early Qing period, etc. Amongst the three primary choices, *Ge* ware was recorded as one of the remarkable ware types from the Song dynasty in various literary works from the later dynasties. For example, in his *Zun Sheng Ba Jian* 遵生八牋 (*Eight Essays on Cherishing Life*), accomplished in 1591, Gao Lian weaved the discussion on *Ge* ware together with the imperial ones, as he thought the quality of both equivalent and suggested people to evaluate them with the same criteria.[14] Qianlong seemed to have appointed the point of view of *Zun*

[14] Gao Lian. 'Yan xian qing shang qian (shang): Lun guan ge yao qi.' *Zun sheng ba jian* 遵生八牋

Sheng Ba Jian with regard to evaluating or judging the qualities of ceramics from the Song dynasty and frequently chose *Ge* ware for composing poems or inscribing. To him, the pieces can be evaluated together with those from the imperial kiln.

Another significant common feature of these inscribed ceramic works is the monochrome glaze. Though many of them carry the delicate crackles, occurring either due to the age or the specific glazing and firing techniques, or carry fine carvings that spread over the surfaces, it seems that they still *offer* a kind of *plain* space for inscribing poems. In addition, the layered crackles (e.g. of *Ge* ware) or fine carvings representing vegetal or floral patterns (e.g. of *Ding* ware) all inspired Qianlong to compose numerous poems about their special features.

4.2 Two means to assert his ownership and power

The act of having the ancient ceramic objects inscribed is a destructive one—it reminds us of Qianlong's other controversial means of commenting on art works, for example, by giving masterpiece paintings or calligraphy works from the early dynasties numerous colophons and seals, or engraving the ancient nephrite pieces (as with the example of the Neolithic jade tablet now collected in the Taipei National Palace museum), though he had been well-informed of their ancient provenance and value. No doubt inscribing or writing colophons has destroyed the physical (the material) value of the art works. The glaze, which constitutes one of the main features of ceramic works, has been damaged by engraving to a certain extent. To a significant degree, writing and inscribing poems compel the works to be associated with certain

(*Eight Essays on Cherishing Life*). Chengdu. 1992. P. 529.

knowledge or interpretations, as well as to be interpreted as rooted in certain contexts or to convey particular messages, such that the art works may have lost their original identities. The poems on the ceramic works are like the colophons applied to the old masters' paintings, not only expressing Qianlong's perceptions and wide knowledge of the works, but also associating them with various issues in relation to historical and political contexts which in the end were all about ruling a country. Qianlong's poems, and his mandates to have the ceramic objects inscribed, can be analyzed in terms of how he as a Manchu emperor deployed his power over his collection and his country, a country rooted in the Han culture, in two major ways. First, he provided abundant knowledge of the ceramic works based on the literary classics, not only for his connoisseurial activities but also his grand plan of reorganizing the imperial collection; and second, he used the ceramic works as a vehicle for conveying particular contextualized messages. My analysis will be organized along these two key lines.

4.2.1 Qianlong's knowledge of the ceramic works

Study of one's own collection is one of the significant activities through which collectors exercise connoiseurly enjoyment. Along with ownership the possessors display their 'right' to handle objects through the processes of searching/deciding, researching/classifying, and then asserting/manipulating knowledge of their collection. The process in which Qianlong selected particular ceramic pieces from the huge imperial collection to compose poems and later to inscribe demonstrates how he performed his knowledge to give interpretation, inference, and identification of the pieces along with his ownership.

Significantly, all Qianlong's poems about his art collection contain some description in one or more verses showing his observations of the objects. Verses of

this kind may lie at the beginning of the poem, or they may first appear in the middle. Work descriptions can be considered the first step of the connoisseurship process. Though he did not always give a precise or complete description of the object overall, Qianlong provided fundamental information on the pieces according to their most significant or specific features. For example, in the poem *Yong Dingyao Pingzi* 詠定窯瓶子 (*Praising a Ding-ware Vase*) he described a white-glazed *Ding*-ware vase of the Northern Song dynasty: "In Hebei Dingzhou many ceramic pieces of good quality were produced, they are as white as the un-worked shinny jade. […]"[15] For a *Ru*-ware celadon dish of the Northern Song dynasty (fig. 4-2), Qianlong observed, "the diameter of the dish is five-inches long, its surface is correctly made to be a circle as though by the dividers. [The dish] did not have any imperfection; through the ages it still remains intact. Its crackles are faint, and [on the bottom of the dish] the traces of five supporting nails [used for the firing process] can still be seen. […]"[16] In regard to a *Hu* 壺-formed celadon vessel made by the imperial kiln of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) (fig. 4-3) Qianlong noted in his poem *Yong Guanyao Guaner Ping* 詠官窯貫耳瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Guaner-Vase*), "the glaze [of this vase] still looks so shiny and smoothly, which is fired with full fire for long periods; [the vase] is joined with two ears, and the rope for carrying goes through the ears and the foot. […]"[17] Commenting on an octagonal vase in celadon glaze, also from the imperial kiln of the Southern Song to Yuan dynasty, Qianlong focused on the crackle technique in glaze: "[This piece of ware] in the whitewashed green glaze represents a truly superior quality; the colour of its unique crackles appears like the eel blood.

[15] The verses read:「北定州陶佳製多，白如脂玉未經磨。(餘略)」The piece is now in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei, inv. no.: 故瓷 17728.
[16] The verses read:「盤子徑五吋，如規口面圓。出陶無髻墾，閱世獨完全。冰裂紋隱約，鐵釘蹟屬連。(餘略)」 The poem is titled *Yong Xiao Guanyao Panzi* 詠小官窯盤子 (*Praising the Small Guan-ware Dish*).
[17] The verses read:「泑氣猶滋火氣磨，兩傍貫耳足穿過。(餘略)」

[…]”[18] As for a *Hu*-vessel, Qianlong described it thus in his poem *Yong Guanyao Wenhu* 詠官窯溫壺 (*Praising a Guan-ware Warming Hu-Vessel*): “The whole [vessel] is glazed in pure blue [or green], on which very fine crackles spread; […]”[19] and described a *Guan*-ware dish in greyish blue glaze with hibiscus-shaped rim of the Southern Song dynasty: “[the dish has a] iron-like foot and crackle patterned like cracked ice that spread all over after being fired; six small indentations are arranged on the rim [of this dish], which is circular. […]”[20]

It can be observed that Qianlong offered a comprehensive description of the significant features of the ceramic works in a few verses, sometimes only one or two. Qianlong’s observations and descriptions are quite careful and professional. The features that he noticed and mentioned, and sometimes even repeated in his poems, are also those that appraisers would pay attention to when defining or judging the origin of the wares. For example, Qianlong would never fail to mention if the traces of the supporting nails for the firing process appearing on the bottoms of the vessels could be seen. These nail traces have been one of the most important clues in identifying *Ru* ware of the Song dynasty. Other phrases, like ‘the iron-like foot’, ‘the crackle patterned like cracked ice’, ‘bright [in glaze]’, and so forth, are also noted by Qianlong to describe the imperial ware in celadon glaze manufactured during the Southern Song dynasty.

Qianlong also carefully described, through precise wording and phrases, different conditions of the ceramic works. To make his description as accurate and

[18] The verses read:「粉青真上品，鱔血具奇紋。（餘略）」 The poem is titled *Yong Guanyao Ping* 詠官窯瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Vase*). The piece is now in the collection of Taipei National Palace Museum, inv. no.: 故瓷 17701.

[19] The verses read:「通體純青繭細紋，（餘略）」

[20] The verses read:「鐵足冰紋火氣蹋，口分六出體規圓。（餘略）」An example piece can be seen in the collection of the British Museum, reg. no. PDF,A.32.

scholarly as possible, he also referred to various classics and literary texts to describe ceramics which became the subject matter of his poems. For example, he used two phrases, *kuoken* 髺墼 and *bipu* 薜暴, quite often with regard to the conditions of glazing or the accuracy of forms.[21] *Kuoken* refers to the utensils with imperfect or flawed feet, which thus stand aslant. *Bipu* means impurity or insufficiency in glaze. These two phrases originate from a treatise called *Kaogong Ji* 考工記 (*The Artificers' Record*) concerning technology and engineering, which is included in *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*). The treatise says, "with regard to making ceramic works: when the works appear in inaccurate forms or their glazes are not pure, they should not be presented in the marketplace, […]."[22] According to *Jiyun* 集韻, *bi* 薜 can be translated as a fracture or crack.[23] Normally the cracks appear at the cooling stage after the firing process, which may result from impure and insufficient glaze of uneven quality. On a *Ru*-ware vase of the Northern Song dynasty, now in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei, it can be noticed that between its neck and shoulder there is a flaw in glazing (fig. 4-4). Qianlong also observed this flaw and mentioned *bipu* in his poem; yet at the same time he asserted that the slight *bipu* and the trace of the nails left from the firing process were harmless and did not adversely affect the extreme beauty of the vase.[24]

In mentioning the crackle in glaze Qianlong used *shanxie* 鱔血, meaning 'eel blood', to characterize their very fine appearance in amber colour spreading all over

[21] See *Handian* 漢典: for the meaning of these two phrases: http://www.zdic.net/hans/%E9%AB%BA%E5%A2%BE (for *kuoken*) and https://www.zdic.net/hant/%E8%96%9C (for *bipu*).
[22] The verses read:「凡陶旊之事：髺墼薜暴不入市，(餘略)」
[23] See *Handian* 漢典: https://www.zdic.net/hant/%E8%96%9C.
[24] The verses read: 「(前略)足釘薜暴誠何礙，詎以微瑕棄美瓊。」 The poem is titled *Ti Guanyao Ping* 題官窯瓶 (*To inscribe a Guan-ware Vase*).

the ware patterned like eel blood vessels. As mentioned earlier, he described 'the unique pattern like eel blood' in complimenting the crackle effect of an octagonal *Guan*-ware celadon vase made between the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties. In *Zun Sheng Ba Jian,* Gao Lian commented that ceramic works with this type of crackle are of superior quality. He stated that "[ceramic ware with] glaze crackle which looks like cracks in ice or in eel-blood colour is top-quality, followed by plum blossom or ink patterns; those pieces with faint broken cracks are inferior."[25] The crackle coloured like eel blood is one of the significant features of ceramic ware manufactured in the imperial kiln of the Song dynasty. Qianlong grasped this point and did not forget to apply *shanxie* to describe the *Guan*-ware pieces appearing with this feature. Another source that Qianlong supposedly also referred to in learning about this term is Zhang Yingwen's (ca. 1524-1585) *Qing Mi Cang* 清秘藏, which uses the word *shanxie* to describe the crackle on the ceramic works manufactured during the Xuande period of the Ming dynasty, approving of Gao Lian's critique.[26] *Qing Mi Cang* is also compiled in *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (*The Complete Library of Four Treasuries*).

As mentioned by Gao Lian, *binglie wen* 冰裂紋, the crackle in glaze patterned like cracks in ice is superiorly made. Such a crackle looks three-dimensional to some extent, much like the crystal structure of many layers in ice, and can be observed more easily in objects glazed with celadon, particularly those glazed thickly, as well as in areas where the glaze gathers. For example, the border area of a *Guan*-ware celadon bowl of the Southern Song dynasty has very fine crackle patterned like cracks in ice. Qianlong observed this and noted the following in his poem *Yong Guanyao Kuihua Pan* 詠官窯葵花盤 (*Praising a Guan-ware Bowl with Hibiscus-Shaped Rim*): "[…]

[25] Original text in *Zun Shen Ba Jian*:「紋取冰裂鱔血為上，梅花片墨紋次之，細碎紋，紋之下也。（餘略）」

[26] Feng, Xianming. 'Shuo Ciyao: Province Jiangxi.' *Annotated collection of Historical Documents on Ancient Chinese Ceramics, vol. 1*. Taipei. 2000. P. 88.

[the colour of the crackle] on this bowl with hibiscus-shaped rim is not amber; the crackle, patterned like cracked ice, extends itself and occupies more than half of the surface. […]"[27] To describe the crackle appearing as many small broken cracks in several layers in celadon glaze, coloured light to dark on the surface of a *Ge*-ware dish, Qianlong used the term *baise sui* 百圾碎. This characteristic crackle type is one of the main features of *Ge* ware, as Qianlong noted in discussing the manufacturer of *Ge* ware by indirect mention of the Zhang brothers. The term *baise sui*, meaning hundreds of broken pieces, appears in many literary works of the Ming dynasty, such as *Liu Qing Ri Zha* 留青日札 by Tian Yiheng (1524-?), *Qi Xiu Lei Gao Xu Gao* 七修類稿續稿 by Lang Ying (1487-1566), *Bai Shi Lei Bian* 稗史類編 by Wang Yi (1529-1612), *Shi Wu Qian Zhu* 事物妍珠 by Huang Yizheng, and *Chun Feng Tang Sui Bi* 春風堂隨筆 by Lu Sheng (1477-1544).[28] According to Lu Sheng's description, "the [glaze] of *Ge* ware has a light colour, in which broken discontinuous cracks, called *baise sui*, can be observed. During the Song period, two brothers Zhang Shengyi and Shenger from Chuzhou were masters of the Liutian-Kiln of the Longquan grand kiln. The celadon glaze of Shenger's works is pure like beautiful jade, which are highly valued as the *Guan*-ware pieces. The [glaze] colour of Shengyi's works is light; they are called *Ge* ware."[29] Lu's notes on the Zhang brothers and their manufacture of celadon ware are supposed to be the main source linking the provenance of *Guan* and *Ge* ware to Qianlong, who in the annotation to another poem for the *Ge*-ware dish recounted Lu's commentary in details.

[27] The verses read:「(前略)葵式全非赭，冰紋半染殷。(餘略)」
[28] Feng, Xianming. 'Shuo Ciyao: Province Jiangxi.' *Annotated collection of Historical Documents on Ancient Chinese Ceramics, vol. 1*. Taipei. 2000. P. 117.
[29] The original text reads:「哥窯淺白，斷紋號百圾碎。宋時章生一 、生二兄弟皆處州人，主龍泉之琉田窯。生二所陶青器，純粹如美玉，為世所貴，即官窯之類。生一所陶者色淡，故名哥窯。」

Qianlong also applied elegant analogies to express the beauty of ceramic works. In admiring the smooth quality of glaze, Qianlong used the word *you* 渃 to compose his verses. An explanation of *you* can be found in *Zheng Zi Tong* 正字通 (*Correct Character Mastery*), written by Zhang Zilie (1597-1673) toward the end of the Ming dynasty, which states that the glazes of smooth quality can be described as *you*.[30] In another poem titled *Yong Guanyao Haitangshi Ping* 詠官窯海棠式瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Vase in the Form of Malus Spectabilis*) Qianlong mentioned the ceramic master [Zhang] Shenger from Chuzhou, supposedly in an attempt to associate the glaze type or feature of the vase with the *Guan*-ware celadon, and used the phrase *linqiu* 琳球 to draw a parallel between the celadon glaze and its jade-like appearance.[31] This is a very subtle analogy, as *linqiu* 琳球 means beautiful jade and the sound produced from the jade pieces hitting each other.[32]

In two poems titled *Ti Junyao Yan* 題均窯硯 (*To Inscribe a Jun-ware Inkstone*) and *Yong Song Junyao Yan* 詠宋均窯硯 (*Praising a Jun-ware Inkstone of the Song Dynasty*), Qianlong drew another analogy between '*deng ni yan* 澄泥硯' and the ceramic inkstones due to their material of making—clay.[33] *Deng ni yan* is a kind of ancient inkstone, the existence of which had been recorded during the Song dynasty and was made of very fine clay. Su Yijian (958-997), a courtier and calligrapher of the Northern Song dynasty, had given a detailed account of the making process of *deng ni*

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[30] See *Handian* 漢典: https://www.zdic.net/hant/%E6%B3%91

[31] A vase inscribed with this poem is in the collection of Taipei National Palace Museum with inv. no. 故-瓷-009465-N000000000, whose form models itself on the form of the ancient Shang-period bronze wine vessel *gu* 觚. According to National Palace Museum, this vase should be produced during the Yongzheng or Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty, as vases in this form were often produced during these two periods. See the database of the museum: http://antiquities.npm.gov.tw/Utensils_Page.aspx?ItemId=306291

[32] See *Handian* 漢典: http://www.zdic.net/cd/ci/12/ZdicE7Zdic90ZdicB3143401.htm

[33] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 33 & 58'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 109, 154. These two poems were inscribed respectively on an object pedestal in cream-colored celadon glaze made between the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties and later alter to be an inkstone, and an inkstone in greyish white glaze of the Ming dynasty.

yan in his *Wen Fang Si Pu: Yanpu*《文房四譜•硯譜》(*Four Catalogues of the Study: Inkstones*). In *Wu Za Zu* 五雜俎 (*Five Miscellaneous Notes*), Xie Zaozhe (1567-1624) of the Ming dynasty also stated that "Li from Jiangnan owns a *deng ni yan* that is so hard but so smooth like stone, and it is actually made of clay." *Deng ni yan* and the ceramic inkstones actually share similar features; both are 'hard', 'smooth' and 'of clay.' Qianlong also noticed these similarities and drew the fine parallel between them in his poems.

The commentaries from the literary classics that Qianlong applied to appraise the ceramic works can be readily traced in his poems. Sometimes the titles as well as contents of the classics that he referred to were mentioned directly in the poems. In a poem titled *Yong Guanyao Pan* 詠官窯盤 (*Praising a Guan-ware Dish*), later inscribed on a *Ru*-ware dish of the Northern Song dynasty, Qianlong mentioned *Chuo Geng Lu* 輟耕錄, written by Tao Zongyi (1329-1410) of the Yuan dynasty.[34] Tao pointed out that the imperial kiln *Xiunei Si* 修內司 started to produce for the imperial court since the Southern Song dynasty. He quoted the noted comment of *Yuan Zhai Bi Heng* 垣齋筆衡, written by Ye Zhi of the Song dynasty, stating that "the glaze of white ware from Dingzhou of our dynasty looks like awn, not good for use, so the kilns in Ruzhou were ordered to produce celadon ware."[35] Therefore, since then, pieces like this celadon dish were produced in the *Ru*-kilns for imperial use. Tao continued: "[…] after the Song court retreated to the south of Yangzi River, Shao Chengzhang was nominated to supervise the ceramic production, [whose workshop] was called Shaojü, which modelled itself on the production of the Northern Song period; the kilns were built in Xiuneisi for producing celadon ware, called neiyao."[36]

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[34] Ibid. P. 78-79.

[35] The text of Ye Zhi reads: 「本朝以定州白瓷器有芒不堪用，遂命汝州造青窯器。」

[36] The original verses read: 「(前略)中興渡江，有邵成章提舉後苑，號邵局，襲故京遺制，置窯

Learning from Tao's statement, Qianlong made out the different locations of imperial kilns for producing celadon ware served at the courts during the Northern and the Southern Song periods and stated this in the poem.

Gao Lian's *Zun Sheng Ba Jian* was another important source for Qianlong in acquiring his knowledge of ceramics. Frequently he referred to Gao's statements in his poems when writing about *Guan*, *Ru* or *Ge* ware of the Song dynasty, especially when evaluating different levels of crackle effects, or recognizing *Ru* ware through observing the trace of supporting nails remained from the firing process. For example, he evaluated a *Guan*-ware piece with the highest grade due to its glaze in *fenqing* 粉青- colour (light bluish green) and crackle effect looking like *shanxie* 鱔血 (eel blood) in one poem titled *Yong Guanyao Ping* 詠官窯瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Vase*) by referring to Gao's evaluation of *Guan* ware.[37] Another *Guan*-ware dish was appraised by Qianlong as *jiadeng* 甲等 (grade-A) due to its crackle performance like cracked ice in the poem titled *Yong Guanyao Panzi* 詠官窯盤子 (*Praising a Guan-ware Dish*), which also referred to Gao's comment. Qianlong also ordered to have the dish engraved with the character *jia* 甲. When observing some pieces of *Guan*, *Ge*, and *Longquan* ware of the Song and Yuan dynasties, he used the term *tiezu* 鐵足 to describe the unglazed 'iron-like' (purplish black) foot area and clearly stated in the annotation to a poem titled *Yong Geyao Lu* 詠哥窯鑪 (*Praising a Ge-ware Incense Burner*) that he was informed by Gao's *Zun Shen Ba Jian* of this description.[38]

于修內司，造青器，名內窯。(後略)」*Xiuneisi* 修內司 was responsible for producing ceramic objects for the imperial courts or renovation affairs. Neiyao 內窯 means internal kiln.

[37] Goa's comments on *Guan* and *Ge* ware in relation to glaze performance read:「官窯品格，大率與哥窯相同，色取粉青為上，淡白次之，油灰色，色之下也。紋取冰裂鱔血為上(後略)」

[38] The annotation reads:「高濂遵生八箋載，官窯在杭之鳳凰山下，其土紫，故足色鐵，哥窯取土亦在此，按此則鐵乃因土色，非真以鐵為足也。」As Gao pointed out, the earth for making *Guan* and

Though Qianlong was a reader of Gao Lian, he would occasionally question the correctness of Gao's statements. Addressing a rectangle pillow in sky blue glaze, Qianlong's poem with title *Yong Chaiyao Zhen* 詠柴窯枕 (*Praising a Chai-ware Pillow*) associates the glaze feature of the pillow with Gao's description of *Chai* ware for its sky blue and mirror-like bright glaze.[39] The pillow is then inscribed with this poem. However, Gao had never seen *Chai* ware before, which Qianlong also noted in his poem: "[Gao Lian who wrote] *Zun Sheng Ba Jian* never saw *Chai* ware, so had no idea where exactly this pillow was from."[40] The statement expressed Qianlong's doubt about the provenance of this pillow. The pillow is now made out to be a *Jun*-ware piece of the Yuan dynasty by National Palace Museum in Taipei. For another pillow in blue glaze, formed like *ruyi*'s head and manufactured during the Northern Song period, Qianlong wrote another poem, *Yong Chaiyao Ruyi Zhen* 詠柴窯如意磁枕 (*Praising a Chai-ware Pillow in the Form of Ruyi*), directly acknowledging that the description of its glaze colour as the blue sky after rain originated from *Zun Sheng Ba Jian*. The pillow has been identified as a *Jun*-ware piece by Percival David Foundation, now in The British Museum.[41]

Xuanhe Bogu Tulu 宣和博古圖錄 (*Illustrated Catalogue of Antiquities from the Xuanhe Period*), compiled by Wang Fu under the mandate of emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty, and completed around 1123, was certainly one of the important sources for Qianlong to study the ceramic objects in the forms of ancient bronzes. The Catalogue contains thirty books, which categorize the bronzes into

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Ge ware contained high percentage of iron, and therefore the ware turned blackish brown or grey after being burned. Because the foot area for standing of these two ware types was not glazed and exposed in the air, it oxidized after being fired and turned purplish black.

[39] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 52'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* (Taipei, 2012). P. 142-143.

[40] Gao Lian's note on *Chai* ware reads: 「論窯器必曰柴、汝、官、哥，然柴則余未之見，且論制不一，有云"青如天，明如鏡，薄如紙，生如磬"，是薄磁也。」

[41] See The British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-2.

twenty general types. Each type is attached to a detailed introduction. Every object in the album is illustrated, measured up, and attached to an inscription, rubbings, textual researches, as well as annotations. In a poem titled *Yong Dingyao Sufu* 詠定窯素鍑 (*Praising an Undecorated Ding-ware Fu*) Qianlong associated a *Ding*-ware utensil in the form of *fu* 鍑, an ancient pot with a large opening for cooking, with the *sufu* 素鍑 of the Han dynasty recorded in the nineteenth book of *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu. Su* 素 means undecorated or uncoloured. Qianlong stated that "the form [of this ware] is like the undecorated pot *fu* 鍑 of the Han dynasty, supposedly a kind of *fu* 釜- cauldron. The *fu*-cauldron is made to be sustainable for cooking, as the *Yue*-ware [cooking utensils] cannot stand for. [This *Ding*-ware utensil] is in a form composed of two bowls, of which one is standing and the other is reversing to cover, quite similar to [the *fu* 鍑] illustrated in *Bogu Lu*. It is called *fu*, but it is actually not, not even for cooking fish […]."[42] Qianlong probably observed the form of a piece of *Ding* ware or white-glazed ware, looked it up in *Bogu Tulu*, and later adopted its point of view for composing verses. However, the original *Ding*-ware *fu* described in this poem does not exist anymore, and now we can only see an inkwash in white glaze from the early Qing period that models itself on the *Ding*-ware or the bronze *fu* 鍑; on its bottom side Qianlong's poem mentioned above is inscribed (fig. 4-5).[43]

Supposedly, the making of the *Ding* ware-type *fu* during the early Qing period had referred to a greenish bronze *fu* from the Han dynasty, which was depicted in one of the picture albums for the imperial bronze collection, called *Ji Jin Yao Cai* 吉金耀采 (fig. 4-6). In *Ji Jin Yao Cai* the depictions were made for one set of ten bronze

[42] The original verses read: 「形如漢素鍑，應是釜之屬。釜當受炊爨，越器那堪燠。二甌俯仰合，頗類博古錄。有名乃乏實，烹魚用不足。(後略)」
[43] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 62'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* (Taipei, 2012). P. 160-161.

pieces which were selected to be equipped with cases under the mandate of Qianlong in the fifty-fifth year of his reign (1790), as part of his grand plan of reorganizing and displaying the imperial collection of his reign.[44] Apart from *fu*, other pieces depicted in this album are valuable ancient bronze ritual objects from the Zhou, Tang and Han dynasties.[45] In keeping with Qianlong's plan of classifying and choosing treasury objects in order to create curio boxes or to equip them with wooden cases, the catalogue sheets, complied as albums, were made accordingly, in which fine details about the objects were recorded. To take the bronze *fu* of the Han dynasty mentioned above for example (fig. 4-6), the catalogue text begins with object appellation and provenance, and reads, "[the *fu*] is three point three inches high, three point one inch deep, its [inner] diameter is two point six inches long, the edge diameter is one point seven feet long; with two ears, weighing a total of eighteen ounces; [the object] is fresh greenish, clean; containing earth coloured rust probably due to the heavy moisture."[46] Several of Qianlong's seals are applied. The object is depicted with coloured ink, which presents a more realistic piece.

Qianlong also referred to Lu Sheng's judgement on the quality of the celadon ware manufactured by the Zhang brothers of Chuzhou during the Song dynasty. As mentioned earlier, he followed Lu's account of the provenance of *Ge* and *Guan* ware in *Chun Feng Tang Sui Bi* 春風堂隨筆. He made this manifest in the annotation to his poem *Yong Geyao Panzi* 詠哥窯盤子（*Praising a Ge-ware Dish*), stating that he had referred to Lu's opinions about *Ge* and *Guan* ware. Interestingly this poem for a *Ge*-ware dish was inscribed on a *Guan*-ware dish manufactured during the Southern

[44] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Introduction'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 30.
[45] Ibid. See picture index. P. 272-274.
[46] The description of the bronze *fu* reads:「高三吋三分，深三吋一分，口徑二吋六分，腹圓一尺七分，兩耳連環，重十八兩，青綠鮮潤，露質處亦瑩淨，當尤受水氣深，故多土銹。」

Song to Yuan period,[47] probably with the intention of drawing more attention to the story of the Zhang brothers.

Qianlong also mixed different literary sources to express his observations or comments on ceramics. For example, for a *Hu*-vessel in celadon glaze manufactured in the imperial kiln during the Southern Song dynasty, Qianlong associated the story of Li Changji's poetry sack (790-816)[48] and Lu Guimeng's (?-881) comment on *Yue* ware in celadon glaze in order to make his own poem correspond with the *Hu*-vessel (see fig. 4-3). This vessel, called '*guaner hu* 貫耳壺' in Chinese, models itself on a type of wine vessel of the Shang dynasty that has two carrying ears on the sides and two holes on the foot through which the rope for carrying can travel. Qianlong's poem *Yong Guanyao Guaner Ping* 詠官窯貫耳瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Guaner-Vessel*) offers the following description: "[…] The vessel has the carrying rope, so the servant boy can shoulder it […]",[49] and this may remind Qianlong of the story of Li Changji of the Tang dynasty who was thought to write superb poetry and keep his poetry drafts in a sack carried by a servant boy.[50] With '*xinang* 奚囊', the poetry sack, the poem continues, "Li's poetry can be considered almost the best; *Yue* ware, remarked by Lu [Guimeng], have no flaws."[51] Lu Guimeng's poem *Mise Yueqi* 秘色越器 (*Yue Ware in Rare Glaze*) claims that "it takes nine years to finish a piece of *Yue* ware, [which is in] emerald green [glaze as if] it obtains from thousands of mountain peaks."[52] Having been fired during the Tang dynasty and employed for imperial use since then, *Yue* ware was well-known for their exquisite engraved decoration and

[47] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Index 3'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* (Taipei, 2012). P. 258.
[48] The short biography of Li Changji is written by Li Shangyin (813-858). Both are famous poets of the Tang dynasty.
[49] The original verses read: 「(前略)繫繩恰稱奴僮負(後略)」
[50] See *Handian* 漢典: https://www.zdic.net/hant/%E5%A5%9A%E5%9B%8A.
[51] The original verses read: 「李氏奚囊堪伯仲，陸家越器未差訛。(後略)」
[52] The original verses read: 「九秋風露越窯開，奪得千峰翠色來。(後略)」

beautiful celadon glaze. In his poem Qianlong paralleled this *Hu*-vessel made in the imperial kiln of the Southern Song dynasty with *Yue* ware made during the Tang dynasty with intention to emphasize its fine celadon technique and imperial service.

The remarks of Lu You (1125-1210) and Ye Zhi on the untidy glaze along the rim of *Ding* ware and the production of *Ru* ware thus coming into being were quoted by Qianlong in his poem *Yong Ruyao Ping* 詠汝窯瓶（*Praising a Ru-ware Vase*). The poem was inscribed on the bottom of a *Ru*-ware mallet-shaped vase in celadon glaze of the Northern Song dynasty (fig. 4-7).[53] In his *Lao Xue An Biji* 老學庵筆記 Lu You remarked, "during the old capital period [of the Northern Song dynasty], *Ding* ware was not used in the inner court, but only *Ru* ware, as *Ding* ware has '*mang* 芒' [awn, here indicating the untidy glaze]."[54] Later in *Yuan Zhai Bi Heng* 垣齋筆衡 Ye Zhi also used the expression '*mang*' to describe the untidy glaze along the rim of *Ding* ware and explained that that was why the kilns in Ruzhou were ordered to produce celadon ware for imperial use.[55] Through studying Qianlong's poems and his observations on ceramic ware we find out that he consulted many important classics when he conducted ceramic research. Certainly, the knowledge obtained from the classics informed his poetic compositions.

At the end of the poems inscribed on the ceramic pieces several different short commentaries or annotating words were inscribed, encircled like square seals. These seal-like annotated inscriptions, composed of two or four characters, can be seen at the end of Qianlong's colophons on the paintings of ancient masters, as well as on other objects, such as nephrite pieces, inkstones, etc. They were also repeatedly

[53] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 22'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* (Taipei, 2012). P. 90-91.
[54] The verses of Lu You read: 「故都時，定器不入禁中，惟用汝器，以定器有芒也。」
[55] The verses of Ye Zhi read: 「本朝以定州白瓷器有芒不堪用，遂命汝州造青窯器。」 The verses of Qianlong for the *Ru*-ware vase read: 「定州白惡有芒形，特命汝州陶嫩青。(後略)」

applied to different poems on different ceramic works. Qianlong let himself inspired by various classic literary works in creating these short-phrase seals which are integral part (together with his colophons or poems) of his evaluation of the imperial collection. We are not sure if Qianlong made decisions in selecting seals for every single object, but this should be read as a process in which Qianlong established and deployed his knowledge of his art collection, especially since 'sealing' had been esteemed as a declaration of power and possession of things since ancient China.

Here are the seals frequently inscribed on the ceramic ware during Qianlong's period: *bide* 比德, *langrun* 朗潤, *taipu* 太璞, *guxiang* 古香, *huixin buyuan* 會心不遠, *de chong fu* 德充符, *jixia yiqing* 幾暇怡情, and *dejiaqu* 得佳趣.[56] Very often they are shown as a pair, but sometimes appear individually. These seal inscriptions applied to the end of Qianlong's colophons or poems mostly respond to his texts. They confirm and accredit the knowledge that he imparted. In addition, they can be perceived as Qianlong's brief comments on the objects.

Through the analysis in this section we observe that Qianlong had superior literary accomplishments, witnessed both in his adaptation of his knowledge of the literary classics to his connoisseurly activities as well as in his grand plan of reorganizing and displaying the imperial collection. Along with processing the ancient Chinese ceramics as Han-cultural products in ways that revealed an abundance of knowledge of the Han or Confucian culture, and then having the ware presented in his poems or inscribed with these poems, Qianlong demonstrated that as a Manchu emperor he was able to master knowledge of the Han culture. With his professional

[56] The other seals which are not frequently applied to the end of the inscriptions on the ceramic pieces read: *qianlong chenhan* 乾隆宸翰, *jixia linchi* 幾暇臨池, *shuanglong qiangua* 雙龍乾卦, *songchao chenhan* 宋朝辰翰, *guxi tianzi* 古稀天子, *youri zizi* 猶日孜孜, *qiwu* 齊物, *taigua* 太卦, *bazheng maonian* 八徵耄念, and *ziqiang buxi* 自強不息. Among them *guxi tianzi* together with *youri zizi*, as well as *bazheng maonian* together with *ziqiang buxi*, will be discussed at 1.2.2.

and scholarly vision, he was also capable of examining, organizing and displaying the imperial collection gathered and left from the earlier dynasties.

4.2.2 Ceramic works operated as agency

Concerning the relationship between language and objects Alfred Gell once pointed out that language is a unique medium to be used for attributing meanings to objects in the sense of 'find[ing] something to say about them.'[57] It is true that language is a direct and efficient vehicle not only for giving information about objects, but also for leading its recipients to certain contexts that it would like to take them to, as language shows the speaker's individuality as related to personal experiences, thoughts or intentions. Qianlong's language, expressed in his poems, demonstrated that he mastered an abundance of knowledge of the literature on ceramics as well as Han culture, with which he also managed to connect the objects to other contexts. The original contexts of the antique ceramic objects—that is, either served as vessels for daily use or connoiseurly enjoyment at the Song-court—were translated into properties to reach other contexts. In this sense the ceramic works are 'mute', as Qianlong's poems speak for them. On the other hand, these ceramic objects were also mediums. Their properties were borrowed to mediate Qianlong's thoughts. To some extent the objects lost their original nature or intrinsic quality and were transferred to other material for reuse. In other words, Qianlong's language (i.e. poetry) abducted the original identity of the objects and dislocated them from their context. In addition, as most of the objects selected for composing and inscribing poems originally belonged to the imperial courts of the two Song dynasties, they offered Qianlong another kind of portability insofar as they allowed him to extend his personal thoughts to various issues, especially historical and political ones. In the end all these actions

[57] Gell, Alfred. "The Problem Defined: The Need for an Anthropology of Art." *Art and Agency*. 1998. P. 6.

aimed to assert his reign and his ideas about governing the country.

In his poem titled *Taozun* 陶尊 (*A Pottery Jar*),[58] composed during the twenty-fourth year of his reign and inscribed on the belly part of a *Zhong* 鍾- type ceramic wine jar in lead green glaze from the Eastern Han dynasty (fig. 4-1), Qianlong claimed that by observing this jar, he could remain in a peaceful state, just as in angling, and he could think properly about how to build thoroughfares in order to benefit millions of his people.[59] Between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his reign, the Manchu military won battles against the descendants of the Islamic family Khoja in the area of Xinjiang, after which Qing conquered the complete Xinjiang and Tianshan area. By observing this ancient jar from the Eastern Han dynasty, Qianlong may have been reminded of the expedition during the Han dynasty from 138 to 126 B.C. conducted by the imperial envoy Zhang Qian (164-113 B.C.) to central Asia. By composing this poem, he would have wanted to highlight that, like Zhang Qian, he had made a similar breakthrough westward to Xinjiang for his country. He may have also wanted to imply that he was thinking about the next expedition, through which he would continue to expand his empire.

Fig. 4-10 is a square dish in white glaze made in the Ming dynasty. The centre of the dish is impressed with a pattern of four goats and rolling clouds; its border is wavy and divided into eight parts by eight crest lines; its lip is impressed with scrolling clouds. The bottom surface of the dish is inscribed with a Qianlong's poem titled *Yong Dingyao Sanyang Fangyu* 詠定窯三羊方盂 (*Praising a Ding-ware*

[58] Qianlong defined this jar as a *Zun*-type, probably according to several specific *Zun* of the Zhou dynasty illustrated in *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* with a wide and round opening, a short neck, a drooping shoulder, a bulgy belly, and a pedestal-like foot.

[59] The original verses read: 「(前略)穆然若見封垂倫，允宜衢設惠萬民。」 *Chuilun* 垂倫, also 垂綸, means angling. See *Handian* 漢典: https://www.zdic.net/hans/%E5%9E%82%E7%BA%B6.

Square Receptacle with the Three-Goat Pattern).[6061] At the end of the poem the verses read, "[…] the second trigram, *kun* 坤, sets the paradigm, [and] the doctrine of the third trigram, *qian* 乾, is of great vision. One should remind oneself exactly of this, so he would not forget the difficulty of being an emperor."[62] '*Kun* 坤' and '*qian* 乾' are two trigrams originating from the *Yijing* 易經 *(Book of Change)*; '*kun*' stands for the earth or the moon, whereas '*qian*' stands for the heaven or the sun.[63] The *kun*-trigram advices that the earth, '*di* 地', is straight and square, with no pits and hence no disadvantages, as well as large-scale and flat.[64] The *qian*-trigram teaches that a man with noble character and integrity should be always energetic, advanced, vigilant, prudent and fearful, hence he can avoid indiscretion.[65] The *qian* trigram also uses a dragon to analogize meanings or instructions of the trigram, with which it also signifies that "there is a man with noble character and integrity reigning over."[66] This square dish has a square ground with an impression of the cloud and goat pattern. Being a homonym of the 'sun' and pronounced 'yang', the goats together with clouds may symbolize heaven, whereas the ground of the dish symbolizes the earth. This corresponds perfectly to the concept of '*kun*' and '*qian*' trigrams as well as to the

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[60] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries no. 56'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 150-151

[61] In the annotation to this poem Qianlong mentioned the comment on *Ding* ware in Su Dongpo's poem *Shi Yuan Jian Cha* 試院煎茶. Su considered that the *Ding*-ware pieces in red glaze resembling red jade should be good tea utensils. Later Liu Qi (1203-1259) of the Jin dynasty pointed out in '*Juan Ba* 卷八' ('The Eighth Book') of *Gui Qian Zhi* 歸潛志 that *Ding* ware should be all in white glaze and therefore '*hua ci* 花瓷' (coloured *Ding* ware) mentioned by Su were actually pieces engraved with floral patterns. Liu's entry can be looked up in *Chinese Text Project*: https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=410076.
Qianlong may have referred to Liu's comment and identified this receptacle as a *Ding*-ware piece due to its complete white glaze and impression with the goat and cloud pattern.

[62] The original verses read: 「(前略)坤二形勘表，乾三義具觀。因司切已戒，敢忘做君難。」

[63] See online-dictionary of Ministry of Education, R.O.C.: https://pedia.cloud.edu.tw/Entry/Detail/?title=%E5%9D%A4 (for *kun*); https://pedia.cloud.edu.tw/Entry/Detail?title=%E4%B9%BE&search=%E4%B9%BE&order=keyword_title (for *qian*).

[64] Here my interpretation of the original text is mainly based on Yi-Hsian Yu's interpretation in her 'Qian Kun Er Jie 乾坤二解' (trans.: 'The Explanation on Qian and Kun Trigrams') in *Tunghai Journal of Philosophy* 東海哲學研究集刊, vol. 12. Taichong. 2007. P. 9-10. The original text reads: 「直以方也，不習（窗）無不利，地道光也。」

[65] Ibid. P. 4. The original text reads: 「君子終日乾乾，夕惕若厲，無咎。」

[66] Ibid. P. 8.

statement in Qianlong's poem. By observing the visual presentation of this dish and reading Qianlong's verses we realize that Qianlong wanted to be 'a man with noble character and integrity reigning over the country', as well as to have his country in the ascendant under his reign. According to the *Yijing*, '*kun*', namely 'the earth', needs to accommodate '*qian*', namely 'the heaven', so the lives on earth can continue and flourish. Qianlong may like to assert that he wished to achieve or even had achieved this goal—that is, that his country (the earth) flourished under his government (the heaven). Thus, in the last several verses he reminded himself and his successors of the task of being an emperor and ruling a country.

For a *Guan*-ware celadon dish with a hibiscus-shaped rim Qianlong wrote the poem *Yong Guanyao Kuihua Pan* 詠官窯葵花盤 (*Praising a Guan-ware Dish with a Hibiscus-shaped Rim*), describing that "the crackle is not all reddish brown and it spreads over half of the dish. When observing this as the declining sun and making an analogy, [I] think only on task."[67] The 'task' Qianlong meant here was the difficulty of keeping a country safe for a long time and the sufferings brought to the people of an unsettled country.[68] The poem was inscribed on the surface inside the foot ring of a *Guan*-ware celadon dish made during the Southern Song period.[69] Due to the Jurchens' invasion, the Song court retreated to the southern side of Yangzi River and established the new capital in Lin'an (today Hangzhou). Foreign powers like the Jurchen Jin, the Western Liao, Dali, the Western Xia, Tufan and the Mongolians coexisted in the vicinity of the Central Plains and threatened the Southern Song continuously during this period. In order to reflect the non-sovereign political status

[67] The original verses read: 「(前略)葵式全非赭，冰紋半染殷。傾陽如取譬，切以獨思艱。」

[68] These were stated in another poem of Qianlong, titled *Yong Geyao Kuihua Wan* 詠哥窯葵花碗 (*Praising a Ge-ware Bowl with a Hibiscus-shaped Rim*), inscribed on a lobed bowl in greenish-grey glaze with fine reddish brown crackle, made in the Qing dynasty. The piece is now in the collection of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-18.

[69] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries no. 23'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 92.

and to express the uncertainty and unsafety of the country, many painters of the period deliberately left an empty space in their paintings. Li Tang, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui, among others, were the representative painters in this trend toward expressing incompleteness in their compositions. Fig. 4-11 is Li Tang's *Wanhuo Songfeng Tu* 萬壑松風圖 (*The Wind through Pines in the Valleys*) painted in the later Northern Song dynasty, in which we can observe the pines in the high rocky hills seen frequently in the Northern Song landscape paintings. In fig. 4-12, the landscape painted by Li Tang's student Xiao Zhao during the Southern Song period, titled *Shanyao Louguan Zhou* 山腰樓觀軸 (*Pavillon at the Hillside*), the change of the picture's composition can be perceived, as one third of it is empty or fogged. Therefore, the partial crackle presentation on this dish expresses to some extent such 'incompleteness in emptiness' as well. The crackle presentation and the 'declining sun' are both analogies of the Southern Song dynasty, through which Qianlong would like to remind himself of the historical lesson once again.

A *Guan*-ware dish with a hibiscus-shaped rim in celadon glaze made in the Southern Song dynasty is inscribed with Qianlong's poem *Yong Guanyao Kuihua Xiaoyu* 詠官窯葵花小盂 (*Praising a Small Guan-ware Receptacle with a Hibiscus-Shaped Rim)* (fig. 4-8).[70] For this characteristic rim Qianlong wrote in the poem, "[…] the sunflower can be likened to ardent loyalty and utter devotion; is there anyone who really has such loyalty?"[71] A *Ge*-ware celadon dish with a similar rim made between the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties carries an inscription of Qianlong's another poem *Ti Geyao Panzi* 題哥窯盤子 (*To Inscribe a Ge-ware Dish*), in which a sunflower is compared to 'ardent loyalty' and the crackle in the *Ge*-ware

[70] Ibid. 'Plates and Entries 26'. P. 98.
[71] The original verses read: 「(前略)設曰葵花喻忠赤，師成輩豈果其人。」

glaze to 'the character of martyrs.'[72] The poem says that the features of this dish, namely the hibiscus-shaped rim and the crackle, together symbolize the martyrs who would die to keep his honour.[73] Sima Guang (1019-1086) of the Northern Song dynasty was probably the earliest one to use the sunflower as a metaphor for loyalty in composing his poetry. His poem *Ke Zhong Chuxia* 客中初夏 reads, "[…] I am not like the willow catkin that moves simply by blow of the wind. I am just like a sunflower facing the sun."[74] Sima Guang meant that he did not want to be opportunistic and simply conform to the opinions of others, as he was absolutely loyal to the country and the emperor. In addition, the sunflower also stands for adoration. Through the metaphorical comparison of sunflowers to loyalty, Qianlong expressed his wish that all his courtiers and officers could have such loyalty and his people could have such adoration for him.

Here, however, we witness some confusion between hibiscuses and sunflowers. The rims of these dishes are shaped like hibiscus, but in the poems the quality of loyalty is made through a comparison to sunflowers. Both flowers are pronounced '*kui*' and written '葵' in Chinese. Qianlong borrowed hibiscuses as a homonym for sunflowers to convey his perspectives in the poems.

Qianlong also wished to find courtiers who would frankly criticize incorrect or unethical behaviour in his presence. In his poem *Yong Guanyao Fanglu* 詠官窯方爐 (*Praising a Guan-ware Square Censer*), Qianlong stated, "to make pottery is like to conduct oneself, it is easy to make the round one and difficult to make the square. Zhang Yu is like the round and tactful, whereas Zhu Yun is like the square and

[72] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 37'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 116. At the end of this poem Qianlong gave an annotation to explain his simile, reading the crackle as martyrs.
[73] The original verses read: 「(前略)笑把葵花百圾者，恰如烈士善循名。」
[74] The original verses read: 「(前略)更無柳絮因風起，惟有葵花向日傾。」

righteous. To rank them according to these [(their characters)], whose high or low level can be told. This censer is truly a *Guan*-ware piece made in *Xiunei Si*. The courtiers Cai and Wang of the [Song] period were even more abominable than Zhang Yu. To study ceramic works is like studying this world, and like studying how to hire people. The round censers are common, whereas the square one like this [censer] is the only one piece to be seen. […]."[75] *Hanshu* '*Yang, Hu, Zhu, Mei, Yun Zhuan*' 漢書楊胡朱梅云傳 ('Biographies of Yang Wangsun, Hu Jian, Zhu Yun, Mei Fu, and Yun Chang' in *Book of Han*), written by Ban Gu (32-92), records that during the Western Han dynasty, Zhu Yun remonstrated with emperor Chengdi 成帝 (51-7 B.C.) about the courtier Zhang Yu, who attained a high position but did nothing to benefit the country. The emperor was furious and ordered to have Zhu Yun decapitated. Zhu kept on admonishing loudly and stated that the emperor should expel Zhang Yu. Zhu held a railing at the court so firmly, so the railing was even broken, when the imperial bodyguards attempted to pull him out of the court. In the end he was saved from death but chased from the court.[76] In the annotation to his other poem titled *Yong Guanyao Xiao Fangping* 詠官窯小方鉼 (*Praising a Small Guan-ware Square Vase*), Qianlong pointed out again the ease of making round vessels and the difficulty of making square ones, as the square ones can only be molded with fingers. In the end he also indicated to refer this to *Kui Tian Wai Cheng* 窺天外乘 written by Wang Shimao (1536-1588).[77] Inspired by the history and the making of ceramic vessels, Qianlong wished to have courtiers with the 'square' character like Zhu's who would remonstrate against injustices and show no fear.

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[75] The original verses read: 「陶器如立身，圓易方難為。張禹圓融流，朱雲方正持。以此品其第，高下原堪知。磁罏實官窯，成於脩內司。爾時蔡與王，較張禹猶差。論器寓論世，用人可弗思。圓鉼已屢見，方者惟見斯。（後略）」

[76] Zhu Yun's biography can be looked up in *Chinese Text Project*: https://ctext.org/han-shu/yang-hu-zhu-mei-yun-zhuan/zh.

[77] The annotation to this poem reads: 「瓷器圓者，鏇之立就，獨方物即至小亦須手捻而成，最難完整，見窺天外乘。」

Following the poem inscribed on the square censer discussed above, two seals, *guxi tianzi* 古稀天子 and *youri zizi* 猶日孜孜, were inscribed. The seal *guxi tianzi* was made to celebrate Qianlong's seventieth birthday in 1780, whereas the seal *youri zizi* was its auxiliary. Normally the seals appear as a set and are made of different types of jade, ivory, or precious stones. They were arranged in different palaces and residences for Qianlong's use. Given his age, Qianlong referred to Du Fu's verse from the poem *Qujiang* 曲江, stating that "since ancient times few people had lived more than seventy years",[78] and called himself a '*guxi tianzi*', a rare emperor from the old times. This idea was mentioned in Qianlong's treatise *Guxi Shuo* 古稀說 (*Speaking of Rare Since Ancient Times*), where he also stated that he would like to leave his reign at eighty-six years of age, as by then he would have reigned over the country for a good sixty years.[79] Continuing, he said that he would assiduously do his job every day until then.[80] The two seals were applied to this particular square censer in the fiftieth year of Qianlong's reign (1785),[81] probably as part of the celebrations for the memorial year of Qianlong's reign as well as his birthday, where he would have likely emphasized his hope and expectation to continue his ruling. This square censer might be the only one ceramic piece inscribed with these two seals. Nevertheless, in the pictured catalogue albums created for the bronze and ceramic collections, chosen for being grouped and equipped with wooden cases, the seals *guxi tianzi* and *youri zizi* appear on each catalogue sheet for each individual object. These albums, named *Shan Zhi Liu Guang* 埏埴流光 (for ceramics), *Fan Jin Zuo Ze* 范金作則 (for bronzes), *Fan Gong Zhang Se* 燔功彰色 (for ceramics), *Guan Xiang Zai Rong* 觀象在鎔 (for bronzes), *Zhen Tao Cui Mei* 珍陶萃美 (for ceramics), *Ji Fan Liu Hui* 吉范流輝

[78] The original verse reads: 「(前省略)人生七十古來稀。」
[79] Yun, Limei. '"You Ri Zi Zi""Zi Qiang Bu Xi"Bao Yu Qianlong Di Wan Nian Jing Sheng Shi Jie Tan Xi.' *Cultural Journal* No. 5, Nov 2011. Shenyang. 2011. P. 128.
[80] Ibid. P. 134.
[81] See 'Index 1' in *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 249.

(for bronzes), *Jing Tao Yun Gu* 精陶韞古 (for ceramics), and *Ji Jin Yao Cai* 吉金耀采 (for bronzes), are made for Qianlong's superior collection.[82] In addition, all the sheets are also sealed with another important seal of Qianlong's, *bazheng maonian* 八徵耄念, which will be discussed later.

These pictured catalogue albums are the materialized performance of Qianlong's appraisal and reorganization of the bronze and ceramic collections, both of which are strongly intended to be comparable to *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* compiled under the imperial decree of emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty, another emperor who was also a true art connoisseur and calligrapher. Patricia Buckley Ebrey suggests that Qianlong had been capable of emulating Huizong and that his treatment of the imperial art collection was even able to reflect Huizong's concept, especially in the respect of creating catalogues and using them to exercise cultural power.[83] Like Huizong, by having the treasured pieces selected from a grand imperial collection and issuing them catalogues which could be deemed materialized evidence of the process, Qianlong asserted his possession, knowledge, and power. Being inspired by *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (*Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times*), compiled under the decree of emperor Kangxi and finished during the Yongzheng period, Qianlong's other grand plans, like compiling *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (*The Emperor's Four Treasures*), *Shiqu Baoji* 石渠寶笈 (*Precious Book Boxes of the Stone Drain*), *Midian Zhulin* 秘殿珠林 (*Pearl Forest in the Secret Hall*), etc., symbolized simply another progression seeking to exercise and extend his cultural power.

[82] Ibid. See 'Indexes 4-11.' P. 263-284.
[83] Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. ,Chap. 3 Collecting As a Scholarly Passion during the Northern Song Period.' *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*. Seattle. 2008. P. 84, 347-348.

It is noteworthy that one of the significant sources for *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* is *Kao Gu Tu* 考古圖 (*Illustrated Research on Archaeology*), compiled during the reign of emperor Zhezong of the Northern Song dynasty in 1092 by the neo-Confucius scholar, Lü Dalin. It is believed that the famous artist and art collector of the Northern Song dynasty, Li Gonglin, had compiled a five-chapter *Kao Gu Tu* (*Investigations of Antiquities Illustrated*, not survived) that was the basis for Lü Dalin's *Kao Gu Tu*.[84] In his own preface to *Kao Gu Tu*, Lü Dalin emphasized that the purpose of depicting this album was not only to satisfy people's connoisseurly enjoyment of curiosities, but also to inspire them to acquire the custom or rules left by the three emperors Yao, Shun, and Yu, and to observe objects created during their time and depicted in the album. In addition, Lü suggested that the album would function as an important source for later emperors who would like to model the ancient emperors.[85] Lü's statement in the preface struck a chord with Qianlong's aspirations for himself as an emperor. Qianlong expected to follow in the steps of the first two Qing emperors, Kangxi and Yongzheng, who admired the governance of Yao, Shun, and Yu, the three sage emperors. He once wrote, "amongst the sage emperors, Yao and Shun are the most sagacious ones," and "the early predecessors all looked into the teachings of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, and King Wu."[86] Of these sage emperors, Qianlong had a particular respect for Shun; he wrote, "one should learn Shun's virtues from his good deeds of farming, making pottery and fishing."[87] According to '*Wudi Benji* 五帝本紀' ('Annals of the Five Emperors') in *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*), Shun used to make pottery at the embankment of the Yellow River, whose pottery was

[84] Ibid. P. 84.
[85] The original statement of Lü Dalin reads: 「(略)為耳目奇異玩好而已。(略)觀其器，頌其言，形容髣髴，以追三代之遺風，如見其人矣。(略)天下後世之君子，有意於古者，亦將有考焉。」
[86] The original statement of Qianlong reads: 「自昔聖帝明王以堯、舜為極」 and 「夫子歷論堯、舜、禹、湯、武王授受之旨」, see Pei-Chin Yu, 'Chap. 1.' Doctoral Dissertation: *A Study of Qianlong Official Wares and the Ideal of a Sagacious Ruler*. Taipei. 2011. P. 1.
[87] Ibid. P. 2. The original text of Qianlong reads:「夫大舜之取諸耕稼陶漁之善」

never coarse,[88] hence a paragon of a good potter. Presumably this is one of the reasons why Qianlong paid particular attention to the ceramic collection. He aspired to be an emperor like Shun of perfect moral conduct and therefore a model to his people.

Ebrey points out that "cataloguing the antiquities was a way the resources of the throne could be used to advance scholarship and at the same time display the court's cultural leadership,"[89] which can be observed in the case of emperor Huizong—he possessed a great amount of antiquities belonging to the ancient time, replicated objects like ancient bells and sacrificial vessels used in the ritual performances, and catalogued the ancient objects in *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu.* For Qianlong as a Manchu emperor, Huizong's method had been very useful for gaining cultural leadership in a country deeply rooted in the Han and Confucian cultures. As the bronzes had been principally used in the context of rituals, Qianlong's plan of choosing bronzes for equipping cases, issuing catalogues, and sealing them with his collection seals symbolized that he inherited or possessed the legitimacy of the Han culture. As for the chosen ceramic works that mostly have a provenance of the Song dynasty, the arrangement to have them equipped with cases and catalogue sheets also showed a similar and enlarged version of the process of inheritance and possession (even though these objects were not all necessarily related to rituals)—a process, that is, of possessing 'inheritance' of the Song dynasty, an epoch that focused on retaining the legitimacy of Han and Confucian cultures. Along with the process of cultural inheritance and adoption, another phenomenon occurred—cultural imitation. For example, the ceramic production of the Song dynasty sought to model the forms and

[88] The original text reads: 「(舜)陶河濱，河濱器皆不苦窳。」
[89] Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. ,Chap. 3 Collecting as a Scholarly Passion during the Northern Song Period.' *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*. Seattle. 2008. P. 151.

styles of the Shang bronzes, whereas the ceramic production during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods of the Qing dynasty tended to imitate the ceramic works of the Song dynasty. The issues relating to this phenomenon of archaism will be discussed in the next chapter.

The seal *bazheng maonian* 八徵耄念 was made as part of the celebration plans for Qianlong's eightieth birthday in 1790, whereas the seal *ziqiang buxi* 自強不息 was its auxiliary. Like *guxi tianzi* and *youri zizi*, these two seals normally appear as a set and are made of different types of jade in replication. In his text *Bazheng Maonian Zhi Baoji* 八徵耄念之寶記 (*Treasure of the Eighty-year Old Who Concerns Himself with the Eighth Teaching of Omens*) Qianlong wrote that his choice of wording in making these two seals was inspired by the eighth teaching of '*shuzheng* 庶徵' ('omens of climate') in '*Hongfan* 洪範' ('The Great Plan') of *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Book of Documents*), from which he created the phrase '*bazheng* 八徵'. By the time of his eightieth birthday and fifty-fifth year of reign, Qianlong considered himself a wise emperor, who could read the meteorological phenomena that denoted different omens corresponding to the eighth teaching of '*shuzheng*' from '*Hongfan*' and associate these with ruling a country. *Ziqiang buxi* 自強不息 originates from *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Book of Change*), which states that "the celestial bodies orbit further in a regular circle and never stop; a man with noble character and integrity should learn from the celestial and always strive to better himself."[90] Through creating and sealing with these two seals Qianlong sought to remind himself to remain diligent in governing his country and people with benevolence and tolerance throughout his reign.

[90] The original text reads: 「天行健，君子以自强不息。」

The square celadon censer of the Southern Song dynasty mentioned earlier is not the only object that Qianlong borrowed its form to extend his argument about governing the country. In his poem *Yong Junyao Shuiyu* 詠均窯水盂 (*Praising a Jun-ware Water* Receptacle) Qianlong paid attention to the round form of the receptacle in order to carry out his argument, stating that "the principle of being an emperor should be like the round receptacle."[91] Here 'round' does not mean 'tactful', as it does in the story of Zhu Yun and Zhang Yu, but 'benevolent' and 'tolerant'. '*Wai Chu Shuo Zuoshang* 外儲說左上' ('Outer Congeries of Saying, the Upper Left Series') of *Han Feizi* 韓非子 mentions Confucius' concept of an emperor, pointing out that an emperor is like a receptacle, and his people are like water. When the receptacle is square, the water is square in form as well, whereas when the receptacle is round, the water is round in form. This means that if an emperor can govern his people with benevolence and tolerance, then his people will be willing to comply with him.[92] Qianlong seemed to wholeheartedly agree with Confucius on this point, so he mentioned his teaching in other poems again.[93]

On the bottom surface of a *Ge*-ware dish made between the Southern Song and Yuan periods, Qianlong's poem *Ti Geyao Panzi Ershou* 題哥窯盤子二首 (*Writing Two Poems about a Ge-ware Dish*), written during the fifty-fifth year of his reign (1790), is inscribed.[94] It expresses his plans for governing the country, drawing on some ideas from the twenty-ninth chapter of *Zhongyong* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*). In this poem he described the dish as a treasure due to its provenance that

[91] The original verse reads: 「(前略)由來君道重盂圓。(後略)」
[92] The original verses read: 「為人君者猶盂也，民猶水也，盂方水方，盂圓水圓。」
[93] Qianlong wrote other poems such as *Song Ruyao Wan* 宋汝窯碗 (*A Ru-ware Bowl of the Song Dynasty*) during the forty-second year of his reign (1777), or *Yong Junyao Shuiyu* 詠均窯水盂 (*Praising a Jun-ware Water Receptacle*) during the fifty-eighth year of his reign (1793), which both mention Confucius' teaching.
[94] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 36'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 114.

dated far back to the Song period, whereas those pieces from the Ming dynasty that was closer to his time were less valued. He thought that a parallel could be drawn between this evaluation and the content of the twenty-ninth chapter of *Zhongyong*.[95] Qianlong's poem *Yong Geyao Kuihua Wan* 詠哥窯葵花椀 (*Praising a Ge-ware Bowl with a Hibiscus-shaped Rim*) and its supplement, written during the forty-fourth year of his reign (1779), can explain this idea better, though it cannot be known with any certainty if this poem has also been inscribed on any *Ge*-ware bowl. In this poem Qianlong made his point clear, saying that "the bowl is made in the form of hibiscus supposedly having the nature of facing the sun;[96] […] from reflection of the glaze it can be observed that the glaze is not smooth; this piece is precious because it is old; it would be valued as [an object with] defect if it is a new piece."[97] In the responding account he emphasized again that high evaluation would be given to the old objects, like the *Ge*-ware bowl of the Southern Song dynasty, in spite of some flaws, whereas the most recently made objects would be abandoned if defects were found. He then continued to quote the teaching from the twenty-ninth chapter of *Zhongyong*, stating that things existing from ages ago would be highly valued and not discarded or detested, even in later times.[98] The twenty-ninth chapter of *Zhongyong* indicates three important tasks that an emperor should accomplish for ruling a country: comment on the ancient rites, establish the legal system, and do textual criticism of the ancient books or epigraphs; also, an emperor should examine the deeds of the three emperors of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, namely by looking up the ancient rites and

[95] The original verses read: 「宋遙明近世間知，輕近珍瑤稀見奇。試讀中庸章二九，無常好惡亦如斯。」

[96] As mentioned earlier, the bowl is in the form of hibiscus, read *kui* in Chinese, but Qianlong associated it with another *kui* flower, namely the sunflower.

[97] The original verses read: 「椀作葵花式，應存向日情，(略)，釉光注未平，器珍原已舊，新必致訾評。」

[98] The whole responding account reads: 「古器雖髻墾，人亦珍之，若近時器雖精工而有微疵，率以為腳貨棄之，中庸二十九章所云，世法世則之君子，於同時不過遠有望而近不厭，亦此意也。」

rules established during their time.[99] Qianlong drew a parallel between the teaching of *Zhongyong* about respecting the ancient rites and rules left by the three emperors and ceramics left by the Song court, and between the process that he examined the old ceramics of the Song dynasty and the process that an emperor re-examined the ancient rites and rules. If an emperor could achieve this teaching, he would be obeyed and respected by his people forever.

By means of associating these two *Ge*-ware pieces with the context of *Zhongyong*, Qianlong announced his expectation of being an emperor like *Zhongyong* described in the poem *Praising a Ge-ware Bowl with a Hibiscus-Shaped Rim* as mentioned above, written during the forty-fourth year of his reign. What we esteem is that in the poem *Writing Two Poems about a Ge-ware Dish*, written during the fifty-fifth year of his reign, five years before the end of his rule, the eighty-year-old Qianlong still thought of *Zhongyong* and its teaching. This is again a good illustration of the point that ceramics were used as a form of agency whereby Qianlong drew on the ancient classics to support his statements. In this case Qianlong constructed a nexus among *Zhongyong*'s teaching, his hope of being a sage emperor for his country (as conveyed in his poems), and the *Ge*-ware dishes. Here the *Ge*-ware dishes had been adopted as the medium for the 'agency' that Qianlong exercised in setting up this nexus, upon which his power exerted.

Qianlong's colophon seal *bide* 比德 was also frequently engraved at the end of the poems on celadon ware. As mentioned earlier, Qianlong intended to draw a parallel between celadon ware and jade by associating them with the context of '*Yuzao* 玉藻' ('*Jade-Bead Pendants of the Royal Cap*') in *Liji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*),

[99] The original text reads:「王天下有三重焉，（中略）。故君子之道：本諸身，徵諸庶民，考諸三王而不繆，（餘略）。」

in which a man of noble character and integrity is compared to jade.[100] *Shangjun Liezhuang* 商君列傳 (*The Biography of Shang Yang*) from *Shiji* records that Shang Yang, who was authorized to conduct a series of political, military and economic reforms in the kingdom Qin 秦 by Duke Xiao of Qin (38-338 BC), had a discussion with the duke on ruling the country. Shang Yang said to the duke that even though he could rule the country very well with the best ruling strategy, he was still not comparable to those kings from the Yin-Shang and Zhou dynasties.[101] In Shang Yang's mind a true king should be like those from the three dynasties. Qianlong compared the beautiful celadon ware to jade in order to denote his ideal of a virtuous emperor. He wanted not only to be an emperor with full power over his country, but also an emperor of noble character and integrity.

Qianlong can be counted as one of the emperors who was quite scrupulous in his language and behaviour, as his poems reveal much about the restraint he wished to exercise. At the bottom surface of a celadon vase with decoration of seven raised bowstring lines made during the early Qing period, Qianlong's poem *Yong Qixian Guanyao Ping* 詠七絃官窯瓶 (*Praising a Guan-ware Vase Decorated with Seven Bowstring Lines*) was inscribed (fig. 4-13).[102] Its celadon glaze, form, and style are very similar to some *Guan*-ware vases of the Southern Song dynasty that were excavated in Laohudong, Hangzhou.[103] However, the *Guan*-ware vases may model themselves on certain types of jars of the Han dynasty, made of either bronze or ceramic and decorated with such a bowstring pattern, for example, the z*hong*-type pottery jar in fig. 1. Having thought of the original function of the celadon vase,

[100] The original verse reads: 「君子於玉比德焉。」
[101] The original text reads: 「故吾以彊國之術説君，君大説之耳，然亦難以比德於殷周矣。」
[102] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 74'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 177.
[103] Ibid.

Qianlong emphasized that one should pay attention when filling it with liquid and pouring out, so one could avoid overflowing or excess.[104] By observing the raised bowstring lines on the vase he may think of the scale line and associate it with restriction. In the poem titled *Junyao Wan Ge* 均窯椀歌 (*Praising a Jun-ware Bowl*) Qianlong extended his thoughts to admonish against guzzling, as he noticed that the mouth rim of the *Jun*-ware bowl was glazed in dark brown as if it were mounted with a copper ring and associated it with restriction. His verses read, "[…] The fine copper ring along with the mouth rim has a deep meaning, which implies that the gourmands should abstain from their rapacity."[105] This poem was inscribed on an octagonal bowl in celadon glaze with brownish red crackle, whose mouth rim is dark brown, made during the early Qing period.[106] On a *Ding*-ware pillow in the shape of a recumbent child made in the Northern Song dynasty Qianlong's poem *Yong Dingyao Shui Haier Zheng* 詠定窯睡孩兒枕 (*Praising a Ding-ware Pillow in the Shape of a Recumbent Child*) was inscribed.[107] In the poem Qianlong claimed that he would stay precautious when sleeping on this pillow. It made a sound whenever he moved. In the annotation, he made his verses more comprehensive by giving an account of Qian Mu (852- 932), the founder of the Wuyue period (907-978), as well as of Chen Baxian (503-559, namely emperor Wudi), the founder of the Chen Dynasty (557-589). In the army Qian Mu always slept on a round wood to avoid deep sleeping, and Chen would demand his servant to throw the copper piece on the stone steps in order to wake him up. Yu Pei-Chin points out that some clay balls were left inside of this *Ding*-ware pillow when it was made, which therefore made a sound.[108] Through this pillow and his

[104] The original verse reads: 「(前略)汲斟戒器盈。(後略)」
[105] The original verses read: 「(前略)細銅箝口具深意，饕餮寓戒恣貪欲。(後略)」
[106] The bowl is now in the collection of The British Museum (with an inventory number PDF.12). See this object: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-12.
[107] Yu, Pei-Chin. 'Plates and Entries 7'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* Taipei. 2012. P. 62-3.
[108] Ibid.

poem, Qianlong intended to give the impression that he was also the kind of emperor with vigilance who would not sleep excessively deep or too much just like the two emperors mentioned in the annotation, who established new epochs in history.

4.3 Brief Conclusion

The paintings titled *Shi Yi Shi Er Tu* 是一是二圖 (*One or Two*) commissioned by Qianlong to depict his connoisseurly enjoyment in his study offer a good place to end this chapter.[109] In these paintings Qianlong does not look like a Manchu emperor at all, but more like a Han-Chinese scholar sitting on a wooden couch in front of a large standing screen with a landscape painting and a hanging scroll painting with Qianlong's portrait, accompanied by some treasured objects, several books, a potted landscape, and a boy servant—a scene frequently seen in the literati paintings. Nevertheless, as Kristina Kleutghen has pointed out, looking around his study, it can be observed that what was selected to surround Qianlong in composing these paintings were not ordinary curios, but those either ancient or significant objects from the imperial collection which manifestly confirmed the grandeur of his empire.[110] The bronze vessel on the square table at the left side of these paintings is named '*Xinmang jialiang* 新莽嘉量' (now in the collection of Taipei National Palace Museum), made during the Xin dynasty (9-23 AD), a brief reign of emperor Wang Mang (45 BC-23 AD), who displaced the Western Han dynasty (202 BC-9 AD). He commissioned the making of this vessel to set up a new standard measuring system, which symbolized the start of his reign and his legitimate power over the country. On the square table at the right side of these paintings is a blue and white porcelain jar called '*qinghua*

[109] The Palace Museum in Beijing collects several different versions of paintings with this title:
https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233226.html;
https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233351.html;
https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233501.html.
[110] Kleutghen, Kristina. 'One or Two, Repictured.' *Archives of Asian Art, No. 62.* Honolulu. 2012. P. 29.

fanwen chuji guan 青花梵文出戟罐' (now in the collection of The Palace Museum in Beijing), made during the Xuande period (1426-1435) of the Ming dynasty. Kleutghen indicates that the Devanagari script with the Sanskrit seed syllables written on the jar connotes the emperor's patronage of Tibetan Buddhism.[111] A piece of greyish blue pottery holding the potted landscape stands at the front of these paintings, which may be a *Ru*-ware narcissus planter made during the time of emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty, now in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei.[112] In addition, several more ancient bronzes of the Shang dynasty, ceramics supposedly of Yuan or Ming dynasty, and ancient nephrite discs, etc., were also chosen for composition. However, the '*Xinmang jialiang*' bronze vessel, the blue and white porcelain jar with the Devanagari script, and the *Ru*-ware planter of the Song dynasty were explicitly associated with the context of Qianlong's reign. '*Xinmang jialiang*', which was created to inform the start of Wang Mang's reign, may reflect the new epoch initiated by the Manchu empire, but at the same time it was like a caution to the emperors, suggesting them to maintain vigilance in ruling the country, as Xing dynasty lasted only for fourteen years and was displaced by the Eastern Han dynasty. The display of the blue and white jar with the Devanagari script was arranged with the intention showing that Qianlong's rule had the allegiance from Tibet or other frontier areas. His Han-outfit and the *Ru*-ware narcissus planter symbolize his cultural strategy for ruling the Han-multitude. A composition like this pronounces Qianlong's legitimate inheritance of the Han culture, as well as his imperial power over this culture and country. Lothar Ledderose's statement makes it clear: "the possession of

[111] Ibid.
[112] See this piece at National Palace Museum in Taipei: https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Utensils/Content?enc=FiOUeaCBzXR9dcnxulD7oAOg9Prc55QnxxSHHMl/o7Y= (inventory no.: 故-瓷-017851-N000000000).

the early palace treasures legitimized the political rule in the empire, and that the later art collections inherited this function."[113]

To recapitulate, artefacts like the ceramic objects are embedded in the culture and embody some of its tradition and beliefs. As a Manchu emperor reigning over a country rooted in the Han and Confucian cultures and possessing their cultural products, Qianlong cleverly used his collection to deploy cultural strategies to assert his reign, as well as his power over the objects, the culture, and the people—even though his strategy may have been destructive to the objects. The process of approaching the ceramic objects through the 'language' of his and having them inscribed changed the nature of the objects. Here the ceramic objects and their provenances were used as agency—that is, to convey Qianlong's messages or disseminate the propaganda of his reign. I would like to close, then, with Gerald Holzwarth's statement that Qianlong's inscriptions "were a mark of distinction for the work and a visible sign of his rightful role as emperor."[114]

[113] Ledderose, Lothar. "Some Observations on the Imperial Art Collection in China." *Transactional of the Oriental Ceramic Society*. London. 1978. P. 33.
[114] Quoted in: Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. 'Introduction.' *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*. Seattle. 2008. P. 14.

Chapter 5: Porcelain reproduction at the early Qing court: Imitation, possession, and power relations

Throughout its long history, Chinese culture has been characterized by a tradition of creating art modelled on work from ancient times. This tradition extends to the production of porcelain pieces, whether produced in court kilns or folk kilns. In reviewing the ceramics produced at court—for example, *guan yao* 官窯 of the Song period, *fuliang ciju* 浮梁瓷局 of the Yuan dynasty, guan yao of the Ming period, and *Neiwu Fu Zaoban Chu* 內務府造辦處 (the Imperial Household Department) of the Qing period—it is important to note that the objects were frequently created under emperors' specific decrees to imitate or reproduce the ancient bronze or ceramic ware. These objects conveyed not only the personal aesthetic tastes of the emperors, but also their complex political intentions in displaying power and ruling a country consisting of vast territories and an ethnically diverse population. Such political schemes can be particularly well observed in the porcelain production of the early Qing court, as the various historical texts reveal how deeply the Manchu rulers involved themselves in the production process by making all kinds of detailed demands relating to form, style, and technique, sometimes clarifying their intentions through comparisons with a wide range of classical literary works which shaped the Han culture for centuries. The reproductions during this period were viewed as an effective vehicle for strategically shoring up Manchu rule.

Paralleling this process, the Qing court also reproduced a great quantity of porcelain ware in the form of Tibetan metal ware, both for court use as well as to make diplomatic gifts to the Tibetan political and religious figures. These practices of

the Qing court can be compared, in turn, to the practice of reproducing ancient bronze ware in the ceramic ware of the Song dynasty, which was also highly bound up in political strategies and power relations. This chapter aims to examine the porcelain reproduction carried out in relation to Manchu rule by pursuing three key areas of focus: first, reproduction in relation to rites; second, reproduction as a performance of archaism; and third, reproduction in imitation of Tibetan metal ware. More specifically, I will analyze how the Manchu emperors, especially Yongzheng and Qianlong, managed to declare and strengthen their power during the early stages of their rule by means of manipulating porcelain reproduction.

5.1 Reproduction & Rites

The practice of appropriating the properties of the ancient bronzes of the Shang and Zhou periods occurred in various ways throughout history, with their forms, styles, decorations, and so forth—in both individual and collective iconographic performances—having been constantly reproduced. More specifically, these properties, both in terms of appearance and actual function as framed by users, were appropriated. The reproduction of bronzes offers the most fundamental example of the practice of appropriation and imitation and was a crucial medium for declaring and maintaining ancient rituals rooted in Chinese civilization.

This practice of appropriation climaxed during the Song dynasty, especially when bronze vessels from the Three dynasties were reproduced, particularly in bronze or ceramic, as well as reviewed in the compilation *Xuanhe Bogu tulu* 宣和博古圖錄 (*Xuanhe Illustrated Catalogue of Profoundly Learned Antiquity*), a project conducted by Wang Fu under the command of emperor Huizong. Miscellaneous knowledge of

ancient bronzes was assembled with the imperial bronze collection located in Xuanhe Palace and systematically collated as an illustrated catalogue. Other significant works—like *San Li Tu* 三禮圖 of the Eastern Han dynasty and its later re-compilation *San Li Tu Ji Zhu* 三禮圖集注 of the five dynasties to the early Song period, by Nie Chongyi, *Xian Qin Gu Qi Tu* 先秦古器圖 by Liu Chang, *Kao Gu Tu* 考古圖 by Lü Dalin, *Gu Qi Tu* 古器圖 by Li Gonglin, etc.—deal with ancient bronze vessels of the Three dynasties as well as related issues of rites, and can be counted as precursors to *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu.* It also became a tradition, as it were, that numerous publications focused on sacrificial vessels, rites, and rituals, and they were regularly revised, corrected, reinterpreted, and republished. For example, in *Kao Gu Tu,* Lü offered an empirical classification of objects according to their types as well as introductory texts to the vessels, referring to *Li Ji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*), and attempted to give instruction on how to learn the ancient teachings and rites from the Three dynasties by studying the ancient objects, as Sena pointed out, with a humanistic approach.[1] In contrast, *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* focused on collecting and organizing knowledge of the ancient bronzes, especially their ritual functions, and using such knowledge as a political instrument to ascertain the success of the country in conforming to the ancient rites. In addition, the court scholars who edited *Bo Gu Tu* must have known *Shi Jing* 詩經 (*Book of Odes*), *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Book of Documents*), and especially *Zhouguan* 周官 (or 周禮 *Rites of Zhou*), as during the Song dynasty it was perceived as the most authoritative canon and therefore frequently cited in introductory texts.[2]

[1] Sena, Yun-Chiahn C. "Cataloguing Antiquity: A Comparative Study of the *Kaogu tu* and *Bogu tu*." *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture.* Wu Hung ed. Chicago. 2010. P. 221, 224.
[2] Ibid.

Besides, Martin Power has pointed out that *fa* 法, the foundation of the canon, dealt with in texts like *Book of Rites*, among others, has gradually changed meaning over the course of Chinese history, shifting from ceremonial procedure to rule or law in the ritual and legal texts established since the Three dynasties within the Confucian tradition.[3] The rulers from most of the later dynasties adhered to this canon during their rule, hence such a concept as *fang* 仿, mimetic practice, occurred across different periods of rule at various levels of imitation or emulation of the ancients. That is, the canon of rites was established, followed and imitated, and at the same time the ancillary factors belonging to these contexts—production and reproduction of sacrificial vessels—were highly concerned.

Another climatic period appeared during the reign of Emperor Qianlong. Very much inspired by his Song period predecessors, Qianlong was adept in using the medium of the ancient bronze vessels to connect to the ancient rituals, through which he asserted his rule and gained legitimacy in the Central Plains by integrating the Han tradition. As a Manchu ruler during the early years of the dynasty, Qianlong and other earlier Emperors Kangxi and Yongzheng had understood that they should never neglect the Han ritual system, as its implementation had been crucial for stabilizing central China. Historical facts demonstrate the weight given to the importance of Han civilization by the Manchu rulers; consider the following examples: Kangxi did 'san gui jiu ko 三跪九叩' (thrice kneeling and nine time bowing) when worshipping Confucius in the temples; Yongzheng mentioned all the titles granted to Confucius in decree or prose by various emperors throughout history; Qianlong had the 'Nanxun Dian Tuxiang 南薰殿圖像' ('Portraits of the Nanxun Hall') reorganized, namely to

[3] Power, Martin. „Imitation and Reference in China's Pictorial Tradition." Wu Hung ed. Chicago. 2010. P. 15, 104, 105.

mount a series of portraits of wise and sagacious emperors and empresses, as well as sages, from ancient times and throughout all the dynasties, etc.[4] The task was then to unite rites from both Manchu rule and the Han system in order to strengthen the former. Therefore, orders would be expressly given to, for example, continue compiling *Da Qing Hui Dian* 大清會典 (*Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty*); reprint *Shisanjing Zhushu* (*The Thirteen Classic Works [of Ruism]*) and *Ershiyi Shi* 二十一史 (*Twenty-one Historical Works*); collate *Tongdian* 通典 (*Comprehensive Institutions*), *Tongzhi* 通志 (*Comprehensive Records*), and *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考 (*Comprehensive Examination of Literature*); and compile *Xu Wenxian Tongkao* 續文獻通考 (*Re-compiled Comprehensive Examination of Literature*), *Qinding Manchou Jishen Jitian Dianli* 欽定滿洲祭神祭天典禮 (*The Imperial Manchurian Rituals to God and to Heaven*), as well as the Nanxundian Tuxiang 南薰殿圖像 plan all in one year, namely the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign.[5] We can see that Qianlong would have liked to re-work not only the Han classic works dealing with history and rituals, but also the Manchurian customs and conventions of rituals. Another example is that, like in Book One of *Da Qing Hui Dian Shi Li* 大清會典事例, Qianlong's order about staffing for rituals was put down. He decreed that imperial bodyguards and ritual officers serving for rituals or sacrifices in the Royal Ancestral Temple had to be Manchu consanguine, who should be proud of their duties of managing the ritual vessels and learning rites, as well as developing their nature (supposedly in order to cooperate with the rituals).[6]

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[4] Lai, Yu-Chih. 'Heritage Remaking: Emperor Qianlong's Reorganization of the Imperial Portraits from the Previous Dynasties in 1748.' *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly 26:4*. 2009. P. 76. 84-84.

[5] Ibid. P. 91.

[6] The original text reads: 「向來祭饗太廟獻爵奠帛用侍衛及太常寺官，朕御極後皆令用宗室人員，蓋因宗支繁衍，實爲祖德所貽一氣，感孚昭格尤爲親切，且使駿奔走執豆籩有事爲榮，亦得服習禮儀，陶鎔氣質，意蓋有在。(餘略)」

To issue publications has been one of the most efficient ways to institute, declare, and explore the regulations constructed by court. Qianlong's orders to compile *Qin Ding Da Qing Tong Li* 欽定大清通禮 (*General Rites of the Great Qing Dynasty by the Imperial Order*) in the first year of his reign (1736), or *Huang Chao Li Qi Tu Shi* 皇朝禮器圖示 (*Illustrated Sacrificial Vessels of the Imperial Court*, which aimed to regulate the rite objects), both finished in the twenty-fourth year of his reign (1759), also represented a means of achieving this task. To follow the Song-period paradigm, Qianlong also had *Huang Chao Li Qi Tu Shi* illustrated and compiled in the format of an encyclopedic catalogue complete with analysis of ritual objects. In this album, six categories are compiled: ritual vessels, scientific instruments, regulations for clothing, musical instruments, regulations for patterns, and weaponry. Due to their crucial roles in the rite system, sacrificial vessels were promptly dealt with in the first category, which included fourteen types of vessels: bi 璧, cong 琮, gui 圭, jue 爵, deng 登, fu 簠, gui 簋, bian 籩, dou 豆, fei 篚, zu 俎, zun 尊, zhan 琖, xing 斚. Although it had been a custom to use ceramic vessels in ritual—a custom that preceded the Qing dynasty and followed the Ming dynasty—the convention came to an end for a short while when the vessels were ordered to be made of bronze during the reign of Yongzheng. In the thirteenth year of his reign, Qianlong, who tended to recover the rites of the Ming dynasty and ancient times, specifically remarked on a custom from the Hongwu period of the Ming that used the ritual vessels precisely in the ancient forms and names, yet were made of porcelain.[7] He emphasized that the objects used for sacrifice had to be denoted by their old names, and that the

[7] In the forty-first Book of *Huang Chao Tong Dian* 皇朝通典卷四十一, compiled by Ji Huang (1711-1794) and Liu Yong (1786-1787). The original text reads: 「考之前古，籩豆簠簋諸祭器，或用金玉以示貴重，或用陶匏以崇質素，各有精義存乎其間。歷代相承，去古寖遠，至明洪武時更定舊章，祭器祭器悉遵古，而祭器以甕代之。惟存其名。我朝壇廟陳設祭品亦用甕，蓋沿前明之舊。」

manufacture of vessels must imitate the ancient rules, namely governing the ancient bronzes.[8] He also announced further details for regulating the materials of ritual vessels used in different ceremonial locations. For example, vessels like *dou*, *deng*, *fu*, *gui,* and *zun* used for ceremonies taking place in jiaotan 郊壇, namely at the round mound built at the southern outskirts of the capital, had to be made of ceramics, but in royal ancestral temples only *deng* (similar to dou, but shallow) had to be so; *zun* used in jiaotan had to be ceramic as well.[9] This rule can be traced back to a regulation issued by emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song dynasty stating that the vessels used in jiaotan had to be made of ceramics and the fabrication had to follow the ancient form for their sacrificial purposes, as recorded in *Zhong Xing Li Shu, the nineth book, Jiao Miao Ji Qi, the first record* 中興禮書，郊廟祭器. Along with this order was the establishment of the Büro for Sacrificial Vessels (li qi jü 禮器局) as well as the construction of the imperial kilns, which had an impact on Qianlong's orders to the Imperial Household Department that required to produce objects exactly like those manufactured during the Southern Song period.

In reviewing porcelain production during Qianlong's reign, the orders issued for manufacturing sacrificial utensils mentioned in *Huang Chao Li Qi Tu Shi* can be easily traced. For example, in the eighteenth year of his reign (1753), Qianlong required Tang Ying, the supervisor of the Imperial Household Department for ceramic manufacture, to superintend production of those objects used in the altars for worshipping gods of the heaven and the earth.[10] The following objects were ordered to be made for the altars for worshipping gods of the heaven: ten pieces of *dou* in

[8] Ibid. The original text reads: 「朕思壇廟祭品，既遵用古名，則祭器亦應悉仿古制，一體更正。」
[9] In Record Nr. 57, Book Nr. 82, *Qing Shi Gao* 清史稿，卷八二，志五七. The original text reads: 「其豆、登、簠、簋，郊壇用陶，太廟惟登用之，其他用木。(餘略)尊則郊壇用陶。」
[10] 'Tang Ying Ci Wu Nian Pu Chang Bian 唐英瓷務年譜長編'. Fu Zhenlu & Zhen Li ed. In *Jing De Zhen Tao Ci* 景德鎮陶瓷. No. 2. 1982. P. 25-72.

white glaze for containing meat or food, two pieces of *fu* in white glaze for holding boiled grains, two pieces of *gui* in white glaze also for holding grain, one piece of *deng* in white glaze for holding food, two pieces of lidded cauldron or *xing* 鉶 in white glaze for containing thick soup, three *maoxie* 毛血 plates in white glaze for holding beasts slaughtered for sacrifice, twelve wine vessels or *jue* 爵 in white glaze, and ten pieces of yellow bamboo container or *bian* 籩 for food. Objects that were ordered to be made for the altars worshipping gods of the earth included: seventy pieces of *dou* in white glaze, fourteen *fu* in white glaze, fourteen *gui* in white glaze, seven *deng* in white glaze, fourteen *xing* in white glaze, twenty *maoxie*-plates, eighty-four *jue*, together with seventy pieces of *bian*.

Several porcelain vessels in the forms of *dou*, *fu*, *gui*, and xing, which were probably made in order to achieve this order, are collected in the Taipei Palace Museum (fig. 5-1~ 5-4). Some are in pure white glaze while others are in greenish white glaze, with the difference supposedly due to the different sacrifice locations where these objects were served; the greenish ones (or the moonish white) were used in altars for objects sacrificed to the moon, whereas the pure white ones were for the gods of the heaven.[11] Such a regulation in relation to worshipping gods of the heaven and the earth, and the moon and the sun, has been mentioned in the first part of "Zhouyu" in *Guoyu* 國語, 周語上. *Zhou Li* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*) also indicated that in spring the emperor should worship the sun, and in fall the moon. Also recorded in the two hundred and first book of *Da Ming Hui Dian* 大明會典 (*Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty*), porcelain vessels used for worshipping the moon were to be glazed greenish white, as the moon light was thought to be greenish in ancient times.[12]

[11] Entry for a porcelain *dou*, Inv. Nr. 中-瓷-003762-N000000000 or a porcelain *fu*, Inv. Nr. 中-瓷-002910-N000000000, Taipei palace museum.

[12] The original text reads： 「嘉靖九年，定四郊各陵瓷器：圜丘青色，方丘黃色，日壇赤色，月

As mentioned earlier, the greenish white glaze of the objects from the palace museum indicates their function in worshipping the moon. And to review again the working records of Tang Ying, the objects used for worshipping gods of the heaven and the earth were glazed white. Only white or greenish white was selected for glazing these sacrificial objects, which suggested Qianlong and the Imperial Household Department's attention to Zhou rites.

Along with *jue* vessels, production of various porcelain wine vessels (above all *gu* 觚, *zun* 尊, and *jue* 爵) according to the ancient bronze styles were issued under Qianlong's orders as well. According to the excavation results from diverse tombs of the Shang emperors and aristocracy in the Yinxu sites in Anyang of the province Henan, during the Shang and Zhou periods drinking vessels (i.e. *gu* and *zhi* 觶) were collocated with *jue* as a set of sacrificial wine vessels, as people from these periods held the custom of keeping wine in *zun* 尊, *lei* 罍, *jia* 斝, *you* 卣, etc., then warming it with *jue*, and drinking it with *gu* and *zhi*.[13] Naturally the conventions around drinking wine during the rites and rituals were strongly shaped by the culture of everyday life, and use of the vessels indicated the royalty and dignified social status of the possessors, which had an impact on the regulation of further rites systems as well as the porcelain reproduction of later times.

Having been favourably reviewed during the Song period by the court and in documents, especially in *Xuan He Bo Gu Tu, jue* was recognized as a wine vessel of ritual significance. Later in the Ming dynasty, it was thought to be a kind of drinking vessel, as according to *Da Ming Hui Dian* raising a *jue* to toast is one of the

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壇白色，行江西饒州府如式燒解。」

[13] Wu, Hsiao-Yun. "Yu Jue Tu Su Bai Li Qia. Jue De Li Shi Yu Yi Jue Yin Jiu De Yuan Yuan." *Tusu Wine: The Emperor's First Drink of the Chinese New Year.* He Chuan-Hsin ed. Taipei. 2015. P. 29.

significant rites during rituals.[14] Furthermore, in the order of objects displayed on the sacrifice table depicted in the eighty-fourth book titled "Jiaosi Si 郊祀四" ("Outskirts Sacrifice Nr. 4"), "Qi Gu Chen She Tu 祈穀陳設圖" ("Setting out Plans for Rituals of Praying for Grains) in *Da Ming Hui Dian, jue* is found to be lined up in the first row, namely in front of food utensils like dou, fu, gui, etc.—again denoting its role in rituals.[15] Also, in a painting titled *Yongzheng Ji Xiannongtan Tu* 雍正祭先農壇圖 (*The Yongzheng Emperor Offering Sacrifices at the Altar of the God of Agriculture*) depicting a sacrificial ceremony, we can roughly observe that the drinking vessels somehow in the shape of *jue* are listed in the first two lines amongst the sacrificial vessels (fig. 5-5). In the production required in the eighteenth year of Qianlong's reign, *jue* had been the indispensable sacrificial item. In addition, it can be discerned that some *jue* reproduced during Qianlong's reign were equipped with a pedestal-like dish, with the *jue* stretching its three feet into the three indentations of the dish. In the middle of such a dish was a protuberance shaped like a hill, on which decorations like mountains or rushing surges would be painted in glaze or carved, as the objects were made of porcelain, jade, or gold. This form and style was created according to a prototype from the Ming dynasty that could refer to Jiajing period production or to excavations from the Dingling tomb of the emperor Wanli.[16] The Qianlong period production of *jue* not only closely followed the Ming tradition, but also presented the ornaments of the ancient bronze *jue*—for example, the jade reproduction (fig. 5-6) is engraved with patterns that comprise meanders, *kuifeng* 夔鳳, and the face of the mythical creature, or the porcelain one (fig. 5-7) with painted enamels is patterned with a dragon-like one-legged monster (*kui long wen* 夔龍紋), mythical creatures, and deformed cicadas. *Jue*-reproductions can be made of gold, diverse jade, copper

[14] Ibid. P. 31.
[15] Ibid. P.31-32.
[16] Ibid. P. 33.

(with painted enamels as decoration), porcelain, etc. Together with other objects they were used in royal events like commemorations—such as *tusu*-wine 屠蘇酒 festival (for the Chinese New Year festivals)[17]—and other worship ceremonies, showing again that the production of the ritual vessels was one of Qianlong's foremost concerns during his reign.

As numerous works dealing with material culture from the Ming period literati had a great impact on porcelain production, vessels like *gu* 觚 and *zun* 尊 were inevitably fashioned into flower vessels during the Qing dynasty in a shift away from a ritualistic context. However, pieces that possibly still functioned as ritual vessels can be found in the Taipei Palace Museum collection, as several porcelain vases made during the Yongzheng period in the form of a square *zun*, with a wide-opened mouth and relief patterned with faces of mythical creatures (fig. 5-8), were utilized for incense during the rituals, and may refer to the square bronze *zun* used for drinking during the early Western Zhou period (fig. 5-9).

The rites of the Shang and Zhou periods, which were practiced together with the bronze ritual vessels, and later the development of Confucianism and the completion of various Confucian classics, formed social etiquettes and an ideology that rooted in Chinese civilization. Hence, patent reproductions or reinventions of the bronze vessels, cast in bronze or modelled in ceramic, these objects have been associated with socio-political systems and ritual practices throughout history. As the new leadership of Han China, the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty had certainly

[17] Ibid. P. 8-9. According to Hou, on the Chinese New Year's day around *zishi* 子時 (between 23-1 o'clock, the first time division of a day), the emperor had his first drink—tusu-wine, a kind of medicated wine for celebrating the coming of the new year, along with other two rituals, namely writing the first text as well as lighting the candle on a jade candle holder.

been aware of the need to follow Confucianism as the root of Han culture in the context of adjoining to the Central Plains. To learn, to adopt, to re-regulate, and then to implement this ideology was a strategic task of Qianlong. Jessica Rawson has also pointed out that during the Shang and Zhou periods the production of bronze objects was strongly related to the ancestral rituals of high-ranking families, whereas during the Song and early Qing periods the reproductions were utilized as instruments of asserting legitimacy by rulers and were mainly addressed to living audiences.[18]

The production of bronze objects in ancient times was strongly steeped in a context of rites and canons, whereby the objects were created and used in rituals within a family, a clan, a society, or at courts. Establishing and maintaining rites and canons, which occurred through the production and use of certain objects, signified the establishment of regulations and authority charged with the task of ruling the country. This concept was developed further to become fundamental to all kinds of court matters pertaining to regulations and governance. In the fifth year of his reign, the emperor Yongzheng gave his decree to the Imperial Household Department: "you all should keep the exemplars of manual labours that I assigned you from the earlier time. If you do not keep them, you may not be able to produce the same types again when you reproduce. I examined those works achieved earlier by the Imperial Household Department; though there are not many good ones, they are at least reverently made according to the court style. Though the works made recently display a great deal of artifice, they look like those made outside the court. When you produce, do not lose the reverent court style. By the emperor himself."[19] Here Yongzheng's

[18] Rawson, Jessica. "Reviving Ancient Ornament and the Presence of the Past: Examples from Shang and Zhou Bronze Vessels." *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture.* Wu Hung ed. Chicago. 2010. P. 70.

[19] The original text reads: 「雍正 5 年活計檔：朕從前著做過的活計等項，爾等都該存留式樣，若不存留式樣，恐其日後再做，便不得其原樣。朕看從前造辦處所造的活計，好的雖少，還是內廷

demand for the **'*nei ting gong zao shi yang* 內廷恭造式樣'** ('the reverently made court style'), becomes a regulation of his as an emperor regarding court production and rule. In reviewing his decrees to the Imperial Household Department in regard to porcelain, whether new production or reproduction, numerous requirements regarding patterns, glaze colours, forms, etc., can be found. In March of the seventh year of his reign, the official Haiwang reported a blue-and-white bowl with a dragon pattern that was made during the Jiajing period of the Ming dynasty. The emperor's subsequent decree reads, "to check if the Household Department had an exemplar like this. It is not necessary to reproduce, if there has been one already. If not, give it to Prince Yiqin to ask Nian Xiyao to reproduce one. The pattern is not very good, so ask them to amend it. It is not necessary to make it protruding at the bottom [of the bowl]."[20] In April of the same year, Haiwang presented the emperor with a porcelain vase in the form of a calabash. The emperor then ordered Nian Xiyao to reproduce several pieces, but 'the glaze should be different, either darker or lighter is okay.' In the intercalary July, Haiwang presented the emperor with a *Jun*-ware vase featuring two necks in form of a melon. Then a decree went to Nian Xiyao, demanding to produce exemplars of woody incense burners with various forms of loops (e.g. loach, or loops with mastoid reliefs, etc.) for the emperor's selection. And the chosen ones had to be made of porcelain in imitating the glaze colour of the *Jun*-ware vase mentioned earlier. In August a similar decree was made, this time to reproduce a Yixing teapot in the form of a chrysanthemum but of porcelain with glaze in *jihong*-red 祭紅 (translucent thick red glaze; used frequently in jiaotan rituals, hence called 'ji', meaning sacrifice) or *jiqing*-blue 霽青 (the sky blue after raining) of the *Jun*-ware type.

恭造式樣，近來雖其巧妙，大有外造之氣。爾等再造時，不要失其內廷恭造之式。欽此。」

[20] The original text reads:「著查裡邊瓷器內如有此樣碗，即不必多燒造。如無，將此碗交給怡親王，著年希堯照此款式燒造些來。其花樣不甚好，著另改花樣，碗底不必做腆心。」Nian Xiyao was the supervisor of ceramic production during the Yongzheng period.

According to Yongzheng's decrees on porcelain production, a great percentage is meant to reproduce the old, prominent porcelain types. Nevertheless, his ideas went far beyond simple reproduction, as very often he did not merely order to have objects copied, but instead assigned schemes such as those mentioned earlier—specifying the glaze types, forms, decorative elements, etc., of the reproductions. Yongzheng required reproducing as well as altering the objects—here the emperor's good sense of, and fine taste in, porcelain can be discerned, his thoughts on the objects and their ancient contexts can be traced, and his authority, expressed through decrees on reproducing and altering according to his will, is declared. His instructions on reproduction—including details on form, style, decoration, etc., his demand for 'the reverently made court style', as well as the related ritual objects, production process, systems, decrees, etc.—signified his regulative authority. Such a method of consolidating governance of a country through the making and regulation of art objects had existed among rulers since earlier dynasties. To take *Yingzao Fashi* 營造法式 (*A Treatise on Architectural Methods or State Building Standards*) from the Northern Song dynasty as an example, the compilation not only proclaimed the rules of building established by court, but also signified the attempt by the emperors Shenzong, Zhezong, and Huizong to declare their power through the setting up of regulations. It also functioned as a paradigm for emperors of later dynasties, namely for Yongzheng and his 'nei ting gong zao shi yang', though Yongzheng's decree was associated more with craft making. Furthermore, *The Book of Rites* clearly states that the power of an emperor lies in his ability to contribute to rites, regulations, and textual criticism: "someone who is not the emperor makes no comments on rites, no

comments on systems/ regulations, no criticism of texts."[21] Confucius also pointed out that establishing regulations on objects and rites is the exclusive domain of the emperor, and cannot be done by others. Such principles can be discerned in Yongzheng's decree on 'nei ting gong zao shi yang' as well.

5.2 Reproduction & Archaism

While the production of vessels relating to rituals was common throughout Yongzheng's and Qianlong's periods, so too was imitating the glaze techniques and forms of various ceramic types from earlier dynasties, namely for the purposes of display and collection. This convention can be considered an approach for establishing continuity with the ancient period. By means of reading Qianlong's poems reviewing and inscribed on the reproduction objects, a disposition to connect the objects to the ancient context through textual framing (the poems) can be discerned. That is, some of his poems, which were originally written for objects made in the earlier dynasties and ordered to be engraved on these old objects, were later engraved on the reproductions. This occurred more frequently with the Guan-ware (the imperial ware of the Song dynasty) reproductions.

A poem originally written for a Song period Guan-ware vessel with two ears titled *Yong Guan Yao Liang Er Hu* 詠官窯兩耳壺 (*Praising a Guan-Ware Vessel with Two Ears*) was inscribed on two reproduced vases (a *guaner* vase and a *dan*-formed vase) in celadon glaze. Through being inscribed with this poem, the reproduced objects were compared not only to the Song period's prototype, but also indirectly to the *jiadai*-shaped vase[22] (which had been discussed by Gao Lian in *Zun*

[21] The original text reads: 「非天子，不議禮，不制度，不考文。」
[22] *Jiadai* was a kind of finely-made purse of the Song dynasty.

Sheng Ba Jian and quoted by Qianlong in his poem) as well as the ancient bronze vase.[23] A further example is a hand rest in celadon glaze imitating the Ru ware of the Song dynasty and engraved with a poem titled *Song Ci Bi Ge* 宋瓷臂擱 (*Porcelain Hand Rest from the Song Period*). The poem mentions again the textual instructions historically issued (in *Xuanhe Bogu Tulu*) for reviewing the ancient bronze objects accomplished during the reign of emperor Huizong, praising the exquisite porcelain objects like Guan-ware and Ru-ware made by Xiu Nei Si (the Imperial Household Department) from the Song period, as well as the fine rare hand rest with its own incomparable value, and in the end indicating its ancient value despite some glaze flaws. Though we are not able to see the hand rest of the Song period that this poem targets, the reproduced one in fine celadon glaze corresponds to the contents of the poem (fig. 5-10). In another poem also titled "Porcelain Hand Rest from the Song Period" Qianlong again expressed the rareness of the production from the Song period and related it to a literary context—that is, the habits of the noted calligraphers, the emperor Song Huizong and Wang Xizhi, who deliberated on their writing by resting the arm on the hand rest or elevating the arm. He then shifted from this to the drinking context, describing the eggshell-like cup suitable for holding sweet wine, produced by Hao Shijiu (a famous ceramicist from the Ming dynasty) from Fuliang (in Jingdezhen). Then the poem was inscribed on another hand rest in imitating the Ru-ware (fig. 5-11). It cannot be clarified if these two reproductions were made at the same time, but the former piece was inscribed in the seventeenth year and the latter one in the forty-second year of his reign.[24] The textual framing (poems), the reproduction, and

[23] See 'Index 3 The Inscribed Porcelain in the British Museum Collection' in *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics*. The original verses read:「敧姬茄袋品原崇，古式渾疑商鑄銅(後略)。」

[24] See 'Index 1 The Inscribed Porcelain in the Taipei Palace Museum Collection' in *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics.* The first poem was included in *Qing Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwenji* 清高宗御製詩文集，第二集，卷三十四 (*The Collected Imperial Poems and Prose Works of Emperor Qing Gaozong*, Vol. 3, Book 58) in the seventeenth year of Qianlong's reign (1752)

then the inscription on the reproduction, all about a Ru-ware hand rest made during the Song dynasty, showed not only Qianlong's fondness for the object, but also a strong intention of connecting his context to the ancient one, whether in a visible or invisible way. The past was connected to, followed, and re-made. The same pattern is witnessed in reproductions like the vases imitating the celadon glaze of Guan ware with string-like decorations, a type which was very frequently reproduced during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods, and also frequently in celadon glaze imitating the Guan or Ru Ware. One such vase is inscribed with Qianlong's poem *Yong Qi Xian Guan Yao Ping* 詠七絃官窯瓶 (*Praising the Guan-ware Vase with Seven Liners*) (fig. 5-12), through which he was able to connect the reproduced objects to the ancient context as well as its teaching again: in this poem he pointed out that the ancient style of the vase, embellished with a decoration of seven *xian wen* 絃紋, several string-like lines parallel to each other, demonstrated an origin that could be traced to Neolithic ceramics yet was developed to be protruding by bronzes of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. He also praised the practical function of these protruding lines as a division fence or measure, as in the bronze objects these lines had functioned to allow for an easier hold. Moreover, people would be careful rather than excessive when drawing or pouring wine.[25]

Qianlong's orders to compile illustrated albums for the imperial superior bronze and ceramic collections as well as to select objects from them and have them equipped with pedestals or collecting boxes can be considered as another process of revisiting and reproducing the ancient. These illustrated albums are: *Jing Tao Yun Gu*

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and engraved in the same year. The second one was included in Vol. 4, Book 38, in the forty-first year of his reign, and engraved in the next year.

[25] The original verses read: 「秘製貽脩內，陶成自二生。七絃存古式，兩孔列橫庚。提挈擷芳便，汲斟戒器盈。（餘略）」

精陶韞古, *Yan Zhi Liu Guang* 埏埴流光, *Fan Gong Zhang Se* 燔功彰色, and *Zhen Tao Cui Mei* 珍陶萃美, which are for ceramic objects, and *Fan Jin Zuo Ze* 范金作則, *Guang Xiang Zai Rong* 觀象在鎔, *Ji Fan Liu Hui* 吉範流輝, and *Ji Jin Yao Cai* 吉金耀采.[26] Apart from being affixed with an appellation, a depiction, and a paragraph of description of measure, form, glaze type as well as features, pattern, and quality, some selected objects are associated with passages from classic literary works or with historical contexts of earlier dynasties. The cited passages in the albums are mostly from Ye Zhi's *Yuan Zhai Bi Heng* 垣齋筆衡, Gao Lian's *Zun Sheng Ba Jia*n 遵生八牋, Cao Zhao's *Ge Gu Yao Lun* 格古要論, Tian Yiheng's *Liu Qing Ri Zha* 留青日札, or Gu Tai's *Bo Wu Yao Lan* 博物要覽, which are the prominent literary works specializing, in part, in ceramics and targeting issues at the level of material culture studies of ceramics as well as other works of art. By means of connecting the objects to the texts—both the selected ancient ones and the newly written ones—the illustrated albums as well as reproductions from Qianlong's time and the ancient period are joined. Actually before Qianlong, Yongzheng had had the idea to connect his time to the ancient one through pictorial construction. Painted in 1728 and 1729 during the Yongzheng period by anonymous court painters and collected by the Percival David Foundation as well as the Victoria and Albert Museum, *Guwan Tu* 古玩圖 (*Pictures of Ancient Playthings*) recorded the imperial collection of ancient bronze and ceramic objects. In these two scrolls remarkably measuring 62.5 x 1502 cm and 64 x 2648 cm, diverse types of art objects, mostly vessels, made of jade, bronze, porcelain or gold, were painted (one with a throne standing in front of a folding screen, decorated with art objects) and equipped with fine wooden pedestals or frames as the primary precious items in the imperial collection (fig. 5-13). In

[26] See 'Indexes 1-3'. *Obtaining Refined Enjoyment: The Qianlong Emperor's Taste in Ceramics. 得佳趣:乾隆皇帝的陶瓷品味.* Taipei. 2012. P. 263-284.

another painting titled *Shier Meiren Tu* 十二美人圖 (*Twelve Beauties at Leisure Painted for Prince Yinzhen, the Future Yongzheng Emperor*), several objects from *Guwan Tu* plus a few more bronze and porcelain objects from the imperial collection also appear, which can be counted as a kind of review of the imperial collection (fig. 5-14). Also to review the working records of the Imperial Household Department, Yongzheng ordered it to mount the mouth and foot areas of the treasured ancient vessels with gold, silver or copper, and most of these items were produced during the Song dynasty in vessels in the form of ancient bronze prototypes. No doubt these must have inspired Qianlong's schemes for constructing the ancient.

Jessica Rawson has pointed out that the replication of past designs was a form of cultural reproduction through which the patrons and owners of vessels allowed ideas about themselves and their relation to past traditions to take a visual form.[27] In his decrees Qianlong often reminded his artisans to 'acknowledge the ancient, their teacher' when they fulfilled their assignments. Also, numerous decrees given to Tang Ying, the most important supervisor for ceramic production in the Imperial Household Department during Yongzheng's and Qianlong's periods, clearly ordered the imitation of diverse types of ceramic works from early dynasties. In his poem titled "Chun Mu Song Wu Yaopu Zhi Jun Zhou" 春暮送吳堯圃之均州 ("In a Spring Evening Written to Wu Yaopu on the Way to Jun-State") to his friend Wu Yaopu, Tang Ying wrote that 'though decrees and regulations [from different periods] are diverse, all will return to the mother origin when [we] today imitate the ancient.'[28] Tang's view about copying

[27] Rawson, Jessica. "Reviving Ancient Ornament and the Presence of the Past: Examples from Shang and Zhou Bronze Vessels." *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture.* Wu Hung ed. 2010. P. 50

[28] The orginal verse reads:「(前略)文章制度雖各別,以今仿古將母同。」In 'Tang Ying Ci Wu Nian Pu Chang Bian 唐英瓷務年譜長編.' Fu Zhenlu & Zhen Li ed. In *Jing De Zhen Tao Ci 景德鎮陶瓷*. No. 2. 1982. P. 3.

had closely followed the emperors'.

It is clear from analysing Yongzheng's and Qianlong's decrees to the Imperial Household Department alongside Qianlong's poems that the following ware types were the most preferential for reproduction: Guan-, Ru-, Ge-, Jun-, and Ding-ware, namely the five famous wares of the Song dynasty. Of these five types, the imperial Guan ware, followed by Ge-, Jun-, Ding-, and other wares, is the focus of most of Qianlong's poems. Apart from these, diverse finely-made objects produced during the Ming dynasty in the Xuande, Chenghua, and Jiajing periods, among others, were singled out for copying as well. By referring to '*Tang Ying Ci Wu Nian Pu Chang Bian* 唐英瓷務年譜長編' ('*The Annual Compilation of Tang Ying's Job in Porcelain Production*'), published in the periodical *Jing De Zhen Tao Ci* 景德鎮陶瓷 in 1982, a record of Tang Ying's engagement with ceramic production,[29] as well as the labour records of the Department in *Qing Gong Nei Wu Fu Zao Ban Chu Dang An Zong Hui* 清宮內務府造辦處檔案總匯, one can roughly calculate the porcelain types from earlier dynasties achieved during his instruction:

1. Guan ware: at least 12 entries named for copying 'da guan you' 大觀釉, at least 14 entries named for copying 'guan you' 官釉[30]
2. Ru ware: at least 32 entries
3. Ge ware: at least 21 entries
4. Jun ware: at least 14 entries

[29] 'Tang Ying Ci Wu Nian Pu Chang Bian 唐英瓷務年譜長編.' Fu Zhenlu & Zhen Li ed. In *Jing De Zhen Tao Ci* 景德鎮陶瓷. No. 2. 1982. P. 25-72.

[30] According to *Jingdezhen Tao lu* 景德鎮陶錄, Guan ware (the imperial ware) existed since the period of Song Huizong whose reign title is 'Da Guan'. Therefore the glaze of imperial ware produced during this period and later in the Southern Song period was named 'da guan you.' It also records that Tang Ying did not use the character '官' ('official'), but '大觀' (the reign title) to describe the glaze of ware from Song period. To make it simple, 官釉 or 大觀釉 are the same.

5. Ding ware: at least 7 entries
6. Xuande ware (diverse types): 67 entries
7. Chenghua ware (diverse types): 11 entries
8. Jiajing ware (diverse types): 16 entries

(At each entry more than one piece may be reproduced.)

Guan, Ru, and Ge ware were the types targeted for reproductions. The number of reproductions is substantial, the quality is fine, and most strongly resemble the ware originally produced during the Song dynasty, especially in the areas of glaze performance and form modelling. Apart from daily-use utensils like dishes and bowls (frequently with hibiscus-shaped rims), basins (for the narcissus basin, for hand washing, or as ink wash), and *zun*- as well as gu-formed flower vessels, we can also discover that several prominent forms of the Song period's Guan-, Ru-, and Ge-vessels—*dan*- 膽 or gall-shaped vases, diverse styles of *guaner* 貫耳 vessels, vases in the form of paper mallets 紙槌瓶, diverse styles of vases with liner decorations, octahedral vases with liner decorations, and tripod vases (used mainly as incense burners)—were painstakingly, accurately, and frequently imitated, demonstrating the emperor's taste. In a poem titled *Yong Ci Gua Ping* 詠瓷掛瓶 (*Praising the Porcelain Hanging Vase*) for a *dan*-shaped vase, as well as in several other poems, Qianlong expressed his view that the *dan* shape and mallet shape are two of the best forms for vases.[31] Several poems on the theme of the *guaner* vessel were also written by Qianlong, supplying further ideas about his evaluation of the forms and flavours of the ancient ware reproduction types. As a brief review of the working records of the Imperial Household Department reveals, the *dan*-shaped vase, for example, was ordered to be reproduced in glaze imitating Ru ware, Jun ware, and

[31] The original verse reads: 「依然膽搥式，膽瓶紙搥瓶皆瓶式之最佳者（餘略）。」

Xuande period's *jihong*-red glazes, among others, during the Yongzheng period, and later Qianlong demanded that more reproductions in the form of this vase had to be made and decorated with *yangcai* or *falangcai* enamels. Despite relatively fewer reproductions aiming at Jun or Ding ware, several poems were specifically dedicated to the Ding ware of the Song dynasty. In one poem titled *Yong Ding Yao Xiao Guan* 詠定窯小罐 (*Praising a Small Ding Ware Jar*) a simile is deployed between the sober white glaze and Li Gonglin's painting style, termed '*baimiao* 白描,'[32] noted for simple outlines without the application of colours or ink waters. A Ding ware boy child-shaped pillow also drew much of the emperor's attention, who connected the pillow to the theme of dreaming—specifically dreaming about the ancient. As mentioned in the last chapter, in the end Ding ware was not selected for court use due to its 'mang kou 芒口' and was replaced by Ru ware that was also mentioned several times in Qianlong's poems. Perhaps this historical fact had some influence on Qianlong's perception of Ding ware and his fewer demands for reproduction. Jun ware reproduction, mostly flower vessels, also followed the Song period production, whereas Ding ware comprised dishes and vases.

Apart from the Song ware, reproductions of the ware produced during the Xuande period of the Ming dynasty were in high demand. Interestingly, Qianlong's frequent allusions to Xuande or Chenghua ware in his poetry suggest that ware from these two periods is appreciated for its refined production techniques and aesthetic perfection—the allusions appear even in poems written for Guan, Ge, Ding or other Song period ware. For example, in *Yong Ge Yao Shuang Er Guan* 詠哥窯雙耳罐 (*Praising the Ge Ware Jar with Two Carrying Ears*), the Craquelée of Ge ware is initially mentioned and praised for its sober style, yet the poem then registers its

[32] The original verse reads: 「(前略)李公麟有勝人處，不以丹青以白描。」

contrast to the exquisitely made Xuande and Chenghua ware.[33] Another poem titled *Yong Guan Yao Ping* 詠官窯瓶 (*Praising the Guan Ware Vase*) begins by describing the features of Guan ware—that is, the iron-coloured foot or Craquelée—followed by the claim that the gorgeousness of the Xuande or Chenghua productions would be diminished by such features.[34] In another poem titled *Yong Ding Ci Wan* 詠定瓷碗 (*Praising the Ding Ware Bowl*) the ravishing carving in sober white glaze of Ding ware is contrasted to the Xuande and Chenghua five-coloured ware. Qianlong did take account of porcelain reproduction of the Xuande or Chenghua periods, though he did not clearly express the extent to which he favored it.

In the entries concerned with reproductions of Xuande-, Chenghua-, and Jiajing-ware, the blue-and-white ware is most frequently mentioned, and is most associated with the Xuande type. The Xuande blue-and-white ware is noted for its dense and intense blue decoration, painted with a high proportion of smalt pigment as a result of which the ware occasionally presents some brown iron spots or crystals after being burned. After the burning process, the decorations painted with pigment turn out to be faint with varying degrees of thickness and lightness, and together with the iron points perform an effect of ink painting. The painting is refined in quality and depicts diverse pictographic themes. The ware is fine, thick and heavy, and would become bluish white after the burning process. In the first part of *Qing Mi Cang* 清秘藏 Zhang Yingwen (ca. 1524-1585) praised the ceramic production of his contemporary Xuande ware for its unique blue-and-white design which had not existed in the past.[35] According to the one hundred and fourth book of *Da Ming Hui*

[33] The original verse reads: 「百圾雖紛撫則平，處州陶實出難兄，一般樸質稱珍重，那識精工宣與成。」
[34] The original verse reads: 「鐵足腰圍冰裂紋，宣成踵此失華紛。(餘略)」
[35] The original text reads: 「我朝宣廟窯器，質料細厚，隱隱橘皮紋起，冰裂鱔血紋者，幾與官、

Dian 大明會典卷之一百九十四, in the eighth year of the Xuande period (1433) the Imperial Household Department had to achieve its assignment of producing 443,500 pieces of porcelain ware of all kinds, among which some were decorated with a dragon and phoenix pattern in demand coming from the imperial kitchen.[36] Supposedly most of the pieces decorated with this pattern were blue-and-white. Other Xuande pieces of this kind were written about during Qianlong's period—for example, in *Nan Yao Bi Ji* 南窯筆記 or Zhu Yan's *Tao Shuo* 陶說, both of which highly praised their intense cobalt blue pigment, forms, paintings, etc. Regarding reproduction, Tang Ying discussed the selection of cobalt blue on the ninth sheet of his *Tao Ye Tu Bian Ci* 陶冶圖編次, stating that pigment of this hue should be chosen for reproducing the refined porcelain of the earlier dynasty—examples include ware completely in '*jiqing*-glaze' 霽青 (the sky blue after raining), or 'blue-and-white' ware. In the third year of Qianlong's reign, Tang Ying received a decree with a long list demanding various reproductions of Xuande blue-and-white pieces. Fig. 5-15 is an ewer from the Qianlong period that reproduces the Xuande prototype in fig. 5-16, which was repeatedly replicated during the Qianlong period. The original and reproduced ewers are almost identical in appearance, both marked by their *yuhuchun*-shaped 玉壺春 bodies and graceful ink painting decorations which depict peach and litchi fruits respectively in two rhomb-formed panels, surrounded by flower-scroll ornaments on their bodies, banana leaves on their necks, and the lotus petal-formed panel design on their feet. The Xuande one was almost accurately copied. However, some differences can still be told. The ware of the Qianlong production is bright white, and its cobalt blue pigment is denser and even darker. Besides, the Qianlong production was not able to create the natural brown burning spots like those

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汝窯敵。即暗花者、紅花者、青花者、皆發古未有，為一代絕品。」

[36] The original text reads:「宣德八年尚膳監題准燒造龍鳳瓷器差本部官一員嗣出該監式樣往饒州燒造各樣瓷器四十四萬三千五百件。」

of the Xuande ware, and therefore the spots were painted.

I would like to complete this section by discussing the *cong-* 琮 shaped porcelain vase, as to some extent its imitation may represent a miniaturized narrative or summary of the concept of reproduction in relation to ritual archaism carried out during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods. The exact origin and form of the cong remain questionable. Generally speaking, it is thought that during the Neolithic epoch the cong was a ritual object made of jade and remained so until the Song dynasty. Made of bronze, stein, and frequently porcelain during the Song period, the cong was utilized as a flower vessel and connected to a literary context. During the late Ming period, the cong vase was also called *shi cao ping* 蓍草瓶 ('milfoil' vase), probably due to the modelling on the vase body that looked like *bagua* 八卦, the eight diagrams of divination, which may relate to the divinatory context.[37] Hsieh Ming-Liang has indicated that the production of porcelain cong vases came into being during the Northern Song dynasty, and that the form was more settled during the Southern Song dynasty when it was crossed with various books of rites and inspired by the form of the jade cong from the Liangzhu culture of the Neolithic period, or *Sanxingdui* 三星堆 site from the Shang and Zhou periods, with the cylinder formed inside the vase and the square outside wall.[38] In addition, in his research Hsieh mentioned a signet shaped like cong appearing in Du Liangchen's calligraphy work titled *Qin Gu Tie* 勤顧帖, written on expensive paper intended for writing letters or

[37] Hsieh, Ming-Liang. "Cong Ping Zai Shi 琮瓶再識." *Tao Ci Shou Ji 2* 陶瓷手記 2. Taipei. 2012. P. 13-14.

[38] Ibid. P. 7-8. Hsieh has pointed out that *The Rites of Zhou* 周禮 records that the yellow jade cong was used in rites for worshipping the earth, and its form can be that of an eight-petal flower (based on *Xin Ding San Li Tu* 新定三禮圖 of the Song period), a star with sixteen sides (based on *San Cai Tu Hui* 三才圖會 or *Liu Jing Tu* 六經圖 of the Ming dynasty), diverse star shapes (based on *Li Shi* 隸釋 of the Song dynasty), octagons (based on *San Li Tu* 三禮圖 of the Ming period), or squares (based on *Li Shu* 禮書 of the Song dynasty), etc.

poems, on which some patterns (sometimes coloured) were impressed with carved wooden blocks. The appearance of this printed pattern of a cong vase in red explains the function of the cong during the Song dynasty as a flower vessel.[39] The reproduction of congs from the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods followed the form adopted in the Song dynasty of cylinder inside and cuboid outside, on which decorations in *bagua* pattern that followed the Ming style were modelled (fig. 5-19, 5-20). However, some reproductions are made in the form of a half-cong vase (fig. 5-21, 5-22). Considering such historical factors constructed through references to the ancient rite books and textual framing accomplished by literary critics or historians, the reproduction of congs during the early Qing period connected several different contexts—ritual and rite, Confucianism and literary culture, and archaism. The process of changing the functions or meanings of an ancient vessel, shifting it from one context to another—here moving cong from the ritualistic context to the literati culture and then to the political context through different patterns of reproductions—can be discerned very well.

5.3 The Qing court regime in the Tibetan and Mongolian areas and porcelain ware reproduction of Tibetan vessels

In addition to the objects pertaining to the Han culture, the Imperial Household Department was engaged in producing objects imitating the forms and styles of Tibetan vessels, namely those from a Buddhist context. These objects were especially made for Tibetan Buddhist rituals taking place at courts, for bestowing on the major religious and political leaders and lamas, and for the Manchu emperors' collections. However, there was a strong political intention or strategy behind the emperors' orders for this product line. Precisely speaking, the products were deployed as part of

[39] Ibid. P. 11.

the Manchu rulers' plan of ruling Tibetan and Mongolian areas by means of assimilating some Tibetan custom, mainly on the part of the Buddhist religion. Before approaching central China, the Manchus had had strong, regular liaisons with Mongols and Tibetans to the point of gradually following their religion. Originally Jurchens, the Manchu had believed in Shamanism for centuries. During the Yuan dynasty the Jurchens had frequent contact with lamas through the Mongolians. Later when China was under the control of Han rulers in the Ming dynasty, the Jurchens arranged many political marriages with the Mongolians in order to concentrate on tackling Ming-China and Chosŏn.[40] The Manchu also built several Tibetan Buddhist temples and from portraits it can be noticed that the attire of the aristocratic classes had golden Buddhist images as decorations. During his rule, Hung Taiji (in Manchu, or Huang Taiji in Chinese) (1592-1643), later known as Taizong, the first emperor of the Qing dynasty, had contacts among the living Buddhas and lamas from different sects and built good relations.[41] According to *Qinding Huangchao Tongzhi* 欽定皇朝通志 (*The General History of Qing Dynasty*), compiled under the command of emperor Qianlong and finished in 1787, the Tibetan and Mongolian missions had even called Hung Taiji the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, as 'Manchu' sounds like 'Manzhu 曼珠,'[42] meaning 'gentle glory,'[43] or 'miao ji xiang 妙吉祥—wonderful, auspicious.'

In 2011 in the Taipei Palace Museum a special exhibition took place for displaying its great treasury of Tibetan Buddhist Sutra, amongst which *The Tibetan Dragon Sutra* can be counted the most valuable. Under the command of emperor Kangxi's grandmother, the grand empress dowager, the compilation of the whole

[40] Chen, Jun-Long. 'Chap. 2.' *The Exercise of the Counterpart of Manjusri Bodhisattva in the Governance of Tibet by Emperor Chienlong*. Tainan. 2009. P. 34.
[41] Ibid. P. 39-40.
[42] Ibid. P. 40.
[43] Lopez Jr., Donald S. *The Story of Buddhism: A Concise Guide to its History and Teachings*. San Francisco. 2001. P. 260.

resplendent *Zang Wen Long Cang Jing* 藏文龍藏經 (*Tibetan Dragon Sutra*) that cost much of the state treasury was achieved during the eighth year of Kangxi's reign. In order to deepen the practice of Tibetan Buddhism, the emperors learned Sanskrit and Tibetan. When the sixth Panchen came to Beijing to celebrate Qianlong's seventieth birthday in the forty-fifth year of his reign (1780), the emperor welcomed the Panchen by speaking Tibetan to him.[44]

After gaining the regime, the Manchu emperors carried out various policies to support the religion. First, commands were issued to build various temples and halls for worshipping in the Forbidden City. Zun Sheng Si 尊勝寺, built under the order of emperor Shunzhi in Wuchuan (in today's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), was granted its name during the thirty-sixth year of Kangxi's reign. Yong He Gong 雍和宮 (Yong He Temple), built under Kangxi's command for his son, Yongzheng, the future emperor, was partially rebuilt to be a Tibetan Buddhist school during Yongzheng's reign and completely rebuilt to be a lamasery during Qianlong's reign, where various Buddhist statues were enshrined and worshiped.[45] Qianlong also ordered the construction of many Tibetan Buddhist temples, such as Puning Temple 普寧寺, Putuo Zongcheng Temple 普陀宗乘廟 in Chengde, according to the Potala Palace in Lhasa, and Yu Hua Pavillon 雨花閣 according to Tancheng Hall in the Tuolin Temple 托林寺壇城殿 in Zhada, Tibet, etc.[46] Wang Jiapeng has pointed out that during the Manchu regime, there were at least thirty-five halls built for Tibetan Buddhist rituals, plus ten halls for worshipping Buddha inside the Forbidden City.[47]

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[44] Tsai, Mei-fen. 'The Buddhist Objects from Tibet.' *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum.* Taipei. 1999. P. 9.
[45] Ibid. 'The Tibetan Buddhist Objects made by the Qing court.' P. 31.
[46] Wang, Jiapeng. *Shenmi de gugong zangchuan fojiao shijie* 神秘的故宮藏傳佛教世界 (*The Secret World of the Tibetan Buddhism in the Forbidden City*). Article published at: http://www.huaxia.com/wh/zsc/2005/00348794.html
[47] Ibid.

Along with these extensive constructions, it can be assumed that various types of artefacts made of diverse materials that originated from the Tibetan context were made under the commands of the emperors for rituals, enshrinements, and displays in the palaces or Buddhist halls.

Also, numerous artefacts were made for bestowing on the Tibetan religious and political leaders as well as the lamas and played a crucial role in the context of the Manchu emperors' political strategy toward religion. It can be observed that during Qing's regime, Mongolians and Tibetans submitted to the court, which can be attributed to success of this strategy; there is no need here to describe the vital role played by Tibetan Buddhism in Tibetan and Mongolian areas, both in the religious and political spheres. In addition, the Qing emperors had close contact with the Gelug (also Gelug-pa), known as the Yellow Hat sect, the most influential sect in Tibetan and Mongolian areas. Before and after entering central China, the Manchu emperors liaised with the Panchen Lamas. Until the Qianlong period, relations with the Yellow Hat sect were quite intense. Emperor Qianlong stated in his *lama shuo* 喇嘛說: "all the clans in Mongol give their submission to the two leaders of the Yellow sect, hence the purpose of elevating the Yellow sect is to placate the Mongolians. What this involves is not a trivial matter, and this [relation] must be taken care […]."[48] As well as having close relations with the sixth Panchen (1738-1780), Qianlong had frequent contact with the eighth Dalai Lama (1758-1804), who even called Qianlong 'Wenshu Pusa Da Huangdi 文殊菩薩大皇帝' ('bodhisattva Mañjuśrī the great emperor') in a folded letter to the throne, not only due to the old appellation given to Hung Taiji, but

[48] Qianlong's text reads: 「蓋中外黃教總司此二人，各部蒙古一心歸之，興黃教，即所以安眾蒙古。所系非小，故不可不保護之，(後略)」 See Zhang Yuxin's *Qing Zhengfu Yu Lama Jiao* 清政府與喇嘛教 (trans. *The Qing court and Lamaism*). Lhasa. 1988. P. 339.

also to the reverence toward Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) 宗喀巴, founder of the Gelug, who was thought to be an embodiment of Mañjuśrī by Tibetans.[49] This appellation seemed to show the approving attitude of the Dalai Lama toward Qianlong's rule and image as the reborn Mañjuśrī or Padmasambhava 蓮花生大士 (meaning 'Lotus-Born')[50] in thangka paintings.

As these political developments between the Qing court and Tibet were unfolding, extraordinary, unquantifiable largesse was conferred on the Dalai Lama, the Panchen, and other lama leaders and lamas. The labour records of the Imperial Household Department during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods reveal that an impressively high percentage of labour orders were issued on items related to Tibetan affairs. Apart from various artefacts—mostly wares made of gold, silver, glass, etc., as well as pecuniary rewards and textiles for Tibetan Buddhist rituals—we can observe that orders were frequently issued to produce new porcelain ware associated with the Buddhist ritual context or to prepare porcelain ware from storage as gifts. For example, in the labour records of the two bestowments mentioned above, many porcelain objects were required to be prepared as well. In one record dated the sixth of August in the twelfth year of Yongzheng's reign, porcelain objects like *wugong* 五供 (five offerings, consisting of a *ding*-incense burner, a pair of candleholders, and a pair of *gu*-shaped vases), a pair of stem bowls, and a pair of large bowls patterned with flowers, along with other types of treasures, were planned to be bestowed on Dalai lama.[51] *Wu Shi Dalai Zhuan* 五世達賴傳 has also recorded the porcelain bowls with gilded base, the tea bowls, and *cha tong* 茶筒 (tea pot, namely the Tibetan

[49] Chen, Jun-Long. 'Chap. 3.' *The Exercise of the Counterpart of Manjusri Bodhisattva in the Governance of Tibet b Emperor Chienlong.* Tainan. 2009. P. 74.
[50] Ibid. P. 58. Chen pointed out that in some of Qianlong's thangka portraits he wears the 'king's hat' like the Padmasambhava.
[51] Ibid. P. 409.

dombo-pot 多穆壺) that were sent to Dalai lama.[52] According to Entry No. 319 titled 'Qianlongdi Shouci Yu Yiqingkuangdian Huijian Panchan Shangdan 乾隆帝首次於依清曠殿會見班禪賞單' ('The List of Emperor Qianlong's Bestowals to the Panchan for the First Meeting in the Yiqingkuang Palace') in *Liushi Panchan Chaojin Dangan Xuanbian* 六世班禪朝覲檔案選編, for the first meeting between Qianlong and the Panchan, which took place on the twenty-first of July in the forty-fifth year of Qianlong's reign (1780), a porcelain stem bowl in gold pedestal and fine selected porcelain bowls, dishes, and vases, ten pieces for each type, were bestowed on the Panchan along with other treasures.[53] The Panchan's pupils also received the emperor's gifts. Other historical works like *Liushi Panchen Luosangyixi Zhuan* 六世班禪洛桑益希傳 and *Qing Shi Lu* 清實錄 provide further evidence of such bestowals, with numerous entries recording Qianlong's lavish gifts of porcelain and enamel ware to Tibetan leaders.[54] The vessels were of a wide range, with some designed for religious purposes and others for daily use in Tibet, and made at the Qing court in central China.

The imitations

Porcelain production imitating Tibetan wares mainly focuses on modelling the forms of Tibetan objects such as zang cao ping 藏草瓶 (Tibetan grass bottle), ben ba hu 貴巴壺 (abhiseca pot), su you deng 酥油燈 (altar lamp), and fa luo 法螺 (Right-coiled White Conch), which were served in Buddhist rituals. Otherwise vessels used in daily life, like seng mao hu 僧帽壺 (monk hat pot), duo mu hu 多穆壺 (Tibetan wine pot), "zha gu zha ya" mu wan 札古札雅木碗 (wooden drinking bowl),

[52] Tsai, Mei-fen. 'The Tibetan Buddhist Objects made by the Qing court.' *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum.* Taipei. 1999. P. 32-33.
[53] In *Liushi Panchan Chaojin Dangan Xuanbian* 六世班禪朝覲檔案選編. Beijing. 1996. P. 230
[54] Tsai, Mei-fen. "The Tibetan Buddhist Objects made by the Qing court." *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum.* Taipei. 1999. P. 34.

and *ba wan* 靶碗 or *ba bei* 靶杯, known as a kind of *gao zu bei* 高足杯 or *gao zu wan* 高足碗 (stem cup or stem bowl), were particularly favoured by the emperors and frequently reproduced in porcelain as well.

Zang cao ping, or the grass bottle, in which a bundle of grass is placed for sprinkling, also called gan lu ping 甘露瓶 (dew bottle) is used to hold sacred water for rituals. Grass bottles made of porcelain first appeared during the Yongle period of the Ming dynasty, but it seemed that productions of such bottles were paid serious attention during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods. In the labour records of the Imperial Household Department, entries can be found indicating that Yongzheng repeatedly demanded to produce the grass bottle as painted enamelware as well as porcelain ware. The Tibetan silver grass bottle has a small opening, encircled with a thick loop, a straight neck with a bulge in the middle, wide shoulders, and a globular bellied body that gradually narrows down to its standing. At the opening a tube was inserted where the grass could be placed. Fig. 5-23 is a silver grass bottle probably made during the Qianlong period that imitates the Tibetan prototype. And fig. 5-24 is a porcelain production from the same period, in which we can observe that the loop around the opening was unequipped, the tube for grass was moulded together with the bottle body, and the bottle stands at its high foot over a base shaped like an overturned bowl. According to the working records of the Imperial Household Department on the twenty-second of February in the eleventh year of Qianlong's reign (1746), a "dew bottle with [overglazed] white background and red pattern" was presented to the emperor.[55] It seemed that the emperor was quite satisfied with this presentation, so he required the further production of more pieces of this kind, but "no seal." On the first

[55] Entry in the eleventh year of Qianlong's reign in *Yangxindian Zaobanchu Shiliao Jilan* 養心殿造辦處史料輯覽. Zhang Rong ed. Beijing. 2012. Band 3. Qianlong's *Reign*. P. 238.

of May in the same year, the same object was ordered to be made again.[56] On the twelfth of May, the achievement of four pieces was reported to the emperor and the emperor ordered them displayed in Yangxin Palace.[57] The labour records of the Imperial Household Department from the sixth of April in the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong's reign also recorded that thirty-two of such vases with red overglaze decorations were demanded by the emperor to be equipped with wooden pedestals and then delivered to Buddhist altars in Yuanming Yuan.[58]

The reason for selecting red overglaze for decorating these porcelain vases is unknown, but probably related to *zang hong hua* 藏紅花, a kind of red flower from the composite family with medicinal properties that is used for making dew water in Buddhist rituals. Due to its red colour it is also used for painting thangka.

The ben ba pot, known as *kundika* in Sanskrit, was used during the abhiseca ceremonies for blessing in temples. In Tibet and the Qinghai area the pot resembles a small tower on a hill. Like the teapot, it has two openings used for pouring water in and out, but both are lidded—unlike *kundika* from the Islamic areas. In the Kangxi period the ben ba pot was frequently made of porcelain. Like its silver prototype, the rims of both porcelain pots were moulded with pearl-shaped protuberances, juxtaposed with the painted pattern of beads of precious stones strung with tassels on the belly area, the so-called ying luo wen 纓絡紋, which can be seen in the Buddhist icons that are thought to increase sacredness (fig. 5-25, 5-26). Ben ba pots were produced mainly for bestowing on lamas or political leaders in Tibet and the Qinghai

[56] Ibid. P. 239.
[57] Ibid. P. 296.
[58] In youmuzuo 油木作, *Neiwufu zaobanchu gezuocheng zuohuoji qingdang* 內務府造辦處各作成做活計清檔. Entry on the sixth of April in the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong's reign.

area as well as for sacrifices in temples. A labour record of the Imperial Household Department dated on the third of October in the thirty-forth year of Qianlong's reign recorded that a porcelain ben ba pot, to be used as a vessel for worship, was required by the emperor to be enshrined in front of the statue of Manjusri Bodhisattva in the Lion Garden of a palace in Rehe.[59]

Seng mao hu 僧帽壺, known as monk hat pot, gained this appellation through the shape of its opening area, which looks like the front side of a Buddhist monk hat (fig. 5-27). However, the shape of the pot also presents some features resembling the milk vessel of the northern ethnic minority. Moreover, since the Yuan dynasty, pots of this kind were made of porcelain at the imperial court.[60] The monk hat pots, noted for the thick deep red glaze—namely *baoshi hong* 寶石紅 (the gemstone red), or *jihong* 霽紅—were more frequently produced during the Ming dynasty, and were much favoured by Emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong. Painted in *Shier Meiren Tu* (*Twelve Beauties at Leisure Painted for Prince Yinzhen*) (fig. 5-14) together with other imperial treasures that accompanied the imperial concubines of Yongzheng, and inscribed with Qianlong's poem, such a monk hat pot in red glaze was copied several times under Qianlong's command. On the twenty-fifth of September in the tenth year of his reign, the labour records of the Imperial Household Department included the following entry: "the eunuch Hu Shijie presented a piece of the monk hat pot in red glaze. The glazing is not complete."[61] The emperor then gave his decree: "have this [monk hat pot] equipped with a storing case, have it placed in Qian Qing Palace and

[59] The original decree reads: 「十月初三日(略)奔巴瓶一件持進，交太監胡適傑呈覽。奉旨：奔巴瓶一件著在熱河獅子園文供佛前供。(餘略)」
[60] Liu, Rushui. "Yuanzi de tezheng han jianbie fangfa." *Appreciation of China*. Taipei. 2004. P. 87.
[61] Entry in the tenth year of Qianlong's reign in *Yangxindian Zaobanchu Shiliao Jilan* 養心殿造辦處史料輯覽. Zhang Rong ed. Beijing. 2012. Band 3. *Qianlong's Reign.* P. 30.

classified as ancient first class."[62] Qian Qing Palace was known for holding court functions and events, including rituals, ceremonies, and receptions for officers and commissioners from foreign countries and the frontier territories (e.g. Tibet, Mongolia, etc.) where the object would be available for viewing. Earlier that year, on the twentieth of March, there had been another decree requiring the Household Department to make a lid for another monk hat pot, to equip it with a pedestal, and to mark it as first class.[63] The assignments approved the high value attached to this vessel by the emperor.

Dombo in Tibetan and Mongolian, also known as mdong-mo in Tibetan, called duomu hu 多穆壶 or cha tong 茶筒 in Chinese, was the pot for containing buttered tea (fig. 5-28). The prototype of the dombo pot is made of wood, hooped by belts or metal bands, and then nailed. It is in cylinder form with a slender and slightly curved spout and has a chain as a handle. Around the mouth at the spout side of the pot, there is a five-lobed decoration similar to the monk hat pot. It became popular again in the early Qing period due to practices of bestowal. Some porcelain dombo pots may even imitate the texture of the "la ku er" wood, a kind of precious wood in Tibet (see "Zha gu zha ya" wood bowl), as part of an attempt to exhibit more Tibetan features (fig. 5-29).

Ba wan 靶碗 or *ba bei* 靶杯—that is, *gao zu bei* 高足杯 (stemcup) or *gao zu wan* 高足碗 (stem-bowl)—were used by Mongolians and Tibetans as drinking vessels or carry-on vessels for buttered tea. During the Yuan dynasty the stem cups were offered as gifts among the Mongolian and Tibetan aristocracies and this tradition

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid. P. 224.

continued throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties. In February of the tenth year of Yongzheng's reign (1732), Tang Ying received the emperor's decree to produce stem bowls in *jihong*-red glaze, *jiqing*-blue glaze, and yellow or white glaze for bestowing on different Mongolian princes.[64] From the labour records of the Household Department during the reign of Yongzheng and Qianlong, it can be readily observed that the stem cups or stem bowls were frequently made items, likely due to their practical functions as vessels for drinking, eating, carrying, and gift giving. During the Yongzheng period, it was frequently required that they should be made in pairs or in numbers greater than one. For example, in the second year of his reign, nine pairs of stem bowls were required to be produced and equipped with precious pedestals made of *zitan* wood (Pterocarpus indicus),[65] and the emperor also ordered that pairs of stem bowls be bestowed upon lamas.[66] Made during the Yongzheng period, the main decorative motif of the stem cup, as seen in fig. 5-30, was the Tibetan Eight Treasures.

Tibetans have long had the custom of wearing a wooden bowl on their chest when travelling for use when eating and drinking.[67] The types of wood used for making such bowls vary; the better the wood is used, the higher the social class of the user. Amongst the types of wooden bowls are those made of 'zha gu zha ya' wood, meaning peach tree in Tibetan, which were believed to cure hemiplegia and cardiovascular diseases in those who drank water from it. *Xi Zang Zhi* 西藏志, written during the Qianlong period, pays homage to the "zha gu zha ya" wooden bowl and presumes that it was made of "la ku er" wood, a kind of yellow wood believed to

[64] "Tang Ying Ci Wu Nian Pu Chang Bian 唐英瓷務年譜長編". Fu Zhenlu & Zhen Li ed. In *Jing De Zhen Tao Ci* 景德鎮陶瓷. No. 2. 1982. P. 25-72.
[65] Entry in the second year of Yongzheng's reign in *Yangxindian Zaobanchu Shiliao Jilan* 養心殿造辦處史料輯覽. Zhu Jiajin & Zhu Chuanrong ed. Beijing. 2012. Band 1. *Yongzheng's Reign*. P. 45.
[66] Ibid. Entry in the twelfth year of Yongzheng's reign. P. 410.
[67] See inventory data for the Tsaku-tsaya wooden bowl Inv. Nr. 故-雜-000586-N000000000 of Taipei Palace Museum.

have had the function of protecting against poison.[68] Such a valuable bowl, whose beautiful form and pattern became a model for the production of porcelain ones, was sent as a tribute to the Qing court (fig. 5-32). A "zha gu zha ya" wooden bowl has a wide and slightly bent opening, a short and convex wall, and an ample, short, and round standing. Qianlong wrote several poems to praise this rarity. One of these poems reads: "the wooden bowl was sent from Tibet, [made of] skin of [peach] trees which are originally roots of grass. It is said that [the peach tree] can repel evil spirits, and it is also used to celebrate the New Year's days. The texture of branches and leaves can be seen, such a beautiful precious thing is not just an ordinary curiosity."[69] He then ordered his poems inscribed on the standing of the bowl as well as the case specially made for holding it. To imitate the Tibetan way of carrying such bowls in the arms, two square ears are equipped at the both sides. Furthermore, some of the inscriptions are mounted with silver threads. All these details demonstrate Qianlong's fondness for this style of bowl. Therefore, many reproductions in porcelain (fig. 5-31), featuring a lifelike texture and pattern, were made for the emperor's collection and to bestow on the lamas.

In a portrait of Qianlong painted by Lang Shining and Ding Guanpeng entitled *Hongli Guanhua Tu* 弘曆觀畫圖 (*The Qianlong Emperor Viewing Paintings*), the emperor, accompanied by boy attendants, is sitting in an outdoor garden and viewing paintings (fig. 5-33). Several artefacts, presumably with significant meanings or particularly treasured by him, are displayed on the small table in front of Qianlong. Among them we can see the porcelain bowl patterned like the 'zha gu zha ya' bowl,

[68] Tsai, Mei-fen. "The Buddhist Objects from Tibet." *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum.* Taipei. 1999. P. 19.
[69] The original verse reads: 「木碗來西藏，草根成樹皮。或雲能辟惡，藉用祝春禧。痕猶隱，琳琅貨匪奇。」

together with the porcelain zang cao-bottle which can be seen in fig. 5-24, as well as other treasures—a jade *bo* 鎛, a large bell, originally a kind of ancient bronze instrument; a lobed Ding-ware dish; a figure of a ram and shepherd boy; a *Guan*-type wine vessel in the form of *Hu* 壺 in celadon glaze; a vessel in green glaze appearing to be from the Han dynasty; and two *wenlu hu* 紋滷壺 teapots in deep sky blue and red glaze whose bodies are moulded like lotus petals, made during the Xuande period of the Ming dynasty. These objects can still be viewed at the Taipei National Palace Museum. Clearly evident is the aim of Qianlong's reign: to pursue allegiance with the Han folks, to gain legitimacy in ruling central China through learning and performing rituals and Confucian teachings about rites from ancient times as well as the new Confucianism from the Song period, and to gain the peaceful surrender of the Tibetans and Mongolians through a strategy of religious conversion and gift giving. Here, his connoisseurly enjoyment with objects originated from the Han-culture and his ideal of being a proper emperor ruling the Central Plains as well as the borderlands come cross together and peacefully in this painting.

The reproduction of Tibetan Buddhist vessels at the Qing court was mainly carried out through a close imitation of the Tibetan prototypes. The gold, silver, and wood wares were copied, but many of them were then made of porcelain. This reveals not only a great change in materials from one context to another, but also a process of transference, where the making of objects belonging to the religion and culture of another ethnicity were reproduced as a hegemonic political strategy. The combination of forms and styles of Tibetan gold, silver, or precious wooden vessels and the porcelain material that represented the civilisation of the Han folk was carried out under the orders of the Manchu emperors and symbolized the union of Chinese people under the Manchu regime that was certainly much wished for by the Qing emperors.

The secure relationship between the Qing court and Tibet was firmly established during this period, particularly during the reign of the first few emperors. Zhuang Ji-Fa has claimed that until Qianlong's reign, the Qing court had the most intensive control of and contact with Tibet.[70] Indeed, this relationship appeared to be cooperative and peaceful as a result of politico-religious strategies and bestowal practices. Hence it is no wonder that all kinds of decrees to the Imperial Household Department, like such practices in the Tibetan context, reinforced the Manchu emperors' politics.

5.4 Brief Conclusion

The early Qing court used reproduction of the ancients as a vehicle to declare its connections to the Han vis-à-vis a convention meant to connote cultural respect, as well as its connections to the Tibetan vis-à-vis a convention meant to convey religious respect. Through such practices the Manchu rulers successfully unified a population of diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious origins, consolidating their rule to a certain extent. The possession and imitation of bronze ware from the ancient period or Tibet, or of porcelain production from the Song period, signified the achievement of legitimate rule over the territory for the Manchu emperors. To learn the Han ritual system and incorporate it into their rule could be read as a process of having themselves sinicized or assimilated, in much the same way as they converted to Tibetan Buddhism; however, this was a full political scheme of the rulers to naturalize 'the other' in an ingenious way.

[70] Chuang, Ji-Fa. *Qing Shi Lun Ji*. Band I. 清史論集(一). Taipei. 1997. P. 235.

Conclusion

By means of constructing and analyzing four cases my dissertation has explored how power relations were expressed and consolidated through the ownership of Chinese ceramic or porcelain objects in eighteenth-century China and Europe. It has surveyed the different ways in which the possessors handled and manipulated their collections, translating them into other contexts. More precisely, each case study demonstrates that the specific properties—physical, conceptual, and contextual—of Chinese porcelain were appropriated as a medium for the achievement of the possessors' aims and ambitions.

As my research demonstrates, Chinese porcelain in European mounting performed a European ornamental convention that can be traced to the Byzantine era—a convention of mounting objects in order to emphasize their significance and the status of their possessors. Following this convention, during the eighteenth century Chinese porcelain was mounted to achieve various objectives. This can be observed in the luxurious rococo context, which borrowed some properties of Chinese porcelain—luxury, curiosity, maritime inspiration, and even materiality (for example, the fine, pure white shell). Most noteworthy is that Chinese porcelain was mounted to perform the antique form and style that mirrored the zeitgeist of Greek and Roman renaissance, in which the 'ancientry' and 'old civilization' that Chinese porcelain symbolized were appropriated and translated into an ancient European context. The three different ways of 'creating' Chinese porcelain in eighteenth-century Europe demonstrated that European knowledge about China as well as Chinese porcelain was assembled and integrated, with which Europeans not only successfully reproduced

China-like porcelain in terms of technique, form or style, but also created 'Europe's own' Chinese images with more concrete Chinese themes and scenes; and furthermore, regarding the conceptual level, the features of Chinese porcelain were applied to interior design. The case of Chinese ceramics inscribed with Emperor Qianlong's poems demonstrates the appropriation of the physical, conceptual, and contextual aspects of ancient ceramics for the strategic purpose of consolidating rule in Central China. By referencing and adopting numerous classical Confucian literary works in which the Han culture was rooted, Qianlong created an elaborate relation between the texts, the ceramic works, his poems, and his political intentions; he made no attempt to veil his display of power, framing the objects with the poems, which he also inscribed according to his wishes. By studying Chinese porcelain manufactured in the early Qing court we discover that the productions chiefly focused on imitating the forms and styles of the ancient bronzes of the Shang and Zhou periods, reproducing the imperial wares belonging to the Song period, and imitating Tibetan vessels. These vessels were utilized for achieving the Manchu emperors' cultural strategy of strengthening their rule in Han China as well as strategy of bestowing gifts in the Tibet, Mongol, and Qinghai areas.

From studying these four cases, we find that these power relations are intricate, as the possessors of Chinese ceramic and porcelain were of different geographic and ethnic origins. This leads in all four cases to cultural appropriation in which the original value systems belonging to the objects (before being handled) were dissolved when they were applied to other functions and contexts. The original property or identity of Chinese porcelain was expropriated in the process of being appropriated.

In addition to displaying complex power relations, these handlings of Chinese

porcelain bring about diverse convergences between different materials of production, different craft practices, different usages, and different and distant cultures. In the end all these cases performed the results which their possessors hoped to achieve—in Europe the successful creation of *objets d'art* in the elegant neo-classical style composed of Chinese porcelain and European mounting, and European porcelain ware, interior design, or other decorative art in *chinoiserie* style; in China successful and peaceful rule by Manchu emperors in the Central Plain, as well as frontiers such as the Tibet, Mongolia, and Qinghai areas.

Future directions for research are suggested by this thesis study. A parallel can be drawn among the inscriptions on mounting fixed with Chinese porcelain, the inscriptions on ancient Greek, Roman, or Byzantine architecture (i.e. of temples and churches), and the inscriptions of texts, poems or colophons engraved on art and artifacts of all kinds. Lawrence Keppie has also pointed out—when remarking on carved Latin texts on plinths, arches, temples and other architecture structure—that "the most important thing to remember about any Roman inscription is that it is inscribed on something."[1] A more extensive and in-depth cross-cultural study could address such parallels.

[1] Quoted in Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Mountain as Material: Landscape Inscriptions in China," *Cultural Histories of the Material World.* Peter N. Miller ed. Ann Arbor. 2013. P. 152.

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