Interaction, Appropriation, and Adaptation: Transculturality of Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Chinese and European Porcelain

Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der

Philosophischen Fakultät der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Institut

für Kunstgeschichte Ostasiens

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Datum: 28 Juli 2020

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Acknowledgements

First, my deep gratitude goes to Professor, Prof. Dr. Sarah E. Fraser, my supervisor and advisor, for her guidance through each stage of the writing process. Without her constant support and encouragement, my dissertation would not have been achieved. Over the past five years, she taught me so much about professional learning and gave me excellent advice on my dissertation. In addition, she created a lot of opportunities for me to do field research in Amsterdam, Delft, London, Beijing, Guangzhou, and Jingdezhen. I special thanks to my second supervisor, Professor Joachim Kurtz, for his support and inspiring feedback made on my dissertation. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Melanie Trede, particularly for her direction on the structure of my dissertation. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Lianming Wang. He gave me excellent advice and conferred strong energy to me. I thank them and other colleagues all from the Institute of East Asian Art History at Heidelberg University so much.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the professors around the world who gave me helpful comments and support. They are Prof. Dr. Stacey Pierson of SOAS University of London, and Prof. Dr. Christiann Jörg, the former keeper of Oriental Ceramics at the Groninger Museum, who provided me with some constructive suggestions on conferences. In addition, I thank the Chinese professors I worked with, including Prof. Cao Jianwen and Prof. Zhou Sizhong in Jingdezhen Ceramic Insitute, Prof. Dr. Fang Lili from the Chinese National Academy of Arts, and Huang Jing, the curator of export porcelain at the Guangdong Museum. They all provided a great deal of guidance and advice during my field research. I must also express my gratitude to the

Chinese Scholarship Council for four years' financial support of my research, the Curatorial and Object Study Training Program (2016-2017) and the Heinz Götze Foundation for funding my fieldwork twice.

My belated but most heartfelt gratitude goes to my parents, Liu Lanxiu and Fan Jianshe, who gave me sustaining support in many ways. Finally, I would like to express my deep appreciation to my husband and my daughter, Dr. Yin Hang and Yin Mia Yuechen, for their deep understanding, lasting encouragement, and deep love. Without these, I would not have been able to concentrate on my doctoral studies and complete my research and writing.

Abbreviations

D	Diameter
H	Height
W	Width
L	Length
MD	Mouth Diameter
BD	Bottom Diameter
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
Inv.	Inventory

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period, H: 251 cm, W: 95 cm. Source: The Palace Museum, Beijing.

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Introduction

Chinese porcelain is not simply a material product, but a transcultural medium, with a long history that has been preserved in museums and by collectors all over the world. Unlike tea, spices, and (to some extent) silk, which are difficult to trace since they were all consumed at their destinations, trade porcelain is a special medium, durable enough to survive to the present day. What is 'porcelain,' exactly? The general impression is of fragile white dishware that makes a silvery chime when tapped. The manufacture of porcelain has a very long history in China, and several different types exist.[1] Porcelain is produced from a relatively rare type of clay called kaolin (whose name comes from the town of 高嶺 in Jingdezhen), which has been fired in a kiln to around 1300 ℃. Jingdezhen was known for its excellent porcelain industry which benefits from its natural conditions. It had an adequate supply of the raw materials needed for porcelain production in the nearby mountains and surrounding areas. Another key advantage is the water transportation network that started at the docks of Chang River to the Poyang Lake, continued down the Yangzi River and the Grand Canal, and from there, stretched to the domestic and foreign markets. The exportation of Chinese porcelain could have been traced as early as the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) and with significant markets established by the Tang dynasty (618-907). The skilled transformation of clay into treasured pieces captured the interest of foreign traders, who exported them to many countries, such as East, Southeast, and West Asia in the Tang and Song dynasties. Later,

[1] The five famous porcelain types in China respectively are Official Kiln, Ge Kiln, Ru Kiln, Ding Kiln, and Jun Kiln.

with the advent of the maritime navigation era, Chinese porcelain was exported to Europe and America in large quantities. In the process of continuous export of Jingdezhen porcelain, the term 'export ware' emerged. In academia, this term refers to the decorations and types of Chinese porcelain made specifically for the targeted foreign markets. Gradually, European consumers were no longer satisfied with importing porcelain from China and some Asian countries, so they began to develop their own porcelain manufacturing. Due to the limitations of raw materials and firing technology, they did not initially create the real porcelain till 1709. In this transcultural exchange, interaction, appropriation and adaptation have occurred in an entanglement network.

The term 'transculturation' was coined by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in his book on the history of tobacco and sugar cultures in post-colonial Cuba. Rather than the Eurocentric term acculturation, he suggests that transculturation is a process of adaption and transformation.[2] Ortiz entitled the chapter in which he introduces 'transculturation' as "On the Social Phenomenon of 'transculturation' and Its Importance in Cuba".[3] According to Ortiz, the term 'acculturation' carries a Eurocentric sense and suggests a unilateral process of adaption and acquisition, while the term 'transculturation' better expresses the intricate transformations and interactions that occurred 'in the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another'.[4] The context in which his investigation was undertaken – marked by the changing geopolitics of empires, the defeat of progressive forces in Cuba which coincided with the collapse of liberal

[2] Fernando Ortiz and Harriet Onís trans., *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 97-103.
[3] Ibid., 97.
[4] Ibid., 102.

democracies around the world, and the growth of assertive voices in colonized areas – made his concept of transculturation having significant potential from the start.[5] In addition, the prefix 'trans-' in 'transcultural' is a loanword from Latin that denotes "across," "beyond," and "transformation", which highlight the transformation of meaning and identity of objects when they move across cultural borders. That is an explicit critique of culture which was seen as a geographically bounded, monolingual, and ethnically homogeneous notion, as the prefix "trans-" allows for liberation from this concept.[6]

The anthropologists Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff proposed in their book "The Social Life of Things" that objects, or things like people, have social lives. This concept led scholars in a variety of fields to re-examine material culture.[7] Appadurai and Kopytoff's biographical approach aims to understand objects' meanings within their life cycles. It explores the idea of their social life from their production through their exchange or distribution and on to their consumption.[8] In recent years, the transcultural framework has continued to grow. Considering the idea of the social lives of things, the historians Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello explore things' global lives after "the global turn" in academia. Their research examines how objects acquire multiple meanings and

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[5] Monica Juneja, "Alternative, Peripheral or Cosmopolitan? Modernism as a Global Process," in *Global Art History: Transkulturelle Verortungen von Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. Julia Allerstorfer and Monika Leisch-Kiesl (Bielefeld: Transcript verlag, 2017), 86-87.
[6] Ibid., 86.
[7] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *The global lives of things: the material culture of connections in the early modern world* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 2.
[8] Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13.

identities within their global trajectories.[9]

This dissertation is also grounded in Monica Juneja's conception of transculturation as both 'a concrete object of investigation as well as an analytic method', indicating that transculturality is concerned with 'spatial mobility, circulation, or flows' as revealed in globalization studies, but that it is neither synonymous with nor reducible to these concepts. In addition, 'Contact, interaction, and entanglement' is one of the elements Juneja highlights, making the transcultural a relationally constructed field.[10] The argument in this dissertation is that cultural flows between East Asia and Europe were not only bi-directional, as artisans in kilns, workshops, courts, and ateliers appropriated each other's art and craft over the centuries to create complex systems of exchange in the early modern period.

By the early 16th century, the Portuguese and Spanish had opened the sea route to China. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Netherlands, England, and other European countries also joined this lucrative trade. During the 17th century, possessing and displaying Chinese export porcelain, known as 'white gold,' became a status symbol among European aristocrats, as evidenced by the porcelain rooms of Europe's royal families, such as the stunning one in the Palace of Charlottenburg built for Sophie Charlotte, the second wife of Frederick III, King of Prussia. The layout of the stunning Charlottenburg porcelain room is a charming symmetrical and balanced presentation on

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[9] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *The global lives of things*, 2-3.
[10] Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna, "Understanding Transculturalism-Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna in Conversation," in *Transcultural Modernisms*, Model House Research Group, Publication Series of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna 12 (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), 24–25.

both colour and shapes, although it does not differentiate between Chinese and Japanese porcelain. In addition, Augustus the Strong (1670-1733), Elector of Saxony and King of Poland pursued his lifelong passion for oriental porcelain by amassing a huge collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain in Dresden. In 1725, these vast holdings of porcelain were decided placed in the Dutch Palace, which was then rebuilt between 1729-1737 and renamed the Japanese Palace.[11] The legend that Augustus exchanged 151 pieces of blue and white porcelain for 600 cavalrymen from his army is sufficient to illustrate the exalted status of porcelain. Naturally, European potters attempted to replicate this exotic curiosity to cut down on or eliminate the cost of importing it. The Dutch were the first to imitate Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in a small town called Delft. However, this so-called 'faience' was not true porcelain, as it did not quite match the quality of Chinese porcelain. In 1709, the formula for "real" porcelain was discovered after much experimentation at Meissen by Friedrich Böttger (1682-1719). In this study, I use iconographic analysis and comparative study methods to explore the appropriation of Chinese patterns and objects on Delft pottery and Meissen porcelain. Forming a transcultural circle, European culture was also appropriated to Chinese official wares, especially from the middle of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century. 'Painted enamel' was a new art form of decorative art introduced to China by European envoys and missionaries. This artwork was much beloved by the Qianlong Emperor, and an institution was established in the Qing court. He designated European missionaries and Canton artisans to create this exotic curiosity. This research aims to investigate the

[11] Jeffrey Munger and Elizabeth Sullivan, *European Porcelain in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018), 79.

interlaced cultural exchange and also considers patterns of exchange, transcultural media flows, and painting skills of artisans between China and Europe.

The literature review of this dissertation involves three parts. The first category is the research on Chinese export porcelain including the content of the porcelain trade, terminology, iconography, and definitions. The second one is about Delftware and Meissen porcelain produced in Europe. The third part is about official painted enamelware. The earliest and most important background study of the transcultural trade was *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, published in 1954 by T. Volker. This book dealt with the V.O.C. commercial organization, quantity, quality, prices, and the destinations of porcelain trade during the first half of the 17th century. Combined with Christiaan J. A. Jörg's *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade,* these two books provided a good foundation for the following researchers.[12] Research on Chinese export porcelain by European scholars has grown since the second half of the 20th century. Kraak porcelain was produced as an early Chinese export product in massive quantities for the European market. An earlier book describing the Kraak porcelain collections in Princessehof in Leeuwarden was completed in 1964 by Hessel Miedema.[13] Another important study entitled *Kraak Porcelain: A moment in the History of Trade* was published by Maura Rinaldi in 1989. This book gives the definition and classifications for Kraak porcelain

[12] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers, 1602–1682* (Leiden: Brill, 1971). Christiaan Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982).
[13] Hessel Miedema, *Kraakporselein+Overgangsgoed: Catalogus* (Leeuwarden: Gemeentelijk museum het Princessehof Leeuwarden, 1964).

based on the comparison of hundreds of Kraak wares and shards.[14] In the 21st century, there have been two important publications so far: one is entitled *Kraak Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the late 16th and Early 17th Centuries* by Luise Vinhais in 2008; the other is *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the Late Ming Dynasty* by Wu Ruoming, which was published in 2014.[15] In China, many important archaeological reports of tomb discoveries and kiln sites at Jingdezhen excavation are published in Chinese journals, which are also valuable resources.[16]

Additionally, there are many catalogues of Chinese export porcelain published by various European museums, providing a large number of images and constructive articles by curators. One such is *Chinese Export Ceramics* by Rose Kerr and Luisa E. Mengoni, which describes the export of Chinese porcelain to other lands based on the rich collection of the Victoria & Albert (hereafter V&A) Museum.[17] Armorial porcelain is a very important category of export porcelain. As early as 1974, David S. Howard compiled an encyclopedic series of books collecting nearly 2000 armorial porcelain services painted in China for the British market between 1695 and 1820. The books are illustrated by style in chronological order and include extensive analyses of the wares, dated using hallmarks.[18] New research in recent decades includes the book *Asia in Amsterdam, the Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* from the Peabody Essex Museum

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[14] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade* (London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd, 1989).
[15] Luise Vinhais and Jorge Welsh, eds., *Kraak porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries* (London: Graphicon Press, 2008). Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty* (Weinstadt: Greiner, 2014).
[16] Cao Jianwen and Luo Yifei, "Kraak Porcelain discovered at some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in recent years," *Oriental Art*, no.4, (2006): 16-24.
[17] Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: V&A Publ., 2011).
[18] David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (London: Faber&Faber, 1974).

published in 2015, *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* by Jan van Campen and Titus M. Eliëns, et al. from the Rijksmuseum published in 2014 and *Treasures of Chinese export ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum* published in 2012.[19]

Research on Delftware and Meissen porcelain has mainly been performed by European researchers; a notable exception is a dissertation by Liu Qiangong from Tsinghua University.[20] That paper examines the historical rise of Delft. In addition, three catalogs of recent acquisitions in Dutch Delftware completed by Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers were published in 2014 and 2015, which provide valuable visual materials.[21] Marion S. van Aken-Fehmers published a thesis in 2009 entitled *Dutch Delftware: The 'very best' imitation of Chinese porcelain* and mentioned one type of Delftware called "Chinoiserie," which was collected in the book *Transfer: the Influence of China on World Ceramics*.[22] In recent years, Chinese scholars have become interested in Meissen porcelain, but there remains a lack of in-depth research. The main achievements in Meissen porcelain research have been made by European scholars. Prof.

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[19] Karina H Corrigan, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, eds., *Asia in Amsterdam, the culture of luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2015). Jan van Campen and Titus M. Eliëns, eds., *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitg.,2014). William R. Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

[20] Liu Qiangong, "The Historical Motivations and Actual Significance of the rise of Delft, Holland's capital of pottery 劉謙功, 荷蘭陶瓷之都代爾夫特崛起的歷史動因與現實意義" (PhD Dissertation, Tsinghua University. 2013)

[21] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Qui Capit, Capitur* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs. 2015). Ibid., *Dutch Delftware: William&Mary* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs. 2015). Ibid., *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs. 2014).

[22] Marion S. van Aken-Fehmers, *Dutch Delftware: The 'very best' imitation of Chinese porcelain.* Edited by Stacey Pierson. *Transfer: The Influence of China on World Ceramics. Colloquies on Art Archaeology in Asia No.24. Held November 5-7, 2007* (London: University of London, 2009), 93-121.

Dr. Ulrich Pietsch, the former director of the porcelain collection in Dresden and an expert in Meissen porcelain, has completed several publications about Meissen porcelain. Most of them are in German, except for two new catalogs entitled *Early Meissen Porcelain* and *Passion for Meissen*.[23] Two more important books published by John Sandon in 2011, *Meissen Porcelain*, and a catalog entitled *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum* provided valuable materials for my paper.[24]

The previous studies on 'painted enamelware' were mainly by Taiwanese scholars from The National Palace Museum and researchers from The Palace Museum, since most of the extant Qing imperial painted enamelware is located in these two museums. A prominent book entitled *Radiant luminance: the painted enamelware of the Qing imperial court* (日月光華：清宮畫琺瑯) was published in 2012 by Shi Jingfei.[25] This book outlined the establishment and development of painted enamelware in the three dynasties, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong periods, combined with iconography analysis. Techniques surrounding the field of painted enamelware have been researched by Xu Xiaodong, who published a thesis in 2010.[26] The dissertation of Yu Peijin from the National Palace Museum named *A study of Qianlong Official Wares and the Ideal for a*

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[23] Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen porcelain: the Wark Collection from The Cummer Museum of Art&Gardens* (Giles: London, 2011). Ibid., *Passion for Meiseen, Sammlung said und Roswitha Marouf* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art publisher, 2010).

[24] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2011). Abraham L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen porcelain in the Rijksmuseum* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000).

[25] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The painted enamelware of the Qing imperial court* 日月光華：清宮畫琺瑯 (Taipei: The National Palace Museum,2012).

[26] Xu Xiaodong, "The Interaction of Painted Enamel Techniques between the Court and Local in Kangxi and Yongzheng Periods 康熙、雍正時期宮廷與地方畫琺瑯技術的互動" *Court and Local*, *technical exchanges from the 17th century to the 18th century* 宮廷與地方，十七至十八世紀的技術交流 (Beijing: The Forbidden City Press, 2010), 277-335.

Sagacious Ruler (乾隆官窯研究：做為聖王的理想意象) highlighted the contrast between 'painted enamelware' and the *yangcai* enamels of the Qianlong period. In 2008, the Taipei National Palace Museum held a special exhibition called "Stunning Decorative Porcelain from the Ch'ien-lung Reign." The catalog, edited by Liao Baoxiu, was a rich source of material for this dissertation.[27] Another book that comprehensively introduces the painted enamel with the porcelain body of the Qing Dynasty is by Professor Zhou Sizhong, who completed and published his dissertation in 2008.[28] *A review of painted enamel in the Qing court* published by Wang Jianhua of the Journal of the Palace Museum in 1993 gives an overview of painted enamel in the Qing court.[29] In the field of Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism, Tsai Mei-fen wrote *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum*, which includes not only the Tibetan art histories and collections in the Qing court, but also the reproductions of imitated Tibetan vessels.[30] In *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*, Patrica Berger explores the massive output of Buddhist painting, sculpture and decorative arts by Qing court artists produced for distribution throughout the empire, through an analysis of the support and patronage furnished by the Manchu emperor.[31] As mentioned above, there has been a number of prominent researchers that

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[27] Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign* 華麗彩瓷: 乾隆洋彩 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008).
[28] Zhou Sizhong, *Painted enamel porcelain of Qing court* 1716-1789 清宮瓷胎畫琺瑯研究 1716-1789 (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2008).
[29] Wang Jianhua, "A review of painted enamel in Qing court 清代宮廷琺瑯彩綜述," *Journal of the Palace Museum*, no.3 (1993): 52-63.
[30] Tsai Mei-fen, *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way: Tibetan-Buddhist Ritual Implements in the National Palace Museum* (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 1999).
[31] Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu:

provide immensely valuable materials that illuminate my research. This dissertation attempts to expand and deepen the dialogue of transcultural exchange among Chinese and European porcelain wares during the 17th and 18th centuries, and provides the first in-depth comparative study of cross-media iconography. By so doing, it aims to inquire into how the interaction, appropriation and adaptation were made.

Iconographic and stylistic analyses will be applied to approach the question for the purposes of the identification of cross-media materials. In addition, comparative research will answer the question of the representation of adaptions between different media and the porcelain of both countries. The analysis will focus on the different themes and distinguishing painting techniques and historical evidence.

Discussion about the overview of the transcultural trade in export porcelain from Asia to Europe during the 17th to the 18th centuries will form Chapter I. In this part, I investigate the shipwreck porcelain as reliable evidence and the first two European countries to trade directly with China, Portugal, and Spain, by two different directions of sea routes; and the important Dutch-Chinese porcelain trade, which was dominated by the Dutch East India Company; and then the British-Chinese porcelain trade. Under these cross-cultural porcelain exchanges, large amounts of exquisite Chinese porcelain were taken to Europe to the delight and inspiration of Europeans who could afford them.

Chapter II focuses on early Chinese export porcelain, known as 'Kraak Porcelain,' which includes two different iconographies: Chinese traditional motifs and patterns, and Chinese porcelain influenced by foreign elements. Section II will examine objects

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University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

customized with obvious export features via a comparative study between customized porcelain and their original samples from Europe, such as European genre motifs and religious themes and armorial iconography. Correspondingly, Chapter III will draw attention to the opposite side, which is Chinese culture as the 'cultural other'. I explore the European porcelain in this part. Delft pottery and Meissen porcelain, which were both created in Europe but are of distinctly different styles and techniques, will also be investigated in this chapter. In the meantime, I inquire deeply into the questions "How did European artisans make European porcelain inspired by Chinese porcelain?" and "What were the adaptations made by the intercultural artisans?" This research not only contextualizes the inspirations of Chinese porcelain represented on European ware but also attempts to addresse the opposite aspect.

The last chapter, Chapter IV, explores the impact of European art and technology as represented on enamels from the Qianlong period. It begins by emphasizing the terminology of painted enamelware and Yang- Cai enamels. The next sections examine the new art form introduced by European envoys and missionaries and the establishment of painted enamel workshops by the emperors. Most importantly, the Qianlong emperor's active participation in diplomatic gifts and Tibetan- Mongolian reproductions were highlighted, since his requirements for the form, technique, and style of enamel wares reflected his intention of reinforcing their rule and managing frontier relations.

Chapter I: Encounter: Chinese Porcelain Trade in the 17th to 18th Centuries

1.1 Asia to Europe-Overview of Transcultural Trade in Luxury Goods

As early as the 9th century, Chinese porcelain was introduced to the West by the Arab caravans traversing the Silk Road, though the trade was rather sparse. With the rising desire for exotic goods from the Far East, such as porcelain, spices, tea, and silks, etc., European merchants wanted to find a way to eliminate the middlemen's taxes and customs in these transactions. With the arrival of many European traders around the start of the 16th century, the situation began to change.[32] The prime period of Chinese porcelain exportation to Europe was from the 16th to the 18th centuries, accompanying the discovery of the New Sea Route. In the trade with Asian luxury goods, the Netherlands played an exceptional role, due to its key position in the overseas trade between Asia and Europe. However, the Portuguese and Spaniards, not the Dutch, were the first to tap into the trade. Throughout the 16th century, these two European countries dominated the globalization trade. In the early 15th century, the Portuguese sailed south along the west coast of Africa in a search of a route to the Far East countries, in competition with the Spanish who were on the same quest.[33] The rivalry for empire and trade intensified after the Genoese Christopher Columbus who was supported by Spain, returned from his

[32] Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam-The culture of luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem: Peabody Essex Museum, 2015), 21-26.
[33] Cinta Krahe, *Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain* (Madrid: CEEH Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2016), 59.

famous voyage in 1492 had seemingly succeeded in finding a route to Asia.[34] The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494 under the behest of Pope Alexander VI, separated the world by two spheres along a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. Spain was given exclusive rights to all new lands in the region west of the line. Portuguese expeditions were allowed to the east of the line.[35]

With the developing galleon trade, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and other European countries joined in this coveted international trade. They frequently resorted to pirating the Portuguese and Spanish ships if the opportunity arose. In the first half of the 17th century, with their commercial experience and strong maritime power, the Dutch successfully seized the dominant position in the European-Asian trade. Different from the patronage supported by the royal of Spanish and Portuguese, these two companies spread the profits and risks over many shareholders who were willing to join in such a potentially lucrative business.[36] In particular, the Dutch East India Company played a vital role in the porcelain trade between China and Europe.[37] In 1602, The Dutch East India Company was established and soon became a major sea trading organization.[38] This company was essentially created as a huge privateering organization. With its aggressive approach backed by the force of arms, they had more power, more money, and more staff than the other European trading companies, and thus dominated the trade

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34 Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese export porcelain: East to West* (San Francisco, Calif.: Long River Press, 2008), 30-31.
35 Cinta Krahe, *Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain,* 32.
36 Ibid., 43.
37 Dutch name: Verenigde Oost-Inische Compagnie, VOC for short.
38 Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam-The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, 32.

between Asia and Europe quickly.[39] However, it was attacked by the British East India Company after the 18th century. Although the East India Company was founded in England in 1600, earlier than the VOC, in the first hundred years they purchased pepper, spice, and silks without joining in the porcelain trade. Until the 1700, tea was a small part of Europe's trade with Asia. Prices of tea were unstable until the 1710, with the increased demand of European tea drinkers, large quantities of tea were ordered by East India Companies. By the late 18th century, Chinese tea was the single most profitable commodity, comprising about 60% of the English company's trade.[40] Following this situation, great quantities of orders for custom tea sets were imported by the British East India Company. The English ships far exceeded any other European countries from then on. The history of this trade demonstrates the European thirst for Chinese porcelain and other Asian goods, which brought intercommunication and cultural exchange between Asia and Europe.

1.2 The Manila Galleon Trade - Portuguese and Spanish Maritime Trade

In 1486, the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama inaugurated the Cape of Good Hope route and thus made Portugal the first European country to enter China. To deal directly with China, the Portuguese arrived at Guangzhou (Canton) in 1517. They were denied access by the Ming government at first, but through many efforts, they became the first Europeans to trade directly with the Chinese. From 1557 to 1561, the Portuguese were allowed to establish a trading post at Macao, which became the center of Portugal's

[39] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 40-45.
[40] Ibid., 45.

monopolistic trade with the East.[41] At first, they joined forces with Indians and Arabs, who had dominated the trade for a long time. They bought and sold a variety of commodities with various countries, all the while building up an enviable business network and trade model. Their success has made many other countries salivate. Trying to find another way to get to China, the Spanish moved westward and successfully organized the "Manila Galleon" trade in 1565. The so-called "Manila Galleon" was Spanish ship that made annual round-trip voyages across the Pacific Ocean from the port of Acapulco in present-day Mexico to Manila in the Philippines, which functioned as the transfer station.[42] Indeed, the real reason for the Spanish acquisition of the Philippines was that Manila was a natural entrepot for the China trade. During the heyday of the galleon trade, Manila became the center of commerce in Asia. Chinese merchants took commodities to Manila for sale. The Spanish closed the routes of Manila to all other countries except Mexico. Throughout the whole trade network, the Spanish first used the silver plundered from the American colonies to purchase silk, porcelain, tea and other Chinese goods in Manila. They then transported these goods to the port of Acapulco in New Spain, and sold some of them there. Meanwhile, they loaded the silver from the Americas to return to Manila and buy Chinese goods again. Another part of the merchant fleet shipped the Chinese goods to Spain for lucrative trade. Since Manila was the middle station and the Spanish-style galleon was utilized as a vehicle. Thus, this commercial issue is named "The Manila Galleon Trade".

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[41] Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen and Mimi Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000), 100-102.
[42] Glyn Williams, *The Prize of All the Oceans* (New York: Viking, 1999), 4

As the figure shows (Figure 1.1), the Portuguese and Spanish routes went in different directions. The Portuguese bypassed the Cape of Good Hope and focused on Africa and India, while the Spanish spanned three continents: America, Asia and Europe. In this way, the Portuguese and Spanish carried many East Asian luxury goods to the countries on their routes, such as spices, ivory fans, Chinese porcelain, silks and Japanese lacquer. These exotic items had a profound influence on the customs and culture of the destination countries. Without a doubt, the European fascination with Chinese porcelain started during the period of Portuguese trade. However, the peak period of the porcelain trade, during which large quantities of porcelain flowed into Europe, was the work of the Dutch.[43] At the beginning of the 17th century, the Dutch relied on their powerful fleet to defeat the Portuguese. As mentioned before, the Dutch captured the Portuguese ship *San Jago* off the island of St. Helena loaded with Chinese Kraak porcelain in March of 1602. The plundered porcelain was auctioned off in Amsterdam. This was the first time the Dutch reaped large profits from the so-called "white gold" of China.[44] Chinese porcelain was respected by European nobles and became treasures in Dutch society. Then the Dutchmen built up their naval supremacy and began two hundred years of porcelain trade with East Asia. The Dutch East India Company became the main force, as described in detail below.

1.3 The Dutch-China Porcelain Trade and the Establishment of the VOC

Having collected plenty of original data from the archives of Dutch East India

[43] Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe*, 102.
[44] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 21-24.

Company before 1682, T. Volker published his book *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* in 1954, re-creating the prosperous porcelain trade with detailed routes and dealing information displayed in chronological order.[45] In contrast with Volker's data exploitation, Christiaan J. A. Jörg, in his 1982 book *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, gave a brief introduction to the Dutch East India Company's activities in its trade with China, specifying how they arranged the transportation and the sale of porcelain and dividing the Company's activities into three stages.[46] Following these two classic works came John Goldsmith's *China-Trade Porcelain*, Michel Beurdeley's *Chinese Trade Porcelain*, Jean McClure Mudge's *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835* and others. Using the above research, my present study will give a brief introduction of VOC and clarify the four stages of trade between China, Batavia, Japan and the Netherlands.

Stage 1: The establishment and development period of porcelain trade (1602-1644)

In 1602, The Dutch East India Company was established and soon became a major sea trading organization in the East.[47] The Dutch fleet arrived in Guangdong in 1604. However, due to obstruction from the Portuguese, they had to establish their trading headquarters in Jakarta in 1619, which was officially renamed Batavia in 1621. Six major trading companies were composing the Dutch States-General, which granted the Dutch a

[45] Ibid.
[46] Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982).
[47] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The study of an early joint-stock company 1600–1640* (1965), 14. In this book, K. N. Chaudhuri referred to the Dutch East India Company as "Verenigde Oost-Inische Compagnie".

monopoly on trade east of the Cape of Good Hope.[48] The VOC was a stockholder company, and only a few rich and reputable burghers could become members of its board. Each Chamber had its own directors and board, and a proportionate number of delegates from each of the six Chambers were appointed to form the so-called Board of the *Heren Zeventien* (the Seventeen Gentlemen), which was hierarchically above the individual Chambers and supervised general management.[49] Normally, the board of directors met for a week or longer, three times a year, before 1751. In the meetings, they coordinated the dates of sailing, trading patterns, and trading accounts.[50] The VOC began to decline in 1798. The company not only traded between Asia and Europe but also within Asia. In particular, Guangzhou, Fujian (Zhangzhou and Quanzhou), Formosa (modern-day Taiwan), Batavia, and Imari in Japan were pivotal ports for the Dutch-Chinese porcelain trade. Three significant events occurred in 1644, 1683 and 1699. What events happened on those three turning points? Are there any transformations on the style of export porcelain? These questions will be discussed in later sections. The main type of porcelain in this stage was blue-and-white porcelain in the Kraak style. This is described in more detail in Chapter II.

Stage 2: The period of Japanese-Dutch trade (1645-1683)

In the 1640s, the change from the Ming to Qing dynasty in China resulted in years of

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[48] Gaastra (2003) gives an up-to-date general history of the VOC. For older literature in English, see Boxer 1965 and 1979, Oliver Impey, and Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Japanese export lacquer1580–1850* (Hotei 2004), 21.

[49] In total, there were 60 directors (*bewindhebbers*): 20 from Amsterdam, twelve from Zeeland, and seven from each of the other four chambers. These directors selected representatives from among themselves to form the Board of *Heren Zeventien*: eight for Amsterdam, four for Zeeland, one for each of the other Chambers, while the seventeenth director was appointed in turn by Zeeland or one of the other Chambers. Thus, in theory, Amsterdam could be outvoted.

[50] Oliver Impey and Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Japanese export lacquer1580–1850* (Hotei 2004), 22.

war. The porcelain center of Jingdezhen was seriously influenced by the war. Lots of important kilns were destroyed, which reduced the production of porcelain. After 1645, the quantity of export porcelain declined by more than two-thirds, particularly from 1645 to 1662, when trade in south China shrank under the control of Coxinga (Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功), a Ming loyalist who ruled Formosa for almost twenty years. The situation did not improve until 1682.[51] Another factor that led to the decline of porcelain production was political developments in China.[52] Soon after the Qing dynasty was founded, the rulers of the Qing court carried out a strict maritime embargo. In 1655, the governor of Fujian and Zhejiang-Tuntai was first to make the explicit rule: "Prohibit any ship entering into the ports of South China, otherwise the offenders will be punished severely."[53] However, because of the high profits, a few traders still did business. The Shunzhi emperor supposed that this was the result of lax legislation. The emperor promulgated a stricter policy in the June of 1656:

> From now on, any officers and civilians who trade with foreigners will be decapitated. Additionally, the government will confiscate the commerce goods. The property of criminals should belong to the prosecutor.[54]

These rules hampered the business of Coxinga with the Dutch. In 1657, some Dutchmen assaulted the residents of Formosa, which resulted in Coxinga forbidding trade with the Dutch. From then on, Dutch merchants could not reach the legitimate porcelain business

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51 Andre Gunder Frank and Liu Beicheng trans., *Bai yin zi ben* 白銀資本 (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi Press, 2008), 163.
52 Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 17.
53 Chinese: "無許片帆入海，違者立置重典" *Qing shi zu shi lu* 清世祖實錄, Vol. 120, 10.
54 Chinese: "嚴禁商民船只私自出海，有將一切糧食、貨物等項與逆賊貿易，不論官民，俱行奏聞正法，貨物入官，本犯家産盡給告發之人". Ibid., 11

from China.[55] At this point, the Dutch-Chinese trade was nearly stagnant. So the Dutch merchants turned to Japan instead of China. This was a turning point for Japanese porcelain factories at Arita (on the southern island of Kyushu), which developed their own styles for decorating export porcelain.

T. Volker describes the first encounter between the Dutch and the Japanese in 1600 by the ship known as *De Liefde* (*Love*) in his book *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*. The first connection between the VOC and Japan came in 1605, when the Japanese porcelain industry came into existence. By 1650, the Japanese-Dutch trade expanded when the first Chinese porcelain paint was imported to Japan.[56] Along with the closed-door policy of the Qing government, these two factors resulted in the flourishing of Japanese export porcelain. It is worth pointing out that the center of the Japanese porcelain industry was in Arita in Hizen province. It is said that there were 155 operating kilns located between Arita and Nagasaki in 1647.[57] Additionally, it is suggested that the tradition of enamelling ceramics was influenced by the imports of Zhangzhou wares and Aka-e from China.[58] Imari and Kakiemon were the two main types of Japanese porcelain. "Kakiemon" was named after a family of potters. The family in the Nangawara district was very famous for their exquisite porcelain, which reached its highest quality in the period of 1670-90.[59] There is a typical example in Groninger Museum (Figure 1.2). The

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55 Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 20.
56 T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 117-128.
57 Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965), 61.
58 Jan van Campen, Titus M. Eliëns, and Cordula Bischoff, *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitg, 2014), 143.
59 Ibid., 143.

main feature of Kakiemon is fine translucent overgrazed enamels on a milky white body. Generally, Kakiemon porcelain is more expensive than blue-and-white porcelain. Imari ware is named for a port near the Arita factories. The character of Imari porcelain is different from Kakiemon-style porcelain. It is decorated with underglazes of blue, red and gold with full composition. The utilization of gold was characteristic of the Imari style. Like this vase with cover, over-glazed gold was added on the baluster (Figure 1.3). It was similar to the decoration of Japanese lacquer (*maki-e*, literally, "sprinkled picture," named for the sprinkling of metal dust into the coats of wet lacquer). It is possible that the porcelain artist inspirited by *maki-e*. The diverse porcelain style brought a fresh taste to European and profoundly influenced the later style of export porcelain.

Stage 3: The period of open maritime trade policy and resurgence of Chinese-Dutch porcelain trade (1683-1699)

The third period lasted from 1683 to 1699, which was during the reign of the Kangxi emperor. In this period the trade between China and the Netherlands recovered. What were the elements of this change? First, it was the policy of maritime trade. In June of 1683, following the defeat of the Zheng regime in Taiwan, the Kangxi emperor changed the government's policy and relaxed its ban on maritime trade.[60] According to the literature, the Kangxi emperor ordered the establishment of four customs posts in 1684, located in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong. The decree allowed customs officers to manage the merchant ships and collect taxes.[61] From then on, the porcelain

[60] *Kangxi qi ju zhu* 康熙起居注 (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju, 1984), Vol. 2, 1066.
[61] Chinese: "康熙二十三年，台灣鄭氏平，海禁大開，二十四年從疆吏之請，設江海關、浙海關、閩海關、粵海關" Wei Yuan 魏源," *Haiguo Tuzhi* 海國圖志: *Chouhai Zonglun* 筹海总论 (Changsha: Yuelu

trade around the coast of China recovered gradually and eventually resumed officially. Second, it should be attributed to the system: Director of the imperial kilns, which was established in the Kangxi period. Under Zang Yingxuan, director of the imperial kiln in 1683, Jingdezhen was gradually restored to its former glory and became the main producer of export porcelain.[62] Third, the unstable nature of the Japanese porcelain industry added to the two factors mentioned above, which induced the Dutch merchants to shift back to China.[63] In order to accommodate the new tastes of Europeans, Chinese kilns copied Japanese Imari porcelain patterns when the Dutch merchants shifted their market from Arita to Jingdezhen. So by the end of the 17th century, Chinese Imari wares were abundantly produced in Jingdezhen in the early Qing dynasty, especially during the Kangxi reign.[64] There is a piece of Chinese Imari ware in Rijksmuseum (Figure 1.4). It is a dish with Chinese Imari decoration depicting a tree and flowering plants. It should be noted that on the sides there are four panels decorated with orchids combined with chrysanthemums and diaper patterns. On the rim, the four sets of flowering plants are also equivalent. This kind of arrangement is rare in Japanese Imari.

Stage 4: The decline of the Dutch East India Company (1700-1798)

By the end of the 18th century, the VOC was on the decline. Other European countries attempted to establish direct trade with China to share in the profits. The East India Companies of Great Britain, France, Denmark and Sweden all had similar parallel trade with China. Here are two tables that describe the overseas ships in the two ports of

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Shushe, 1988), Vol. 7-8.
62 Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange*, 2-3.
63 Ibid., 2.
64 Oliver Impey, *Japanese export porcelain* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2002), 32.

Canton and Huangpu by several years.[65] The next two tables below can be used to draw a general conclusion about China's porcelain trade with other countries. It can be seen from the tables that the English ships were the most powerful competitors in the 18th century. Especially after the mid-18th century, English ships far exceeded those of any other country. French, Danish, and Swedish ships only occasionally came to China to trade.[66] The number of American ships began to increase until the end of the 18th century.

Table 1: Ships from different countries in Canton (18c.)[67]

Year/ Country	British	France	Dutch	Denmark	American
1730	5	2	1		
1790	46	2	3	1	6

Tabel 2: Ships from different countries in Huangpu (18c.)

Year/ Country	British	France	Dutch	Denmark	Sweden	American	Portugal
1752	9	2	4	1	1		
1789	61	1	5	1		15	3

1.4 The British-Chinese Porcelain Trade

The British East India Company (short for EIC) was founded in 1600, mainly focusing on trade in silk, pepper, and spices. It was not until the 18th century that the

[65] These two tables are taken from the essay, "The research of porcelain trade by VOC in the 17th and 18th centuries." by Linlin.
[66] Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 19.
[67] John Goldsmith Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain: an account of its historical background, manufacture and decoration and a study of the Helena Woolworth Mc Cann Collection* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1956), 25.

Company started to import Chinese porcelain in large amounts to meet the demands of European, whose famous tea-drinking habit was established in 1664, when Chinese tea first appeared in London. Gradually, tea became more fashionable throughout Europe.[68] Instead of trading directly with Chinese businessmen, the British Company constructed their trading base in Japan and made deals with Malaysian, Indian, and other Asian merchants. In 1708, the London Company combined with the English Company to build the British East India Company's business model. They began trading with Canton more frequently, while the trade with other Chinese ports declined in the following years. Huge profits and customers' requirements stimulated the porcelain trade. The business of the EIC did not solely depend on porcelain but allowed captains and senior merchants to carry out private trade under certain conditions. This kind of profitable business was called "Private Trade" and required all privately traded objects to be sold through the East India House auctions in London. Unfortunately, the detailed documents of private trade are difficult to find because the company did not always record the captains' private trade documents.[69] It is not possible to say with certainty that the British East India Company did not buy Chinese porcelain on their public account. The Despatch books of the Company indicate they were inclined to make huge orders (Figure 1.5). For instance, one order was made for 35,000 plates in several patterns, 8,000 dishes of several sizes, 8,000 small cups with one handle for coffee or chocolate and 10,000 coarse coffee cups.[70]

One of the typical decoration styles in this period is Armorial Porcelain, a

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[68] Ibid., 18-19.
[69] David S. Howard, *A tale of three cities: Canton, Shanghai, & Hongkong. Three Centuries of Sino-British Trade in the Decorative Arts* (London: Sotheby's, 1997), xii-xv.
[70] Ibid., 74-75.

coat-of-arms design, which was ordered by wealthy European-American families and companies. We can find the evidence in a Canton Journal of December 20th in 1727, which shows the command of Captain Francis Gostlin: "174 Bundles of China Ware & 5 Chests of China Ware with the Arms of the Lord King's and some other Gentlemen (Figure 1.6)." According to Davis S. Howard, about five thousand armorial services were made for the British market during the 18th century; however, only two known invoices survive.[71] Luckily the pictorial information on each of coat of arms makes it easy to trace the buyer.[72] Here I enumerate two famous examples. This dish with distinctive incised dragon and phoenix designs has been identified on ten objects, all of them ordered by English families.[73] It has been suggested that this dish was made for Sir Thomas Lutwyche in Shropshire, whose wife may have been an heiress of the Bagnall family of Staffordshire and Wales.[74] There are two coats of arms in this heraldic description. The wife's coat is shown in a small shield in the center of her husband's arms to indicate that she is a heraldic heiress (Figure 1.7). The second dish is a polychrome enamel of the *famille verte* palette, given by King George V (1865-1936) to the V&A Museum, which bears the exquisite traditional pictorial style pattern in radiating panels, accompanied by a pictorial arm and the inscription "Engelandt" in the center (Figure 1.8). This dish is one of a series created for decoration of the Dutch market, which depicts the arms of different

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71 Ibid., xiv.
72 This work was already completed by Davis S. Howard, who published "*Chinese armorial porcelain"* in 1974.
73 David S. Howard, *The choice of private trader. The private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain Illustrate from the Hodroff Collection* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), 56.
74 Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 40.

provinces, cities, and countries, such as Amsterdam, Malines, Leven, England, France, and others.[75] The same series of porcelain dishes were collected by private collectors and museums all over the world, such as the British Museum and the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels. In order to facilitate communication with foreign merchants and avoid mistakes, Chinese porcelain businessmen carried the white porcelain from Jingdezhen to Canton. Then the porcelain would be skilfully enamelled under the direct demands of European merchants.

Over more than three hundred years of transcultural trade, Chinese porcelain has brought favourably receives to European aristocracies. After being fond of and collecting Chinese porcelain, they started to imitate the Far Eastern curiosity. For instance, the Dutch, the British, and the Germans all established porcelain factories to reduce the expensive cost of the Chinese "white gold." In the 16th century, "Delft Blue*"* was produced in the small town of the same name in the Netherlands. It is not real porcelain in the strict sense, but tin-glazed pottery. True porcelain emerged in Saxony at the beginning of the 18th century. The production of Meissen porcelain (also in an eponymous town) started in 1710 and the secret formula for hard-paste porcelain produced at Meissen was closely guarded but was eventually leaked. Once known, the formula for the "white gold" was put to use in many porcelain factories in Europe. For example, following the assistance of Meissen's kiln master, who was bribed to leave by Samuel Stöltzel (1685-1737), a second porcelain factory was established in 1719.[76] Later,

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[75] Ibid., 49.
[76] Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories from China to Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 137-140.

many other factories were opened in Vienna, France and England. My dissertation will focus on Delft pottery and Meissen porcelain in Chapter III.

1.5 Brief Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the state of the Chinese porcelain trade between Asia and Europe in the 17th to 18th centuries. It demonstrated a chronological analysis of the European thirst for Chinese porcelain and other Asian goods. The Netherlands played an important role in the porcelain trade because of its key position in the overseas trade between Asia and Europe. However, the Portuguese and Spaniards were the first to tap into the trade in the 16th century. This section serves as background knowledge in this thesis, the contents which predate the research subjects of this thesis. The two East India Companies in the Netherlands and England were the related trade entities about the thesis research objects, which are known as the VOC and EIC, respectively. I shared a brief introduction of these two companies and clarified the different stages of the trade between China, Batavia, Japan, the Netherlands and England. In these two sections, I have highlighted that porcelain presented different designs and types depending on the audience at the different stages of the trade.

Chapter II: Customization and Adaptation: Chinese Export Porcelain for the European Market

2.1 Kraak Porcelain: Early Period Export Porcelain

Kraak porcelain was the earliest export porcelain style, dissimilar to domestic porcelain. The obvious characteristic is the quite thin body with decorated panels painted on the border, which is separated by a narrow line or a sunflower stalk. The central medallion of Kraak ware may contain a scene of flowers or birds or animals or just a landscape. The trade was dominated by the Portuguese and Spanish at the end of the 16th century. When the Dutch East India Company was established in 1602, the Dutch took over the Kraak porcelain trade and became an important 'transfer station' of Chinese porcelain in Europe. Blue-and-white dishes, bowls, and coffee cups were the main types of Kraak porcelain in the European trade. However, these types were not only tableware, but also used as decoration. The pictorial elements included auspicious Chinese plants and animals, religious symbols, Chinese figures, European decorations with figures, plants, and coats of arms. These elements were assembled into a full composition with panel designs, sometimes combined together. Kraak ware was definitely a product of transcultural design.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Kraak porcelain. Scholars hold different opinions.[77] Some researchers believe that it derives from the word "carrack," a type of boat. As mentioned above, large amounts of porcelain were found in the two ships

[77] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 13-14.

captured by the Dutch off St. Helena, the *San Jago* in 1602, and the *Catharina* in 1604. All the porcelain was blue-and-white porcelain, produced in the Wanli period (1573-1620). Following the name of the ships, the Dutchmen called it *Kraak-porselein* (carrack porcelain). It was nothing to do with "crack" or "crackle". However, it also may be derived from the meaning of fragile or from the Dutch word *kraken*.[78] By all accounts, in my opinion, the term *Kraak porcelain* refers to a category of blue-and-white porcelain with paneled decoration made for the export market, which was produced in Jingdezhen in the latter years of the Ming dynasty.

The most obvious evidence is the appearance of Chinese porcelain in European paintings. It is not only an indicator of its acknowledgement by European, but also provides us with a clue to trace the impact it left on European culture and art history. In the 17th century, still-life painting rose to prominence in the Netherlands.[79] In the works of great still-life painters Pieter Claesz, Willem Claesz Heda, Willem Kalf, and others, many Kraak wares appear in works completed before 1644. For example, there is a typical Kraak porcelain bowl filled with fruit in Pieter Claesz's *Still Life with a Turkey Pie and a Wanli Bowl* (Figure 2.1). The paneled decoration and type of ware are typical of export Kraak porcelain during the Wanli period. Kraak porcelain was a symbol of wealth and status in the Netherlands during that time. Another painting depicts a rich Kraak porcelain display with 35 dishes and bowls on the ledges in a family interior

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[78] This part is quoted from T. Volker. *Porcelain and the Dutch East India*, 22-23. Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 13-14. Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 60.

[79] Michael North. *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: London, Yale University Press, 1997), 1.

(Figure 2.2). Their host has placed them on the shelf near the ceiling in this painting. It could be seen in the early porcelain trade that Kraak porcelain was not used in daily life, but for home decoration.[80]

Maura Rinaldi has introduced the period of Kraak porcelain exported from China in the book *Kraak Porcelain.* She mentioned that the Kraak porcelain was first produced after the Portuguese arrived in Macao in 1557. In the Wanli reign, the ban of maritime trade policy was relieved, which resulted in a golden period of the Kraak porcelain business.[81] Additionally, archaeological investigations provide a lot of evidence. As mentioned in the following part, large numbers of Kraak wares and sherds have been discovered in shipwrecks. A typical shipwreck of this period is the Witte Leeuw (White Lion) sank in 1613 on the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic Ocean. It was the first homebound Dutch ship that contained large amounts of Kraak ware, which is why it plays a pivotal role in shipwreck archaeology.[82] Another famous shipwreck, *Mauritius*, set sail in 1608 off the coast of Gabon. A few Kraak pieces have been salvaged from this shipwreck. There is some speculation that this porcelain was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1605.[83] According to the research by Wu Ruoming, there are some Kraak wares and abundant Kraak imitations (Swatow wares) in the shipwreck *Nan'ao No. 1*. It was salvaged in 2009 on the banks of Nan'ao city named Swatow of Guangdong.[84]

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80 Jan van Campen, Titus M. Eliëns, and Cordula Bischoff, *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, 194.
81 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty* (Weinstadt: Greiner, 2014), 32.
82 Ibid., 32.
83 Jan van Campen, Titus M. Eliëns, and Cordula Bischoff, *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, 84.
84 Ibid., 33.

This important shipwreck could provide evidence for the popularity of Kraak porcelain in this period.

There is much research on the definition and origins of Kraak porcelain at present, but there is a lack of research on the creation and production aspects of the pictorial paradigm. This section will explore the differences between domestic and Kraak wares and questions how artisans of Jingdezhen decorated porcelain before without specific prototypes came to China. To focus on Kraak porcelain in this section not only demonstrated the impact of European customization on Chinese porcelain, but more important affirmed my argument that pictorial elements on Kraak porcelain were appropriated from Chinese traditional images under the request of the European traders. To examine the Chinese traditional motifs on porcelain and the case study of deer motifs on domestic and Kraak porcelain will demonstrate this argument.

2.1.1 Reliable Evidence: Shipwrecked Porcelain

Shipwrecked porcelain can provide us with compelling and reliable evidence for the aforementioned transcultural trade. Porcelain, in addition to being an important commodity of the Europe-Asia trade, is also an ideal ballast for a merchant ship. Therefore, whenever a wreck of a ship that traded with China is found, a large number of ancient Chinese porcelain will almost certainly be in the hold. The shipwreck porcelain also attracts a great deal of attention from porcelain researchers, curators of museums, and auctions. Due to the environment of the seabed, organic commodities such as silk, tea, and paper do not last long. Only durable porcelain can survive underwater conditions to

the present. Correspondingly, the porcelain found in shipwrecks can provide information for the dating of the shipwreck according to the chronologies of their design, especially for Kraak wares. The discovered archives of chronologies design revised the timeline of the Kraak porcelain.[85] As the scholarship of Dr. Wu Ruoming showed, a large number of Kraak porcelain and shards have been salvaged from shipwrecks that happened between 1550 to 1700, which can be roughly divided into three phases.[86] For example, the famous Spanish galleon *San Diego* was sunk in 1600 in Manila, which was salvaged in 1992 by an international team working in conjunction with the National Museum of the Philippines. Blue and white porcelain from Jingdezhen decorated with flora and fauna, auspicious emblems, animals' motifs, and geometric patterns accounted for a large proportion of all pieces, and there were a few of Swatow wares.[87] It corresponded to the characteristics of the early export Kraak porcelain that customized European samples did not come to China. Most of the porcelain of this period was painted with Chinese traditional patterns, but the difference with domestic porcelain is that the full composition was common. The other *Witte Leeuw (White Lion)* wreck of Dutch East-Indiamen, one of four ships that formed the return fleet from Bantam to Holland in 1613, sank in a battle off the island of St Helena on the west coast of Africa. The VOC ships encountered several Portuguese ships when they took in fresh water and goods during a stopover. In

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[85] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 54.
[86] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty* (Weinstadt: Greiner, 2014), 30. The first phase was from 1570 to 1600 which the most shipwrecks were mainly from Portugal and Spain. Second phase was from 1601 to 1636 that the VOC dominant the maritime trade with the climax of the Kraak porcelain. The third phase was from 1637 to the following two decades that the Kraak porcelain trade tend to be reduced gradually.
[87] Luise Vinhais and Jorge Welsh, eds., *Kraak porcelain: the rise of global trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries*, 78.

the following fight, one of the cannons exploded on the *Witte Leeuw* and the ship sank. It was discovered by the Belgian marine archaeologist Robert Sténuit in 1976.[88] The Archaeological report reveals that Kraak porcelain made up a large proportion of the numerous porcelain shards. Some dishes depicted a spotted deer motif in the center with flattened rims.[89] This is a typical theme of the Kraak porcelain in the upsurge period. The transculturality of this popular pictorial element will be elaborated upon in the next chapter. Kraak porcelain reached the height of its production during the Wanli (1573-1620) period. The *Wanli shipwreck* sank off the east coast of Malaysia which set off from China in the year 1625. An impressive 21,000 Kraak pieces were salvaged in this shipwreck, with a small proportion produced in the Tianqi reign (1621-1627).[90]

From the discovered porcelain and shards, we can get an idea of what kinds of porcelain were available for the European market in the period when the merchants had not yet brought orders to China. Meanwhile, it is clear that the Kraak design did not change appreciably in the early period of the 17th century. By 1635, VOC merchants brought specific iconography to China for customizing porcelain, and the pieces salvaged from the wrecks after this year were changed correspondingly.[91] The Hatcher junk, a typical shipwreck of this period, sank in the South China Sea between 1643 and 1646. This shipwreck was named after Captain Michael Hatcher, who salvaged about 25,000 porcelain wares from it. There were only 2600 Kraak wares, revealing that the proportion

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[88] Christine Ketel, "*Identification of export porcelains from early 17th Century VOC shipwrecks and the linkage to their cultural identification,*" The MUA Collection, accessed June 28, 2020, online at http://www.themua.org/collections/items/show/1253.
[89] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 32.
[90] Ibid., 33.
[91] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 60.

of Kraak porcelain was on the decline and large numbers of wares are decorated with the transitional style, which bears the distinction of the transitional period of Chinese porcelain during 1620-1683.[92] In the meantime, it indicated the new tastes and interests of European merchants. Later, there is a Dutch shipwreck, named the *Geldermalsen* that sank during the decline stage of the VOC. This indicates the new tastes and interests of European merchants. This huge junk struck a reef on her return journey to the Netherlands and sank in the South China Sea. She had spent several years in the intra-Asia trade before sailing to her final destination from Canton, loaded with porcelain that was mostly customized for the European market. The pieces found in this shipwreck were more commodities, for example, tea and coffee sets and dinner service with rococo style in both blue and white and enamelled colours.[93] The so-called Nanking porcelain discovered in this shipwreck, which refers to the Chinese export porcelain in blue and white, was made in Jingdezhen and shipped to the port of Nanking for the export market. These tangible and direct connections to the porcelain trade between Asia and Europe are very important resources for porcelain research.

2.1.2 Chinese Traditional Motifs and Patterns

Since Kraak porcelain was the early stage of export porcelain, without samples customized from Europe, it's no wonder that there are many Chinese traditional elements depicted on it. Classic Chinese patterns were selectively preserved on Kraak porcelain. These patterns could be divided into four categories. First, auspicious Chinese animals

[92] Ibid., 34.
[93] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 57.

and plants such as dragons, phoenixes, fishes, peonies, lotuses and so on, were very popular motifs from the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Second, Chinese traditional naturalistic motifs like peaceful landscapes with rocks and ducks. Third, religious symbols from Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism were also used as decorations on Kraak wares. Additionally, depictions of Chinese scholars, officials, ladies, and farmers were used on Kraak wares too. At present, there is no textual evidence to prove that the choice of these traditional Chinese patterns is the verbal communication of European merchants or Chinese potters provided pictorial samples for them. After 1635, after European merchants brought samples for customization, it was obviously shown that European culture was appropriated in Kraak design.

- **Traditional Chinese Auspicious Motifs**

In traditional Chinese art, decorations are never purely ornamental. Chinese like to possess auspicious objects to express a yearning for a better life. Thus, decorations bear symbolic auspicious meanings. Chinese porcelain, whether functional or decorative, is no exception. There are two ways of expressing auspicious meaning. One is by using homophones: since Chinese characters are monosyllabic, homophones abound in the language; another is to make references to Chinese tradition and history. Auspicious animals and flowers were the most popular elements on both domestic and export porcelain. Auspicious animals can be divided into two types, mythical animals and realistic animals. To read the meaning of patterns on porcelain requires the viewer to

decode every indication.[94]

✧ Divine Imaginary Animals —The Dragon, The Phoenix and The *Qilin*

Many strange monsters decorated the earliest ritual vessels cast in bronze. The dragon, the phoenix, and the *Qilin* were the most common animals used on Chinese porcelain. In particular, the combination of dragon and phoenix frequently appeared on Yuan dynasty porcelain, for example on Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain and Cizhou (磁州) ceramics.[95] These mythical animals usually appeared on the interior of porcelain dishes or the shoulders and belly of circular vessels like jars and round vases. The dragon, the most powerful divine animal in the Chinese bestiary, represented the power of the emperor. Accordingly, dragons appear in the tombs of some emperors. The earliest example can be found in the tomb of the Tang emperor Gaozong (r. 650-84) and his consort Wu Zetian. There is an early s-shaped decoration in it.[96] Another clue can be seen in the robe of the Ming emperor. According to the extant emperor's official portraits, most of which are collected in the National Palace Museum, the first dragon-patterned robe appeared on the Hongwu Emperor. Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398) was the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Additionally, starting in the Ming dynasty, the colour of imperial robes was set as yellow. It is suggested that this colour was chosen because the word *ming* (明) means "bright," "luminous," or "shining." Generally, the "five-clawed dragon" pattern was used on the robes on both shoulders and the front, with monochromatic and colorized styles. Therefore, this kind of robe only for the emperor

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94 Eva Ströber, *Symbols on Chinese Porcelain* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2011), 7.
95 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 146.
96 Jessica Rawson, *Chinese ornament, the lotus and the dragon* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984), 95.

was called *longpao* (龍袍, literally, "dragon robe"). In order to distinguish the hierarchy, a law was established in 1391:

"官吏衣服，帳幔，不許用玄、黃、紫三色，並織繡龍鳳紋，違者罪及染造之人。 此令也擴及日常起居之器用：官民人等所用床榻不許雕刻龍鳳並朱漆金飾。"[97]

It can be translated as "Officers' clothes and mantles are not permitted to display the three colours: black, yellow, and purple, and weaving embroidery dragons and phoenix patterns is prohibited. Those who violate the rules also involve the manufacturers." This order also was extended to furniture: "Officers' and others' beds were forbidden to use carved dragon and phoenix patterns and gold lacquered ornaments." Through the laws above, the dragon and phoenix were combined together and their use was prohibited for officers. Indeed, the dragon and phoenix were regarded as the embodiment of the emperor and empress. The Chinese phoenix, *fenghuang* (鳳凰), even though it is not a real animal, is one of the divine animals in Chinese culture.[98] Of the three mythological beasts, the phoenix was most frequently depicted on export porcelain.[99] In addition, dragon and phoenix patterns were abundant on Chinese official porcelain during the Ming and Qing dynasty. However, the five-clawed dragon was exclusive to emperors and their close family members as a representation of imperial power. The emperor's power was manifested through decorations on the court porcelain. The selection system of the imperial kiln was very strict. For example, there is a piece of blue-and-white porcelain that was not chosen because one of the five claws was painted as six in the front and four

[97] Wu Meifeng, "Palace furniture decoration and use of colour Ming Dynasty 明代宮廷家具的紋飾與用色," *The Forbidden City* 紫禁城, no.11(2014): 39.
[98] Eva Ströber, *Symbols on Chinese porcelain*, 56.
[99] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 146.

depicted in the back (Figure 2.3).[100] Additionally, the dragon patterns under different emperors' reigns have different pictorial styles. The *qilin* (麒麟), is a mythological beast like the dragon and the phoenix. Its head looks like a lion's and it has a horse's hooves, a horned head, and a deer-like body. Sometimes it has a tail like an ox (Figure 2.4). The *qilin* is always fierce-looking, but it is in fact a harbinger of auspicious things, such as the birth of male offspring to young parents.[101] So sometimes one will see a decoration of a boy with a *qilin* depicted on Chinese porcelain. Furthermore, it always represents prosperity and good government. In the Buddhist context, the *qilin* symbolizes the law and personifies kindness, wisdom and integrity.[102]

✧ Auspicious Real Animals: Tiger, Fish, Deer, and Crane

Ancient Chinese people also attributed good omens to some real animals. Here I will select some representative animals to decode the implications. Tigers were used as decorations on bronze ritual vessels as far back as the Shang (1600-1027 BC) and Zhou (1027-256 BC) dynasties. The word for "tiger" in Chinese (*hu*, 虎) is pronounced the same as "protection" (護). They are considered the king of the beasts in Asia and are usually depicted with the character for the king on their foreheads. Naturally, a tiger represents power, ferocity, and courage. Tigers were also used in the central medallions of Kraak porcelain. But the potter depicted it as a tame and playful cat instead of a fierce

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100 It was seen by the author at the exhibition of "The Comparative Exhibition of Imperial Kiln Porcelain in the Ming Dynasty 明代成化御窯對比展" which was held in the Palace Museum during 26th October, 2016 to 26th February, 2017.
101 Eva Ströber, *Symbols on Chinese porcelain*, 66-69.
102 Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Chinese ceramics in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: the Ming and Quing dynasties* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Limited, 1997), 30.

predator.[103] This shows the adaptation of Chinese traditional elements in export ware. The words for "fish" (*yu*, 魚) and "deer" (*lu*, 鹿) are also homophonic in Chinese. Other associations with fish are prosperity and freedom, such as the Chinese idiom (如魚得水) (Figure 2.5) meaning "like a fish in the water," i.e., completely comfortable and natural. It is the oldest auspicious emblem for Chinese people, dating back to the Neolithic period of the fifth to fourth millennium BC.[104] Patterns of fish are seen not only on porcelain, but on many other material artworks like painting, lacquer, cut paper, metalwork, and textiles. In addition, an even closer homophone of deer is *lu* (祿), meaning a high salary. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. Cranes, another deified auspicious animal, are usually combined with deer and trees. The Song dynasty (960-1279) painting named "Auspicious Cranes" by Huizong is a famous example.[105] The Chinese character for crane is "鶴" and the pronunciation is similar to *he* (閤). Additionally, deer (鹿) and six (陆) have the same pronunciation. Trees indicate the season of spring and were usually depicted as plants and trees. Therefore, together they imply "六合同春" and "鶴鹿同春," which express a yearning for a more prosperous life.

✧ Auspicious Flowers: Peony, Lotus, Chrysanthemum and Plum Blossoms

In Chinese culture, plants and flowers played important roles in allegorical symbolism, especially during the art of the Tang (618-907), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties. The peony, lotus, chrysanthemum, and plum blossom represent

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[103] Eva Ströber, *Symbols on Chinese porcelain,* 80-84.
[104] Ibid., 102-107.
[105] Barnhart Cahill and Wu Hung, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, 123.

the four seasons, according to when they bloom. The peony is the symbol for spring, the lotus for summer, the chrysanthemum for autumn, and the plum blossom for winter.[106] Peony (*mudan* 牡丹) is a flower of exquisite beauty with high status in Chinese culture. It is a symbol of feminine beauty and represents love and affection.[107] Peonies are the subject of paintings, poems, and songs. The flower was honored as the "queen of flowers" and associated with the Tang empress Wu Zetian (625-705), who took over the throne after the death of her husband and ruled in her own right from 685 to 704. Empress Wu required the cultivation of peonies in her garden as well as at Luoyang city, which was the capital city of Chang'an.[108] Peony blossom decorations appeared frequently on ceramics and blue-and-white porcelain. The lotus is regarded as the symbol of Buddha and Buddhist saints. The Buddha seated on an enormous lotus flower is a frequent motif in Buddhist sculptures and murals. In traditional Chinese culture, the implication is diligence and distinction, which symbolises Junzi (君子). The famous poems called Ailian shuo (愛蓮說) by the poet Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073) in the Southern Song dynasty describe the quality of the lotus, which expressed the author's noble personality and his moral integrity. Lotus patterns were used on porcelain from the early Song dynasty to the Qing dynasty as different religious and auspicious symbols. In particular, interlocking branches of lotus were widely used on the blue-and-white porcelain (Figure 2.6). Combined with the last figure, this kind of large dish was produced in the Yuan dynasty

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106 Eva Ströber, *Symbols on Chinese porcelain*, 108-109.
107 Ibid., 110.
108 Richard M. Barnhart, Xin Yang, and Nie Chongzheng, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 73-75.

(1279-1368). The chrysanthemum (菊) is a special flower; in autumn, when other flowers are fading away, only the chrysanthemum flourishes. Additionally, its pronunciation in Chinese is close to *jiu,* which means "a long time." Therefore, chrysanthemums represent longevity and duration.[109] They frequently appeared on Yuan dynasty blue-and-white porcelain but were rarely used on porcelain for the European market. The winter-blooming plum blossom is one of the famous elements in the "three friends of winter" along with bamboo and pine (Figure 2.7). Along with orchids, bamboo, and chrysanthemums, it was one of the "four gentlemen." Plum blossoms bloom early on seemingly lifeless branches. Thus, it was endowed with the qualities of perseverance and purity. Plum blossoms were frequently depicted by Chinese poets and painters due to their beautiful appearance and noble qualities. In general, peony, lotus, chrysanthemum, and plum are four Chinese traditional auspicious flowers. In addition, Chinese scholars like to use objects to express their aspirations and wishes. So these elements usually appeared on domestic porcelain and rarely on pieces for the European market. In the same way, Christian and armorial motifs were used on porcelain only after the introduction of European culture.

- **Chinese traditional naturalistic motifs**

Chinese artists have always been keen on the harmony of naturalistic scenes, which reflect the traditional Chinese concept of nature. Thus, animals, plants, and landscapes are depicted on porcelain as well. These naturalistic elements emerged on porcelain on a large scale during the Jiajing and Wanli periods, mostly on medallions and along the rims

[109] Ibid., 124.

of Kraak wares.[110] I have already mentioned many auspicious animals and flowers depicted on traditional Chinese porcelain before. In this subsection, I will expound upon some typical naturalistic decorations on the central medallions and rims of Kraak porcelain.

✧ Naturalistic motif on the central medallion

Nature scenes with animals, such as ducks or geese in a pond, birds and flowers, or deer in the landscape were common on Kraak porcelain.[111] There is a typical Kraak style dish in the Dresden Collection depicting three ducks perched on light blue rocks, another duck playing in a pond, and three birds flying in the background (Figure 2.8). A similar Kraak dish in the British Museum shows a goose and gander standing on a riverbank with a giant lotus and some water weeds. In the background are two realistic flying geese and two abstract flying birds.[112] The theme of birds and flowers was very popular from the Song dynasty (960-1279) onward, and also frequently appeared on Kraak porcelain. Painting birds and flowers in the Ming dynasty was initiated by the painters such as Bian Jingzhao, Lin Liang, and Lü Ji.[113] It was also depicted in *Chengshi moyuan,* which is an album of woodblock prints from the Ming dynasty.[114] This traditional motif was also widely depicted in Kraak porcelain produced for the European market. There were several combinations of the birds-and-flowers motif. For instance, the magpie, the oriole,

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110 Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 235.
111 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 156.
112 Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of late Yuan and Ming ceramics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2001), 315.
113 Lothar Ledderose, ed., *Im Schatten hoher Bäume Malerei der Ming-und Qing-Dynastien (1368-1911) aus der Volksrepublik China* (Baden-Baden, Staatl. Kunsthalle, 1985), 136.
114 Cheng Dayue, *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1994), 864.

or the pheasant along with traditional peony, lotus, chrysanthemum, or camellia.[115] An example in the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart depicts two magpies resting on a rock by a river, with a flourishing camellia to the right (Figure 2.9). In the Chinese painting tradition, painters always filled the landscape on both sides of a river with narrative expression. This medallion in the center bears the traditional composition of Chinese painting, wherein the landscape on the other side of the river is also depicted. Similar to the deer-in-the-landscape motif, Chinese paintings and woodblock prints were probably the model for this type of motif.[116]

✧ Naturalistic motif on the rims of Kraak ware

The general characteristics of different borders of Kraak dishes have already been delineated by Maura Rinaldi in her research. Naturalistic motifs were also depicted on the rim of Kraak dishes. There are two types of borders that depict the cavetto and the rim separately. One type depicts birds-on-branches with plum branches on the rim and a pagoda-in-a-landscape motif in the central medallion. Another type is the ducks-among-water-plants motif on the rim with a deer-in-a-landscape motif in the center.[117] There is a very similar dish with delicate decoration of cranes in a lotus pond on the border in the British Museum (Figure 2.10). In the central medallion is the auspicious phrase "sanyang kaitai（三陽開泰）," which offers auspicious wishes for the New Year. It is a very popular theme in Chinese crafts. The most important component of this motif is the sun at the top; the three sheep in the foreground are depicted quite

115 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 160.
116 See related research in the subsection of "*Trace the deer motif on Kraak porcelain*" before.
117 See these two examples in *Rinaldi, Kraak Porcelain*, 76-80.

ambiguous, which was very similar to the most popular deer motif on Kraak porcelain.[118] These types of borders without panel decoration are typical of the early stage of Kraak porcelain. Gradually, the panel decoration appeared and was always integrated with the central medallion. There is a small category of naturalistic motifs on the rim that could be seen as the "transitional" style of the panel-like design on Kraak porcelain. The cavetto and border are usually decorated with eight large stylized pomegranates alternating with flowers, examples of which can be seen in the Groninger Museum and the Princessehof Museum in the Netherlands. Two horses or two deer in a natural scene is the most common motif in the central medallion.[119] Contour lines are on the outside of each pomegranate, making nineteen separate panels on the rim. Pomegranates imply fertility and good fortune in Chinese tradition. Later, the border with naturalistic patterns was divided into equal segments by single or double lines. The number of panels on the rim is different on dishes or saucers. The rim on dishes is usually divided into eight to twelve segments, and six to ten on saucers divided. What's more, the borders of the panel are slightly different. Some of them are straight or flattened; some are foliated and occasionally decagonal. In each segment, there are always delicate sprays of flowers with butterflies and birds.[120] These kinds of patterns are also depicted in the typical so-called "bracket-lobed panel," also known as "ogival-rim". In the British Museum collection, there is a very delicate Kraak dish with a bracket-lobed rim filled with pairs of cranes, butterflies and flowers. Inside, in the lobed cartouche, is a pair of deer in a landscape with

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[118] This was corrected by Dr. Anita Xiaoming Wang on the Cross-Media-Porcelain Symposium in Heidelberg. I am grateful for her information.
[119] See these three examples in Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain*, 80-82.
[120] Ibid., 83-87.

two butterflies hovering above, and a pine tree stands on the right side corresponding with a Chinese pavilion on the left in the medallion (Figure 2.11). Generally speaking, even though the composition of the Kraak porcelain is different from the porcelain for the domestic market, the traditional Chinese auspicious elements and conception of nature still utilize the expression of Chinese style.

- **Religious symbols**

Art is always a mirror of the literature, politics and religion of its time. The hybrid religious tradition combining Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism can be traced by the clues on Kraak porcelain made during the Ming dynasty. Common decorations on the rim of most Kraak porcelain are religious symbols. The Eight Immortals of Taoism (*An Baxian*), the treasures of Confucianism, and the eight auspicious symbols of Buddhism were widely used during the peak of Kraak porcelain production.

✧ *An Baxian*: The Eight Immortals of Taoism

The Jiajing emperor (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty was a committed Taoist. As a result, large numbers of porcelain wares were decorated with Taoist symbols of longevity during his reign.[121] Kraak porcelain was no exception. The Eight Immortals of Taoism (*An Baxian*) are eight imaginary immortals from a folktale. They are: Guolao Zhang (張果老), Xiangzi Han (韩湘子), Caihe Lan (藍采和), Liquan Zhong (鐘離權), Dongbin Lü (呂洞賓), Xiangu He (何仙姑), Tieguai Li (李鐵拐), Guojiu Cao (曹國舅). *An Baxian* are the magic weapons of "the Eight Immortals" and each represents a character (App. 1).

[121] Suzanne G. Valenstein, *A handbook of Chinese ceramics* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 188.

These objects bear the different meanings of auspicious and are widely used on Chinese porcelain, lacquer, and cut paper. These Taoist symbols were used continuously or separately on Kraak porcelain. The most commonly used individual decoration of them is "the flower basket" in the center of dishes and small bowls. For the combination of the *A Baxian* motif, the double gourd and fan are frequently depicted together in the panels and medallions in the center. The double gourd's homophonic character in Chinese sounds like *fulu* (福祿), which indicates happiness and prosperity. At the same time, the emblem of Li Tieguai, which could eliminate all illness, was like the implication of a fan. In keeping with Taoism's emphasis on longevity, peach sprays combined with the *An Baxian* motif were widely used (Figure 2.12).

✧ *Za Babao*-Miscellaneous Treasures of Confucianism

The Miscellaneous Treasures of Confucianism (*za babao*, 雜八寶) are eight treasures from Confucianism. The patterns ranged various on the central medallion and panels on the rim and imply wealth, knowledge, safety, and health.[122] They are a jewel (or pearl), a jade musical stone, a solid lozenge, an open lozenge, painting or calligraphy scrolls, a pair of horns, a coin, and an artemisia leaf. The artemisia leaf, which supposedly wards off illness, is the most frequently depicted pattern on Kraak porcelain. They are decorated with flowing ribbons to the point of being almost unrecognizable.[123]

✧ *Fo Babao*: The Eight Buddhist symbols

The Eight Buddist Symbols can be traced back to the Yuan dynasty. They are similar

[122] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 149-150.
[123] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 233.

to the Eight Immortals of Taoism and they bear auspicious meanings. The Eight Immortals of Taoism and miscellaneous treasure motifs were more common. The eight symbols are a white parasol (寶蓋), a pair of golden fish (雙魚), a treasure vase (寶瓶), a lotus (蓮花), a right-spiraling white conch shell (右旋螺), an endless knot or "lucky diagram" (吉祥結), a victory banner (尊勝幢), and a golden wheel (法輪),.[124] However, only the flaming wheel and sea conch were decorated in combination with the Eight Immortals of Taoism and miscellaneous treasure motifs. The most frequently used decoration is the flaming wheel, depicted on early Kraak bowls (Figure 2.13). Similar Kraak bowls are also collected in the National Museum Bangkok and Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden. Other Buddhist auspicious symbols like the tassel pattern (*yingluo wen*), *ruyi* head, and silk ribbon design often appeared as supplemental patterns on Kraak porcelain. All of them appear in the narrow panel of the interior and exterior on Kraak wares. The tassel pattern (*yingluo wen*) was first used on bodhisattva statues in the Yuan dynasty and was very popular throughout the Buddhist world. As for the context of Chinese porcelain, it appeared on Fahua-type porcelain and the figure's neck, hands and feet of celadon Buddhist statues.[125] The *ruyi* head is a very common auspicious decoration in Chinese art, which means, "may your wish be granted." On Kraak porcelain, it was used continuously like a necklace on the bottom of a Kraak bowl or around the shoulders of a pear-shaped bottle.[126] Sometimes, it was used individually in the panel combined with another object and as a corner of a heptagon in the central medallion

[124] Robert Beer, *The handbook of Tibetan Buddhist symbols* (Hugendubel: Kreuzlingen, 2003), 1.
[125] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 151.
[126] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 234.

(Figure 2.14). The silk ribbon is always used with other auspicious symbols in the background on the Kraak wares, even combined with the Eight Immortals of Taoism and miscellaneous treasure motifs. Therefore, the different religious symbols always intermingled to indicate similar auspicious meanings or a traditional Chinese phase. There are many codes of Chinese culture depicted on the Kraak wares of the non-Chinese layout.

- **Chinese Figures**

The pattern of Chinese figures made up a small proportion of the decoration of Kraak ware. Most of the figures depicted daily life in China, while the rest of the motifs came from Chinese plays and novels. Likewise, the figures featured were scholars, officials, and ladies combined with Chinese traditional interior scenes and exterior landscape and architecture. The layout could be categorized into two types: one appears in the large panels, and the other is depicted on the central medallions. In all the Kraak wares with character decoration, the theme of "fisherman, woodcutter, farmer, scholar" (渔、樵、耕、读) was used for the longest time. These four characters fill some of the large panels with Iznik-style flowers (tulips and carnations) in the narrow panels. Encounter with transitional porcelain, almost Kraak ware with this theme was decorated on the later Kraak porcelain. An exquisite Kraak dish in the Groninger Museum depicts a Chinese officer, a child, and a deer on a Chinese terrace on the central medallion (Figure 2.15). The somewhat confusing steps behind the officer show that Chinese artisans did not have a thorough grasp of perspective. It is a truly transcultural product that combines cross-cultural elements. Another object with the same theme depicts two figures in the

panels with a motif of a lady on the terrace in the center is also collected in Groninger Museum.[127] In fact, it is a Chinese phrase expressing respect for the four important jobs in ancient Chinese society. The theme of farming and weaving was very popular during Ming and Qing dynasties, which were also depicted on the Qing-court paintings. It showed the universal values of the time. A similar theme was also imitated on export porcelain ordered by European businessmen.

There are only a few Kraak porcelain that portrays scenes from dramas and novels. The best-known example is the famous novel from "The Three Kingdoms (三國演義)" called *Phoenix Pavillion* (鳳儀亭), which tells the story of Diao Chan (貂蟬) and Lübu (呂布), secret lovers who met at the Phoenix Pavillion. At the same time, Dong Zhuo (董卓) went back and saw this situation. Then Dong Zhuo raged and the halberd was taken to Lübu (Figure 2.16).[128] Another example is in the Groningen Museum depicting the Immortal Liu Hai seated on his toad in the central medallion. Liu Hai is a character of Taoist folklore. He, as well as his golden toad, bear auspicious meanings in traditional Chinese culture (Figure 2.17). Corresponding with the transitional period, porcelain made for the European market decorated with figures was concentrated in the Tianqi (1621-1627) and Chongzhen (1628-1644) periods. Foreign figures were also used in the same period, the research on which will be detailed in the next section.

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[127] See these three examples in Rinaldi*, Kraak Porcelain*, 113, pl.111.

[128] Luo Guanzhong and Moss Roberts trans., *Three Kingdoms*, (Beijing and Berkeley Los Angeles Oxford: Foreign Languages Press and University of California Press, 1994), 93-104. Background: Diaochan was originally the wife of Lübu, and Lübu was dissatisfied after Diaochan being the wife of Dongzhuo.

2.1.3 Tracing the Deer Motifs on Kraak Porcelain

Countless journals could be filled with analyses of the transformation of domestic porcelain and export porcelain in the early export period. It is meaningful to trace the turning point when the export orders increased sharply. Why do I choose the deer motif to do so? One reason is that deer carry different meanings in Chinese vs. European contexts. The other reason is the diverse pictorial forms of deer on the late Ming Chinese domestic and export porcelain. Therefore, the following discussion focuses on the deer motif on export and domestic porcelain and investigates why and how the transformation came about. Additionally, I will try to come up with possible answers for the question, "How did the Chinese artisans decorate the Europeans' orders before specific patterns were brought to China?"

- **Review of the deer motif on Chinese domestic porcelain**

In the context of Chinese traditional culture, patterns in art must be intended to be auspicious. Animal patterns were a common element that can be divided into two types. One type is realistic animals, like deer, cranes, and so on. Another type is mythical animals, such as dragons, phoenixes and *qilin*. These animal patterns were produced in the days when the level of productivity was relatively low in ancient China. During that period people were full of fear about the unknown future, so they wanted to utilize the powers of animals to defeat the psychological fear.[129] This was the "totem worship" period when deer were a kind of divine symbolism in primitive religious life. With the development of society and conversion of ideology, the decorative patterns gradually lost

[129] Zibing Tian, Shusheng Wu, and Qing Tian, *A history of Chinese decorative designs* 中國紋樣史 (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 2003), 5.

their meaning of totem worship. Many traditional decorative patterns bear the meaning of auspiciousness and happiness.[130] Deer as a typically auspicious motif formed many realistic and concrete combinations in the Ming and Qing dynasties. For example, the deer is a religious symbol in Taoism, so when combined with the god of longevity a deer indicates long life. Another combination is bats, deer and peaches. Together they compose the Chinese phrase *fu lushou* (福祿壽). "Bat" is a homophone of *fu* (福), good fortune, "deer" is a homophone of *lu,* "祿" (a government officer's high salary, as mentioned above), and peaches represent longevity. Additionally, the combination of the deer motif and the representation of an officer was very popular in domestic porcelain and used the same homophone of *lu* "祿". This combination constitutes a very famous phrase which indicates "high post with matched salary (高官厚祿)". It is depicted in a collection in Nanjing Museum (Figure 2.18). A traditional Chinese bowl depicts a Chinese man wearing an officer's hat with a deer in the background in the center medallion of the bowl. The meaning of "Chinese officer" is the same as the character "官". Though the deer is not very realistic, we know it is a deer because of the famous phrase. Another combination was deer, crane, and pine depicted together on a Chinese traditional vase (Figure 2.19). These three subjects carry the meaning of longevity. In addition, deer, cranes, and pines were depicted generally and without many details in a vacant background. It was similar to an early piece in the Palace Museum, which is a

[130] Zhu Yanni, "Introduction to representation of primitive painted pottery decorative design in a utensil and the myths and legends 淺談原始彩陶的具象紋飾與神話傳說," *Technology wind* 科技風, no.04 (2008): 64.

small bowl with a blue-and-white deer pattern (Figure 2.20). It was suggested in the Tianshun period (1457-64).[131] The deer and butterfly were also depicted in silhouette style with few details. From these two pieces, it could be seen that the pictorial character of domestic porcelain with deer motif usually contains more empty space and fewer details. In other words, the main patterns were usually depicted on a simple white background.

- **Review of the deer-motif on Kraak porcelain**

Research on Kraak porcelain has grown since the second half of the 20th century. The discovery of several shipwrecks drove increased attention to this field. For instance, the Spanish shipwreck named "San Diego" sank in 1600. A large number of Kraak pieces from earlier periods were salvaged in this shipwreck. Many pieces were decorated with deer in a landscape.[132] Additionally, the famous Wanli shipwreck set sail in 1625, and Kraak porcelain with deer motifs constituted almost one-third of the entire cargo. The recovered porcelain is predominately from the Wanli period and a few of the pieces were produced in the Tianqi period.[133] From the large amount of Kraak porcelain studied in the research on shipwrecks, we can see that the deer motif not only appeared on domestic porcelain but also appeared on export porcelain in the late Ming period. Furthermore, they also provided strong evidence that porcelain became an important commodity in the trade between China and Europe.

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131 Feng Xianming, "Blue-and-white porcelain in the Ming dynasty 明代青花瓷器" *Essays on Chinese old ceramics* 中國陶瓷論文集 (Beijing: The forbidden city Press, 1987), 260.
132 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 31.
133 Luise Vinhais and Jorge Welsh, eds., *Kraak porcelain: the rise of global trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries*, 81.

Until then there is a range of views expressed about the definition of "Kraak porcelain." An earlier definition by Harrisson and some Dutch scholars support the idea that Kraak porcelain is only those thinly potted pieces with panel decorations from Jingdezhen produced for export.[134] Some other non-Dutch scholars have questioned this definition. If the object bears the general features of Kraak porcelain but lacks the panel decoration on the rim, can it be called "Kraak"? This is an ambiguous definition. The third opinion, mainly supported by dealers, is that Kraak porcelain is those objects similar to the captured Portuguese shipwreck *carracks* at the beginning of the 17th century.[135] This point of view relates to the source of the name "Kraak porcelain". But it is inaccurate, since no available information has revealed what these porcelains looked like.[136] Yet recent archaeological evidence reveals that Kraak porcelain was also exported to the Middle East, Japan, and Southeast Asia.[137] In fact, the combination of the medallion with paneled decoration can be traced back to the early gold and silver wares in the Tang dynasty. It was rare in the Song period, then depicted on Yuan porcelain frequently.[138] The arrangement of designs and blue colour of utilizing on Yuan blue-and-white porcelain has been attributed to Middle Eastern influence.[139] According to the above opinions, Kraak porcelain could refer to the porcelain with panel designs and typical decorative features that were made for export during the late Ming period.

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[134] Barbara Harrisson, "Kraak porcelains", A talk given to the society on 6th April 1980, Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 5 (1980-1982): 28-32.
[135] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 67.
[136] As for the source of the term, "Kraak" was mentioned in the introduction.
[137] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 209.
[138] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 101.
[139] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 68.

There is no doubt that a transformation in style often happened when China had frequent exchanges with other countries. Similarly, Chinese export porcelain reached another climax in the Wanli (1573-1620) period. With the opening of new routes by the Portuguese and Spanish, Chinese porcelain had already caught the Europeans' eyes. Then, the Dutch followed the trend and started the Dutch East India Company in 1602. Large quantities of porcelain were transported to Europe. In this transcultural trade, to be successful in selling to Europeans, Chinese artisans frequently adjusted their designs and styles. With the further development of trade, the Europeans brought samples to China. In the development process, Kraak porcelain included many different pictorial types. According to scholarly consensus, "Kraak porcelain" was the pioneer of export blue-and-white porcelain, which was produced in massive quantities. It is difficult to determine the exact date when Kraak wares were first produced. However, abundant evidence indicates that a group of dishes marked Jiajing (1522-66) and decorated with the five-deer-in-a-landscape motif was the earliest version of Kraak porcelain (Figure 2.21). Several of these dishes have a border without paneled decoration. The others have an undecorated border. But some of the second types were assigned the Longqing (1567-72) mark (Figure 2.22).[140] In the center of this dish are five deer in a landscape, which is similar to the last dish, but the vacant border is similar to domestic porcelain in the early Ming dynasty. Besides, the Longqing mark and the large scale could mean that their target market was overseas, and therefore it was produced after the Portuguese occupied

[140] Ibid., 60-61.

the permanent trading position in Macao in 1557.[141] These two kinds of borders were characteristic of early Kraak porcelain. The most prominent characteristic and identity of Kraak ware was a new development that appeared in the Wanli (1573-1620) period.

According to Maura Rinaldi's research on dating Kraak ware using border designs, the next example was produced in the early Wanli period (Figure 2.23). After the middle and later Wanli period, the border of panel decoration became popular. This is a refined piece of Kraak ware with a five-deer-in-a-landscape motif in the center. There are ogival frames making up the large panels on the border. The dynamic shape of three deer in the foreground is masterful, and another two are hidden behind the two rocks. This is a common scenario in the five-deer landscape. Additionally, the plants in front of the three deer are depicted relatively realistically. It is suggested that the decoration of the diaper pattern is an important cataloging element. This kind of dish without diaper pattern was produced in the late 16th century, while Kraak dishes with the diaper motif mainly appeared in the 17th century.[142] The diaper pattern is usually depicted in the background of different geometric forms that appeared in various Kraak porcelain motifs. There is an exquisite example in the British Museum (Figure 2.24). This Kraak dish was most likely produced after the 17th century, not only according to the diaper pattern in the center but also because of the detailed depicting the landscape and two deer. The pine tree and clouds are rendered in traditional Chinese painting techniques.

Generally speaking, the number of deer in the deer motif varied from one to five on Kraak dishes. Some combination of single-deer, twin-deer, and five-deer patterns was

[141] Ibid., 61.
[142] Ibid., 92-97.

common. However, the perspective and the composition elements of the motif were similar. A curve through the middle of the motif divided the central medallion into two sections. Rocks, flowers, and grass designs were depicted in the foreground. The back section placed the pine trees on the right and was supplemented with an insect or butterfly and clouds in the background. Owing to the popularity of the deer motif on Kraak porcelain, deer were not only depicted in the wild but also in more abstract white deer-with-wheel-like-rock motif.[143] In most examples, the white deer-with-wheel-like motif decorated the central medallion and panels on the exterior walls of Kraak bowls (Figure 2.25). Frequently, every deer was painted in a lateral view, their heads are painted in profile and bearing different postures. What is the wheel-like motif? What was the iconography derived from? Maura Rinaldi postulates that in the beginning, they may have been rocks. But under the process of formality and stylization, the pattern changed. Her opinion is that they represent Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath.[144] I agree with the first explanation. It is well known that deer are symbols in Taoism. Combining the Taoist and Buddhist elements would seem unreasonable. It could be that the Chinese potter designed the deer motif on small bowls with an abstract wheel-like pattern instead of a realistic rock, to which it is difficult to attach any other meanings.

- **Explanation of how and why the transformation occurred**

The deer motifs on domestic and export porcelain in the late Ming period are described above. It is easier to identify the different features and formation of pictorial elements. In general, on domestic porcelain, deer were always depicted against a vacant

[143] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 158-159.
[144] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 79.

background with ample implied meanings and homophones. For Kraak porcelain made for export, the dishes with deer-in-the-wild motif, compositions of one-deer, twin-deer, and five-deer were always in a harmonious landscape. Many plants, rocks and butterflies were depicted in the foreground. There was often a big pine tree and many clouds in the background divided by a curve. In addition, the border decoration was possessed of three types, which developed chronologically. It was changed from no decoration to a decoration without panels, then turned into the classic paneled decoration. Another category decoration of Kraak ware on small bowls is the deer-with-wheel-like-rock motif. Every deer was insert in a set of an abstracted rock, which was composed in a panel and arranged in a repeating pattern. Why and how were these transformations formed? I will explain that below.

There are two reasons, the first reason is foreigners from Europe could not understand the symbols and the homophonic meanings that a Chinese person would recognize immediately. So the weakening of the deer symbolism of deer on Kraak porcelain is understandable. The second reason has to do with the relationship between the different traditions of Chinese and European painting. Traditional Chinese paintings always pay attention to the white space. However, European paintings use full perspective. It is possible that European merchants gave some oral instructions to Chinese potters. Because the deer motif on Kraak porcelain was popular before 1625. However, according to the research, it is likely that the special models were commissioned by the VOC after 1635 when the Dutch merchants started requesting detailed motifs in their

orders.[145] It means that during the zenith of deer pattern popularity there were no samples taken to China from Europe. However, it is difficult to find evidence of oral communications between buyers and sellers. Thus, I propose a fourth reason: The Chinese artisans made a subjective judgement from some available European paintings and concluded that Europeans liked the representation of animals in a realistic landscape. In European paintings of the same period, deer were always depicted in realistic fighting scenes (Figure 2.26). Generally, the deer of European paintings are stags. Obviously, the iconography and implication of the stag in Flemish painting are entirely different from the deer motif on Kraak porcelain. Therefore, in this process of transcultural interaction, a European aesthetic, as a cultural other, cannot be completely understood by a Chinese potter. In this case, my opinion is that the potter appropriated the pictorial deer from Ming paintings.

Below are two paintings in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. The first is named *Pines and Deer* (長松五鹿) and is by Daijin (Figure 2.27). In the foreground of this painting are five deer with many pines, rocks and clouds in a harmonious landscape. The five deer are all in different poses. The left one is hidden behind rocks, which is similar to the five-deer-in-a-landscape Kraak dish. The other work is long, unsigned scroll named *A Hundred Deer of Prosperity* (百祿圖) (Figure 2.28). For this name, "hundred" is a non-specific term signifying "many", and as mentioned above, the word for "deer" is a homonym for "prosperity". The title, therefore, means literally "great fortune." It is an auspicious theme conveying wishes for good luck. I found several deer in the same poses

[145] T. Volker. *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 60.

as deer in Kraak porcelain (Figure 2.23), for example, the posture of turned-back deer and the combination of two deer partially hidden behind the rocks. Furthermore, the accompanying wheel-like rock pattern is similar to motifs in paintings and woodblock prints and paintings from the Ming dynasty. A woodblock painting album of Ming dynasty entitled "Ten Bamboos Hall Pictorial Album (十竹齋畫譜)" (Figure 2.29) contains what may be the inspiration for the concisely painted rock on Kraak bowls (Figure 2.25). Additionally, this kind of rock is common in the paintings of Xu Hongze (徐洪澤, 1555-1627), Daijin (戴進, 1388-1462) and Wen Zhengming (文徵明, 1470-1559). These facts could provide evidence that the deer pattern in the deer-in-the-wild motif and painted rocks on Kraak bowls (Figure 2.25) derived from Ming prints and paintings. In addition, the decoration style of the full composition catered to overseas consumers' tastes. Therefore, the deer motif on Kraak porcelain was indeed a hybrid under the transcultural interaction between China and Europe.

2.1.4 Foreign Elements on Kraak Porcelain

Apart from the traditional Chinese elements mentioned above, many foreign motifs emerged on Kraak porcelain in the later stage. The first recorded porcelain with European designs was ordered by Portuguese consumers during the Ming dynasty, Jiajing Period (1522-1566).[146] Such first order was blue and white porcelain painted with a coat of arms specifically made for the Portuguese royalty and aristocracy with a steady demand until

[146] Jorge Welsh ed., *European scenes on Chinese art* (London and Lisbon: Jorge Welsh Oriental Porcelain and Works of Art, 2005), 11.

about 1630.[147] Around 1700, as European buyers began to demand more particular products, the variety of patterns and figurative scenes rapidly expanded which were used by Chinese potters.[148] For example, the so-called 'Dutch flower', the tulip, carnations, and small round-petalled flowers are all typical of Iznik wares were painted on export porcelain from the middle of the 16th century.[149] Furthermore, they also brought prints of foreign portraits to China and let Chinese artisans copy them on porcelain. Though some of the figures do not resemble the originals, they can be identified by their dress. Occasionally, the foreign inscriptions were written on Kraak ware along with religious motifs. However, Chinese painters were often totally unfamiliar with European dress, architecture, and painting skills. As a result, the misinterpretations, appropriations, and adaptations appear on the porcelain.

- **Coat of arms**

The coat of arms is a heraldic visual design belonging to the field of heraldry. Heraldry was frequently used in medieval culture on the battlefield as identifiable emblems. Gradually, the use of heraldry was used by particular individuals or families.[150] Inevitably, porcelain was a charming carrier of transcultural between China and Europe. The porcelain ware with coats-of-arms was first produced during the earlier period of Kraak porcelain which was made for the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. Typically, a coat of arms consists of a shield, supporters, a crest, and a motto. It was invariably

147 Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: V&A Publ., 2011), 39.
148 Ibid., 59.
149 Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 113.
150 David S. Howard, *Chinese armorial porcelain II* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), 2

decorated with animals such as lions, eagles, and bears.[151] The shape of the coat-of-arms varies, but the shield shape was (and still is) the most common. However, some of the coats of arms depicted on porcelain were simplified, especially on Kraak porcelain compared with the *famille rose*, which was popular in the 18th century. Furthermore, compared to the amount of *famille rose* armorial porcelain, the Kraak porcelain with coat-of-arms occupied a small portion. This kind of special order was only customized by noble families, high-ranking officials and some religious communities.

This early armorial Kraak porcelain has been attributed to Don João de Almeida, a Portuguese chief captain, who settled in Macao around 1570 (Figure 2.30).[152] There is a simplified coat of arms in the central medallion surrounded by flower sprays. In this group, there are two other dishes with the Almeida coat of arms, reserved in white on a blue ground.[153] One of them bears a distinctive border with lobed sides decorated with small flowers and butterflies.[154] But because of the same coat of arms, we can speculate that they were from the same batch. A special group of Kraak ware depicts a hydra with seven heads in an armorial-style shield and the Latin inscription *Sapienti nihil novum (Nothing is new to the wise)*. They are collected in the British Museum, Peabody Essex Museum, and Santos Palace in Lisbon. The author saw the large Kraak bowl in the British Museum, which has rounded sides and a bracket-lobed rim. There are four armorial-style shields on the outside of the bowl and the remaining motifs are all Chinese

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151 Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 165.
152 Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of late Ming ceramics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2001), 313.
153 See these two examples in Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain*, 84&89.
154 Ibid., 84.

elements with Buddhist emblems and lotus flowers. On the inside are flowering and fruiting plants growing by rocks depicted in panels, with a crane in a lotus pond (Figure 2.31). Furthermore, this identical Kraak bowl filled with fish was depicted in a Dutch still life painting by Willem Claesz Heda (1594—1682) (Figure 2.32). The same pattern appears on the central medallion of a Kraak dish in the Santos Palace, Lisbon.[155] It is difficult to trace the purchase order; however, it is possible that these were ordered by religious communities.

- **Non-Chinese floral patterns**

In the late Ming period, the V.O.C. became the main force of the Chinese-European porcelain trade. With the popularity of Kraak porcelain in Europe, they began to explore new methods for Chinese artisans to draw their favorite patterns on their ordered porcelain. The non-Chinese style floral patterns, called "Iznik-flowers" or "Dutch flowers" by scholars, were painted in narrow and wide panels on the border of Kraak wares (Figure 2.33). This kind of flowers were frequently combined with landscapes and narrative motifs on 'Transitional Period porcelain', which is a specific type of export porcelain produced during the transition period from the Ming to Qing dynasties (1620-1682).[156] Jörg, Rinaldi and Wu Ruoming offer much evidence about the terminology about "Iznik-flowers" and "Dutch flowers".[157] In short, the "Iznik-like flowers" are composite flowers, including the tulip and the carnation (Figure 2.33-a). This kind of flower commonly appeared in the wide panels in flower sprays that are

[155] See the example in Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain*, 87.
[156] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 168.
[157] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 113. Later Wu Ruoming described this viewpoint in her book, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty,* 168.

curving, as if they were swaying in a breeze. This scene was also used frequently on Iznik pottery.[158] The "Dutch flowers" are a modified pattern adapted from the taste of the Dutch and originating from "Iznik-like flowers" (Figure 2.33-b). According to the records of the V.O.C dated 1639 mentioned by Jörg in a lecture, the Dutch merchants ordered porcelain wares painted with "Dutch flowers".[159] A common "Dutch flower" on Kraak porcelain is a single tulip pattern with symmetrical scrollwork patterns.[160] This corresponds with the history of the famous "Tulip Bubble" in the Netherlands during the middle of the 17th century. By the pivotal year of 1635, when the V.O.C. began to bring specific models to China to request detailed motifs on their wares, the decorations of Chinese export porcelain added a lot with exotic pictorial elements. The peak of Kraak porcelain produced in Jingdezhen was the Wanli period (1570-1620) period. Afterwards, customized porcelain became more and more popular after the banning of maritime trade policy; even entirely European scenes were depicted on porcelain. It is worth asking: "How did the Chinese artisans draw the European motifs? Are there any gaps between Chinese and European painting techniques? And what were the adaptions made by Chinese artisans?" These questions will be addressed in the next section.

2.2 Trans-media Appropriation: Customized Chinese Export Porcelain

After the 17th century, the Dutch and British dominated the Chinese-European porcelain trade. They began to require complete European patterns painted on their

158 Ibid., 168.
159 Ibid., 113.
160 Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*, 113.

customized porcelain, which was very popular during the whole 18th century and known as *Chine de commande* (china by order).[161] Abundant European samples brought new elements to be depicted on traditional Chinese porcelain, which can be divided into various themes, such as European religious themes, coats-of-arms, European political events, and amorous designs. They are strong evidence of the cultural interaction between China and Europe. By studying the models from European prints, oil paintings, European porcelain and even silk fabrics, I am trying to find the original samples in different European media. Here is a crucial aspect that should be addressed. It is about the transfer of decorating sites of export porcelain from Jingdezhen to Canton and abroad. According to the Chinese literature, we can trace the transfer of the processing location from Jingdezhen to Canton:

"清代中葉, 海舶雲集, 商務繁盛, 歐士重華瓷, 我國商人投其所好, 乃於景德鎮燒制白瓷, 運至粵垣, 另雇工匠, 仿照西洋畫法, 加以彩繪, 於珠江南岸之河南, 開爐烘染, 制成彩瓷, 然後售之西商。"[162]

This means in the middle of the Qing dynasty, the porcelain business was prosperous between Chinese and Europeans. Chinese merchants transported the white porcelain to Canton in order to facilitate the transactions. They established a porcelain studio along the south of the Pearl River and sold directly to foreign traders. The Cantonese artists imitated the Western style and utilized Western materials to cater to European tastes, which they called "Canton Porcelain (廣彩)". Many *Chine de*

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[161] Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 39.
[162] Liu Zifen，"Zhuyuan Taoshuo 竹園陶說," *Life and natural history series--artifacts and curios series* 生活与博物丛书--器物珍玩编 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1925), 104.

commande mentioned below were decorated in Canton. What really interested me is the fact that these European motifs on porcelain were drawn by Chinese artisans who were influenced by traditional Chinese concepts and painting techniques. Lots of misunderstandings, revisions, and compounds were recorded on *Chine de commande.* These are important media that revealed the conflict and fusion of images, ideas, and techniques between China and Europe.

2.2.1 Cross-media appropriation: European Genre Motifs

- **European leisure activities**

The theme of aristocratic pastimes was especially popular in French prints at the turn of the 18th century, and was in turn copied onto Chinese porcelain.[163] A good example is the theme of "the Music Party" (Figure 2.34). Different versions were made from copies of a French engraving by Parisian Nicolas Bonnart, and drawn by his brother Robert Bonnart.[164] In the middle medallion is a band playing musical instruments. A lady dressed in a European-style costume and hair sits playing the dulcimer on a table. On the opposite side are two gentlemen with curly hair, one playing the flute and the other a lute. Several pieces of blue-and-white porcelain are collected famous European and American museums, including the Victoria & Albert Museum, Princessehof National Museum of Ceramics, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Music party" was widely ordered by

[163] Ronald W. Fuchs II and David S. Howard, *Made in China: Export Porcelain from the Leo and Doris Hodroff Collection at Winterthur* (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 2005), 39.
[164] David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West II* (London and New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), 77. The engraving entitled: *Symphonie du Tympanum, du Luth, et de la flûte d'Allemagne* (also known as *The Music Party*).

Europeans around 1700. It is interesting to note that there are several versions of the "The Music Party" motif, especially those containing landscapes on eight panels of petal shapes. However, compared with the original prints (Figure 2.35), I suppose that these Chinese artisans were doing a great deal more than just imitating superficial manners. It is more interesting to exemplify how ideas and painting devices were visually and culturally "translated".

First of all, in the depiction of faces, Chinese artisans were good at utilizing lines, which was very similar to the technique of Chinese Beautiful Women (仕女图). This manner was different, with more details and shadows on the facial features in the French print (Figure 2.35). Second, when Chinese artisans made engraved designs, they could not control the bone structure of the figures very well. On the contrary, beautiful ruffles on the original print make the bone structure of the lady obvious. However, the ruffles on the porcelain are irregular, imitating the marks of the prints, and the lady's bone structure cannot be seen. In addition, the structure of the characters' hands was also not very accurate. Third, the traditional concept of space in Chinese painting is different from the European aesthetic, which is clearly present in this case. In the French engraving, it is easy to sense the spatial composition of the courtyard through the vertical and horizontal lines in the original print. However, the way the courtyard space is depicted on porcelain is to merely leave white space, with only a small part of the plant behind the woman to indicate the spatial relationship. Fourth, Chinese artisans depicted a European-style chair instead of a backless Chinese-style bench. It is obvious that if the backrest had been added, it would overlap with the plants in the back. In a word, when Chinese artisans

made the export orders, the intermingling of Chinese and European devices and ideas is visible in the design. They made some adaptions to the motif according to their painting devices and ideas.

Another genre scene, called "The Cherry Pickers", is a more common decoration on Chinese export porcelain made for the European market. The scene was taken from a print by Frenchman Nicolas Ponce (1746-1831) after a painting (now lost) of Pierre-Antoine Baudouin (1723-1769) (Figure 2.37)[165]. According to scholar Christiaan Jörg, dishes decorated with "The Cherry Pickers" were ordered directly by the VOC to be translated onto porcelain. Their letters show this decoration was in high demand and noted "it distressed us that our competitors and especially the Swedes brought back more popular kinds than us each year."[166] A scene is a man on a ladder throwing cherries to a woman below, who is gathering them in her skirt. Another woman kneels beside the ladder with a dog. Chinese artisans simplified the scene and made the motif decorative (Figure 2.36). The tree seems not very realistic, with bunches of cherries looking as if they are sprouting directly from the trunk in vertical rows. However, there is a sense of shading to shape the three-dimensional space on characters' depictions, despite the incongruities.

- **Amorous scenes**

Chinese export porcelain decorated with amorous scenes was popular between 1720

[165] Amanda E. Lange, *Chinese export art at Historic Deerfield* (Massachusetts: Historic Deerfield, Inc., 2005) 107.
[166] Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 108.

and 1770. Among this category, there are many representations, which are generally divided into two types. One type has an implicit meaning in the European context, symbolizing sexual desire through certain objects; for instance, a cage with a bird inside was a well-known symbolization of chastity and virginity in European art. Another group is shown erotic scenes directly, such as a seductive, nearly naked woman.[167] This is a coffee service set decorated in over-glaze enamels with a European couple seated in a Chinese garden (Figure 2.38). Based on the analysis of the iconography, the painting style of ground, plants and rocks are similar to Chinese painting's devices. However, only the depictions above the head can be seen as European. The hairstyle and black hat were worn by the right figure are the most obvious features. Additionally, there is an open birdcage, as mentioned before, a noted symbol of chastity and virginity in Europe.[168] Therefore, this motif hints at the erotic meaning. Similar tea service in the same collection depicting three monkeys surrounding an open bird cage also carries an erotic connotation.[169]

Another fashionable French print copied on porcelain in several versions is entitled "Les Pélerins de l'Isle de Cythere."[170] It was engraved by Bernard Picart (1673-1733), who was a French Protestant convert and active in the Netherlands (Figure 2.40). The motif depicts Eros leading amorous pilgrims to Cythera, a Greek island renowned as the dwelling of the goddess of love. The motif usually features a group of men and women

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167 Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Chinese export porcelain: Chine de Commande from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1989), 190.
168 Ibid., 198.
169 Ibid., 196.
170 English name: "the Pilgrims of the Island of Cythera".

embarking on ships or arriving on the island. Another version, including Picart's, drew single couples.[171] An oil painting copy after the prints in the Mottahedeh collection reveals the popularity of the theme at that time.[172] Following the fashion, European businessmen brought this motif to China and asked for customizations. Many references mentioned this case.[173] Most of the extant plates are decorated in *famille rose* enamels and diversiform arrangements on the border. Also, an exquisite teapot and plate decorated *en grisaille* follow the engraving quite closely. Here I present an object I found at Nanchang University (Figure 2.39). It is decorated in *famille rose* enamels within a band of gilt floral scrollwork. The motif on the central medallion is faithful to the prints. The bodies and costumes of figures are just flat colours with no shading or dimensionality. The outlines of the facial features and the body are also depicted by lines, which is different from the shaping of the shadow and structure of Western prints. There is another, more explicit scene on a different piece of porcelain, depicting a European man in a red cape and a hat and holding a purse in his left hand, caressing a half-naked woman with his right hand (Figure 2.41).[174] This scene is rare, but it was copied from an unknown European print. There is some controversy about the object in the man's left hand. Williamson considered it a flagon of wine, but Howard believed the carefully stitched

171 Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 63.
172 David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 363.
173 Other examples: *China for the West* (David S. Howard, and John Ayers, 1978, Vol. 2, 353-354); *Chinese export porcelain* (Jörg, 1989, 80-81); *Chinese trade porcelain* (Goldsmith Phillips, 1956, Fig. 44 & plate 55); *Chinese export porcelain in the Reeves Center collection at Washington and Lee University* (Thomas V. Litzenburg 2003, 155).
174 Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Chinese export porcelain: Chine de Commande from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1989), 212.

"flagon" is a purse holding money.[175] In my opinion, this kind of special Chinese export porcelain with European genre motifs was customized by European merchants to cater to the aesthetic interest of the European clients. Such a cross-media approach is shown by artisans who have different cultural backgrounds, and it is natural to have diverse meanings that could be understood. Perhaps it is this existence of cross-cultural traces that has attracted the attention and affections of Europeans.

2.2.2 As a Religious Medium: European Religious Motifs

Chinese porcelain painted with European religious motifs presents evidential materials for research on the transcultural exchange between China and Europe. The influence of religion in European society was profound and guided people's lifestyles and artistic styles consistently throughout most of its history. European merchants undoubtedly realized the potential for depicting religious scenes on porcelain when they encountered the "white gold" from China. Around the middle of the 18th century, European missionaries sent many topical prints to China and specified patterns on the borders.[176] Among these, there are biblical series themes depicting the life of Christ, including the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Baptism of Jesus, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and so on. Porcelain decorated in this way was called 'Jesuit porcelain', and was ordered by clerics and missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant.[177] Among these themes, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection were most often rendered *en*

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175 David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 365.
176 Ibid., 306.
177 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain: Chine de Commande* (London: Faber&Faber, 1974), 142.

grisaille with diverse borders, figures and background. The scenes were followed by European prints (Figure 2.42), illustrated by Jan Luyken (1649-1712).[178] Additionally, portraits of religious figures also appeared on export porcelain. Scenes from Greek and Roman mythology were also depicted as *grisaille* paintings became popular subjects on export porcelain after 1735-1740.[179] The *grisaille* technique was a new development in Chinese porcelain production, undoubtedly inspired by European black and white prints and engravings. It is suggested by François Xavier d' Entrecolles's (Chinese name: 殷弘绪, Yin Hongxu) letter that before 1722 Chinese artisans could not have been made *grisaille*-painted porcelain succeed.[180] Mostly porcelain dishes, and a relatively smaller amount of vases and jars, were all heavily decorated and very obviously not for daily use. In this section, I will address how Christian iconography was displayed on Chinese porcelain, and what adaptions are made when two cultures meet.

- **Jesuit Porcelain**
  - ✧ The Nativity

The scene of Nativity depicts the Virgin Mary, Joseph and three shepherds surrounding the infant Jesus in a manger (Figure 2.43). There is a gold halo around the baby's head. In the foreground is painted a sleeping donkey and some grasses. Compared with the original print, the artisans created a Chinese landscape instead of the illustration

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[178] Jorge Welsh ed., *Christian Images in Chinese Porcelain* (London and Lisbon: Jorge Welsh Oriental Porcelain and Works of Art, 2003), 49.
[179] Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 70.
[180] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 132. Background: Xavier d' Entrecolles was a French Jesuit priest, who learned the Chinese technique of manufacturing porcelain through his investigations in China at Jingdezhen during Kangxi reign. His observations were published in a long letter, and carefully studied in several European countries.

of architecture in the background. In addition, the donkey is proportionally smaller than in the original. The common expression of space in European painting depicts the objects in the distance as small as those closer to the viewer (i.e., perspective), which was neglected by the Chinese painter in this case. This scene was often painted on plates with European-style scrollwork reminiscent of Du Paquier on the rim. Besides the plates, the Nativity was also depicted on a tea caddy.[181] But such objects are rare, possibly because that type of tea caddy was round, and it is difficult to copy this scene on such a small surface. Therefore, Chinese artisans placed the donkey on the other side, splitting the image.

✧ The Crucifixion

Before the middle of the 17th century, religious porcelain was ordered by the Catholic Church for missionary and church activities. Early Crucifixions were painted in underglaze blue with rather rough line drawings. There are several objects collected in Nanchang University Museum acquired from Davis S. Howard. The Crucifixion cup and saucer is typical eggshell porcelain of the Kangxi period (Figure 2.44). There are three figures depicted on the central medallion. Jesus is in the middle, with the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene on either side. Howard suggested that until 1740 this theme always included three figures.[182] It can be seen from the intersecting lines that the original for this work was a European print or a piece of embroidery. But Chinese decorators imitated the traces of the original surface, ignoring the character structure and facial features. A variety of different borders accompany this scene. In addition, Chinese artisans copied

[181] The tea caddy in the British Museum in London. No.: Franks.922.+.
[182] David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 317.

the familiar image of the Chinese figures instead of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. Finally, the most obvious signal is the letters INRI on the cross.[183] In the Central Museum at Utrecht, there is a dish with loose leafy scrollwork and a cup with woven shading lines on the border. Additionally, Crucifixion scenes with a spearhead decoration depicted on the border to represent the spear that pierced Jesus' side during his ordeal appeared around 1750 and became popular.

✧ Baptism of Christ

Another Christian image on Chinese porcelain is the Baptism of Christ, which together with the Crucifixion are the only events from the Bible to be depicted on Chinese porcelain before 1740.[184] The theme of baptism was represented in three styles during the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor (1723-1735). It is based on the Gospel of Matthew, which describes St. John pouring water over Jesus' head while they are standing in the river Jordan, while the Holy Ghost is depicted as rays of light overhead. The early version is a large dish in blue-and-white porcelain. A Chinese-style landscape is depicted in the center of the dish. The external border of the central medallion is a diaper border with Chinese-style landscape reserves around the cavetto. On this object, even if it is a completely European subject, we can still see some traditional Chinese elements. The next rim is decorated with a dense border of a leafy fruit pattern and a large bird in the center of the top, and a cartouche at the bottom within the biblical reference 'Mat 3.16'

[183] INRI is short for "Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum," which means "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews" in Latin.
[184] Ibid., 313.

(Figure 2.45).[185] The scenes are all exquisitely rendered, which suggests that they were copied from a Delft piece.[186] I found a larger iron-red dish in Augustus II the Strong's extensive collection, with an extremely similar depiction minus the inscription (Figure 2.46). Another subtle difference is the lack of cavetto decorations on the external border of the central medallion. This shows that this part was not required by the European merchants.

A later version has the baptism scene painted in iron red. This series was a relatively large order, and the images are rougher than the previous blue-and-white porcelain (Figure 2.47). Similarly, baptism occupies the center of the plate. On the rim below, the inscription "Mat. 3.16" is written on a banner held by winged *putti*. It is worth noting that the *putti* were depicted as fat Chinese babies. A later version with a distinguishing border decoration bears a date from the end of the Yongzheng reign and the beginning of the Qianlong reign. The elegant border is decorated with *putti*, densely interwoven leaves, and bunches of grapes and other fruit. In the middle, there is a hybrid image of an eagle a dragon's feet.[187] These hybrid iconographies can be used to trace the communication between East Asia and Europe. It is unknown whether Chinese artisans only drew familiar images or whether the church deliberately ordered the Chinese-style motifs to use in Asian missionary work, as David Howard and John Ayers believe.[188]

✧ The Resurrection and the Ascension

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[185] The inscription 'Mat 3.16' refers to the chapter and verse in the Gospel of Matthew devoted to the Baptism.
[186] David S. Howard, *A tale of three cities, Canton, Shanghai&Hong Kong*, 130.
[187] Isabel Pina, *Reflections: Symbols and Images of Christianity on Chinese Porcelain* (Lisboa: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 1996), 84.
[188] David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 316.

The iconography and the Ascension in the same serious of Jesuit porcelain were also found quite often on *grisaille*-painted export porcelain. For example, various types of tea bowls, saucers, and tea caddies, and the largest quantity of plates, bore these same decorations. In addition, the decorations on the border are similar to the 'Nativity' porcelain, generally bearing a gilt spearhead border or a Du Paquier-style border. The Resurrection scene shows Christ rising in glory from his tomb. He is enveloped by clouds above the Angel Gabriel, who is sitting on his left looking at the sleeping Roman soldiers in the foreground. There are three small figures in a landscape background on the original prints, which were omitted by Chinese artisans on some export porcelain. The Ascension shows the disciples of Christ looking up at their saviour ascending to the sky. However, some adaptions were made by Chinese artisans for lack of space. For example, a cloud is painted the same colour and shape as the robe of a disciple kneeling in the foreground.[189] Meanwhile, the image of the disciples still maintains the same posture of looking upward. The aforementioned Jesuit wares were produced in blue and white, and in considerable quantity in *grisaille*-painted porcelain. Additionally, it is suggested that these were made for both Asian (particularly Japan) and European markets.[190]

✧ Portraits of religious figures

There is a pair vase decorated with portraits of the Protestant theologians Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin in the medallion and with their names at the bottom (Figure 2.48). Luther was depicted on Chinese export porcelain more frequently than

[189] Ibid., 321.
[190] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 130.

Calvin (Figure 2.49).[191] In the middle of the 18th century, almost two hundred years after Luther's death, his teachings were still influential in northern Europe, especially in the Netherlands. Howard suggests this series of export porcelain might have been ordered for the bicentenary of his death.[192] Both of the original engravings are held at the British Museum. As for Calvin, there is an earlier print made in 1643-1652 by François Stuerhelt that strongly resembles the scene on the right vase (Figure 2.50). The Chinese artisans copied the originals with some degree of adaption. They depict the two theologians at half-length in oval frames. However, they wrote the name "Johannes" (the German version of Calvin's first name) without the letter "h", and omitted the birthdates. Additionally, the scale of Calvin's body scale is inaccurate, which is related to the artisan's grasp (or lack thereof) of perspective drawing. Another popular image depicted the portrait bust of Martin Luther flanked by two cherubs with feathered bodies on plates painted *grisaille* on the central medallion, which was combined with a Bible scene in the cartouche below (Figure 2.51). It was suggested that the Bible scene is Jesus preaching to the twelve apostles. The design was copied from the lower half of an engraving by the Dutch artist Frans Brun (active 1627-48).[193] There is a gilt circuit spearhead with a *grisaille* border on the inside borders, which indicate it was ordered around the middle of the 18th century. Diverse borders with this design were copied on export porcelain: for

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191 Other examples: David S. Howard, and John Ayers, *China for the West II*, 253; Krahl and Harrison-Hall *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum*,120.
192 David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 253.
193 Regina Krahl and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Exhibition Catalogue*: *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics: Ming to Qing Porcelain in the British Museum* (National Museum of History, Taipei, 1994), 120. An illustrated version is in the British Library, no. 3035. d.4.

example, elaborate du Paquier-style borders.[194] The border on this plate is a more delicate object, with six alternating scenes of boar and deer hunts in a Chinese landscape, which were possibly also painted by Chinese painters.

✧ The bible story and mythological scenes

Scenes from bible stories became a popular theme on Chinese export porcelain in the late 18th century. Most objects were painted *en grisaille*, and the female figures were usually nude. These brought great challenges to Chinese artisans, who were unaccustomed to drawing European nudes. An example is a teapot decorated with Eve handing the forbidden fruit (a golden apple) to Adam. They are both reclining on under the Tree of Life, around which is entwined the serpent behind Eve's left (Figure 2.52). Numerous animals are painted rather indistinctly in the background. On the shoulder is a narrow band of ironed and gilt scrolling foliage.[195] Chinese artisans painted the landscape in the same style as Chinese ink painting. Additionally, the bodies of the figures are painted quite artificially, and the positions of the shadows are inaccurate. Another famous scene that comes from Greek mythology is the judgment of Paris (Figure 2.53), which was depicted on export porcelain with at least four different border designs.[196] In this story, Zeus was invited to choose the fairest goddess amongst Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, who are painted as a group of nudes in the central medallion. But he was reluctant to favour any claim himself. So Paris (pictured at left), the son of the King of Troy, made the choice. He offered the golden apple of victory to Aphrodite. Hera and

194 David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West I*, 254.
195 Jorge Welsh ed., *Christian Images in Chinese Porcelain,* 307.
196 Ibid., 329.

Athena were outraged, and the aftermath of the contest triggered the Trojan Wars. This plate bears a gilded spearhead border. The original sample for this image is still unidentified but maybe after a 1636 painting by Peter Paul Rubens.[197]

2.2.3 Symbolization of Status: Armorial Porcelain

As mentioned in the former section, Heraldry, a European identity system for warriors when amour covered their faces in battle, can be traced back to ancient times. In the European tradition, coats of arms were added to silverware, textiles, and furniture. Throughout the 18th century, enamel porcelain painted with coats of arms occupied a large proportion of the Chinese export porcelain market. When Chinese porcelain began to be imported to Europe around 1700, possessing armorial services became a fashion for noble families and corporations.[198] After the middle of the 18th century, with the popularity of armorial porcelain, pseudo-armorials were depicted on porcelain. From then, armorial porcelain gradually became common for civilians. The undisputed "cyclopedia" of armorial porcelain is given by David S. Howard in *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, which includes about three thousand armorial services for the British market. Even so, this is a very small proportion of all the armorial pieces sent to Europe during that time.[199] The Portuguese were the first to import porcelain with armorial designs (Figure 2.54). In the early 16th century, the new European trade was appropriated for Portuguese orders. Sometimes, the coat of arms was copied upside down by Chinese artisans due to a lack of

197 Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 71.
198 Ibid., 39-40.
199 David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West II*, 379.

experience. Afterwards, a great deal of armorial porcelain was ordered by the Dutch and English East India Companies.

- **Armorial porcelain for aristocratic families**

  ✧ Order by officials

The officials of the East India Company had a great advantage in ordering Chinese porcelain. A large number of the armorial services have been catalogued by David Howard. Johannes Camphuijs (1634-1695) was originally a silversmith in Haarlem. Then he started a successful career with the VOC. He started around 1654 as a clerk in the VOC office in Batavia. After 1670 his career advanced and he became the head of the trading station on Dejima in Japan for three terms, until 1676. Finally, he became governor-general in Batavia from 1684 to 1691.[200] He was interested in Asian art and collections of curiosities. He had a Japanese-style house built in Batavia after he resigned from the VOC.[201] In addition, Johannes designed his coat of arms with a silversmith's hammer and displayed it on several kinds of artworks. In addition to the Chinese blue-and-white porcelain and *famille verte*, his coat of arms was also depicted on Japanese lacquer, porcelain and silver commemorative medals. The blue-and-white dish with Johannes's coat of arms was the earliest order of Dutch armorial porcelain (Figure 2.55). Chinese traditional elements (four pairs of Chinese ladies, rocks and plants) can be seen on the rim. This is typical of Kangxi ware. There are several types of flowers on the reverse rim and a large round peony in a circle on the base. Another enamelled armorial

[200] Jochem Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), 105.
[201] There is an ink painting by Johannes Rach collected in Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, NG-400-D. Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam-The culture of luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem: Peabody Essex Museum, 2015), 100.

set belonging to Camphuijs is a sweetmeat set with the same coat of arms. There are eight petal-shaped dishes with a star-shaped dish in the center and eight matching smaller dishes. They are painted in *sancai* enamels: green, yellow, and aubergine (Figure 2.56). It is an exquisite set: each object bears a crest and several sprays of flowers and leaves at each cavetto. This kind of charming set became fashionable in and after 1730.[202]

A lovely bowl is one of the largest and most beautiful Dutch services, ordered by the brothers Theodorus and Adriaan van Reverhost around 1745 (Figure 2.57). The coat of arms is a unique design that combines the arms of van Reverhost in the center, surrounded by eight smaller and overlapping coats inscribed with the names of the brothers' relatives.[203] Theodorus van Reverhorst (1706-1758) was a member of the VOC's Court of Justice in Batavia and served the company for 17 years. This special coat of arms is the sole known example of a design of family pedigree.[204] Two sets of cups and saucers in the same series of services are collected in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels. Similarly, officials for the British East India Company also ordered armorial porcelain for their families. An elegant soup plate was made for Peter Godfrey, an official of the British East India Company who was chief of a supercargo in Canton in 1728 and Chief of Council in the same year.[205] The plate is decorated with blue-and-white floral sprays and latticework on the border. In the center is an exquisite coat of arms in over-glaze enamels and gilt. However, the crest was painted in over-glaze

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202 Jochem Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market*, 114-115.
203 Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 47.
204 Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Chinese Export Porcelain:* Chine de Commande *from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels*, 258.
205 David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974), 172.

polychrome on the upper border, which is a common design in armorial porcelain. Another example is the armorial plate made for Dr. William Walker, who was a Judge Advocate (Figure 2.58). His coat of arms was depicted on the central medallion, but the crest, a rising sun, was repeated four times on the rim along with European scroll patterns. This kind of pure European decorations on export porcelain was rare during the Kangxi period. In general, traditional elements are seen on export wares. Interestingly, this design was so popular that it was copied by Lord Somers, the lord chancellor of England, and the Walpole family.[206] However, due to a lack of knowledge of heraldry and communications with European merchants, the Walkers' crests remained on the rim. Such embarrassing mistakes constantly appeared on exotic orders.

✧ Armorial porcelain for marriage

European merchants ordered porcelain for special occasions, such as weddings, anniversaries and commemorations. Most wedding porcelain depicts the two crests of the couples with various designs. Crests of European cities or countries were made as well, for example, Amsterdam, England, Leuven, some of them even bearing the same decorations but with different coats of arms. A set of marriage cup and saucer was made for David Van Visvliet (1740-1789) and Susanna Elisabeth Slujmer (b. 1750) and their families on the occasion of their wedding in 1777 (Figure 2.59). The two families were both wealthy clans from Middelburg, which was the second-wealthiest town in the Netherlands (after Amsterdam) during that period.[207] The decorations of this series are

[206] Ibid., 134.
[207] Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: The Ming and Qing Dynasties*, 313.

ingenious, with two small coats of arms hanging on a branch with grapes and foliage together with a hat, a scarf, and a trumpet in the center. The meaning of these decorations is still unknown. Both wares bear six Chinese style floral sprays and a gilt-serrated border. More remarkably, the coats of arms were an artistic adaption by Chinese artisans, especially the way they were tied to the branch with ribbons, and the way the right crest is curled. This representation is unique in export armorial porcelain. Three sets of examples are collected in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the British Museum in London, and another set is in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

Another design of armorial porcelain to commemorate the marriage of Princess Anne of England (1709-1759) and William IV, Prince of Orange (1711-1751) in 1734 or the restoration of the hereditary office of *stadholder* in 1747 is the teacup and saucer set in the V&A Museum (Figure 2.60).[208] This set of armorial wares was probably part of a service as well, of which three other objects are known. The decoration is the coats of arms of the prince and princess arranged under a crown and an orange-tree branch between them with a thin gilt line on the borders. In addition to officials of the East India Companies and European governments and aristocratic families, armorial porcelain was also customized by magistrates or military councilors.

- **Armorial porcelain for European organizations**

As mentioned above, the East India Company officials enjoyed particularly favorable conditions for customizing armorial porcelain for themselves. They were not

[208] Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 49.

only ordering for their officers' families, but also for their companies. The porcelain with the arms of the Honourable East India Company can be traced back to the story. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was first to dominate the porcelain business between Europe and China, followed by the British East India Company (BEIC). However, the British Company was established earlier than VOC in 1600 and was originally called 'The Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies'. In 1709, this company merged with another earlier East India Company and came to be known as 'the Honourable East India Company (HEIC), and a new coat of arms was adopted.'[209] The armorial services, which contained a reticulated fruit basket and two elliptical plates, were decorated with the new coat of arms copied from the company's bookplate, and may have been ordered around 1809 to celebrate the centenary of HEIC (Figure 2.61).[210] The arm is two lions gardant surrounding the coat of arms and a lion standing on the arm together with its motto 'Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliar' ('By right of the King and the Senate of England' in English) depicted within a scroll.

The shape of this series order was special, comprised mostly of elliptical plates, bowls and baskets. The basket shape is European in origin and was always accompanied by a dish for holding fruits. The set was an important part of dessert tableware. After 1735, the Meissen style affected the Chinese porcelain trade as the German brand became popular in Europe. This particular service was probably an imitation of Meissen porcelain. Masonic porcelain is collected at Freemasons' Hall in London. The Freemasons, a

[209] Christopher Alan Bayly, *Indian society and the making of the British Empire* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1990), 67.
[210] Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, 10.

semi-secret fraternal organization that was popular in England and America in the 18th century, customized Chinese porcelain with masonic decorations starting in 1750.[211] The Masonic symbols can be found on many other objects, such as silver, glass, medals, and textiles. The symbols derive from the practices and tools of medieval stonemasons. It is suggested that the symbolic two columns represent King Solomon's Temple and the letter "G" in a starburst means either "God" or "geometry," and the builder's square and compass with the Bible signify reason and faith.[212] The cylindrical tankards with twisted strap handle joining the body with vine leaves and berries were design elements in the Freemason's Hall in London. At each rim is a band of dark blue glaze studded with gilt stars, with a lower gilt border containing a thin red band with gilt dots. Such tankards decorated the abovementioned symbols in freestyle on the body and all in brown and blue.

This popular fashion for armorial porcelain developed in the context of societies in which family identity, aristocratic affiliation, and identity of community organizations were essential to the development of social networks. Armorial porcelain is definitely a kind of special customized order, since the concept of heraldry is not part of Chinese tradition or culture. The function of identity is somewhat similar to the inscriptions on the bottom of Chinese domestic porcelain but a little different. Similarly, they all provide visual evidence to recognize the era in which the porcelain was made. The difference is that the expression of Chinese domestic porcelain is implicit. Moreover, there are many imitations in the future generations, which is difficult to utilize as a basis for judging the

[211] David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West II*, 323.
[212] Ronald W. Fuchs II and David S. Howard, *Made in China*, 148.

era. On armorial porcelain, it is simple and direct, as the decoration expressed the family lineage, aristocratic affiliation, and corporate identity.

2.2.4 Memorial Porcelain: Satire and Political Propaganda Themes

Themes involving satire and political scenes were unusual on export porcelain, except for the themes entitled "The Riots of Rotterdam" and "The South Sea Bubble". It is possible that the delivery time of two years was too long for most people's memories. [213] The design of 'Riots of Rotterdam' or 'Kosterman's Revolt' commemorated an incident that happened in Rotterdam in 1690. The protagonist of the incident was a man named Corneils Kosterman, whose refusal to pay an excise tax led to the death of a clerk. He was convicted for the case and sentenced to death by beheading. This angered the townspeople, who were convinced of Kosterman's innocence, and pulled down the house of the chief bailiff Jacob van Zuylen van Nijevelt (1699-1735) in retaliation.[214] The incident caused a great sensation at that time and was commemorated in newspapers, prints, poems, and silver medals. It was also requested on Chinese export porcelain, making it the earliest European political propaganda theme on Chinese export porcelain (Figure 2.62).[215] It is suggested that the decoration of this plate was copied from a medal commemorating the demolition of Zuylen van Nijevelt's house.[216] Several museums all over the world have collected related services, which include many plates

[213] Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 134-135.
[214] William R Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 320.
[215] Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange*, 32.
[216] William R Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum*, 320.

and sets of cups and saucers. Several variations were depicted on the cups and plates, such as the number of houses and figures, the portrayal of the figures, construction debris and the wheel of the cannon in the foreground. In addition, there are four medallions with Chinese-style decorations on the rim, which were probably required by the European merchants. The South Sea Bubble was also satirized on Chinese export porcelain (Figure 2.63). The South Sea Company was a British joint-stock company established in 1711, ostensibly as a commercial trading enterprise; in fact, it was a financial management organization. There was no real trade conducted; instead, the company depended on rising share prices for profit. As the company's stock rose sharply, its investors grew tremendously wealthy, which led to more speculation. Ultimately, the economic bubble burst in 1720 and became known as the "South Sea Bubble" (the name comes from the monopoly granted to the company to trade in the "South Seas," which at the time referred to South America rather than the South Pacific).[217] By that year, the debacle had been satirized in books, plates, playing cards, and porcelains.[218] The VOC merchants had keen business insight and immediately ordered a stock of warning porcelain decorated with harlequin figures. A set of six plates is decorated on the rim in blue underglaze, green enamel, and gilt with a figure from the Italian Commedia dell'Arte and a Dutch inscription on each of them:

Wie op Uytrecht of Nieuw Amsterdam (Who wants to speculate on Utrecht or New Amsterdam?)

Sheyt Actien en windhandel (Shares and swindle)

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[217] Ronald W. Fuchs II and David S. Howard, *Made in China*, 49.
[218] Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange*, 42.

50 percent op Delft Gewonnen (Fifty percent profit on Delft)

Weg Gekke Actionisten (Away foolish shareholders)

De Actiemars op de tang (The march oft he share values played on the tuning fork)

Pardie al myn actien kwyt (By God, lost all my shares)[219]

Most of the customized porcelain for the Dutch market were plates and saucers, which indicate that they are made for decoration, and served to caution the VOC's fellow Dutchmen to avoid risky speculative investments. This kind of topical news topic with a warning function is rarely seen on Chinese domestic porcelain. As discussed above, the preferences of European merchants are completely different from domestic porcelain. They brought the original European prints and painting samples to China and asked the Chinese artisans to paint them on Chinese porcelain with different painting skills. As a result, different subjects have different roles in European life which became transcultural objects between China and Europe through cross-media expression.

2.3 Brief Conclusion

This chapter has explored Chinese export porcelain made for the European market, which was separated into two sections by the year 1635. As aforementioned, according to research, customized porcelain was commissioned by the VOC after 1635.[220] Therefore, this chapter first introduced the early period export porcelain, which focuses on Kraak porcelain, and draws on the idea of the social lives of things, proposed by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff. And the shipwrecked porcelain was examined during the

[219] Ronald W. Fuchs II and David S. Howard, *Made in China*, 49.
[220] T. Volker. *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 60.

17th century for more evidence. Porcelain was a perfect ballast for a merchant ship, symbolization of wealth and social status of the owner in European society, and profitable product in the Asia-Europe trade additionally. Furthermore, the Chinese traditional motifs and foreign elements on Chinese porcelain have been documented. The deer motifs on Kraak porcelain were applied as a case study and it was concluded that pictorial elements were appropriated from Chinese images under the request of the European customers before without specific prototypes came to China.

In the second section, the order-made porcelain was examined known as *Chine de commande* (China by order) which was very popular during the whole 18th century. The time gap between these two sections was caused by the fact that the porcelain trade between China and Europe was stagnant from 1645 to 1683 according to the ban of maritime trade policy. During this period, European merchants transferred their market to Japan, which presented another ornament style. To focus the research objects mainly from 1690 to 1780 produced in Chinese manufactories in this section is not only narrow the scope of my dissertation, but more importantly, to strengthen the argument of this chapter is that the interactions between China and Europe were different in terms of appropriation and adaptation of Europe before and after the European sample made to order. Unlike most current studies focusing on the network of overseas and manufacture at Jingdezhen and Canton of customized porcelain, this chapter examined the appropriation and adaptation of pictorial elements under the different painting techniques and traditions between the European Sample and Chinese export porcelain. There were four European themes conducted in this section that were unfamiliar for Chinese artisans. Respectively

they were European genre motifs, European religious motifs, armorial porcelain and satire and political propaganda themes.

Due to the differences in painting traditions, techniques, compositions, and expressions of artisans between China and Europe, some adaptation and imagination appeared when images were moved on porcelain in a cross-media manner. I have sought the original samples in different European visual materials, such as European prints, oil paintings, European porcelain, and even silk fabrics. By examing the case study “Music party” widely ordered by European merchants around 1700 on blue-and-white porcelain, it was pointed out that similar to the painting technique tradition of Chinese Beautiful Woman, Chinese artisans utilized simple lines to depict the face without shadows drawings. In addition, Chinese painting emphasizes the freehand brushwork and usually uses a few strokes to outline the image, so the bone structure of the figures and the spatial shaping cannot be well controlled. In doing so, this chapter has revealed the conflict and fusion of images, ideas, and painting techniques between China and Europe.

Chapter III: Imagination and Interaction: The European Creation

Chinese porcelain, known as 'white gold,' captivated Europeans with its durability, beauty, and rarity. Despite its high price, no quantity could meet the demands of the buyers, so people in different parts of the world wanted to be able to manufacture this 'white gold' as well. At first, Middle Easterners, as consumers, traders and producers, played an important role in this material connection between East and West. In Europe, wares with tin glazes and whitish enamel were introduced by Islamic traders in Spain in the 13th century. Afterwards, the Italian invented a particular polychrome style known as *majolica* and adapted it as *fayence*, so named because they were produced in the city of Faenza. *Majolica* and *fayence* are used to define tin-glazed polychrome ceramics.[221] This trend spread to Delft in the middle of the 17th century. However, the secret of exquisite Chinese porcelain was a special clay, kaolin, which was derived from the Kaolin mountains near Jingdezhen and fired at a temperature of about 1280℃. Foreign potters experimented with other clays and lower firing temperatures, so they could not produce real porcelain. Until 1708, under efforts by the great fan of porcelain Augustus II the Strong (1694-1733), the first European real porcelain was produced in Meissen, a small town near Dresden in Germany. At the beginning of the two manufactories, the appropriation of Chinese porcelain was at its peak in Europe. Where did the iconography come from, and what were the adaptations made? There were two ways to obtain these motifs: one is imitating the images from export wares, and the other is using images from

[221] Christine Moll-Murata, "Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Ceramics Industries of Jindezhen and Delft" (paper presented to the S.R. Epstein Memorial Conference: Technology and Human Capital Formation in the East and West, London, June 18-21, 2008): 6-7.

some publications by European missionaries and envoys in that period. In this process, the imagination and interaction between different cultures could be seen on the objects. I will investigate them in this chapter and focus on the fayence of Delftware in the Netherlands and Meissen porcelain production in Germany.

3.1 Delft Blue: The Response of Netherlands

3.1.1 Pottery or Porcelain? What is Delft Blue?

Delft, a city in the southern area of the Netherlands, became known for 'Delftware' in the 17th century. There are many reasons that Delft was the Dutch capital of ceramics. First, due to the flourishing porcelain trade with China, large amounts of Chinese porcelain were brought to Dutch families by the VOC throughout the 17th century. The popularity of porcelain prompted ceramics factories to spring up all over the Netherlands, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Gouda, Dordrecht, and so on. However, their quantity and quality of pottery production were far less than Delft.[222] Second, the headquarters of VOC was in Amsterdam and one of the six trading branches in Delft provided the facilities. Third, thanks to the assistance of the Guild of Saint Luke (the artists' guild) the pottery industry blossomed successfully, with almost 40 factories in the small city of Delft.[223] Majolica ware is the forerunner of Delft faience. The Dutchmen introduced the Italian "Mallorca" pottery as early as the first half of the 15th century. In 1560, the Italian engineer Cipriano Piccolpasso (1524-1579) established the first factory

[222] Liu Qiangong, "The Historical Motivations and Actual Significance of the rise of Delft, Holland's capital of pottery 劉謙功, 荷蘭陶瓷之都代爾夫特崛起的歷史動因與現實意義", 41.
[223] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Qui Capit, Capitur* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs. 2015), 144.

in Antwerp.[224] Mercantile cities such as Brugge (Bruges) and Antwerp in the southern Netherlands (now Belgium) became familiar with earthenware from Italy, Spain and Portugal by the way of trade and political contacts. These earthenwares were often transported by sea.[225] This issue relates to the term 'Maiolica,' whose name derived from the maritime trade routes from the early places of production in Malaga passed through the Spanish island of 'Mallorca'. That is why the name 'Maiolica' was first used by Italians to describe these late-medieval and renaissance ceramics. These ceramics were also called 'majolica' by Italian potters. But clear distinctions were made between these two similar terms by the curators at the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A Museum in London) by the 1870s. It is generally accepted the term *majolica* refers to lead-glazed ceramics and *Maiolica* to all Italian tin-glazed earthenware.[226] Maiolica ware usually bears the obvious feature of three small spots of glaze damage on the front. They are spur marks, which were created by stacking the pieces on top of one another in the kiln with small supports (spurs) in between them to keep the pieces from fusing together when firing.

However, tin-glazed pottery was introduced to Northwestern Europe by Italian migrants in the 16th century. In 1512, the Italian potter Guido Andriesz established tin-glaze pottery in Antwerp, alongside another Italian family named Floris, who also ran a pottery. However, due to this situation of religion and politics after the fall of Antwerp

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[224] N. Hudson Moore, *Delftware-Dutch and English* (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1909), 3.
[225] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs, 2014), 144.
[226] Rebecca Wallis, "What are maiolica and majolica?"
Article published at: https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/what-are-maiolica-and-majolica.

in 1585, the majolica potters of Italian origin migrated from Antwerp to cities in the North Netherlands such as Haarlem and Delft.[227] Just like this polychrome dish made in Haarlem (Figure 3.1), the pattern is regularly arranged by several geometric figures, which is different from the convention of depicting realistic patterns on Chinese porcelain. There are four groups of painted enamel in pale colours divided by a cross with five dark spots into four quadrants of blue chevron devices, and surrounded by a stylized flower-head of bluish green and striped triangles. The outer rim is edged with four more blue concentric bands. There are three buff-coloured pots left on the central medallion. Majolica can be distinguished from Delftware not only by the three small spots of glaze damage on the front which made by spurs mentioned before but also by the clear glaze on the reverse that reveals the buff-coloured body of the clay.[228]

The tide of pottery affected Delft, Rotterdam, and many other Dutch cities during the 17th century.[229] The pottery industry in Delft benefitted from the majolica tradition so that the earliest Delftwares bear an Italian influence. Then, with the founding of the Dutch East India Company in 1602, large amounts of bright, white, thin, real porcelain were imported into the Netherlands. This treasure fascinated the local residents, and it was the incentive for majolica potters to adapt their wares in order to imitate it more closely. Due to differences in the clay, the Delft potters had to add an additional white glaze to create a glossy, porcelaneous appearance on their pieces. Second, Delft potters

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[227] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor*, 6.
[228] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Qui Capit, Capitur*, 4.
[229] Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "Porcelain for everyone: The Chinaware Aesthetic in the Early Modern Era." Journal of *Global Histories of Economic Development: Cotton Textiles and Other Global Industries in the Early Modern Period* (March 20-25, 2006): 6.

tried to improve their firing techniques. They fired in cylindrical saggars in order to eliminate the spur marks on the front surface. In this way, only small marks made by the pieces resting on pins would be left on the reverse of the objects.[230] In addition, because the clay and tin glazes used for Delftware cannot tolerate high-temperature firing, after repeated failures, the Dutch reduced the kiln temperature by 900 degrees for the first fire. Then the white tin glaze and cobalt blue decorations are drawn, and the piece is fired again. This is known as faience in Delft, and is not real porcelain. Ferrand Hudig has outlined the technical and artistic characters of Delftware in different phases:[231]

1570-1670 decoration followed majolica in the Italian and Spanish style.

1630-1650 imitation phase of trying to imitate porcelain

1650-1675 the rise of "Dutch porcelain"

1670-1690 the closest imitation of Chinese decoration

1680-1725 imitation of Japanese style

1680-1760 Blue ornament on a white background phase

1725-1750 polychrome ware under the influence of enamel colours (*famille rose*).

As indicated above, the Delft pottery industry is influenced by both Europe and the Far East. The second stage (1630-1650) given by Ferrand Hudig, coincides with the Chongzhen period of the Ming dynasty. During this phase, the Delft potters were still at an early stage of imitating Chinese characters and landscapes. They could not accurately describe the perspective relationship between figures and scenery yet. Additionally, the

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230 Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Qui Capit, Capitur*, 4.
231 Christine Moll-Murata, "Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Ceramics Industries of Jindezhen and Delft", 7.

lack of understanding of Chinese culture often caused mistakes in the depiction of images on Delftware.

The Ming dynasty fell in 1644 and the Qing government followed the precedent policy of forbidding sea voyages at the beginning of the dynasty. Almost all trade with foreigners ceased. At this moment, the imitation pottery made in Delft took over most of the European market, and triggered many imitations by other European countries, such as England, France, Germany and Belguim. The term "Delftware" eventually came to be used as a generic term for the faience of Chinese-style blue-and-white ware. After Taiwan was annexed in 1683, the Kangxi emperor issued the edict, the maritime trade ban was relaxed and four customs offices to manage foreign trade affairs opened up the following year.[232] In this case, Kangxi porcelain ware entered the life of Europeans in large quantities. Apart from the wildly popular blue-and-white porcelain, there was some polychrome porcelain traded by private merchants. As for the decoration, there were three main types of Delftwares that were influenced by the Chinese. The first type is the "close imitation" of Chinese porcelain. However, due to the different cultural backgrounds, some interesting misunderstandings appeared. The second type is far Eastern styles combined with European stylistic elements producing what is now known as "Chinoiserie."[233] The third type is the invention phase, which refers to the local acculturation of Delft ware's formed Dutch decoration style in the end. This chapter

[232] The first two offices were in Fujian; over the next three years, two more customs offices were established in Zhejiang and Jiangsu.
[233] Marion S. van Aken-Fehmers, "Dutch Delftware: The 'Very Best' Imitation of Chinese Porcelain." Edited by Stacey Pierson. *Transfer: The Influence of China on World Ceramics: Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 24. Held November 5th-7th, 2007* (London: University of London, 2009), 93-94.

mainly focuses on the exchange of ideas between Chinese porcelain and Delftware (not only the faience produced in Delft), and also examines how ideas and painting devices were 'adapted' and 'translated' in two cultures and visual systems.

3.1.2 The Imitation Phase (1630-1650): Delft Manufactories' imitation of Chinese blue and white porcelain

- **Integration and Recombination: Delftware with Chinoiserie**

"Chinoiserie" quite is a special concept in the art historical context. It first appeared in the 17th century and became fashionable in the 18th century due to the flourishing trade between East Asia and Europe. It is neither a pure Chinese style nor a fully European tradition. Rather, it is a hybrid idea that has been studied by many scholars. For instance, the British scholar Hugh Honour wrote the book named *Chinoiserie, the vision of Cathay* in 1961. His view is that "Chinoiserie" shows the Europeans' psychological understanding and imagination of the mysterious Far Eastern countries, rather than being merely a parody of Chinese art. European "Chinoiserie" art works, although full of Chinese elements, are still a European design.[234] Later, another British scholar, Oliver Impey, interpreted this word in his book in 1977. "Chinoiserie is the European idea of what oriental things were like, or ought to be like. It was based on a European conception of the Orient gathered from imported objects and from traveler's tales. Apart from the genuine eastern objects (the Japanese lacquer, the Chinese porcelain, and possibly the

[234] Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie, the Vison of Cathay* (London: Murray, 1961), 1-4.

India fabrics), these were European things in oriental style."[235] Richard Vinograd also pointed out that the Chinoiserie appearing on porcelain as a syncretic creation was considered awkward, reflecting the essence of cross-cultural communication between China and the West since the 17th century.[236]

Then, where did the abundant Chinoiserie design come from? For the Delft porcelain workers who had never been to China, where did their visual materials come from? There are generally two categories of visual materials that these European artisans could obtain. The first was direct sources, i.e., the export wares imported from China. For instance, the decoration and ornaments on porcelain, lacquerware, silk, fans, and export paintings. The second category was the popular illustrated travelogue of Chinese images. For instance, Johan Nieuhof's (1617–1672) work, which was first published in 1665, showed Europeans what this fanciful country looked like. It depicted Chinese cities, towns, rivers, landscapes, and Chinese people and their costumes. It was a record of the first Dutch envoy's visit to China between 1655 and 1657, commissioned by the VOC and included no fewer than 150 prints.[237] In fact, their primary task was to negotiate trading privileges with the Shunzhi emperor (1644–1661) of China. Although this aim was not successful, the publication of the illustrated travelogue was an unalloyed triumph.[238] His work was quickly translated and printed into many editions.[239] It became

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[235] Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie, the Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration*, 9.
[236] Richard Vinograd and Ding Ning trans., "As a confounding state of history 作为历史的混杂状态" *Meiyuan* 美苑, no.1 (2013): 64-67.
[237] Sun Jing, "The Illistration of Verisimilitude: Johan Nieuhof's Images of China" (Ph. D Dissertation, Leiden University. 2013), 4.
[238] The result of this embassy visit has been discussed by many scholars; see Henriette Rahusen-de Bruyn Kops, "'Not Such an 'Unpromising Beginning': The First Dutch Trade Embassy to China, 1655–1657,"

the standard visual source for images of China for a long time, which not only stimulated Europeans' curiosity but also heavily influenced the formation of "Chinoiserie" in European art, including Delftware.[240] Two years later, the same publisher, Jacob van Meurs (1619–1680), published another travel account named "*China Illustrata*" by Athanasius Kircher in 1667, originally in Latin. Kircher had never been to China himself, but he compiled oral and written reports of Jesuit missionaries to publish the opus and had it translated into Dutch, English and French.[241]

Once the album was published, the images in the book began to spread. These visual materials provided a lot of creative motifs for the artisans and integrated many innovations and adaptations of each creator in the ongoing reorganizations and transformations. As a result, most of the prints depict the Chinese figure with a somewhat grotesque appearance and pseudo-Chinese motifs that are quite far removed from reality.[242] There is a huge porcelain plaque with Chinoiserie decorations in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Figure 3.2), which is believed to be one of the earliest samples of the 17th century Chinoiserie. Different from the tradition of Delft porcelain tile,

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Modern Asian Studies Vol.36, no.3 (2002): 535–578. Also see Leonard Blussé, "No Boats to China: The Dutch East India Company and The Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol.30, no.1(1996): 51–70.

[239] Jacob van Meurs had obtained the privilege granted by the States of Holland for fifteen years to publish this book, not only in Dutch, but also in French (1665), German (1666), Latin (1668) and English (1669) editions.

[240] Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam: the culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, 325. Also see Paola Dematte and Marcia Reed, *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2007), 13–26; Donald F. Lach, and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 3, bk. 4, *East Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1685; Chi-ming Yang, *Performing China: Virtue, Commerce, and Orientalism in Eighteenth-century England, 1660–1760* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 144.

[241] Baleslaw Szczensniak. "Athanasius Kircher's: China Illustrata," *History of Science Society*, Vol.10: 385–411.

[242] Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, 250.

it is decorated with Delft blue and white painted by an unknown craftsman. This painting depicts a Chinese festival scene. There are acrobats, dragon boats, and many exotic elements, such as two pagodas and Chinese pavilions in the distance, and an auspicious (to the Chinese) crane flying in the air. The hairstyles and costumes of the characters are also clearly Chinese; however, some of the characters' faces are European-looking. According to the research of Sun Jing, the artisan was very familiar with Johan Nieuhof's engraving book (*Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie*), because many of the decorations are derived directly from the engravings in this book, for example, the man in a skirt striking his bare head against a stone, the acrobat supporting a long pole atop which another man is standing, and the city wall and pagodas in the distance. The craftsman creatively extracted a lot of vibrant Chinese elements from the book of Johan Nieuhof and combined them into one pastiche.[243] Another example is a large lidded vase that reproduces Nieuhof's prints on Delftware (Figure 3.3). The main motif of Nieuhof's engraving (Figure 3.4) was indiscriminately imitated on the vase. According to the literature, it depicts the emperor of a throne with a large globe in front of him and many courtiers.[244] However, the Nieuhof print is more likely a scene in a European scenario. The first reason is that most of the figures appear to be European. Second, Chinese courtiers would never have stood next to the emperor as shown in the engraving. They usually faced the emperor, who sat on a raised dais. Third, the weapons in the hands of the courtiers were also Chinese. The flag in the background section created by Nieuhof was removed on porcelain. The image on this print combined with

[243] Sun Jing, "The Illistration of Verisimilitude: Johan Nieuhof's Images of China", 276.
[244] Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, 326.

other floral elements was depicted on the Delft vase in accordance with the traditional Chinese typesetting, which reveals the cultural exchange during that period.

- **The Contrast of Same Chinese and Delft Motifs**

It is said that the very first imitation of Chinese porcelain is 'Kraak porcelain' produced in the Wanli period.[245] As I mentioned in the second section, the Kraak dish with the theme of "fisherman, woodcutter, farmer, scholar, (渔、樵、耕、读)" was very popular in the Chongzhen period (1628–1644) and continued until around 1670. This series of Kraak plates always depicts those four characters on the border with some Iznik-like flowers, and different motifs in the center (Figure 2.15 and Figure 2.16 in Chapter 2). Afterwards, this theme was imitated by Delft potters (Figure 3.5). At first glance, the decorations on the Delft plate were much less detailed than the Chinese Kraak dish. In other words, the devices painted by Delft potters were more decorative, such as the tulips in the eight narrow panels and flower sprays between the tulips, which included several geometric patterns. Thus, how was this adaption made in the imitational works? I offer two reasons. First, this style continued the decorative taste of majolica from Italy. Second, European potters could not imitate the accuracy of the patterns. What's more, the four figures in the wide panels were depicted with the same gestures, even the figure in the central medallion. Obviously, the potters did not understand the meaning of the characters 渔、樵、耕、读 (fisherman, farmer, woodcutter, scholar). They are the four main occupations of the Chinese farming community and represent the basic lifestyle of ancient China. The four figures on the original Kraak porcelain possess appreciable

[245] Ibid., 99.

distinctions, even though the depictions of characters on this piece are nearly identical. Typically, the fisherman is angling and holding a fish or carrying fishing nets over his shoulder along the path on the field. The woodcutter is holding logs on his shoulder, and the farmer is holding an axe. Only the scholar is sitting in a Chinese courtyard. However, it was appropriated on this Delft dish. Only the visualization of the seated character is depicted in the four panels. This plate looks like a Chinese iconography but does not fully describe its meaning.

There is a later version with a similar theme painted with polychrome Kraak style (Figure 3.6). At first, it is easy to tell that it is pottery from the dilapidated rim. We can deduce from the pictorial element by the previous research that is also the decoration of the Chinese tale "渔、樵、耕、读". The difference is that this version made some more adaptations. The decoration in the center depicted two Chinese figures seated before a wine pot under a European-style architectural arch hung with three tassels. The figure's face and parts of their robes are highlighted in ochre yellow and surrounded by shrubbery within a scroll-patterned roundel edged with iron-red circles.[246] My hypothesis is there is a river in front of them with a few stones. The decorations on the cavetto and rim are similar to Figure 3.1, but the panels were depicted as six groups. There are three panels with figures in various poses. Therefore, the reference of this plate was mostly likely Delft porcelain. The painter not only did not know the original cultural background of the pattern to distinguish the characters, but also drew the wrong number of them. In addition, there are wavier lines in the narrowest panels between each panel. Interestingly, the Delft

[246] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor*, 28.

artisans highlighted the several circular objects on the top of the tulips in the big panels, which seem to be tulips. In their journey from China to Europe, decorations encountered misunderstandings, rewriting, adaption, and finally became miscellaneous visual symbols decorated on the medium, which has been preserved to the present day.

Another Kraak plate depicts a flowerpot in a central lobed panel enclosing a diaper pattern, filled with a large peony, a painting scroll, and other stylized objects, which is supported on the stand of a Chinese style stool on a terrace in front of a fence, all painted with diagonals (Figure 3.7). The rounded sides are surrounded on the cavetto and rim with eight wide and narrow radiating panels. The wide panels are alternately painted with single and double stylized peach sprays and four floral panels; the narrow panels with circles and dots between hatching and scale work. Actually, this is a popular Chinese design that was adapted by Delft artisans. There are several potential original Chinese prototypes from the Wanli period.[247] Here I show an example illustrated in L. Vinhais, J. Welsh's (ed.) book titled *Kraak porcelain: The rise of global trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries* (Figure 3.8). Compared with the Delft replicas, this Chinese dish is more detailed and painted with more auspicious patterns. For example, the wide panels on the rim are alternately painted with auspicious symbols tied with ribbons, instead of floral panels as on Delftware. The different narrow panels with strings of pearls and jewels are framed above and below by scale and diverse diaper patterns. Another adaption should be shifted to the underside of the flowerpot painted on a stone-like ground on Chinese porcelain. In addition, the diaper pattern on this Chinese Kraak

[247] Ibid., 24.

porcelain is two alternating patterns surrounding the central medallion of the Chinese version, which are known as scale-diaper and swastika (*wanzi qushui*). According to the research by Wu Ruoming, various diaper patterns appeared frequently in Chinese art, for example, on the rims and border areas of Song and Yuan vessels, the Song-dynasty treatise on architecture *Yingzao Fashi*, and textiles.[248] Certainly, there is no direct evidence that proves that Chinese Kraak porcelain is the prototype of Delft porcelain, but because of the popularity of this decorative style at the time, a large number of such porcelain with similar decorations were imported from China and copied on Delftware, so they must have at least an indirect relationship. In my opinion, it is most likely that the Delft artisans had many prototypes to refer to. They selected their favourite patterns and adapted them to objects without considering the meaning of the pattern.

3.1.3 The Innovation Phase: Local Creation of Delft Ware

- **Native-featured Tulip Vase**

Even now in the Netherlands, you can often see special porcelain object that is never seen in China. It is a pyramidal flower vase with many spouts into which tulips are placed (Figure 3.9). It appeared around the end of the 17th century, when chinoiserie was popular in the Netherlands. This was a unique creation of Delft craftsman. According to the literature, its prototype may have come from the illustrations of the Bao'en pagoda from Nieuhof's book. It shows the nine-storeyed "Porcelain Pagoda" in Nanking. Lothar Ledderose described it as having "*bells hanging from the tips of its elegantly curved*

[248] Wu Ruoming, *The origins of Kraak porcelain in the late Ming Dynasty*, 181.

eaves and its Cintamani jewel on top" and Nieuhof said it looked like a pineapple.[249] The pagoda had a profound and lasting influence on European arts, and even architects, as evidenced by the pagoda in Kew Gardens, built in 1761 by Sir William Chambers (1723-1796), Munich's Englischer Garten, and the castles of Sanssouci (1770) and Chanteloup (1775-1778).[250] As Lother Ledderose mentioned, William Chambers was the founder of the history of Chinese architecture in Europe and the first European to publish professional and accurate drawings of Chinese building elements in his *Design of Chinese Buildings*. He considered Chinese buildings to be best suited to less important functions and gardens.[251] As a result, he abandoned his original design and redesigned Kew Gardens and furnished them with buildings following the Bao'en pagoda. Chamber's Kew Gardens pagoda is made up of ten stories that gradually diminish in size towards the top, which borrowed Nieuhof's overall proportions (Figure 3.10).[252] The Bao'en pagoda became 'the Chinese building best known in Europe.[253] However, the influence of this famous temple was not only reflected on the architecture, but also had a profound influence on the decorative arts in Europe. For instance, the structure of the Delft flower holders is a noteworthy example.

During the years 1634-37, there was a great craze for tulips in the Netherlands. They were introduced into Europe from Turkey and became a frenzied commodity during the

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249 Lother Ledderose, "Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *China and Europe: Images and Influence in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press of Hong Kong, 1991), 232.
250 Sun Jing, "The Illistration of Verisimilitude: Johan Nieuhof's Images of China", 272-273.
251 Lother Ledderose, "Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *China and Europe: Images and Influence in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 233-234.
252 Ibid., 234.
253 Patrich Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 17.

"Tulip Mania."[254] The ingenious Delft potters adopted the inspiration of the Chinese pagoda and combined it with their own demand for tulip vases. Many tulip vases are collected in European museums, and there is a subtle difference in their structure and decoration. Most tulip vases consist of a series of separate segments that fit one on top of another, gradually decreasing in size like the pagoda, which suggests that they usually stand on a pedestal.[255] There is a pair of vases, made by the 'Greek A' factory around 1695, in the V&A Museum (Figure 3.11). Each of them has a base supported by four royal lions with a globe in their paws. There are nine-story square flower holders with a spout on every corner and a European female bust at the top. The wonderful design is every tier could be filled with water, and flowers.[256] In addition, they have the customary segmented top. Many others have holes for more flowers in the top of the finials' heads. As for the pictorial aspect, they followed Chinese blue and white enamel conventions and the decorations of transitional period porcelain on every tier: a woman in Chinese dress sitting in a Chinese interior and a little square table with flowers on it. At the interval of each segment, there are floral decorations and geometric patterns. This kind of Delft flower holder is an outcome by Delft potters, which is rare in Chinese export porcelain. From the decorative styles, they have both the characteristics of the Rococo style and the Chinese transitional period porcelain. From the structure, the so-called 'pyramidal flower vase' was not an imitation of an Egyptian pyramid, but followed the shape of the Chinese

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254 Peter M. Garber, "Tulipmania," *The Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 97, no. 3 (June 1989): 535-560.
255 Karina H Corrigan, *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem: Peabody Essex Museum. 2015), 312.
256 The information come from the records of the V&A Museum, Inv. No.: C.19 to J-1981, and C.19 to J-1982.

pagoda to create a new object that suited their indigenous culture, demand, and taste.

- **Syncretic Decoration on Delft Ware**

It is impossible to make perfect imitations of works from different cultures that encounter each other, and there are always three phases of artistic and cultural confluence, from the beginning imitation phase to the gradual integration stage of their own elements and then to the innovation stage. With the development of the Delft faience industry, Delft craftsmen intentionally integrated their local elements to create the well-known faience. There is a pair of blue and white octagonal plaques in Queen Mary Stuart's collection (Figure 3.12). At the first sight, the shape of the two plaques appears to be a new design by Delft artisans, but they follow the impression of Chinese blue-and-white enamel. The plaques are painted with two genre scenes. Except for the multi-storey decorations on the borders, which are similar to Chinese porcelain, the motifs on the central medallion are local engravings. These genre motifs were enfolded by a stippled border of foliate devices, and then, with a blue-ground wide border of foliate scrolls reserved with four panels of flowering shrubbery and plum blossoms within a foliate vine border on the gadrooned panels; each of them is surrounded by a border with floral branches and a triangular pediment edged with a pair of fish, and pierced with a hole for suspension.[257]

According to the literature, these two genre engravings were derived from works of Frederik Bloemaert (1614/17-1669) after drawings dating to circa 1625-30 by his father

[257] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor*, 80-81.

Abraham Bloemaert (circa 1565-1651) (Figure 3.13).[258] The left set depicts a young woman resting in a field with an overloaded basket on her back, while a woman in the distant background stands with her back to the viewer. The right set contains a tired woman with a basket sleeping in a field, a thief emptying her purse, and a boy observing from the side. However, it is worth noting that the traces of engravings disappeared after the originals were copied onto the plaques by Delft artisans. However, it is different than the Chinese artisans who made customized porcelain that followed European engravings; they usually left traces of the prints on the surface. I suppose that it is probably because the Delft painters had some knowledge of printmaking techniques and could distinguish the different visual characteristics on different media. However, since the Chinese craftsman were most likely unfamiliar with the technique of printmaking, they copied the imprint of the cross lines on the porcelain on the European orders.

The term 'garniture set' usually refers to vase sets made in metal, ormolu, porcelain, or lacquer ware to garnish or adorn furniture or interiors. They were quite popular in European noble families. It was usually an odd-numbered set of porcelain or faience urns or vases made to decorate a mantelpiece or the top of a cabinet. According to the literature, from the late 17th century onwards, compositions of odd-numbers, for example three, five, seven, nine, or even eleven vases of oriental objects entered Dutch interiors. In the second half of the 18th century, the assembly of five vases comprising three baluster form vases and two beaker vases had become standard for Delftware

[258] These drawings illustrated by J. Bolten, *Abraham Bloemaert, c. 1565-1651: the drawings*, 2007, I, p.243, nos.697 and 700, II, p.304, ills.697a and 700a; and by M.G. Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints* (Doornspijk 1993), I, p243-244, no.367, 'The Young Thief,' and no.370, 'Young Peasant Resting,' II, illus.513 and 516. See Ibid., 80-81.

garnitures.[259] For example, this exquisite garniture set includes three baluster form vases and two beaker vases (Figure 3.14). The most obvious difference with Chinese vases is that each one is equipped with a lid and a finial modeled as the bust of an elegantly coiffed but scantily draped lady. Chinese ware usually bears a knop and there are no covers on the beaker vases. In addition, each object has an octagonal base and a rococo scroll-edged cartouche decorated with a stippled ground reserved with a smaller cartouche scroll in which is painted a European figure wearing a big hat and carrying a big backpack over his left arm walking in a European style landscape. That garniture set was marked "IVDuijin" in blue for Johannes van Duijun, owner of De Porceleyne Schotel Factory from 1764-1772, or his widow Van Duijn-van Kampen from 1772-1773.[260]

- **Dutch Style Decoration on Delft Ware**

As a matter of course, after 'admiring', 'imitating' something, 'innovation' may be the next stage of cultural possession. At the beginning of the 18th century, Delft faience that looks like Chinese blue-and-white porcelain had been decorated with the local decorative elements. For example, the element of landmark buildings, landscapes, European figures, and even Dutch genre paintings were depicted on Delftware. Due to the influence of religious reforms, the art market in the 17th century has also changed. Artists were no longer employed solely by guilds and churches, and their forms tended to

[259] Robert D. Aronson and Suzanne M. R. Lambooy, *Dutch Delftware: including: "Facing East: Oriental Sources for Dutch Delftware Chinoiserie Figures" and Highlights from the Mr. J. Visser Collection, Heemstede, and the Stigter-Gysberti Hodenpyl Collection, Singapore* (Amsterdam: Aronson Antiquairs. 2010), 120-121.
[260] Ibid., 120.

diversify. Most painters were not engaged at the same public or private institution for a long time, and their paintings enjoyed more sales on the open market.[261] Therefore, fuelled by the commercialization of art, the theme of Dutch painting became closer to the daily life of the people. During this period, still life and genre paintings replaced religious paintings. Genre images on Delftware can also be exemplified. This Delft plate depicts Chinese peony branches and three winged butterflies on the border, but a totally European genre motif in the central medallion (Figure 3.15). The first is two cocks placed on two steeples and a cluster of houses below flocks of birds in a cloudy sky. In the foreground are six figures on the road, a man riding a horse, a figure watching the conversing couple and pointing at a child bending over at the water's edge to gather shells, and a man with a pannier on his back and walking toward a woman with a basket on her head. According to the reserved oval below inscribed '*Scheevelingh*,*'* this scene is the old church of Scheveningen in The Hague (Figure 3.16).[262] It is obvious that the descriptions of the building on the plate were taken from this church, but the Delft painter emphasized the rolling hills in front of the building.

As mentioned before, in 1683, after the restoration of ceramic production in Jingdezhen, the VOC imported porcelain from China again. At this period, large numbers of *Wucai* porcelain of to Kangxi period were imported by private traders. Polychrome porcelain impacted the development of the Delft ceramic industry again. Subsequently, Delft artisans explored the technique of polychrome ware combining their local culture

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[261] Michael North. *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: London, Yale University Press, 1997), 87.
[262] Robert D. Aronson and Eveline Brouwers, *Dutch Delftware: Queen Mary's Splendor*, 80-81.

with Chinese elements. This Delft polychrome dish depicts a Dutch-style landscape and was made after the middle of the 18th century (Figure 3.17). In the central medallion is painted a fantastic landscape where the sea and the sky are merged together and two figures enjoy a fishing trip. There are two sailboats in the background, many European villas, and a Dutch windmill on the lakeside. The decoration of the border imitated Chinese porcelain by depicting four same flower branches, but with fewer details. It is a decorative pattern with two lines crossed and linked together on the middle trim, which is never seen on Chinese ware. In addition, the technique of brushwork affected by European painting is noteworthy. A series of pottery with a highly generalized pattern and Dutch-style decorative tastes were produced at this time, but it will not be covered here. Delft ceramics in the Netherlands played an irreplaceable role in promoting the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Europe. However, its heyday did not last very long. With the development of real porcelain in Meissen at the beginning of the 18th century, the Delft low-temperature pottery was replaced by high-temperature real porcelain.

3.2 First European Real Porcelain: Meissen Porcelain

3.2.1 The Meissen Story

We cannot discuss Meissen porcelain without mentioning the great patron of the arts, Augustus II the Strong (1694-1733), who was the Elector of Saxony and possessed a great passion for arts and architecture, especially for Chinese and Japanese porcelain. In 1717, he made a deal with Frederick Wilhelm I, the son of the King Frederick of Prussia. Frederick Wilhelm was more interested in military matters than porcelain and agreed to

exchange 151 pieces of his father's Chinese porcelain, including the famous Kangxi-period 'dragon vases,' which were originally displayed in the palaces of Orianienburg and Charlottenburg and can be seen in Dresden today (Figure 3.18),[263] for a mounted regiment of 600 Saxon soldiers. Augustus established elegant Chinese and Japanese palaces in Dresden and collected as much porcelain as he could. Later, he switched his passion to the products of his own factory in Meissen. It is a small city near Dresden by the river Elbe and is still famous today as the birthplace of European porcelain. The story starts with Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682-1719), who studied metallurgy in the Saxon town of Wittenberg. He was arrested by Augustus the Strong in 1701, who believed him capable of turning base metals into gold, and held in a laboratory in Meissen. In the following year, Böttger became an assistant of the mathematician and physicist Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708), who had high expectations for revealing the secrets of porcelain manufacture.[264] Von Tshirnhaus and Böttger performed many experiments and visited the pottery factories of Delft and St. Cloud in Paris, but the 'soft-paste' objects were quite different from the 'white gold' from China and Japan.[265] In 1705, Augustus the Strong transferred Böttger to another secret laboratory in the Albrechtsburg, a castle in Meissen. Afterwards, Böttger collaborated with the mining specialist David Köhler (ca. 1683-1723) from Freiberg and five other miners, conducting the ceramics experiments. By the middle of 1706, with the invention of fine and hard red stoneware, they successfully created an example of red porcelain,

263 Shirley H. Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West*, 93.
264 Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen Porcelain: The Wark Collection from The Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens* (London: Giles, 2011), 15.
265 John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2011), 11.

which was later known as 'Böttger stoneware'.[266] This was a huge step forward, laying the foundation for the manufacture of true 'white gold'. Meanwhile, it inspired Böttger and his team to continue exploring the secret. It was known that the arcanum of Chinese porcelain required a special type of clay, kaolin. It was suggested that it could be found in Waldenburg and Colditz in Saxony. With luck and effort, the earliest recipe of true white hard-paste porcelain was produced on January 15, 1708, which is regarded as the traditional birthday of true porcelain in Europe. Unfortunately, von Tschirnhaus fell ill and died in the same year.[267] However, on March 28, 1709, the team of Böttger succeeded in firing a decent glaze and sent an official recipe to Augustus the Strong.[268]

The literature suggests that the Royal Saxon Porcelain was formally established on 23 January 1710. However, it is hard to establish exact dates for commercial production at the early stage, since the kaolin in Germany was scarce and unreliable. Meissen red stoneware was first sold at the Leipzig Fair in May 1710. The stoneware actually imitated the Chinese Yixing stoneware teapots, which were imported in great quantities from China in the early Qing dynasty. The Meissen versions not only followed Chinese design but bore special appearances and techniques. This is attributed to the court silversmith Jacob Irminger, who was invited by Böttger to be the artistic director of the factory. He blended different technical skills on Meissen stoneware, and his extensive experience making objects to satisfy the aesthetic tastes of noblemen and foreign customers served

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[266] Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen Porcelain: The Wark Collection from The Cummer Museum of Art & Garden*, 15-16.
[267] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 12.
[268] Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen Porcelain: The Wark Collection from The Cummer Museum of Art & Garden*, 16.

him well. In addition, other German artisans hired by the factory adapted their works according to the different occupational backgrounds. For instance, glass engravers and gem polishers polished the surface to a high gloss and sometimes decorated the pieces with diamonds. Imported porcelain ware was often mounted in gold or silver, so Meissen red stoneware was as well.[269] Sometimes they were even glazed in jet black to look like Chinese lacquer (Figure 3.19). In this way, the so-called 'Böttger stoneware' became a truly syncretic product. This was later copied elsewhere: at Bayreuth in Germany, at Delft in the Netherlands, in Staffordshire in England, and at Tokoname in Japan.[270]

There is a piece of Böttger red stoneware made in the Meissen porcelain factory in the V&A Museum (Figure 3.20). It is in the form of a silver pilgrim bottle with a wheel-polished surface, except the two female masks wearing plumed headdresses. It has a cut and polished cylindrical cover with a small ball knob. The low pedestal alternates with cut gadrooning.[271] Additionally, it is mounted by a sliver chain links cover and neck. The shining polished texture and mounted form are different from Yixing stoneware. With so many adaptions, the only similarity is the similar colour. Until 1713, the white Meissen porcelain was the first European porcelain for public sale at the Leipzig Fair. It was crude, but still welcomed since customers were eager for 'white gold'. So far, Meissen porcelain has rewritten the history of global porcelain. It has also changed the table manners of Europeans. Their tableware made the transition from metal to porcelain. The successful production of exquisite Meissen porcelain brought great honour and

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[269] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 14-15.
[270] Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration*, 104.
[271] Gadrooning is a decorative motif consisting of convex curves in a series.

wealth for Saxony and Augustus. Unfortunately, in March of 1719, the great Johann Bötteger died, leaving unsolved the issue of porcelain painting on Meissen ware. This issue was well-known to Samuel Stöltzel (1685-1737) who was a traitor who fled to Vienna in 1719, following in the footsteps of the experienced goldsmith Christoph Hunger. He divulged his knowledge of the porcelain secret at the manufactory of Claudius Innocentius Du Paquier (ca. 1679-1737). However, he returned to Meissen since Austria cut off financial support to Viennese porcelain, so his achievements were not recognized. At this time, he took a talented young chinoiserie painter named Johann Gregor Höroldt with him to obtain Augustus's forgiveness and reinstatement.[272] The situation in Meissen was less optimistic. The loss of Böttger was a considerable blow to the Meissen manufactory. In addition, Stöltzel had knowledge of the porcelain clay and Du Paquier could obtain the clay from Aue in secret. He planned to expand the Meissen kilns provided by Böttger's stepbrother. Although they could not make real porcelain, starting in 1719 they began to produce pottery that was very similar to Meissen porcelain. Furthermore, the enamel technique, Hunger was far superior to those in Meissen. Thus, Augustus was very worried about the threat from Vienna.[273] Stöltzel and Höroldt joined Meissen, and their work became the factory's turning point. Höroldt can be considered the founder of Meissen porcelain painting due to his proficiency in enamel colours and experience working for Du Paquier. He developed sixteen different enamel colours by 1731 and accumulated an astonishing number of chinoiserie manuscripts for new

[272] Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen porcelain, the Wark Collection from The Cummer Museum of Art&Gardens*, 18-19.
[273] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 21.

decorations painted on Meissen ware, which had not been seen either on faience or on porcelain. The sketchbook, called the 'Schulz Codex,' was completed by Höroldt and his assistants by 1730.[274] Most Meissen porcelain could be traced to their authorships, which are different from the system of Chinese porcelain production. In addition, in order to protect the trade secrets, artisans at Meissen were forbidden to talk with others and not allowed to learn any processes besides their own.[275] In this research, I will investigate some decorations that demonstrate the direct interaction between Chinese and European makers through their work.

3.2.2 Renewing Porcelain Mark System: Meissen Marks

As we know, different marks were depicted on Chinese porcelain at different times. Generally, Chinese porcelain is named for the title of the emperors' reign at the time of its creation. Meissen follows Chinese porcelain, but made some adaptations; marks are also depicted under the Meissen objects that seem to similar patterns. There is a comprehensive explanation of the Meissen marks by William B. Honey in his book, *Dresden China*. In the beginning, Meissen artisans drew their inspiration from Chinese porcelain, making random impressed and incised marks described on Böttger stoneware. Later, marks with blue enamel appeared on Meissen blue-and-white ware, as well as imitations of Chinese marks with unrecognizable signs (Figure 3.21-No.13-15). No.14 seems to follow a Kangxi specimen with the mark of "Daming Chenghua Nianjian (大明

[274] Thomas Rudi and Georg Wilhelm Schulz, *Exotische Welten, der Schulz-Codex und das frühe Meissener Porzellan* (Leipzig: Grassi Museum für Angewandte Kunst& München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2010).
[275] Ibid., 19.

成華年間)". No. 15 is a possible copy of the mark from the Yongzheng period (1723-35) due to its similarity with the characters.[276] Around 1723-1724, the acronym mark style was born. Nos. 18-20, "K.P.M. (for "Königliche Porzellan Manufactur", Royal Porcelain Manufacture)", "K.P.F. (for "Königliche Porzellan Fabrik", Royal Porcelain Factory)", and "M.P.M. (for "Meissner Porzellan Manufaktur", Meissen Porcelain Manufacture)" were probably used at the same period in an uncertain chronological order.[277]

The first Meissen factory marks with 'crossed swords' in underglaze blue were used from 1724 to the present day, with an occasional occurrence in combination with the K.P.M. but after 1724 it was only seen alone. According to William, the swords were taken from the arms of Saxony, as suggested by Steinbrück in 1722, but not adopted at that time, presumably because the King was prouder of his Polish throne than of his Saxony electorship and preferred the K.P.M.[278] Similar to Chinese official ware, special signs were used on objects intended for the King. The mark "AR" (*Augustus Rex*), the King's own cipher, was painted as a monogram only on special productions, such as the wares for the King's personal use or as gifts to other noblemen (Figure 3.21-No.55).[279] However, it is not always evidence of the work's actual purpose. It was more common in porcelain from 1725 to 1730 than it was later, but it occasionally appeared in the paintings of the Augustus III period, suggesting that it would possibly be used later.[280] The famous crossed swords mark is seen in various iterations, all taken from the Elector

[276] William B. Honey, *Dresden China* (Troy, N. Y., David Rosenfeld, 1946), 161-163.
[277] Ibid., 164.
[278] Ibid., 51.
[279] Ibid., 51.
[280] Ibid., 170.

arms of Saxony. The very first version of crossed swords with pommels and curved guards and to enclose a larger angle than the later versions utilized from 1725 to 1763 (Figure 3.21-No.21-33). Sometimes, there is an extra mark under the pattern, presumably the gilders' abbreviated mark. Next is the so-called "Dot period," which depicts one or two dots in the center (1763-1774). The following variation is the dot transformed into a blue star (Figure 3.21-No.43-44). This mark was in use from 1774 to 1814.[281] From 1815 to 1924, the Meissen mark was simplified, although the dot appeared again on the top of swords for ten years. The evolution of the mark can be seen on the wall of the Meissen Manufactory Museum (Figure 3.22). The very simple crossed swords have been used from 1972 until the present day.

3.2.3 Imagination and Appropriation: the representation of Meissen Porcelain

- **Meissen Porcelain after Chinese Objects**

Without exception, Meissen porcelain also has a group of objects following the Chinese porcelain. Some of them are blue-and-white, but are also painted with enamel. The most representative of Chinese characteristics is the dragon design, which was only used by the imperial family. Similar to the dragon decorated on Chinese official wares, the same motif was also made for the Saxon court around 1730 (Figure 3.23). This design was regularly painted during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries on pieces intended only for the court.[282] Two exquisite phoenixes form a circle in the center and two dragons and two Chinese ancient coins with strings in red and gold are depicted on the

[281] Ibid., 164-168.
[282] Abraham L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 45.

rim. It was a quite popular pattern and was copied by European factories and even the Japanese porcelain factory in Arita. Several plates, dishes, and a terrine service with this motif can be found in many museums, including the Rijksmuseum and Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.[283] A pair of vases with "AR" mark in underglaze blue are collected in the Rijksmuseum (Figure 3.24). The upper part of the vase is painted with flowering branches with a bird on one side and a caterpillar on the opposite side.[284] On the middle swelling sections depict one standing and two seated Chinese figures in a traditional Chinese landscape with trees, a small pavilion, and mountains, but the proportions are muddled. On the lower part are depicted rocks with flower branches and a duck with its head bowed. The research has shown that the shape of the vases was derived from Chinese porcelain, of which the earliest dated example is a vase in the Museum of Art of Hong Kong decorated in blue and white and dated 1663.[285]

A pair of goblets with the decoration derived from Chinese porcelain of the Transitional period are on display at the Rijksmuseum as well (Figure 3.25). Although this green colour was quite different from the green on Kangxi porcelain, it is obviously derived from a Kangxi decoration, as evidenced by the utilization of green enamel. The goblets are composed of a bell-shaped bowl with a cylindrical stem and a domed, curved foot. On the stem, a Chinese boy is depicted playing a kite by the flowers and rocks. The lower part of the stem and domed foot is painted with half rosettes in red and foliate

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283 The inventory number of terrine service in Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden is: PE1159, PE1157. Plate: PE7749, PE5459, PE7750, PE1177. The Inventory number of plate in Rijkesmuseum is BK-15226-A/B.
284 Abraham L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum*, 45.
285 Ibid., 41.

scrolls in green. Different from Chinese Kangxi ware, on the inside of the rim, the node, the upper and lower parts of the stem, and the border of the foot are all gilded. In addition, although the Meissen artisans did not elaborate on the facial features of the figures, they imitated the technique of Chinese porcelain, using lines to define the expressions. In accordance with the decorative characteristics of the transition period, they depict two Chinese women standing in front of a wall and a standing woman with a child in her arms in a Chinese garden with a fence, flowers, and rocks. In the Chinese export porcelain of Ming and Qing dynasties, the theme of "woman and child" are common. Generally, there are two forms of expression: one is the children playing with the mother; the other is a woman teaching a child. The illustration of this pair of Meissen goblets is hardly ever seen on Chinese ware. It means the Meissen artisans added their own ideas and adaptations to the creative process.

- **The Famous "Blue Onion" Pattern**

After looking through the Meissen porcelain, the famous "Blue Onion" pattern is a special one and almost became the symbol of Meissen porcelain. It was popular from its introduction in the early 18th century and became a highly stylized design in Germany. It was copied by other porcelain manufactories and became quite a popular commodity during the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is still in production today. The elegant and meticulous decorations are luxurious, and the Chinese elements lend it an air of exoticism. What does the famous "Blue Onion" pattern look like? As the term implies, the 'onion' is an element of this decoration. The onion is arranged next to peach on the inner side of the plate. According to a standard object I found in the Meissen Porcelain Museum (Figure

3.26), the 'Blue Onion' pattern on the plate can be divided into three parts. First, the central medallion contains stylized peonies and four groups of asters, the stems of which wind in flowing curves around a bamboo stalk. Second, there is a wavy flower chain connected with four flowers, and equidistantly arranged with four flowers in the middle band. Third, in the important rim part, four groups of Chinese peaches and pomegranates alternate with each other. Generally, the peach branches are close to the outer edge, and the onion patterns are close to the inner edge. There are nine flowers between each group. The pattern is highly stylized and tightly connected to the painting techniques. Different from Chinese freehand painting, every decorative element of the onion pattern is fixed. For example, the peach branches always have four leaves. One leaf is arranged on the left and another three leaves are on the right. The Meissen artisans used contours of metal foil for the division of painting surfaces into which the outline of the pattern was inserted by hand. Then those impressions were placed on the corresponding porcelain, finally powdered with a small amount of charcoal so that the contours of the pattern on the porcelain surface are visible.

The origin and date of Meissen's "Blue Onion" have been hotly debated by scholars. Much ink has been spilled about this pattern, but it is still worth investigating in my dissertation since it is an exceptional case study. "It is now generally agreed that the first versions were already being produced by around 1730."[286] However, the question of its origin has not been conclusively accounted. Overall, there are two contrary opinions in academia. One view is the onion pattern was misapprehended by Meissen artisans and

[286] This opinion was seen at Meissen Porcelain Museum when I went there in June of 2018.

was originally a variant of Chinese fruit. Chinese melons, pomegranates and peaches have been suggested as the prototype.[287] There is a blue-and-white plate from the Kangxi period in the Dresden porcelain collection that supports this view. Indeed, the most direct evidence of imitation by the Meissen factory was from Augustus's Japanese collection. There are many examples, such as the '*shiba onko*' octagonal plate and jars and the two plates with a red dragon decoration on the border, which were all copied from marked Japanese Kakiemon porcelain.[288] However, the question is, according to Ulrich Pietsch's demonstration, whether there is any object with an onion pattern on the list of Augustus's Japanese collection.[289] Augustus paid close attention to his extensive porcelain collection, and marked each object on the bottom. However, there are no inscriptions or numbers on the foot of this so-called original Kangxi plate. So it did not originate from the old Dresden collection. Consequently, another view by Ulrich Pietsch showed that the "Blue Onion" pattern has no Chinese predecessor, but was copied by the Chinese according to a Meissen design and made for the European market.[290] Actually, due to the popularity of Meissen porcelain and its high price in Europe, some European merchants went to China to order porcelain with Meissen-style patterns during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods.[291] According to Pietsch's research, there is no Chinese porcelain that has been

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[287] Nicholas Zunbulyadis, *Meissen's Blue and White Porcelain* (Atglen: Schiffer Publishing, 2006), 54.
[288] The marked number of '*shiba-onko* decoration' octagonal plate is PO4771; the two plates with red dragon decoration marked numbers, repectively, are PO4790 and pe1177. I saw that the latter dragon pattern is still in use in the Meissen porcelain factory.
[289] Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Banz, eds., *Triumph of the Blue Swords: Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie, 1710–1815* (Leipzig: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 2010), 245.
[290] Ibid., 245.
[291] Huang Jing, *Qicheng Tianxia Zou, Research on Export Porcelain in Ming and Qing Dynasties* 器成天下走：明清外销瓷研究 (Nanchang: Jiangxi Fine Arts Publishing, 2017), 89-90.

proven to be older than the earliest Meissen Onion pattern around 1730.[292] Afterwards, it was decorated with a slight modified pattern on Chinese *famille rose* porcelain (Figure 3.27). Interestingly, all the decoration on the border is close to the outer edge and appears to be one pumpkin and two pomegranates accompanying with many floral branches. I suppose that Chinese and European merchants could not communicate with each other very well at that time. Due to the huge number of orders, the best way was to take the patterns to China and ask the Chinese to use them as templates. In the process, Chinese artisans would naturally use their own drawing habits, and draw some objects familiar to them. All in all, it is no doubt that even if the blue onion was designed by Meissen artisans, the blue-and-white-style decorations on the plate were indeed appropriated from Chinese export ware.

- **Chinese Styles in Meissen Decoration and Resulting Chinoiserie**

The transformation of Meissen porcelain was directly related to the King's taste. Augustus had always controlled the development of Meissen porcelain during his lifetime. At first, he was fond of gold porcelain, and then liked the oriental-style illustrations and Japanese Kakiemon porcelain. As mentioned before, Johann Friedrich Böttger is a vital character in the beginning stage of Meissen porcelain. Böttger worked hard to fulfill the desires of the King. Augustus wanted gold porcelain and asked Böttger to continue his experiments with gold. For this purpose, Augustus borrowed heavily from bankers on the promise of Böttger's gold porcelain. However, after many failed experiments, nothing had been gained. Until Böttger entered the debtor's prison, the king was involved in

[292] Anja Hell and Lutz Miedtank, *Zwiebelmuster: Von den anfängen bis Heute* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2018), 27.

repaying the debt by offering porcelain to his creditors. After that, Böttger was released by the debtor's prison.[293] Afterwards, Böttger realized his health was failing and he gave up managing the factory, concentrated on his efforts to make gold instead. Finally, he made out the fired gilding to replace the unstable cold gilding on white porcelain.[294] Before his death in 1719, he had already found the recipe for the blue underglaze, though the glaze seemed quite dim. It was a big blow for the Meissen manufactory. Fortunately, Johann Gregor Höroldt's entry into the Meissen manufactory brought new hope.

- **Early Höroldt Chinoiserie Decoration**

Johann Gregor Höroldt was born in 1696 in the German city of Jena. In 1718 he was employed as a painter in Strasbourg; then, it is said that he worked as a wallpaper painter and tapestry-maker in Vienna (Figure 3.28). A year later he joined the Viennese porcelain manufactory of Claudius Innocentius Du Paquier, which was founded in 1718 as the second European porcelain manufactory with the help of the escaped Meissen Arcanist Samuel Stölzel. That was when he acquired the knowledge of porcelain painting.[295] He was appointed as a porcelain painter by the newly formed Meissen porcelain manufactory in 1720 under Stölzel, where he stayed for more than fifty years and became a successful and famous painter. Höroldt had a precocious talent for fanciful chinoiserie and created a hundred sheets of drawings of chinoiserie figures, which attracted massive orders and made enormous profits for the factory. In addition, his knowledge of porcelain paints

[293] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 17-18.
[294] Ibid., 18.
[295] Renate Eikelmann, *Meißener Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Stiftung Ernst Schneider in Schloß Lustheim* (München: C. H. Beck, 2004), 75.

made him indispensable to the manufactory.[296] He created sixteen new enamel colours, which are still used on porcelain today. He was extremely prosperous in his career but possessed a difficult personality. He was appointed as a "court painter" in 1724 and successfully established a workshop and had all his assistants and apprentices copy his designs. But he did not allow any of his subordinates to sign their own names, which makes it difficult to identify the authorship of particular objects. His porcelain commanded higher and higher prices, but he paid his assistants miserably and forced them to work long hours.[297]

However, Höroldt's impact on Meissen was indelible. The European courtly genre depictions, landscapes, and castle motifs were predominant during the earliest decoration phase, followed by contemporary engravings. But soon these themes were largely replaced by chinoiserie.[298] He created over 1,000 individual sketches that were direct templates for him and other porcelain painters, and were compiled in "The Schulz Codex" (Figure 3.29).[299] This is a very rare Meissen beaker and saucer painted with chinoiserie figures in red monochrome made around in 1723 (Figure 3.30). On the saucer, there is an oriental figure with an upraised club in the center confronting a rooster and two other fantastic animals, flanked by two plants with birds and butterflies overhead. In the foreground are some stylized rocks and grasslands. It looks like the person is holding the

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296 Thomas Rudi and Georg Wilhelm Schulz, *Exotische Welten, der Schulz-Codex und das Frühe Meissener Porzellan*, 20.
297 John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 24-25.
298 Renate Eikelmann, *Meißener Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Stiftung Ernst Schneider in Schloß Lustheim*, 77.
299 The Schulz Codex, acquired from the estate of the Leipzig merchant Georg Wilhelm Schulz (1873-1945), is one of the greatest treasures of the Grassi Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig.

club to drive away the three animals eyeing him. This scene can be found in "The Schulz Codex" (Figure 3.31). By comparison, the original sketch was simpler than the illustration on the porcelain, with only birds flying overhead. However, the story on the plate does not continue on the beaker. Instead, there are two chinoiserie figures flanked by flowering plants and fences. The faces of the figures were depicted in the European style, with shading, rather than Chinese-style line drawing.

An exquisite powder-blue vase with the mark 'AR' can be seen in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Figure 3.32). There are four recessed cartouches on the round body. According to the knowledge by Thomas Rudi on the Schulz Codex, the decorations in the cartouches are copied from different manuscripts. The front, flanked by tall trees, shows three Chinese merchants grouped around a table offering their wares to a woman leaning to the right of the window in a house. Generally, this image is in three parts. The left figure holding two bamboo poles with a tall tree in the back and a sheep in front followed is the *P1*. The old sitting man with the drumming table copied is the *P2*. Allegedly, the right figure with a bird seems to be the facsimile of the *P3* with the same posture. But it is not very exact, and perhaps the artisans changed it so that this figure is talking with the women in the house. But it is easy to conclude that the decorations on Meissen porcelain are the result of several fragments of chinoiserie images. Possibly, the artisan chose patterns to add a storyline to the images.

- **Gilded Augsburger Hausmalers of Meissen Porcelain**

Large numbers of white porcelain were graded. The superior pieces were decorated in Höroldt's studio, and the surplus was sent to Augsburg where had been a long tradition

of gold and silver work. The work was completed by a group of independent painters known as *Hausmalers* in German.[300] Their porcelain can be recognized by two lines incised over the Meissen factory mark. The stylized gilt *Laub-und-Bandelwerk* decoration has been attributed to the Augsburg craftsmen. They were asked to imitate the technique of enamel gold painting Höroldt used for chinoiserie.[301] In addition, there were two principal workshops operated by family studios, and it was hard to distinguish who painted the Augsburg *Hausmaler* decorations during the 1720 and 1730.[302] The workshop of the brothers Bartholomäus (1678-1754) and Abraham Seuter (1689-1747) were best known for painted chinoiserie figures and birds painted in gold, which were inspired by Höroldt's work at Meissen.[303][304] Because they only used a single colour (gold), the images were depicted as silhouettes on the porcelain (Figure 3.33). Johannes Aufenwerth and his daughter Sabina received commissions for the Meissen factory, and painted the famous characteristic scrollwork or *Laub und Bandelwerk* borders and cartouches around the main patterns. There is a pair of handled beakers from the "Hosennestel Service" painted by Sabina Auffenwerth (Figure 3.34). On each side of the beakers are two figures in an oriental dress on a terrace. One is trimming a candle with scissors, and another person in purple sits in the opposite and stands at the back. More remarkably, there are gilt oriental figures beneath canopies flanking interlocking

300 Ibid., 28. The German term "Hausmalers" refers to porcelain painters in Germany in the first half of the 18th century, who were not bound by a fixed contract of a manufactory, but carried out commissioned work in their own workshops independently.
301 Ulrich Pietsch, *Passion for Meissen, Sammlung Said und Roswitha Marouf* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art publisher, 2010), 14.
302 John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 28.
303 Ibid., 28.
304 Ulrich Pietsch, *Passion for Meiseen*, 14.

scrollwork. On the inside depict fancy *Gitterwerk* borders. The Aufenwerth studio utilized more colours than the Seuter family, such as iron-red, green, and purple on distinctive scrollwork. The *Hausmalers'* decoration was so good that it threatened to compete with Höroldt's work at Meissen. As a result, Höroldt persuaded the directors to stop supplying unglazed ware to them in 1728.[305] Meanwhile, as mentioned before, European merchants went to China to order Chinese porcelain painted with Meissen decorations. As a result, Chinese porcelain was sold as Meissen. Also, many inferior wares were sold by dealers as the best Meissen porcelain. The owners of the Meissen factory formulated strategies to counter the chaotic situation. Starting in 1723, they decided on a standardized mark to distinguish genuine Meissen from all the imitations.[306]

- **Chinese Allegory 'Shiba Onko' Decoration**

As mentioned before, during the interregnum in export trade with China between 1657 and 1683, Jingdezhen stopped the production of porcelain. European merchants transferred their attention to Japan. Therefore, not surprisingly, Augustus the Strong became particularly obsessed with Japanese Kakiemon porcelain. There is an excellent collection of Kakiemon porcelain in the Japanese palace of Augustus. It was originally produced at the factories around Arita in Hizen Province (modern-day Saga Prefecture) and named after the Japanese potter Sakaida Kakiemon. Kakiemon porcelain was very highly prized in Europe. Its main characteristic is its exquisite, asymmetrical but well-balanced designs. The decorations are usually sparsely applied to highlight the milky white background. Flowering plants and birds are the most common motifs;

[305] John Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 29.
[306] Ibid., 29.

decorations with figures are rare except the Shiba Onko design. The story of Shiba Onko is a very popular theme in Japanese Kakiemon porcelain. It is a Chinese allegory known as "Hob-in-the-Well" in English.[307] The story is about the Chinese scholar of the Song dynasty, Sima Guang (Shiba Onko in Japanese, 1009-1086), who, as a child, saved a playmate who had fallen into a huge urn full of water by smashing the vessel with a rock in the base of the urn. It was broken and his playmate emerged unharmed. His quick thinking won him considerable praise. This motif was quite popular in Japanese art and frequently copied on Japanese porcelain, then followed by Meissen and other European factories. This case of being indirectly transmitted well is probably unique.

Unfortunately, the existing Chinese porcelain with the same series motif is rarely found. The only parts of broken tiles from a Wanli bowl depicted Sima Guang standing by the urn with a stone in his hand, which does not match with the modular motif. I only found a cup and saucer with the story in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, they are Jingdezhen wares with Dutch decoration (Figure 3.35). In addition, followed by Japanese and European porcelain, this motif appeared on the eight- or twelve-sided plate the most and occasionally on vases. No matter what type of image they are drawn on, the composition of the motifs is very similar. However, Sima Guang's hairstyle was different than other porcelain depicting the same motif. According to the research, boys in the Song Dynasty shaved parts of their heads and put the remaining hair into buns. The main designations are 髻, 髦, 鬌, 鹘角, 总角, 髻 in Chinese, depending on the number and style of the bun(s). Furthermore, boys' hairstyles were more varied than girls', who

[307] Abraham L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 222.

simply wore two or three buns and did not shave their heads at all.[308] However, the boy with his hair down also appeared in the paintings in small numbers, which makes it seem like Sima Guang was wearing a hat. His playmate who stood next to the urn depicted as three buns which are similar to the same motif on Japanese and European porcelain. For instance, this eight-sided Japanese porcelain with Kakiemon type depicted the story in the central medallion and symmetrical flowering branches on the rim, which is edged in brown (Figure 3.36). In my opinion, this was probably the piece used for Meissen copies. The protagonist, Sima Guang, is arranged on the left just after smashing the water vat. The boy who fell in the water and another playmate is depicted on the right side with two slender saplings and one flower support at the back. Interestingly, the water is painted green, with the broken vat painted in the foreground.

In Meissen, a large number of dishes and plates were decorated with the same motif, even the same decoration on the rim and the position of the four birds. They are all very similar except for a humorous plate, which depicts Sima Guang with a flower in his hand (Figure 3.37). According to the literature, this was probably done to cover up a mistake in the glaze, like the brown spot on the white background.[309] However, I do not support that inference. In my opinion, if the artisan's intention was covering up the excess glaze, then he could have drawn a stone. It shows that the artisans did not understand the original fable of this pattern, which is typical in the process of cultural exchange. Another pair of vases with the same motif and "AR" mark was collected in the Rijksmuseum (Figure

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308 Bao Mingxin and Sun Ying, "Children's Hairstyle in the Playing Baby Paintings in Song Dynasty 宋代嬰戲圖中的兒童髮式," *Journal of Zhejiang Textile & Fashion College* 浙江紡織服裝職業技術學院學報, no. 3 (2009): 46.
309 Ibid., 238.

3.38). It shows the vases covered in brilliant yellow ground and each has three reserves respectively describing the story of Sima Guang, the 'three friends' with birds, and two flying cranes by a flowering chrysanthemum.[310] All of the decorations are traditional Chinese patterns, demonstrating Augustus's obsession with Chinese culture. As mentioned above, this modular pattern of Shiba Onko was first painted on Japanese Kakiemon porcelain. Then, the question is, why is this Chinese story attracting the attention of Japanese people and why are there many fixed patterns on Kakiemon porcelain? The answer is probably related to the popularity of Neo-Confucianism in the Tokugawa period. It is well known that the first monumental historical annals, 'Zizhi Tongjian,' were published by Sima Guang in 1084 and became required reading for all monarchs and ministers in subsequent dynasties. Sima Guang advocates the thoughts of Confucius, benevolence, and the norms of etiquette, which were inherited by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616).[311] In the archaeological site of the Tokugawa shogunate in Kyoto, a large number of Chinese cultural relics were found, and stories about Sima Guang are engraved on the beams. So it is not surprising that this motif appears on the later Japanese Kakiemon porcelain.

3.3 Brief Conclusion

This Chapter has sought to explore the appropriation of Chinese porcelain in Europe comprising two steps during the 17th to 18th centuries. The first step was the appropriation

[310] Ibid., 221-222.
[311] Tokugawa Ieyasu, (徳川家康, 1543 –1616) was the founder and first military dictator of the Tokugawa shogunate of Japan.

of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain decorations. After the early 17th century, a large number of blue-and-white porcelain were introduced to Dutch society by VOC. It aroused great popularity and European absorbed a great amount of visual information about Chinese porcelain. By reviewing the first section, a large number of European re-creations of Chinese images were made out based on a European conception of orient gathered from missionary's travels and imported objects, the decoration and ornaments on porcelain, lacquer ware, silk, fans, and export paintings. These visual depictions provided a lot of creative motifs for Delft artisans and integrated many adaptations of each artisan in the ongoing reorganizations and transformations. Consequently, some grotesque appearance and pseudo-Chinese motifs were depicted on Delft wares, which is a type of tin-based pottery with an appearance similar to Chinese porcelain. This section also addressed the innovation phase of Delft ware, which not only reflected on the ornamental elements but also the innovative shape. For instance, Dutch genre painting depicted on the Delft dishes and the creation shape of tulip vase with blue and white decoration, reavled the cultural flows in many aspects of social and cultural life between China and Europe.

The second step was to resolve the technology of Chinese porcelain and was capable of producing hard-paste porcelain ware by the Meissen manufactory. This section examined the process of Meissen manufactory from 'imitating' to 'innovation' from mark system and several case studies of different motifs. In general, the traditional mark on Chinese porcelain is designed based on the imperial reign when it was produced. Meissen porcelain was inspired by Chinese porcelain at first, creating randomly impressed and

incised marks on Böttger stoneware. Later, Marks with blue enamel, as well as imitations of Chinese marks with unintelligible signs, were depicted on Meissen blue-and-white ware. The acronym mark style was created between 1723 and 1724. From 1724 till the present, Meissen manufactory created their new marks with 'crossed swords' taken from the arms of Saxony in underglaze blue in conjunction with the K.P.M. occasionally. However, after 1724, the mark with 'crossed swords' was seen alone with some minor changes. Differentiated by the marks of the imperial reign in the traditional system of Chinese porcelain, the King's cipher with the mark "AR" was painted as a monogram only on special objects such as the wares for the King's personal use or as gifts to other aristocrats. This adaptation has to do with the porcelain in European society, which was a metaphor for wealth and power relations.

In the last section, I investigated the appropriation of Chinese motifs and enamel decorations. For example, the case study of the "blue onion" pattern derived from Chinese blue-and-white style decorations with some imagination and adaptation, revealed the high stylized design which became an iconic symbol of Meissen porcelain. In addition, to examine the Chinese tale 'Shiba Onko' decorated on Kaikiemon porcelain and Meissen porcelain, rarely on Chinese porcelain, was to reveal the history of the interregnum period in export trade with China between 1657 and 1683, when Jingdezhen stopped the production of porcelain, meantime, European merchants transferred the attentions to Japan. More importantly, it was also to support the argument of my dissertation which is that the cultural flows between East Asia and Europe were not only bi-directional, but a complex system created by artisans in kilns, workshops, courts, and

ateliers appropriating each other's art in the early modern period.

Chapter IV: Cultural Appropriation: Painted Enamel Wares in the Qing Court

In the past, studies of the cross-cultural influence between Chinese and European porcelain were mostly concentrated on the one-way impact of Chinese export porcelain on European porcelain. In addition, there is another direction of research on the influence of German Meissen porcelain on Chinese Canton porcelain. This dissertation will take another approach, exploring the transcultural flow of European and Chinese porcelain. In this chapter, I will attempt to show how European art influenced the official ware at Qing court and the representation of the emperor's possession and power. 'Painted enamel' as a new art form for the Chinese arts was introduced by the envoys and missionaries from Europe. This new art form has its particularity and it was loved by the Qing emperors. At first, it was introduced by the Kangxi Emperor's favour and active promotion, and brought together the craftsmen from different workshops in Europe, Canton, Jingdezhen and the craftsmen from the Qing imperial workshops, so that this new craft received strong support during its beginning and development. I will examine the establishment of painted enamel workshops and European missionary artists at the Qing court, as well as the original European painted enamels, and address the emperor's appropriation for European motifs and techniques. In addition, I try to analyze how the Manchu emperors especially Qianlong, reinforced their power and politics through gifting and respecting different peoples through a focus on enamels wares and the management of the imperial workshops. It is necessary to clarify the terminology of "painted enamel" at first before discussing it.

4.1 Traceability: What is Painted Enamel?

4.1.1 Terminology: Painted Enamels and *Yangcai* Enamels

- **Painted Enamels**

Painted enamel (called "畫琺瑯 Hua falang") is one of the major enamel techniques; another two types are cloisonné (景泰藍) and Champlevé (鏨胎抑). They refer to the images on metalworking.[312] However, to the Chinese, they were all exotic techniques. As scholars recognized that enamel and enamelling techniques were transferred from Europe.[313] Therefore, "painted enamel" should be investigated in the European context first. The technique originated as early as the 15th century. In Europe, painted enamel generally refers to utensils or decorative panels that are fired at low temperatures on painted metal bodies. It is a complex process of synthesis. The first step is to complete the metalworking and prepare to burn the enamel. The most important aspect in the process of firing the enamel is the refining, colouring and firing of the pigment.[314] According to many Western scholars, the composition of enamel is quite similar to glass, which also originated in Europe. Both of them are basically composed of silica and a fluxing agent (the most common fluxing agents used for ancient, medieval, and Renaissance enamels were potash, lime, lead oxide, and borax), which fuses when fired at

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312 Susan L. Caroselli, *The Painted Enamels of Limoges*: *A Catalogue of the collection of the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art* (California: Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 1993), 13.
313 Tang Hui, "'The colours of each piece': production and consumption of Chinese enamelled porcelain, c.1728-c.1780" (PhD Dissertation, University of Warwick. 2017), 5.
314 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court* 日月光華：清宮畫琺瑯 (Taipei: National Palace Museum,2012), 14.

a relatively low temperature.[315]

As for the pigments, generally, there are two types. One is a small amount of metallic oxide or carbonate added to the colourless flux when it is melted. However, only a narrow range of colours can be produced using these additives. In the 14th and 15th centuries, with the development of glass techniques, glassmakers learned to paint on clear glass in translucent colours, which gave enamellers a much wider palette. These are made by mixing glass fluxes with added metal oxide to make out transparent and translucent colours. For example, the addition of copper oxide to the lead-glass flux produced a translucent green; black is a mixture of coloured glass containing manganese, cobalt and iron oxide. All these ingredients need to be refined at a temperature of 700 degrees and produce a blocky form of enamel when cooled.[316] Then, artisans grind this blocky substance and mix it with an oily material to paint on the completed metalworking.[317] Painted enamel originated in France, the Netherlands, and Italy in the 15th century. Limoges in France was the most famous town for its large output, which will be expounded upon in the following section.

In the Chinese context, "enamel" can be translated as '琺瑯', which refers to enamelled copper or copper alloys used at the Qing court to indicate that these enamelled wares were made of metal, glass, porcelain and even Yixing wares. According to the study of Taiwanese scholar Shi Jingfei, there are many different Chinese characters used

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315 Susan L. Caroselli, *The Painted Enamels of Limoges*: *A Catalogue of the Collection of the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art*, 13.
316 Ibid., 13.
317 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 14.

in the Qing dynasty archives, such as '發藍', '法藍', '珐琅', '法瑯', and '法琅'.[318] The vocabulary of '法藍' and '法琅' appeared in the memorial to the throne of the Kangxi period: for example, in the archive of fifty-sixth year of the Kangxi Emperor (February 25, 1717), the governor-general Zhao Hongbian (趙弘變) was awarded "a bowl made of enamel" ('法藍盖碗'一只) by the royal family. When the Kangxi Emperor replied, he corrected the word '蓝' to '琅' in his letter. The scholar Xu Xiaodong extended the speculation on this issue, showing that the term '法琅' was not so well-known at the time. In addition, she speculated that painted enamel was influenced by French pieces, since the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi named Yang Lin (楊琳) mentioned the term '法琅' twice and referred to the French ship as '法琅西舡' or '法琅西看'.[319] In addition, '法琅' can also be used as a verb to refer to applying glaze colour (same as the meaning of 琺瑯). One of the export paintings named "Tao ye tu (陶冶圖)" provides evidence that the Chinese character '法琅' marked in the upper right corner goes with the motif that depicts the enamelling process.[320]

- **Painted Enamel Porcelain (瓷胎畫琺瑯) and *Yangcai* Porcelain (洋彩)**

In addition to the painted enamelware on a metal body, there is another type of painted enamel on a porcelain body. However, the definitions of painted enamel and

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[318] Ibid., 18.
[319] Xu Xiaodong, "The Interaction of Painted Enamel Techniques between the Court and Local in Kangxi and Yongzheng Periods", 286-287.
[320] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial court*,
19-20.

yangcai enamel have long been confused by scholars, since they all use the same type of pigments. In fact, they are indeed different from each other, in such aspects as production locations, decoration styles and inscriptions. Painted enamel porcelain from the Qing court can be classified into two types: generic painted enamelware on a porcelain body and *yangcai* porcelain. Liao Baoxiu (廖寶秀), a researcher at the National Palace Museum, made a distinction between the two terminologies by comparing the Qing court inventories and archives.[321] After a survey of the Qianqing Palace painted enamel porcelain in the National Palace Museum collection, three differences can be determined. First, the production location of *yangcai* enamels was in the Jingdezhen imperial kilns (景德鎮御窯廠), which is different from the painted enamel ware in the Imperial Household Department (内務府造辦處). Scholar Zhou Sizhong also pointed out that according to the archive of Huo Jidang (《活計檔》) of the Yongzheng period, the Jingdezhen imperial kiln had started to produce *yangcai* porcelain no later than the tenth year of the Yongzheng reign.[322]

Second, in the eighth year of the Qianlong reign, Tang Ying (唐英) was commissioned to write "*An Illustrated Book of Making Ceramics"* (陶冶圖說), professional work on how imperial wares were created in the Jingdezhen imperial kilns. There is a more detailed and authoritative explanation of *yangcai* porcelain in Chapter 17 of this work, in which it is pointed out that the pigments used for the *yangcai* porcelain

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321 Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign*, 32-36.
322 The original archive is: "奉旨：按宜興壺樣燒造洋彩瓷壺。十一月二十七日，奉旨：照宜興壺做得木樣，照樣燒造瓷器，外畫洋金花紋。" Zhou Sizhong 周思中, 清宮瓷胎畫琺瑯研究 1716－1789，*Painted Enamel Porcelain of Qing Court 1716－1789* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2008), 178-179.

and painted enamel porcelain are the same, and therefore it is no wonder that so many people find it difficult to distinguish them. Meanwhile, Tang also explains that *yangcai* refers to "Western colour painting techniques" and therefore makes a distinction between painted enamel in painted décor and motifs.[323] Most painted enamel porcelain was decorated in the court painting style with associated motifs, and elements of Western techniques and patterns are rarely seen. On the contrary, the majority of *yangcai* porcelain was painted with Western painting techniques and edge décor, but there are still a few pieces with traditional court images, such as landscapes and seasonal flowers.[324] Furthermore, in addition to the differences in style and location of manufacture, there are also differences in the scope of subject matter and the reign marks.[325] Interestingly, the folk kiln of Jingdezhen also produced customized porcelain for export to Europe, such as the armorial porcelain mentioned in Chapter 2, which was also called "*yangcai*." For European-American scholars, they translate the term *fencai* as *famille rose,* to differentiate the porcelain from decorated enamel colours. In my research, I use the term "painted enamels" in different bodies throughout my thesis to refer to enamel materials and techniques that were transferred by European missionaries.

4.1.2 Famous Painted Enamels of Limoges

To clarify the historical context of painted enamels, they must be traced back to their

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[323] The original archive is: "圓琢白器，五采繪畫，摹仿西洋，故曰洋采。須選素習繪事高手，將各種顏料研細調和，以白瓷片畫染燒試，必熟諳顏料、火候之性，始可由粗及細，熟中生巧，總以眼明心細，手準為佳。所用顏料與法瑯色同，其調色之法有三：一用芸香油；一用膠水；一用清水。蓋油色便於渲染；膠水所調便於搨抹；而清水之色則便於堆填也。" Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign,* 14.
[324] Ibid., 34.
[325] Ibid., 34.

inception. The earliest dated object of translucent enamelling is a chalice made by Guccio di Mannaia for Pope Nicholas IV between 1288 and 1292. However, this technique seems to have been developed in France at the same time and culminated in the elegant Parisian enamels of the 14th century (although some were probably executed in northern France and Flanders).[326] According to the previous research, the application of translucent enamel (*basse taille*, 鏨胎透明琺瑯) to an incised metal surface (Champlevé, 內填琺瑯) was the previous stage of the painted enamel technique.[327] In the 15th century, *basse taille* enamels were developed in Limoges and may have contributed to the development of the painting technique, but it is the mid-15th-century Low Countries, such as Flanders, Brabant, and the Duchy of Burgundy, that is usually given the credit for the development of painted enamels.[328] By the late 15th century, however, Limoges had become an important town for painted enamels, and was famous for *grisaille* style (Figure 4.1).[329] This plate was made by Pierre Courteys, one of the major enamel painters working in Limoges. It was painted in *grisaille* with four male peasants harvesting wheat on a dark background with some details in gilt.

Around 1600, a new decorative style was developed with painted polychrome enamel on copper with some use of translucent enamels over gold and silver foils (Figure 4.2). This elegant enamelled ewer was made by Susanne de Court, the only recorded female enameller in Limoges. The upper part of the ewer depicts the 'Triumph of Ceres'

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326 Susan L. Caroselli, *The Painted Enamels of Limoges, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art*, 21.
327 Ibid., 21.
328 Ibid., 21-22.
329 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 16.

(the Greek goddess of agriculture) after Jacques Androuet 'Du Cerceau' (ca. 1515-1585). There are two scenes from the life of Moses after engravings in Bernard Salomon's Lyons Bible, which was published by Jean de Tournes in 1554 on the lower part of the ewer. The exquisite ewer seems to have been intended for display and not daily use.[330]

The peak of Limoges' prosperity was from the 15th century to the end of the 16th centuries. It began to decline in the 17th and 18th centuries. At the same time, several important painted enamel centers appeared in Europe, such as Blois, a suburb of Paris. Compared to the monotonous *grisaille* painted enamels of Limoges, the so-called polychrome 'enamel miniature' was perfected in the workshops of the goldsmiths and watchmakers of France. Afterwards, these artists traveled to other European countries and carried it forward to Geneva, Germany, Sweden, Austria, England and Russia.[331] This is a fancy enamel miniature, probably similar to the Blois style (Figure 4.3). This painted enamel shows Hortense Mancini (1646-1699), who was the niece of Cardinal Mazarin of France and had been granted the title 'Duchess of Mazarin' by Louis XIV. It was made by Jean Petitot (1607-1691), a goldsmith and jeweler who was born in Geneva and later painted portraits in France. It is suggested that he is the artist most closely connected with the rise of the enamel portrait miniature as a fashionable, internationally successful art form, and he painted many portraits of royalty and aristocracy, including Louis XIV, his children, and those connected with his court. These small enamel portrait miniatures were similar to oil paintings, which suggests that most of his work was after a primary oil

330 See the V&A Museum collection: 553-1883.
331 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 16-17.

painting, rather than from life.[332]

4.2 The Emperor's Preference: The Painted Enamel Workshop in the Qing Court

4.2.1 As a Bridge: Missionaries at the Qing Court

Cross-cultural encounters between China and Europe occurred not only through merchants, but also through missionaries and travelers from European nations. As early as 1534, the Society of Jesus was founded, which undertook profoundly and permanently productive interactions between China and Europe by the missionaries. In addition to the study of the existing painted enamel wares in the Qing court collections, the diary letters and archives from the missionaries are important evidence for us to clarify how this new art form was introduced to China during the Kangxi period and how the experimental firings were conducted.[333] From September to November 1684, the Kangxi Emperor visited the south of China and met two Jesuit priests in Nangjing called Jean Domenico Gabiani (1623-1696, 畢嘉) from Italy and Jean Valat (1599-1696, 汪儒望) from France. Among many other gifts, they presented the Kangxi Emperor with snuff, which, it is said, the emperor kept in a painted enamel container.[334] According to Xu Xiaodong's research, this is the first officially recorded instance and the clearest statement of painted enamel snuffboxes in Chinese literature.[335] Painted enamels were one of the emperor's favourite

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[332] See the V&A Museum collection: 671-1882.
[333] For the study of the two methodologies of foucus on objects and literature, scholars Shi Jingfei and Xu Xiaodong have made detailed discussions.
[334] Charles E. Ronan, *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), 115.
[335] Xu Xiaodong, "The Interaction of Painted Enamel Techniques between the Court and Local in Kangxi and Yongzheng Periods", 280.

forms of decoration. Louis XIV presented the Kangxi Emperor with many enamel paintings and other enamelware.[336]

Transcultural communication almost always flows in coincidence. A Chinese man named Michel Alfonso Shen (瀋福宗, 1657-1692) was also fortunate to see the painted enamel from the French; moreover, he also met with Mr. Hubin, the King's enameller who was known throughout Europe as being a most knowledgeable master of glass and enamelware, and laid a good foundation for future connections. In 1684, Shen and Philippe Couplet, SJ (柏應禮, 1623?-1693) travelled to Versailles with a request from the Kangxi Emperor for French Jesuits with skills in arts and sciences who arrived in Paris in September 1684 and had an audience with Louis XIV.[337] The most interesting part is that they also paid a visit to Mr Hubin, who had given more than ten demonstrations of how the machine actually worked to Shen and Couplet on the appointed day.[338] Couplet's visit to France resulted in the Kangxi Emperor asking him to seek qualified missionary-scientists to conduct advanced scientific research in China.[339] By 1687, the Kangxi Emperor had revoked the maritime prohibition and opened four coastal ports. In response to the request of the Kangxi Emperor, Louis XIV carefully selected six French missionaries with different knowledge and skills, headed by Jean de Fontaney (洪若翰 in Chinese, 1643-1710).[340] Following the Chinese tradition, the six missionaries brought

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336 Charles E. Ronan, *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1733*, 115.
337 Emily Byrne Curtis, *Glass Exchange Between Europe and China, 1550-1800* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 67.
338 Ibid., 67-68.
339 Xu Xiaodong, "The Interaction of Painted Enamel Techniques between the Court and Local in Kangxi and Yongzheng Periods", 280.
340 Ibid., 281.

curious gifts to the Chinese emperor and officers.[341] Painted enamelware was one category of gift that is mentioned in a letter to Verjus in Paris from Jean de Fontanry after he arrived in Ningbo on 25 August 1687. Due to its popularity with the Chinese, he requested more paintings on enamel and enamelled objects to be presented to the mandarins, but insisted that there be no nudity in the decorations.[342] The naked human body could not be accepted by the Qing royal family at that time, however, this stricture did not impede the popularity and development of painted enamel in China.

In February of 1688, the French Jesuits reached Beijing. Joachim Bouvet (白晉) and Jean Francois Gerbillon (張誠) were chosen to stay at court, while the others were permitted to do their missionary work. In addition, another Jesuit missionary also engaged in the development of painted enamel in China. In a letter written by Jean de Fontanet (洪若翰) dating to 1696:

> A letter is more detailed: The Emperor made a beautiful glasswork next to our house in a large piece of land that he gave to us and left the care of it to us' (*L'Empereur fait une belle verrerie a coté de notre maison dans un grand terrain qu'ils nous donne et nous en laisse le soin*) … In accordance with the Kangxi Emperor's will, Kilian Stumpf, SJ (紀理安) contracted the matter. I request that you immediately send one or two excellent craftsmen from our excellent glass factory to us, and at the same time dispatched a fine painted enamel craftsman.[343]

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341 The six missionaries included Jean de Fontanet (洪若翰), Father Guy Tachard, Jean Francois Gerbillon (張誠), Claude Visdelou (劉應), Louis Le Comte (李明), Joachim Bouvet (白晉). See Emily Byrne Curtis, *Glass exchange between Europe and China, 1550-1800*, 69.

342 George Loehr, "Missionary-artists at the Manchu court." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society,* Vol. 34. London: The Oriental Ceramic Society (1962-1963): 51-67.

343 Emily Byrne Curtis, *French Missionary Records for the Kangxi Emperor's Glass Workshop* 法國傳教士所記載的康熙帝玻璃工作坊 in 兩岸故宮第三屆學術研討會: 十七、十八世紀 (1662-1722) 中西文化交, 91-92. And Emily Byrne Curtis, Mi Chenfeng tanslater: 清朝的玻璃製造與耶穌會士在蠶池口的作坊, (Beijing: 故宮博物院院刊, 2003), 63. The Original Chinese text is: "在我們住所旁邊的一塊大的空地上，康熙皇帝正在建設一個漂亮的玻璃工廠。如果我們願意接管，皇帝就把工廠給我們。遵照皇

According to the abovementioned letters, it can be seen that a glass studio had been established under the leadership of the Kangxi Emperor and was managed by Kilian Stumpf, SJ. Combined with Chinese literature mentioned by Emily Byrne Curtis, the site of the workshop was next to the Catholic church on Canchikou (蠶池口) which is the name of the street along the east side of the complex.[344] Therefore, from its establishment in China, painted enamel was inextricably linked with glass. In addition, the following records also support this point. First, the informative content in the French Jesuit archives reveals the efforts of the Kangxi Emperor's first son, Yinti (胤禔) who was a talented craftsman. From 1698 to 1708, he made big expenditures to make exquisite crafts for the emperor at his palace, the Xian An Gong (咸安宫).[345] In addition, according to the record by French missionaries Jacques Brocard (陆伯嘉), on February 12, 1704, reluctantly received an order from Yinreng (胤礽), the second son of the Kangxi Emperor, to decorate some metal pieces with blue enamel. Additionally, the prince urged the craftsmen to surpass what had been produced before.[346] Furthermore, in 1711, Jesuits João Moura said that Kilian Stumpf should teach not only the production of glass, but also enamel colours.[347]

However, the archives of the Roman Jesuits mentioned that the Kangxi Emperor was

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帝的旨意，紀理安神父(Kilian Stumpf)承攬了此事。我請求你們立刻從我們優秀的玻璃工廠裡選派一至兩名優秀的工匠給我們，這些工匠要據有幫助我們製造和歐洲製造的一樣的玻璃和水晶玻璃的能力，也能製造玻璃鏡面; 同時選派一位精良的畫琺瑯工匠來。”

344 Emily Byrne Curtis, “French Missionary Records for the Kangxi Emperor's Glass Workshop”, 92.

345 Emily Byrne Curtis, “European contribution to the Chinese glass of the early Qing period”, 97.

346 Ibid., 94.

347 Ibid., 96.

not satisfied with the paintings of Chinese artisans. He usually summoned the missionaries to ask whether Chinese craftsmen had mastered European painted enamel techniques.[348] But it seems that the technical guidance from European missionaries did not play an important role. The Italian missionary Matteo Ripa (馬國賢, 1682-1745) appointed by the sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, arrived in China in 1710. He had not had any training in painting before he came to China, but he was still ordered by the Kangxi Emperor to work in painted enamel. In 1716, Ripa, writing from Chang Chun Yuan (Garden of Joyful Springtime), reported:

> His Majesty, having become fascinated by our European enamel and by the new method of enamel painting, tried by every possible means to introduce the latter into his imperial workshops which he had set up for this purpose within the Palace, with the result that with the colours used there to paint porcelain and with several large pieces of enamel which he had had brought from Europe, it became possible to do something. In order also to have the European painters, he ordered me and Castiglione (arrived in Macao in 1715) to paint in enamels: yet each of us, considering the intolerable slavery that we would have to suffer…Thus we found ourselves freed from a galley-slave condition.[349]

Mentioned in the previous archive, the Italian Jesuit painter Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧) served three emperors–the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong–in the Qing court and became famous in both China and Europe.[350] He is remembered as a missionary artist who fused European and Chinese artistic elements to establish a characteristic Qing court style. Although he was a painter, he never tried painted enamel techniques, which is the reason for his negative sabotage. The European missionaries

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348 Ibid., 97.
349 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 35.
350 Giuseppe Castiglione was born in 1688 in Milan. He entered the Society of Jesus in Genoa in 1707, when he was 19 years old. He arrived in China in 1715 and lived in Peking until his death in 1766.

functioned as a bridge to bring the painted enamel technique to China, which provide the basic conditions for the development of painted enamel in the Qing court.

4.2.2 The Establishment of Painted Enamel Workshops in the Qing Court

According to scholars' research, the Hall of Mental Cultivation (養心殿) in the Kangxi period became a place where Western missionaries made instruments, machinery, and musical instruments, and taught science and technology. In the early years of the Kangxi reign, the royal objects of The Imperial Household Department were produced in the hall of Mental Cultivation, which in 1680 established an official institution in Wuying Temple (武英殿) called the Wuying Temple Workshops (武英殿造辦處), but only arranged parts of the workshop. There was still a workshop in the Hall of Mental Cultivation. In 1693, the Kangxi emperor expanded the scale of imperial ateliers and set up fourteen workshops, which includes the Fa Lang workshop (琺瑯作).[351] Until 1718, the Fa Lang workshop was attributed to the Hall of Mental Cultivation again and added one supervisor. The painted enamel in the Qing court ended the initial stage of the trial in 1720.[352] The imperial workshop continued until the end of the Qing Dynasty, but production was sparse in the Jiaqing period.[353]

In addition to seeking the collaboration of European missionaries, the Kangxi

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351 Shi Jingfei, "A Record of the Establishment of a New Art Form: The Unique Collection of 'Painted Enamels' at the Qing Court" in *Collections and Concepts, Establishment of a New Art Form,* (2003-2007): 5-6.
352 Wang Jianhua, "A review of painted enamel in Qing court", 52-53.
353 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The painted enamelware of the Qing imperial court*, 32-35.

Emperor also invited painted enamel artisans from Canton, such as Pan Wei (潘淳) and Yang Shizhang (楊士章) to the imperial Fa Lang workshop. They played a vital role in the development process.[354] Shi Jingfei's research has added relevant points on the glaze of Jingdezhen and Guangcai porcelain, and concluded that the establishment of painted enamel in the Qing dynasty bears multiple links with Jingdezhen and Guangdong. The pigments, special formulas and local characteristics of these two places were once attributed to the Qing Fa Lang workshop. It can be seen from the letter written by Francois Xavier d'Entrecolles (殷弘緒) on September 1, 1712:

> Some workmen of Ching-te-chen formerly transported themselves and their materials there, hoping to make considerable profit by reason of the great European commerce at Amoy; but this scheme came to naught, as they were not successful in their manufacture. The reigning Emperor, who neglects nothing, had porcelain workers sent from Ching-te-chen to Peking, together with everything proper for this kind of work; nothing was omitted that would have enabled the work done under his eyes to succeed, but it is stated that this also ended in failure. It may be that political or other interests had something to do with this want of success.[355]

The above letter indicates that craftsmen from Jingdezhen worked for the Qing imperial workshop during the late Kangxi period. The imperial painted enamel also had a great impact on the development of Jingdezhen over-glazed porcelain.[356] Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, according to the literature, Zhu Jiaqian concluded that the

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354 The original archive recorded by the governor Yanglin in 1716: "廣東人潘淳能燒琺瑯物件，奴才業經具則奏明，今又查有能燒法藍楊士章一名，驗其技藝，較之潘淳次等，亦可相幫潘淳製造。……再奴才覓有法藍錶、金剛石戒指、法藍銅畫片、儀器、洋法藍料并潘淳所製法桃紅顏色的金子攙红銅料等件，尚有已成打底子未畫、未燒金紐杯亦交李秉忠收帶，預備到日便與試驗。" see Feng Mingzhu, and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 36.

355 William Burton, *Porcelain: Its Art and Manufacture* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1906), 85.

356 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 65-76.

implementation process of painting and firing of painted enamelware was not one fixed place. From the Kangxi to the Yongzheng period, there are at least three locations, such as the Forbidden City, the Old Summer Palace, and Yi Wangfu (怡王府).[357] During the Yongzheng reign, the Fa Lang workshop entered into a new phase, which was mainly reflected in the attention and development of painted enamel on porcelain tin, glass tin and Yixing foundations. The same manuscript usually could be seen on different objects in the Yongzheng period. At the beginning of the Yongzheng Emperor's reign, Prince Yi took on the responsibility for the Prime Minister's Department and took charge of all matters pertaining to the Imperial Workshops, which included refining the enamel materials and imparting self-educated relevant knowledge about painted enamel to their artisans.[358] Before that, sourcing the glaze materials used for painted enamel still depended on European imports.[359] By the death of Prince Yi in June 1730, the artisans of Qing Imperial Workshops had already mastered the technique of painted enamel and firing temperature to make quite exquisite enamelware.[360] In addition, the Yongzheng Emperor also played an important role in the birth of these artworks. He not only had high artistic expectations, but also personally intervened in the design, manufacture, and firing of the painted enamel. A lot of his opinions on making painted enamels were

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357 Zhu Jiaqian, "A study on the manufacturing of Painted enamel in Qing dynasty 清代畫琺瑯器製造考" *Journal of the Palace Museum* 故宫博物院院刊, no.3 (1982): 73.

358 Prince Yi, named Yin Xiang, 胤祥 (1686-1730), the Kangxi Emperor's 13th son, held the title Prince Yi of the First Rank from 1722 to 1730. He was most trusted and has the closest relationship with Yongzheng Emperor.

359 Wang Jianhua, "A Review of Painted Enamel in Qing Court 清代宫廷琺瑯彩綜述," *Journal of the Palace Museum*, no.3 (1993): 53.

360 Xu Xiaodong, "The Interaction of Painted Enamel Techniques between the Court and Local in Kangxi and Yongzheng Periods", 310-311.

recorded in *Huo Jidang*. For instance, he explicitly requested that the Imperial Workshop should maintain the style of the Qing court.[361] Therefore, painted enamels on copper bodies basically continued the decorative style of the Kangxi period, and the painted enamels on porcelain bodies appeared in a large number of painting style themes on white porcelain background, such as landscapes, flowers and birds, in accordance with literati tastes.

4.3 Cultural Competition and Political Exchange: the Qianlong Emperor's painted enamel wares

4.3.1 The Merits of the Qianlong Emperor

The painted enamel technique in the Qianlong period was the development of innovation on the basis of the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods, whose crafts were already quite mature. It can be seen from the existing collections, in addition to the continuation of the old style of the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods, that the enamellers also strove to innovate, and they created a large number of exotic themes. In addition, great innovations were made in the production mechanism. During the Qianlong period, it gradually expanded beyond the court. The porcelain body painted enamel objects were made in Jingdezhen imperial kiln, and the copper body works were produced on a large scale in Guangdong province.[362] According to "The Imperial Household Department", there are

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[361] The Original Chinese text is: "雍正五年閏三月初三記事錄據圓明園來帖內稱: 郎中海望奉上諭：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，還是內廷恭造式樣，近來雖其巧妙，大有外造之氣。爾等再做時，不要失其內廳恭造之式。欽此。" See *Huo Jidang*《活計檔》Vol. 2, 646. See Ibid., 315.

[362] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial*

some records of the Qianlong Emperor personally asking Tang Ying about the colour, drawing, painting, and models of wares.[363] At that time Tang Ying was the governor of the pottery and managed to fire porcelain in Jingdezhen. The literary evidence points out that Guangdong was the manufacturing location of copper body painted enamelware. It not only has the record cited in Guangdong from the selection of craftsman, but there is a piece of material evidence in the Palace Museum: the inscription "Yuedong Xianglin Store (粵東祥林店)" in a lamp cap ware.[364]

It is worth mentioning that the Qianlong emperor loved antiquities and once called an academician to catalogue the painted enamel collections in the Qing court. They even made matching boxes for the treasures, which were mentioned many times in the archives and highlight the significance of this cultural achievement for the Qianlong emperor.[365] For instance, one record reads, "In the sixth year of Qianlong, the eunuch Yu Bingsen came to inform that the eunuchs Gao Yu, etc. handed in a pair of painted enamel bowls with icing on the red brocade and a pair of five-inch saucers with icing on the yellow brocade, with matching boxes and collected in the Qianqing Place according to the emperor's order." Another one reads, "On the 19th, the eunuch Zhangxi came to inform that the eunuch Gao Yu, etc. handed a pair of painted-enamel Meiping on porcelain bases,

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Court, 113.

363 One original Chinese text is: "乾隆元年五月初二日太監毛團傳旨：著海望寄信與員外郎唐英另將燒造琺瑯之白磁器燒造些來。欽此。" Another one Chinese text is: "乾隆三年六月二十五日，太監高玉交磁器一百七十四件。傳旨：交與燒造磁器處唐英……再五彩琺瑯五寸磁碟一件，五彩琺瑯暗八仙磁碗一件，收小些，亦燒造。欽此。" See Zhu Jiaqian, "A study on the manufacturing of Painted enamel in Qing dynasty", 73.

364 Ibid., 73.

365 Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 114.

with matching boxes and collected in the Qianqing Place according to the emperor's order."[366] Judging from the existing painted enamel collections in the National Palace Museum in Taipei and the Palace Museum in Beijing, the painted enamel in the Qianlong period not only surpassed the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods in terms of quantity, but also became extremely diverse.[367] In addition, European patterns appeared on the Qianlong treasures, which will be discussed in detail in the later sub-section.

4.3.2 The Emperor's Appropriation of Europe

As early as the Yongzheng period of the Qing dynasty, the curiosity about Western culture was appeared in imperial artworks, such as a portrait of the Yongzheng emperor wearing a European wig, outfit and what appears to be a completely European costume (Figure 4.4). The interesting thing is that he is hunting tigers in the painting, which was a common activity of the Manchu emperors and princes in the early Qing dynasty.[368] This reveals that the exotic taste has been gradually developed in the daily life of the Yongzheng Emperor, although the representation style of painted enamelware did not reflect the exotic taste. Afterwards, during the sixty years of the Qianlong Emperor's reign (1736-1795), the Qing Empire reached its zenith of splendor and prosperity, boasting a large population and a thriving economy, with various military campaigns expanding its territory to the greatest extent. However, in later years, with rampant

366 The first original Chinese text is: "乾隆六年正月初八日太監于炳森來說，太監高玉等交磁胎琺琅紅地錦上添花茶碗一對，黃地錦上添花五寸碟一對，傳旨：著配匣入乾清宮琺琅器庫內。欽此。" The second one is: "十九日太監張喜來說，太監高玉等交磁胎琺琅梅瓶一對，傳旨: 著配匣入乾清宮，欽此。" Wang Jianhua, "A review of painted enamel in Qing court", 58.
367 Ibid., 58.
368 The information comes from the records of the Palace Museum.

corruption and wastefulness in his court, the empire was in gradual decline. Historians have always had mixed opinions about the emperor. But, as for his achievements in art, he inherited the legacy of the Yongzheng emperor and greatly surpassed his grandfather and great-grandfather in the pursuit of European fantasy. He made all the European artists who came to China serve his pursuit of European art. Therefore, the combination of Chinese and Western painting styles in one work undoubetly enhanced the forms of expression of court paintings, which is regarded as a major characteristic of court paintings produced during the Qianlong period.

- **The Qianlong Emperor's Pursuit of European Painting and His Missionary artist**

When referring to the art of the Qianlong period, it is impossible to ignore his missionary artists. Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世宁，1688-1766), Jean-Denis Attiret (王致誠，1702-1768), Ignatius Sichelbarth (艾啟蒙，1708-1780)，Giuseppe Panzi (潘廷章，1734-1812)，Joannes Damascenus Saslusti (安德義，?-1780), and Louis Antoine de Poirot (賀清泰，1735-1813) were all missionary painters. Among them, the most famous and talented painter was the Italian Castiglione, who served three emperors for fifty-one years until his death in 1766. Castiglione, Attiret, and Sichelbarth were honoured with high official ranks by the Qianlong emperor. They were frequently ordered to work in collaboration with Chinese painters: for example, the European artists would paint the faces of a portrait while the Chinese artists did the costumes and backgrounds. From this collaboration rose an exotic, eclectic Sino-European style that reached its peak of

influence in court painting.[369]

Castiglione integrated his Western painting skills into Chinese painting and was highly respected by the Qianlong Emperor. He painted imperial portraits of the emperor and empress entitled "Inauguration Portraits of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, the Empress, and the Eleven Imperial Consorts," which are now located in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 4.5). Castiglione's line sketches were quite different from Chinese painting, thanks to his European training. However, according to the records in Qing court archives, the Qianlong emperor made a special request that he abandoned the European style.[370] To achieve this goal, he became an esteemed imperial painter by adapting his painting skills to include the local art traditions. As a result, this series of portraits utilized European painting skills and reduced the shading on the faces with a completely different visual form from the Chinese traditional portraits. Castiglione was also employed painting in horses, dogs, birds and flowers and architectural features. He was the best equestrian painter in the early Qing court. His works utilized European painting techniques, including perspective, chiaroscuro and meticulous brushwork to depict vivid detail in the hair and musculature of horses. This is completely different from the Chinese visual form, which uses simpler lines to evoke the horses' appearance and temperament.

However, in addition to the new painting style integrating the Chinese and European painting techniques, there is also a very small number of oil portraits in a purely European style, which includes the so-called portrait of the Fragrant Concubine (香妃

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[369] David E. Mungello, *The great encounter of China and the west*, *1500-1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 66-67.
[370] Feng Mingzhu, *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's grand cultural enterprise* 乾隆皇帝的文化大業 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2002), 18.

Xiang Fei), a concubine of the Qianlong Emperor. The portrait depicts her as a shepherd girl with a hat on her head, holding a cane in one hand and a flower basket in the other. The brushwork is delicate and fully expresses the metallic quality of the armour, which is difficult to do using Chinese painting techniques.[371] According to records, the Qianlong Emperor also ordered Castiglione to teach European oil painting at the Ruyi Pavilion. His students included Banda Lisha (班達里沙), Ba shi (八十), Sun Weifeng (孫威風), Wang Jie (王玠), Wang Youxue (王幼學), Wang Ruxue (王儒學), Ge Shu (葛曙), Yong Tai (永泰), Ding Guanpeng (丁觀鵬), Zhang Weibang (張為邦)，Yu Shilie (于世烈) and others.[372] Chinese and foreign court painters cooperated with and studied from each other, creating a harmonious atmosphere.

In addition, the monograph "Shi xue (視學)" introduced the principle and approach of European focal perspective theory and painting techniques, which was completed with the help of Castiglione (Figure 4.6). He contributed greatly to the dissemination of the principle of Western perspective and cooperated with the Nian Xiyao (年希堯 1671-1738) whose official position was as high as that of the assistant minister of the Ministry of Works during Yongzheng's reign, completing the book and providing a theoretical basis for the application of perspective, chiaroscuro, and proportions in Chinese painting. Another excellent painter, Jean-Denis Attiret (王致誠，1702-1768) was a French Jesuit whose fame was always overshadowed by Castiglione's. He was recognized for his talent in oil painting techniques and sent to China by the Jesuits in 1738 as a painter to the Qing

371 Ibid., 231.
372 Ibid., 271.

court. His works always have a strong contrast of light and shade, which was unacceptable to the Qianlong Emperor.[373] Of the works by Attiret, "Ten Steeds (十駿圖)" is the best well-known. Another famous copperplate print depicting the conquest of the Western regions entitled "De Sheng Tu (得勝圖) was a collaboration with Castiglione and Sichelbarth. This work is completely based on European painting techniques, such as panoramic composition, perspective, chiaroscuro and proportion. It is a rare masterpiece that represents the fusion of Chinese and European arts. Another French Jesuit painter, Louis Antoine de Poirot (賀清泰，1735-1813), was the last Jesuit painter to work for the Qianlong Emperor. He arrived in China in 1770, and together with Sichelbarth replaced Castiglione and Attiret after their death; however, his artistic accomplishments are far less than Castiglione. In addition to painting, Poirot was also a proficient translator in Manchu and Chinese. There are very few paintings handed down by Poirot. One of them is entitled "White Falcon (畫白海青)," which is very similar to the work of Castiglione.[374] It is possible that it is a copy.

- **The Acceptance and Absorption of Exotic Architecture**

European missionaries were not only an important medium for cultural exchanges between China and Europe, but also an important way for emperors to make contact with the European culture. Scholars generally believe that when the Qianlong Emperor first expressed an interest in European-style gardens and fountains, which he had seen in

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373 Nie Chongzheng, "Frech Jesuit painter of Qing court: Wang Zhicheng 清宮法國畫家王致誠" *The Palace Museum* 紫禁城, no.6 (1981): 35. The original Chinese text is: "水彩畫意趣深長，處處皆宜，王致誠雖工油畫，惜水彩未愜朕意，苟習其法，定能拔萃超群也，願即學之。至寫真傳影，則可用油畫，朕備知之。"

374 Feng Mingzhu, *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's grand cultural enterprise.* 136.

illustrations from the missionaries, he was very fond of it and ordered a group of missionaries to construct European-style palaces (*xiyang lou* 西洋樓) in the northern section of the eastern annex of the Brilliant Completion Garden (*Yuanmingyuan* 圓明園). This can be traced from a letter by a Jesuit missionary, Michel Benoist (蒋友仁，1715-1774), which tells how the construction of the palaces, fountains and gardens began:[375]

> The reigning emperor, a prince of genius, eager for knowledge, having seen in 1747 the picture of a fountain, asked Father Castiglione for the explanation of it, and if where was at court any European in a position to have made one similar to it. The missionary artist, whose modesty has made his talents so illustrious, realized the consequences of a positive reply and prudently limited himself by saying to His Majesty that he would immediately go and make inquires in all the churches.

Tracing back to the historical outline of Yuanmingyuan, the exact origins are still controversial. In 1709, the Kangxi Emperor bestowed the name Yuanmingyuan to a private garden for his son, Yongzheng, who expanded the garden and fitted out the palaces for affairs of state. When Emperor Qianlong's reign, he devoted considerable time and resources to expanding it: in addition to continuing the construction of Chinese style structures, he also commissioned the European-style palace Xiyang Lou in 1747, which is unique in the imperial gardens of China.[376] The Qianlong Emperor appointed Castiglione as the main designer, and the French Jesuit and mathematician Michel Benoist assisted Castiglione. Afterwards, several other European missionaries joined the

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375 John R. Finlay, "The Qianlong Emperor's Western Vistas: Linear Perspective and Trompe I'Oeil lllusion in the European Palaces of the Yuanming yuan." *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome 94 (2007)：161.

376 Gao Lei and Marc Treib, "Making and Remaking the Yuanmingyuan." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, Vol.3, No.1 (Summer 2006)：12.

project, including painters such as Jean-Denis Attiret and Ignatius Sichelbarth, the priest Gilles Thebault (楊自新), the architect Ferdinando Moggi (利伯明), and the botanist Pieer Incarville (戴卡維). A large number of Chinese architects and artisans also participated in the great construction.

This palace was inspired by the Rococo and Baroque styles, which are quite different from Chinese buildings. However, the construction order and location of the building were determined by the Qianlong Emperor. Therefore, certain Chinese elements are represented in it, such as the layout of the axis, which sets the east and west main axes, the three subordinate axes of the north and south direction that form the horizontal T-shaped strip of the Garden of Extended Spring (長春園). It possesses a unique feature of Chinese gardens, which is that the scenery changes as you walk around ("步移景換"). European-style architecture and fountains are the main content of Xiyang Lou, which was constructed in a regular geometric composition. The Palace of the Delights of Harmony (Xie Qi Qu 諧奇趣) was the first completed European landscape, located in the south of the west end of Xiyang Lou construction. It was once dedicated to playing foreign music. The two fountains were the work of Michel Benoist. One is a large fountain located on the south side of the building called Hai Yantang (海宴堂) and a small chrysanthemum fountain on the north side. Additionally, there were two reservoirs that also housed hydraulics in European-style Baroque buildings to supply water to the fountains.[377] Interestingly, in this Rococo construction, Chinese elements are still evident, such as a

[377] Victoria M. Siu, "China and Europe intertwined: a new view of the European sector of the Chang Chun Yuan," *History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 19:3-4 (May 2012): 377.

central roof with Chinese lines covered with green, yellow, aubergine, and blue tiles intended to resemble fish scales. In addition to the Baroque decorations, the roof was adorned with dragons and other animals. The fountains were surrounded with carved 'Roll-Tailed Stone Fish', geese, sheep, and ducks.[378] Although most of the Xiyang Lou constructions were destroyed after the British army burned Yuanmingyuan in 1860, it was an important bellwether for the early spread of Baroque architecture in China. As the name "Xiyang Lou (西洋樓)" indicates, Chinese artisans imitated European-style architecture. Meanwhile, it also shows the Qianlong Emperor's appropriation of foreign culture and thought.

4.3.3 The representation in Painted enamels

For the sense of cultural competition, during the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong dynasties, when painted enamel techniques were flourishing, all three emperors endeavour to produced treasures that could surpass those of Europe. The Qianlong Emperor continued the existing painted enamel tradition of the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods, while also creating his own style of the time. Since there were many missionaries serving the court during the Qianlong Period, as discussed before, it was not difficult for the Qianlong emperor to see images, clocks and objects of Europe. According to the representation of painted enamel treasures and records from the Qing court, the dissimilitude included elaborate combinations of various decorations such as the adoption of motifs that employed syncretic decorations of European and Chinese, as well as

[378] Ibid., 379-380.

painted European figures and landscape paintings and exotic style flowers. The utilization of European motifs is quite remarkable and reflects the innovative thought of the Qianlong Emperor. In this section, I will show the aesthetic taste of the Qianlong period from extant painted enamel objects collected in leading museums around the world.

- **Imitation of the Classic Wares of Emperor Kangxi**

As mentioned above, in the early days of the Qianlong period, painted enamelware was denominated, sorted and classified. Such systematic results were reflected in the direct imitation for the previous classic wares.[379] For example, the cloisonné (gold body) *tou* vessel with phoenix handles from the Yongzheng period (Figure 4.7) was imitated in the Qianlong period (Figure 4.8). The shape, size and decoration are exactly the same, except that the bottom of the copy is engraved with "Qianlong Nianzhi (乾隆年製)," which is different than the inscription on the Yongzheng one. In addition to making the same wares as in previous eras, it also appears that the Qianglong emperor asked for the matching works to be paired with works from former dynasties when the previous works appear unpaired.[380] This set of physical objects is collected in the National Palace Museum. The painted enamelware shares a yellow glaze with a floral and nine-longevities design. There is a plate with the inscription "Yongzheng Nianzhi" on the bottom, but since the colour of the pigment is slightly different from the Yongzheng-era

[379] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 115.

[380] Evidence could be traced in the "Huo Jidang," the original archive recorded in 1778: "(十一月) 二十九日員外郎四德來說，太監榮世泰交廣法瑯托盤二件雍正款，傳旨，將托盤認看呈覽，欽此。隨將托盤認看得後銅鍍金呈覽。奉旨，着配法瑯盃二件亦要雍正款，欽此。於四十五年五月初九日將法瑯托盤二件配得法瑯盃二件呈覽。奉旨，着配楠木匣，得时交乾清宫，钦此。" Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The painted enamelware of the Qing imperial court* 日月光華：清宮畫琺瑯, 115-116.

cup, some scholars, myself included, speculate that it is possible to match the cups of the Yongzheng period that are marked with the same inscription.[381]

- **New Creation of Mixed European and Chinese Elements**

With the development of the painted enamel technique, the decoration style of the Qianlong period was certainly not limited to the simple imitation of the previous Kangxi and Yongzheng dynasties. Based on the rising interest in exotic cultures, the new decorative style that belongs to the unique characteristics of the Qianlong period was created. Generally speaking, the first category is the innovation in painting techniques, which incorporated perspective, chiaroscuro and proportions in the painting process mainly presented on a porcelain body object with the theme of flowers and birds, landscapes, and figures. Second, floral backgrounds with panel designs were beginning to appear on copper body painted enamelware and *yangcai* porcelain. Third, the representation of mixed European and Chinese elements combined on one treasure was the most obvious innovation. There is a pair of Guanyin vases in *yangcai* porcelain depicting a landscape of imperial gardens, figures and imperial poem decorations, collected in the National Palace Museum (Figure 4.9).[382] The general style of this vase continues the literati style of the Yongzheng period, but the colour of the whole picture is more gorgeous and more layered than before. In addition, on account of the adoption of perspective and chiaroscuro, it is more complicated to depict in detail.

As early as the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, the panel design had already

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[381] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 116-118.
[382] Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign*, 159.

appeared on Kraak porcelain, which was only made for the export market (see Chapter 2). I suppose that as the supervisor of the Jingdezhen porcelain kilns during the Yongzheng and Qianlong dynasties, Tang Ying must have seen the popularity of panel designs on export porcelain, so it is reasonable that this design appears on official wares. For example, the painted enamel-covered jar, which is also in the National Palace Museum, presents landscape scenes on many panels (Figure 4.10). There are complicated floral decorations on yellow ground and two blue ground rings on the top and bottom of the jar. The *qilin*, the Chinese mythological animal, was added on top of the blue ground. Ingeniously, all the landscape motifs in the panels adopted different three signal-colour glazes, purple, blue and pink, respectively, which are painted in the style of a European sketch.

A further innovation was to mix and match different decorative techniques, such as Champlevé and painted enamel combing on one object. More classic was drawing European figures on Chinese traditional wares.[383] For example, this square copper-body box is filled with Champlevé technique on the cover and the body, which can be easily distinguished by the unevenly scroll grass pattern (Figure 4.11). Inside, a circle of painted enamel decoration with many Western-style flowers forms a rectangular fancy panel opening, and European ladies and two young children are painted in it. Interestingly, a large number of wares depicting figures appeared during the Qianlong period. However, they are rarely depicted on the wares of the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods. There are, to date, no good explanations for this.

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[383] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 134.

Figure decorations are also painted on *yangcai* porcelain, such as this pair of gall-bladder vases. The eighteen arhats (Buddhist exemplars) were painted in two large panels, which are surrounded by the traditional Chinese *kuilong wen* (夔龙纹) dragon design (Figure 4.12).[384] However, the appearances of the eighteen arhats are all different and vivid. The limbs are all painted using European chiaroscuro, except for the obvious shadows on the faces. The gap between the vase body is painted with interlocking branch lotus decorations. A circle of yellow Ruyi (如意) pattern is painted on the bottom which corresponds to the circular yellow floral pattern on the neck.

- **The Pattern of Flower Brocade**

In order to cater to the whims of the Qianlong Emperor, Tang Ying, as the supervisor of the imperial kilns, was obliged to create new styles and techniques, and the "pattern of flower brocade" was one of his successes.[385] The so-called "pattern of flower brocade" ("锦上添花") added a floral pattern to the incised or painted brocade ground on the surface of a vessel, which was frequently seen on *yangcai* porcelain and painted enamelware after 1741, both on the main ornamentations and bordering.[386] Generally speaking, in terms of the layouts of the pattern of flower brocade, there are two types: one places the floral patterns on the brocade ground, and the other adds flowers on the vacant panels of the brocade ground. The techniques used during the Qianlong reign can be divided into two categories: incised decorations (陰刻) and painted line in relief (陽刻). Both of them were extremely labor-intensive and complicated compared with the

384 Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign*, 152.
385 Ibid., 37.
386 Ibid., 21.

techniques of previous periods.[387]

Several scholars of the National Palace Museum, such as Liao Baoxiu (廖宝秀), Yu Peijin (余佩瑾) and Shi Jingfei (施靜菲) have discussed the sudden popularity of this pattern in detail. Where did the inspiration for it come from? I support the point of view of Shi Jingfei that this was a new design inspired both by Chinese and European traditions.[388] Next, I will elaborate on some specific objects. My first example is a pair of teacups in *yangcai* porcelain with an incised red-ground pattern of flower brocade, with three European floral patterns around the outside of the cups (Figure 4.13). A close-up view of the three flowers shows the utilization of the European chiaroscuro technique to make them look more vivid and stereoscopic. There is another similar pair of food bowls also with an incised red-ground pattern of flower brocade, but the difference is that there are four white panels with landscape decorations on the outside of the bowl (Figure 4.14). The four-seasons landscape motif is rendered in the ink and painting style, which makes for a pronounced contrast with the incised red-ground pattern of flower brocade. In addition, four groups of European flowers are added in the gaps of panels. An exquisite gold-painted enamel pattern of flowers is painted inside the bowl on white ground. According to the research, the majority of the round objects of this category with flower brocade decorations were made from 1741 to 1743, and almost all the extant examples are collected in the National Palace Museum. They were mounted in a box and collected

[387] Ibid., 37-38.
[388] Feng Mingzhu and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 148.

in the Qianqing Palace at the Qianlong Emperor's command.[389]

This is a cup and saucer set of painted enamelled with a gold body, which is a rare and luxurious example collected in the Palace Museum (Figure 4.15). They were made using both painted enamel and Champlevé techniques. This kind of combination of two or more techniques is a reflection of the elevated skills and cultural competition during the Qianlong period. Four symmetrical panels incised decorated with painted enamel images: a foreign lady in a European landscape. In addition, the shading on her face reveals European painting techniques and is probably made by missionary artists. According to my research, the majority of painted enamels found on a gold body were painted with European figures. So it can be assumed that, by the emperor's decree, the combination of foreign images and the garish technique on treasures made from gold was a kind of luxury idea at that time.

- **The European "Mother and Child" Theme**

During the Qianlong period, the European theme of "mother and child" frequently appeared on painted enamel porcelain produced for the court. The mother and child theme has a long history as a traditional Chinese decoration on folk kiln porcelain, but a large number of European images appeared on official kiln artworks, which is a first in the history of Chinese ceramics. On one hand, the appearance of this decorative theme reflects the Qianlong court's curiosity for the exotic. On the other hand, it also evokes the Confucian concept of respecting relatives and loving children. The iconography always depicts the foreigners in a European-style setting, including European buildings and

[389] Liao Baoxiu, *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung Reign*, 46&68.

natural landscapes. It is reasonable to assume that this iconography was incorporated into the works by European missionaries, which is a reflection of the appropriation of Europe. There is a painted enamel porcelain vase with tubular handles and images of the European version of the mother and child theme collected in the National Palace Museum (Figure 4.16). The iconography in the center of the panel was probably derived from the theme of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, due to such elements as the white veil on the head of the European lady, a hint that she is the Madonna. The child in front giving gifts to the Madonna is the Son of God.[390] However, because of restrictions on Christianity during the Qianlong period, the religious implication was weakened in the expression of this kind of theme. For example, outside the panel design, other places were painted with traditional Chinese decorative patterns. Dense, tangled lotus flowers are painted in red and blue on the outside of the panel and neck. There are many yellow-ground Ruyi circles with green intertwined Ruyi circles arranged on the shoulder of the vase. Although the vase is small in size, it is exquisitely detailed.

In addition, the European theme of mother and child also appeared on objects of complex technique (Figure 4.17). For example, this Cloisonné (gold body) jar with painted enamel inlay in several panels. In the big panel is painted a European lady in the center looking at a boy who presents a flower to her. The background depicts a completely European landscape and architecture with European painting techniques. There are several European-style landscapes with aubergine glaze inlaid on the neck. Additionally, all the blue flower brocade utilized the Cloisonné technology, whose

390 Feng Mingzhu, *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's grand cultural enterprise.* 179.

uneven surface can be seen in the illustration. There are twin Chi dragon (螭龙) ears on both sides of this jar, which is a traditional Chinese element on porcelain that frequently appeared in Qing dynasty art. Similarly, the motif of the mother and child can be seen on the Champlevé technique wares, showing the popularity of this theme during the Qianlong reign. This is a rare golden body Champlevé ewer decorated with images of European women and children (Figure 4.18). The ewer is engraved with embossed European floral patterns and filled with a dark green enamel glaze. Several panel designs are decorated on the lid of the pot, the neck, the shoulders, and the abdomen of the ewer. Decorations with stereo floral branches are painted in the panels on the lid, the neck, and the bottom. There are four panel designs on both sides of the shoulders and the bottom of the abdomen painted with European-style sceneries and architecture. The mother and child are the main pattern and are depicted in the two large panels of the abdomen; however, this motif is painted with two children and a European lady (probably the Madonna).[391] According to the research by scholar Lin Lina of the National Palace Museum, there is a record in Huo Jidang that reveals that a draft sketch had to be made out first, and the approval of the emperor obtained, before the object went into production. Moreover, there are very few golden bodies painted enamelware pieces still in existence. It is probably because of its value that the emperor specially ordered the decorated Lang Shining's best drawings.[392]

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391 A similar ewer also mentioned by Yu Peijin in the book entitled: "*Radiant Luminance: The painted enamelware of the Qing imperial court* 日月光華：清宮畫琺瑯," 142.

392 Evidence could be traced in the "Huo Jidang" which the original archive recorded on October 26, 1730: "著內務府總管海望照高足杯樣，足矮些的，做金胎琺瑯杯一份，亦隨蓋隨托碟。著郎世寧畫好些的花樣。" see Feng Mingzhu, *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's grand cultural enterprise,* 147.

However, a large number of Chinese mother and child-themed pieces continued to appear on painted enamelware in the Qianlong period, which was probably adapted from European iconography.[393] For example, there is a pair of painted enamel porcelain dishes in the National Palace Museum (Figure 4.19). A pair of Chinese women and a boy, all in Chinese dress and in a Chinese garden, is depicted in the central medallion, which is surrounded by a brocade floral ground border. But the painting technique is different in Chinese painting. From the utilization of perspective, chiaroscuro and proportion, it is obvious that is a fusion style after the adoption of European painting techniques. These four cases show this originally European motif has been gradually appropriated and transformed into a new visual tradition and resulting in a unique Qianlong period visual style.

The Qianlong Emperor was active and open-minded in the political and diplomatic arena of the eighteenth century, and attempted to build an extraordinary world of culture in his court. He was also a skilled poet and writer of prose with a deep and abiding interest in arts. He even ordered the imperial workshop to engrave his poems on porcelain. In addition, driven by his unique artistic talents and aesthetic taste, he utilized his imperial status to direct and redefine the efforts of artists and artisans serving the court.[394] This chapter only introduced a small part of his great achievements and focused mainly on the innovation of painted enamelware. Many innovative artefacts bear the unmistakable mark of the Qianlong era in their multifaceted diversity. All these preserved

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393 Feng Mingzhu, and Shi Jingfei, *Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court*, 144.
394 Feng Mingzhu, *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's grand cultural enterprise*, 164.

collections reflected how the emperor governed a country from a cultural perspective and the interactions of different cultures.

4.3.4 Qianlong's Painted enamels in the relations of Political and Power

The diplomatic interactions between Chinese courts and the other countries existed since the early Qing period, especially in Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong periods. In these interactional exchanges, the exquisite gifts are no longer a simple act of gifting but are related to the deeper expressions of the giver and the receiver. This part will explore Qianlong's artistic production made for different audiences as represented in gifts for diplomatic envoys and special orders imitating the forms of Tibetan vessels made for Tibetan Buddhist Rituals at court. Employing Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff's notion of the "social life of things," I investigate the strong political intentions of the Qianlong emperor in his material cultures.

- **Diplomatic gift for envoys**

The French socio-anthropologist Marcel Mauss proposed that gifts are never truly free, but are rather objects of reciprocal trade that are "never completely separated from the men who exchange them".[395] In recent years, there has been a growing interest in gift exchanges between the Chinese and European courts in successive published museum collections.[396] Fortunately, in name of empires, kings and envoys, the list of gifts

[395] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: Norton, 1990), 31.
[396] John Ayers, *Chinese and Japanese Works of Art in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Vol. 1, 2, 3 (London Royal: Collection Trust, 2016).

exchanged was well recorded, which provides more information for my research.

In 1792, George III (1738-1820) dispatched an embassy to China led by Earl Macartney of Lissanore (馬戛爾尼，1737-1806), in an attempt to reach an agreement with the Qianlong Emperor on a preferential trade and friendship treaty. However, Macartney's trip was considered a failure, in part due to his refusal to make the 'kowtow' of submission to Emperor Qianlong as he was ordered, and in part due to the emperor's refusal to consent to anything as outlandish as the diplomatic relations he requested.[397] Nonetheless, Macartney returned to the George III with a wide range of lavish and exotic gifts, including painted enamel wares, jades, porcelain, silk, lacquer, tea, imperial calligraphy and paintings, gourd wares, bamboo, paper, ink and fans.[398] Three group *yangcai* enamels caught my attention on the most important list of 'Principal Objects Bestowed on the King (賞英吉利國王物件) (Figure 4.20)'.[399] The pair of gourd-shaped porcelain vases were published recently by Ming Wilson (Figure 4.21). This pair of vases has a traditional Chinese shape and European enamels. Qianlong Emperor clearly recognized how the techniques from Europe, like glassmaking and painted enamel, and the artefacts they produced aided in enhancing the prestige of the European courts.[400] The gourd-shaped vase had been a favoured of the court for its homophony with the

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397 John Ayers, *Chinese and Japanese Works of Art in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Vol. 1, 9.

398 Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Danganguan, *Qianlongchao Shangyu Dang*, 乾隆朝上谕档, Vol. 18 (Beijing: Dangan Chubanshe, 1991), 354-363. The two lists of gifts were written in Chinese, and Latin. The transcription and translation in English is by Ming Wilson and was further reviewed and edited by Dr. Paul Bevan.

399 Ibid., 354-355. They are "*yangcai* enamel, gourd-shaped porcelain vases, one pair (洋彩瓷葫蘆瓶一對), *yangcai* enamel, porcelain sauce pots with lids, two pairs (洋彩瓷有盖滷壺一對), *yangcai* enamel porcelain pruns blossom-style sauce pots with lids, one pair (洋彩瓷有盖梅花式滷壺一對).

400 Wang Cheng-Hua, "A Global Perspective on Eighteenth-Century Chinese Art and Visual Culture" *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 96, no.4 (December 2014): 381.

Chinese character '福祿', which means 'fortune and prosperity'. In addition, the shape of the vessel resembles the character '吉', therefore, it is well known 'Da ji ping (大吉瓶)'. This is a matched pair, and there are four oval panels on the lower bulb of each vase. These are painted on a ground of deep blue basis with gilt lotus scrolls overpainted on the top. The design of entwined lotus scrolls is a symbol of incorruptibility, due to its homophony to the Chinese character '清廉'. The iconography on the four oval panels of the lower bulb is as follows: one painted the Chinese Eight Immortals assembled under a pine, another depicted some children playing near a lakeside pavilion, while the third one showed scholars playing Chinese chess and their servant make tea for them, while the reverse panel depicted several foreigners by the sea. It is noteworthy that these four scenes were depicted in bird's-eye view. This perspective gives a new understanding to the emperor's rulership. Perhaps the viewer of this pair vases was the Qianlong emperor, the artisans provided him a privileged position.[401] Such pieces were presented by the Qianlong Emperor to George III, which is not only expressed a sense of a cultural competition but also demonstrated the emperor's political message.

- **Empire's efforts for Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism**

In the book "*Empire of Emptiness*", which published in 2003, the art historian Patricia Berger explores how Tibetan Buddhism was applied to the material production that symbolized the Qianlong emperor's political power. Berger examines the gift exchange with the 6th Panchen Lama and proposes we explore the wider historical

[401] Ibid., 381-384.

implications through cultural heritage.[402] Many scholars have explored various aspects of the strategies of the Qianlong emperor used to fortify his imperial power and maintained the cohesiveness of the national frontier. For example, Berger, through an important stele found in the south-north access of Yonghe gong (雍和宫), deals with the multicultural context during his reign. This stele is inscribed on four sides with a text by the Qianlong emperor in four languages: Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, and Tibetan. Some parallel parts of the four versions of this essay have varied interpretations, indicating that he did not treat them as straight translations of a single model version and also proving that Qianlong's had polyglot abilities.[403] In addition, there is also the famous Tibetan-style thangka, collected in the Palace Museum in Beijing, that depicts the Qianlong Emperor in the middle as the Mañjughoṣa emperor. He appears at the centre of a symbolic universe and is seated among deities, teachers and other Buddhist figures. Some scholars argue that Qing authority in Tibet was Colonial, and that royal patronage of Tibetan Buddhism confuses the traditional idea of empire as a civilizing mission. However, Qing rule in Tibet was assisted by working within Buddhist cultural paradigms and with Tibetan Buddhist and religious elites, rather than imposing a foreign ideology on their subjects.

More practical actions to support Tibetan Buddhism by the Qianlong Emperor are included: building Buddhist temples and halls, giving generous courtesy to Tibetan-Mongolia monks, generously rewarding Mongolian and Tibetan leaders, granting

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402 Patrica Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2003).
403 Ibid., 35-36.

knighthoods to religious leaders, and exemption from taxes, etc.[404] According to the research of Tibetan cultural expert of the Palace Museum Wang Jiapeng, there were at least 35 halls built for Tibetan Buddhist rituals in the Forbidden City during the Manchu regime. The appearance of these Buddhist halls is in perfect harmony with the Forbidden City's architectural schema, apart from the Yuhua Pavilion(雨花閣), which has obvious features from Tibetan Buddhist architecture, the forms of the other Buddha halls are entirely consistent with the palace's architecture.[405] In this context, under the command of the Qianlong emperor the Household Department was also working on objects that imitated Tibetan vessels, specifically those from a Buddhist environment. These artefacts were produced specifically for Tibetan Buddhist rituals held at the Qing courts, for rewarding on prominent religious and political officials and lamas, and for the private collections of the Manchu emperors. All of the above historical records could be traced in the *Qing Shi Lu* 清實錄, *Wu Shi Dalai Zhuan* 五世達賴轉, *Liushi Panchan Chaojin Dangan Xuanbian* 六世班禪朝覲檔案選編 and *Liushi Panchen Luosang Badan Yixi Zhuan* 六世班禪洛桑巴丹益希轉, which provide evidences for the emperor's efforts.[406]

Dombo, known as mdong-mo to serve water or ghee tea in Tibetan and Mongolian areas, is called Duo Mu Hu (多穆壺) or Cha Tong (茶桶) in Chinese records. According to records, Dombo was made from a variety of different materials were produced under

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404 Tsai Mei-fen, *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way*, 24.
405 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.
406 Tsai Mei-fen, *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way*, 24-48.

the command of the Qing emperor and rewarded to the Tibetan religious leaders.[407] There is an exquisite Dombo collected in the National Palace Museum made by cloisonné with inset painted enamel panels (Figure 4.22). The prototype of the dombo pot was made of wood and was completely transformed on a gilt body by the Qing court. The mouth of the pot is decorated with five Buddhist crowns of Tibetan Buddhism and inset with coral, lapis lazuli and turquoise. The colour palette and decorations reveals a past life from Tibet. On the body, there are nine panels that depict traditional Qing court iconographies: 'mother and child' theme in court interior, landscapes and some views of flowers, butterflies and stones. The Dombo follows an ingenious idea and has a dragon mouth as the pot's spout and a dragon tail for a handle. These ingenuities reveal the Qianlong emperor's obvious intention to facilitate cultural interaction.

According to the collections of the Palace Museum and the National Palace Museum, the Qianlong emperor ordered the making of large enamelled Tibetan stupas for Tibetan Buddhist rituals, which were placed in the Fanhua Pavilion in the north-east (梵華樓) and the Baoxiang Temple (寶相樓)in the south-west of the Forbidden City. This large stupa was made using a variety of enamel techniques including cloisonné craft, painted enamel, and basse-taille (Figure 4.23). It follows the mchod-rten style that is decorated with a blue-ground. The height of this stupa is 251 centimetres with multi-layered combination, fully demonstrating the brilliant achievements of enamelling during that period.[408] According to the historical records, the stupa was originally placed in the Baoxiang

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[407] Ibid., 32-34.
[408] Wang Jiapeng, "*Liangxiang dayang bian de huanggong shenfo* 亮相大洋彼岸的皇宮神佛," *The Forbidden City* 紫禁城, no.5 (2004): 46-47.

Temple, but it was moved to the Xumi Fushou Temple (須彌福壽寺) at Chengde. This temple imitated a Tibetan temple (named 日喀則紮什倫布寺, in Chinese record called: 熱河紮什倫布廟) that was built to welcome the sixth Panchen's visit to Beijing to celebrate Qianlong's seventieth birthday in 1780 (Figure 4.24).[409] Another extant stupa in the same style, collected in the Baoxiang Temple was made two years later.[410] In addition, there are two other stupas collected in the National Museum, respectively made with famille-verte ceramic and Gilt Bronze bodies.[411]

In the Qing imperial palace, the reproduction of Tibetan-Mongolian altars, households, and temples was seen throughout Peking. They closely imitated from Tibetan prototypes. As a result, many of them used enamel techniques which derived from Europe. It reveals not only the transformation of different materials and techniques in different contexts, but also reveals the building of a multicultural empire. The Qianlong emperor did not employ military power to unite the Tibetan-Mongolian area, but turned to religion, embracing, supporting and accepting different religions and beliefs, thereby reinforcing their politics and sustaining the centripetal force of different nationalities.

4.4 Brief Conclusion

Building the cultural flows between Asia and Europe were not only bi-directional

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[409] Original record is: "乾隆四十三年十二月十七日, 侍郎金簡面奉谕旨: 新建熱河紮什倫布廟內, 應供奉六品佛，先將慈甯宮現供六品佛挪往熱河供奉，再照慈甯宮現供六品佛式樣成造補供。欽此。" See *Liushi Panchan Chaojin Dangan Xuanbian* 六世班禪朝覲檔案選編 (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 1996), 3.
[410] Wang Jiapeng, "*Liangxiang dayang bian de huanggong shenfo* 亮相大洋彼岸的皇宮神佛," 46-47.
[411] Tsai Mei-fen, *Monarchy and Its Buddhist Way*, 108-111.

but in an entangled system of exchanges in the early modern period, this chapter has shown the appropriation of Europe in China, such as in the Qing courts, artisans, workshops, and ateliers. This Chapter has paid close attention to the painted enamel ware in the Qing court, a new art form introduced by the envoys and missionaries from Europe. In the first section, I investigated the techniques of painted enamel in the European context and clarified the term of research object 'painted enamel ware' in my dissertation through analysed the differences between two terminologies of 'painted enamels' and '*yangcai* enamel' in terms of locations of production, pigments, décor and motifs. The cultural flow not only through commerce, but also through missionaries and travellers from European countries. By drawing attention to the situation of painted enamel workshops in the Qing court, this research demonstrated that the production of painted enamel frequently was created by the emperor's specific decrees. In addition to seeking the collaboration of European missionaries, the Qing Emperor also invited excellent painted enamel artisans from Canton and Jingdezhen to the imperial Fa Lang workshop. These conveyed that the emperors not only attached importance to the production of painted enamel wares, but also their political intentions were to surpass those of Europe and even previous dynasties.

In addition, the last section has explored the development and innovation phase of the painted enamel technique in the Qianlong period on the basis of the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods, whose crafts were already quite mature. I investigated the Qianlong painted enamel ware appropriation of European motifs and the form of Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism wares, both used for Qing court as well as to make

diplomatic gifts to the European missionaries and the Tibetan political and religious figures, which indicated the political schemes and cultural competence of Qianlong emperor through controlling the production of painted enamel wares.

Conclusion

The main goal of this study was to investigate the bidirectional interflow of Chinese and European porcelain during the 17th and 18th centuries, focusing on the complex systems of artisans in kilns, workshops, courts, and ateliers and how they mutually appropriated techniques and ideas. My analysis centered on three aspects of representations: interaction, appropriation, and adaptation. This dissertation attempts to answer the questions, "How did Chinese artisans imitate based on European samples?"; "What does European decorated porcelain look like?"; "How did European artisans transform motifs from Chinese porcelain?"; "What were the adaptations made by the artisans who have different cultural backgrounds?" and "How the Qing emperors, especially Qianlong emperor, managed the Imperial Household Department and strengthen his power by means of manipulating the enamel reproduction.

The anthropologists Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopyto have suggested the same with people who have social lives, things also have their social life.[412] Monica Juneja emphasizes the importance of 'contact, interaction, and entanglement' in creating the transcultural realm.[413] This study addressed the transcultural interflow on porcelain between Asia and Europe and discussed the interaction of decoration among Jingdezhen wares, official painted enamel wares, and European Delft faience and Meissen porcelain. It is a story that weaves together maritime trade, commercial enterprise, shipwrecks, technology, Qing court and emperors, and the renovation of decoration and cross-cultural

412 Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello. *The global lives of things: the material culture of connections in the early modern world*, 2.
413 Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna. "Understanding Transculturalism—Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna in Conversation," in *Transcultural Modernisms*, 24–25.

encounters. On the basis of much work into the historical background of the trade between Asia to Europe, first, I introduced maritime trade in Chinese porcelain from China to Europe. The maritime routes were started by the Portuguese and Spaniards in opposite directions throughout the 16th century. Afterward two large commercial enterprises, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the British East India Company, were established successively and dominated the two hundred years of porcelain trade with China. Under their oversight, porcelain was shipped to Europe, imperiled by storms, pirates and local political problems, and became exotic luxuries favoured by the European aristocracy.

Following that, I examined Europe as the "cultural other" that transmitted original European paintings and engravings to China in order to obtain the customized iconography they preferred. "Kraak porcelain" is one of the earliest types of Chinese porcelain made on a large scale for the export trade, as evidenced by many archaeological shipwreck investigations. It is identified by its special panel designs but without samples customized from Europe. Many Chinese auspicious animals and plants, and Taoist, Confucianist, and Buddhist symbols were used to decorate Kraak wares. The third section of this thesis provides a deeper insight into "How did the Chinese artisans decorate to the Europeans' tastes before specific patterns were brought to China?" The deer motif on domestic porcelain which always depicted on a vacant background with ample meanings and homophones. Differently, on Kraak porcelain, the deer motif is usually painted in a landscape in groups of anywhere from one to five. More research is needed to examine the resources of Chinese iconography. The results of this investigation show that the

inspirations of the deer pattern on Kraak bowls were derived from Chinese Ming prints and paintings in order to cater to the taste and requirements of European merchants. Apart from Chinese elements, several simple exotic decorations emerged on Kraak porcelain roughly after 1600. Some examples are coats of arms, Dutch plants. and European figures. Based on the research of Christiaan Jörg on porcelain and the Dutch-China trade, it is clear that after 1635, the V.O.C had begun to bring European samples to China requesting specific patterns on export porcelain. From then on, the appearance of Chinese export porcelain underwent significant change. In general, it can be subdivided into four themes in this thesis: European genre motifs, European religious motifs, customized armorial porcelain, and political satire-propaganda. However, because of the unfamiliarity of the motifs, lots of misunderstandings, revising and adaptions were recorded on porcelain wares by Chinese artisans who were steeped in traditional European concepts and painting techniques. In addition, armorial porcelain appeared on blue-and-white porcelain was rare, but on *famille rose* porcelain in large quantities, especially throughout the 18th century. During the time, possessing armorial services been an idea of luxury became fashionable for noble families and corporations.

On the other side, Chinese culture as “the other” and transmitter influenced European ceramics, such as Delft pottery and Meissen porcelain. The request for the secrets of porcelain actually was due to the popularity of the mysterious “white gold” among the wealthy and powerful classes in Europe. The faience industry at Delft was the first to make copies of Chinese porcelain’s decorations on a fairly large scale. However, delftware was not real porcelain and eventually came to be used as a generic term for

"faience" or Chinese blue and white porcelain. True porcelain was successfully developed in the small German town of Meissen in 1709. Regarding the pictorial elements on both Delft and Meissen wares, both of them were made in Europe but have different oriental styles, which came to be known as 'Chinoiserie'. It was mentioned by Oliver Impey as early as 1977: an oriental style, be it Chinese, Japanese, Indian, or something else, being adapted to European needs and skills and getting far away from its original style.[414] Some Chinoiserie decorations seem strange to us now, but could provide a reasonable interpretation for the imagination in the cultural exchange. Eventually, the style of the local faience reflected these interpretations. It discusses how new cultures, techniques, and materials were integrated into the local production processes.

Current research focuses on the European influence in Chinese porcelain, which is mainly Canton porcelain during the 18th century. However, to render a transcultural circle and the bidirectional flow of the European and Chinese culture, I attempted to take another new approach, showing how European art influenced the official ware at Qing court. The research objects are enamel wares which are pigments and techniques from Europe. The majority of collections are collected in the National Palace Museum, the Palace Museum, and the British Museum. This was a new art form introduced by envoys and missionaries from Europe and became well developed during the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong periods. In the first section, I clarified the terminology and different technology types of "painted enamel" in Chinese contexts and made a brief contrast between the easily-confused two types: painted enamel porcelain (瓷胎畫琺瑯) and

[414] Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration*, 101.

yangcai (洋彩). Second, I traced the inception of painted enamel on the metal body. It originated in the French town of Limoges and flourished from the 15th century to the end of the 16th century. Then, in the next section, I address how enamel wares were brought to the imperial place and the establishment of workshops in Qing court. To highlight the main argument of the thesis and show the influence of European culture on official objects, I discussed the appropriation and adaptation of Europe by Qing emperors, especially focusing on the Qianlong period. I discussed how he reinforced his politics and sustained the relationship with Tibetan-Mongolian peoples. For example, the Imperial Household Department was decreed producing objects following the form and style of Tibetan-Mongolian vessels and stupas. Through these existing objects, we can see that Emperor Qianlong's open mind and his great achievements attempted to build an extraordinary cultural world during his reign.

In this thesis, I have tried to structure a transcultural interflow between European and Chinese porcelain wares and hope to have made a contribution to the scholarship based on previous research, particularly with the entanglement of trade, producers and courts about porcelain. My research also has some limitations, especially regarding the misunderstanding of the porcelain types due to the impossibility of touching such fragile objects. It is a pleasant dream for scholars who do not work in museums to be allowed to touch precious wares, for then we could see and learn more deeply about them.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Related Chinese Dynasties and Reigns of Ming and Qing dynasties

Ming	**1368-1644 CE**
Hongwu	1368-1398 CE
Jianwen	1399-1402 CE
Yongle	1403-1424 CE
Hongxi	1425-1425 CE
Xuande	1426-1435 CE
Zhengtong	1436-1449 CE
Jingtai	1450-1456 CE
Tianshun	1457-1464 CE
Chenghua	1465-1487 CE
Hongzhi	1488-1505 CE
Zhengde	1506-1521 CE
Jiajing	1522-1566 CE
Longqing	1567-1572 CE
Wanli	1573-1620 CE
Taichang	1620-1620 CE
Tianqi	1621-1627 CE
Chongzhen	1628-1644 CE
Qing	**1644-1911 CE**
Shunzhi	1644-1661 CE
Kangxi	1662-1722 CE
Yongzheng	1723-1735 CE
Qianlong	1736-1795 CE
Jiaqing	1796-1820 CE
Daoguang	1821-1850 CE
Xianfeng	1851-1861 CE
Tongzhi	1862-1874 CE
Guangxu	1875-1908 CE
Xuantong	1909-1911 CE