No. 1902[EN]

Research Report

The Ceramics of Eurasia

How export porcelain has shaped a globalized world

Thorsten Giehler

IMI Research Report No. 1902 [EN]

The Ceramics of Eurasia
How export porcelain has shaped a globalized world

By **Thorsten Giehler** [*]

Introduction

The history of Asian ceramics is a history of cultural interaction and trade. The famous Silk Road already linking the East and West together 2,000 years ago may not have been an important route for trading ceramics when it was first established between the Roman Empire and China. However, Chinese Tang dynasty (618-906) ceramics have been found along the Silk Road in Persia, Iraq and Egypt, and one of the first known foreign recipients of exquisite chinaware was the Abbasid Caliph Harun al Rashid around 800. During the Tang dynasty a vibrant trade between China and the Islamic world started. The Abbasid caliphate (750-1258) had already imported millions of Chinese ceramics – beautiful white monochromes from northern China and green glazed stoneware from the southern province of Zhejiang. Most of these ceramics do not exist anymore, but in some fortunate cases shipwrecks found along the former maritime trading routes give us evidence of these early forms of global trade. One of the most famous discoveries was the Belitung shipwreck, an Arab dhow, which sailed with a cargo of 60,000 ceramics from China towards an unknown Abbasid port, and which sunk near the Indonesian island of Belitung. One bowl found intact on the seabed was inscribed with a date: "16th day of the 7th month of the reign of Baoli" or 826[1]. The treasure is now displayed in the Maritime Experimental Museum of Singapore – where also the most relevant harbor city of the modern globalized world is located. Another shipwreck of the 10th century found off the coast of Java near the port of Cirebon had a cargo of 250,000 Chinese ceramics (see map 1).

This intensive trade relationship was replicated a couple of centuries later between China and the Western world. A driving force of the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English expeditions and discoveries taking place from 1450 onwards was the quest for Asian commodities: spices, silk, cotton, porcelain and tea. Porcelain – even not the most important trade ware – played its role in shaping a global economy and in exploring new roads and maritime routes. An estimated 185 million pieces of porcelain were exported from East Asia to Europe between 1550 and 1800. The age of discovery is also the age of porcelain.

But more important than the mere trade relationships, are the cultural interactions taking place by trading ceramics. Ceramics are manmade – shapes and decoration vary and they can reflect the cultural traditions of the producer and/or the traditions of the client. Asian export ceramics reflect both. A joint Sino-Islamic, Sino-Western and Islamic-Western culture has been created over centuries and can still be sensed today. Therefore, it would be reasonable to call them Eurasian ceramics in order to express the unifying effects they have on the double continent stretching from Lisbon to Tokyo. And even more, to perceive them as common Eurasian history and heritage.

The trade relationships and the interactions, in jointly developing cross-cultural

[*] Thorsten Giehler，Member of IMI International Committee, Country Director of GIZ Office China.

decor and shapes was only the starting point. The strong demand for porcelain prompted, in many regions, local initiatives to produce similar items. Most of the main Asian ceramic production centers which were established after 900 along the Silk Road or the maritime routes were to some extent influenced by Chinese design or techniques: Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Persia in the Middle East; Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and Burma in South East Asia; and Korea and Japan in East Asia. The three color ceramic (san cai) of the Tang dynasty has also been produced in the Islamic world, celadon stoneware mainly in Vietnam, Thailand and Korea, underglaze blue porcelain in Vietnam, Korea and Japan and a similar underglaze green decoration in Burma. Moreover, the "blue and white" is the most widespread decoration style in Asia and Europe, and we can find it not only in its place of origin, in the province of Jiangxi in South East China, but it was copied in Mameluk Egypt and Syria, and Timurid Persia in the 15th century[2], in the Ottoman Iznik during the 16th century, and in Safavid Persia until the 19th century. Chinese influence can also be recognized in Europe, where the production of Faience in Italy, Portugal, France, the Netherlands and Germany was an attempt to imitate the Chinese blue and white porcelain. And it applies also to the design of the first true European porcelain produced in Meißen in Germany. However, all these ceramic centers have developed their own style. The turquoise celadon ware along the Silk Road in Syria (Raqqa) and Persia (Kashan) and the green inlaid celadons of Korea during the Koryo dynasty (918-1392), such as the Vietnamese blue and white porcelains reached a beauty and finesse able to compete with the best products of China during the Song dynasty, when the celadon production had reached its peak, or of Ming China when blue and white porcelain became popular. Thus, it would be unfair to call these products simple copies of Chinese originals. They are products of cultural exchange, creating universal globalized pieces of applied art. The blue and white ceramics are particularly an expression of the Eurasian culture.

The Silk Road, of course, was not only a commercial tie between the East and the West. It also facilitated the expansion of thought and religions, and with them also new designs, forms and patterns. Buddhism came to Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, from Nepal and India via the Silk Road. The impressive clay figurines in the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang in the Western Chinese province of Gansu, and the Terracotta Buddha and Bodhisattvas and votive tablets made of molded clay in Tibet and Mongolia, are evidence of the exchange of religious belief that originated in India and mixed with the artistic taste of the Tang dynasty and local design. The lotus flower became the most widely used Buddhist decoration element on Asian ceramics. Lotus flowers and petals are painted, carved, incised, and imprinted on ceramics, the form of rims and covers of jars and bowls often make reference to the lotus leaf, and lotus fruits and seeds can be identified on plates, tureens and inside bowls. The royal celadon ceramics of Korea during the Buddhist Koryo dynasty (918-1392) are not only masterpieces of art, but express by form and decoration Buddhist belief. Korean celadons cannot deny the Chinese influence. However, it might be reasonable to say that the celadon art in terms of innovations reached its peak in Korea, rather than in China. Several new decoration techniques were developed or further refined such as the inlaid work (sanggam), engobe painting and openwork style.

Islam made its way from Damascus and Baghdad, via Persia, towards northern India, and along the northern or southern route of the Taklimakan desert to West China, and by sea to the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, to North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula and the Balkans. With Muslims travelling along the old Silk Road, Islamic

ceramics can be found in West China, but also in Portugal and Spain. Hinduism and its designs brought by Indian traders and business man influenced the Khmer Empire of Angkor, Champa in southern Vietnam, the island of Bali, and via the Khmer, also the Thai Kingdoms of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. Buddhism reached South East Asia later, through missionaries from Sri Lanka and India. The Mon people in present-day Thailand and Burma were the first in South East Asia to adopt Theravada Buddhism – the dominant religion in this region to this day. The Eurasian double continent is not only a geographic dimension; it is above all a cultural reality. Ceramics have always played an important role in developing, and contributing to, a unified Eurasian culture. This is the story blue and white porcelain still has to tell us – a story which starts in East China under the Mongolian Yuan dynasty.

The book tries to trace back the origins of a joint East and West cultural identity. It describes the development of a Eurasian décor by analyzing the cultural interactions, the trading routes, the merchants, customers and the economics of the trade. Porcelain is the carrier of culture; the trading routes and ships were the means; and the trade itself was the mechanism for the intercultural contacts.

The first chapter is dedicated to the products of China, the second focuses on the agents and their routes – from Portugal, the Netherlands, the UK, Sweden and other countries. The third chapter analyses the mechanism of exchange. China is in the center of these three chapters since more than 95% of all export ceramics from 850 until 1850 are of Chinese origin. However, it is shown, that China even having produced them has incorporated designs from all over the world and has vice versa influenced all regions. The fourth chapter gives a brief overview of the other important Asian ceramic exporters – especially Japan, but also Vietnam and Thailand. Chapter five looks into the effects the export had on the countries of destination. Here we will understand the unifying effects of porcelain on the art and culture of Eurasia. This book is an interdisciplinary work. It combines history, economics, applied art and intercultural relations – which is, in my view, the only way to address complex issues.

Being far from a specialist on ceramics, I would like to express my appreciation to the work and the excellent publications on shipwreck porcelain of Roxanna Brown who has opened my eyes to the beauty of South Asian ceramics. I also owe much to the work of Christiaan Jörg, who gave detailed insights into the Dutch-Asian porcelain trade, to Geoffrey Godden who first bridged the gap between European ceramics and Asian ceramics and to Andrew Madsen and Carolyn White, who did an excellent job on dating Chinese export ceramics. This has helped me very much in identifying the items of my own collection. Many researchers have worked on this topic before and many more will come afterwards. We draw on their experience and we hope that future researchers will find our work as helpful as we have found the efforts of others. The same applies to the collection – the second part of the book. Many have owned the items before – in most cases we do not know their names, who they were, where they have lived, what they have done. Many will follow as well; nobody really owns them. They own us and they remind us that we belong to the same Eurasian family.

Map 1: Shipwreck sites in Southeast Asia with important porcelain discoveries

Graphic by the author

Part I

1. Chinese Ceramics in the Early History of Trade

Green and bluish glazed stoneware - called celadon (qingci) that originated in Zhejiang province in South East China - was traded with many countries, starting during the Tang dynasty. Yue celadon from the Tang and Five dynasty periods has been excavated, for example, in Japan and Egypt. During the Chinese Southern Song dynasty (1128-1279) the kilns of Longquan in Zhejiang province produced celadon stoneware and porcelain, the kilns in Jiangxi province produced pale blue or pale green porcelain (qingbai) and kilns in Fujian produced the black and brown glazed temmoku tea bowls – all for export purposes (see map 2).

Map 2: China: Provinces, main cities, and kiln sites

Graphic by the author

Pushed southwards by northern nomadic tribes who established the Liao, and later the Chinese Jin dynasty, the Song dynasty (960-1279) moved its capital from Kaifeng in the north to the port city of Hangzhou near the production centers of porcelain. Export, mainly by sea, became an important source of income for the Government. Japan and South East Asia were the most relevant destinations for export ceramics. During the Mongolian Yuan dynasty which ruled China from 1279-1368 the monochrome celadon ceramics (see plates 2 – 5) were exported from kilns in Zhejiang province to West and South East Asian countries, such as Indonesia and Vietnam. Maritime trade in the China Sea was enabled by the invention of the compass and better ship technology. The Sinan shipwreck, discovered in 1974 off the Korean coast, had a cargo of almost 10,000 14th century celadons from Fujian. The export of porcelain to Europe did not play an important role until the second half of the 16th century, after the Portuguese discovered new sea routes passing the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian Ocean towards Indonesia, the Philippines and China. However, at that stage the interAsian trade made up more than 80% of the Chinese ceramic exports – Japan, Indonesia and the Philippines were the main destinations for maritime trade. However, European ships – first Portuguese and later the Dutch East India Company played an increasing role in facilitating the inter-Asian trade between China and Japan through Macao, and later through the Dutch entrepots on Taiwan, Dejima Island in Japan and Batavia (Jakarta) on Java Island.

The kilns of Jingdezhen – the capital of porcelain – in Jiangxi province in the South East of China produced during the Song and Yuan dynasties monochrome pale blue or pale green were (qingbai) (see plate 7) and the production of the so-called blue and white porcelain (qinghua) did not start until around 1320. The term “blue and white porcelain” stands for white porcelain with a cobalt blue decoration on the white shard

under a transparent glaze. A decade later the export of the first Chinese blue and white porcelain started from Jingdezhen (see plate 14). The Mongolian who have created under their reign a huge Asian-European and inter-Asian free-trade area enabled the emergence of blue and white porcelain by the import of cobalt from Persia and the demand for that kind of porcelain, made for the taste of the Islamic world, in West Asia and the Middle East. Persia and China at that time were both part of the Mongolian empire. Outside the empire, thousands of blue and white shards from the Yuan dynasty have been excavated: for example, in Damascus and about half a million broken pieces have been found in Fustat (today Cairo)[3]. Blue and white porcelain – which today is by and large a synonym of classical Chinese porcelain – is in the end, a result of trade relations and the exchange of tastes during the Yuan dynasty, which itself is a result of mixing Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, Islamic and also Turkish or Uyghur cultural influences. Moreover, blue and white porcelain also became the most popular ceramic in Europe – imported from China or produced domestically for example in Delft, Meißen or Staffordshire. In the beginning of the 15th century, blue and white porcelain gained appreciation by the imperial court (first in the Yongle period from 1403-24) and it is said that the blue and white ware in the Xuande period (1426-1435) reached its peak in terms of fineness and art but also reflected the exchange with the Islamic world. The porcelain vessel shapes of the early Chinese Ming dynasty show strong Central Asian, Persian and Arabic influences.

Initiatives in other regions to produce porcelain have partly been fostered by the distortion of the inter-Asian and Asian-European trade due to domestic Chinese circumstances. The export of Chinese ceramics was hampered from 1350-1360 when the soldiers of the later Ming dynasty were fighting against Mongolian rule. With the establishment of the Ming dynasty, the open and cosmopolitan attitude of the Mongolian dynasty towards trade was replaced by close-door politics: officially the Ming banned private export from 1368 until 1567. And even when this ban could not be fully enforced, there is clear evidence of a sharp reduction of production and trading of Chinese ceramics. The so-called “Ming gap” describes the fact that Chinese commodities were missing in the export markets for a substantial period of time. Close-door periods have been repeated many times during Chinese history; hopefully the last ended in 1978 when China started its reform process after years of Maoist isolation. During the Ming gap, the Thai kilns in Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai originated and were able to partly substitute Chinese exports. In the 15th century, Vietnamese ware partly substituted the missing blue and white products from China. “The mere presence of Southeast Asian ceramics at every maritime shipwreck site from the late 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century in proportions of sixty to ninety-nine per cent, as opposed to 100 per cent Chinese trade ware at earlier sites, is itself evidence of a Chinese shortage”[4]. During that period Thai and Vietnamese ceramics have partly compensated the shrinking export volumes of Chinese ceramics in the South East Asian markets. A similar distortion of trade took place during the violent transitional period between the Ming and Qing dynasty from 1644 to 1684. The kilns of Jiangxi province were affected by war and production stopped for more than two decades. During this time Chinese porcelain exports to Europe were replaced by Japanese products and by the emergence of the Dutch Faience industry in Delft.

However, even during the Ming gap the export to South East Asia never came to a complete standstill. The best customer of Yuan and Ming blue and white ceramics was the Ottoman court in Istanbul. The Topkapi Palace holds the biggest collection of Chinese ceramics in the world. The Lena junk with blue and white porcelain from the

Ming Emperor Hongzhi sunk around 1500 off the Philippine Island of Busuanga[5]. The cargo from Jingdezhen was probably on its way to the Ottoman Sultanate and is at least a very good example of porcelain made according to the Islamic or Western Asian taste.

From Zhangzhou (漳州), located in Fujian Province nearby Xiamen, underglaze blue ceramics commonly termed Swatow wares were shipped to South East Asia and Japan. The Bin Thuan shipwreck, discovered in 2001 off the Vietnamese coast, had a cargo of thousands of Ming dynasty Swatow ware, and probably got lost around 1608 on its way to the Malay peninsula (plates 28 & 29). For trade with South East Asia the kilns of Fujian province were as important as the Jingdezhen kilns in Jiangxi for export products to Europe. Still today many Swatow pieces are unearthed in the Malay Archipelago.

Box 1: Main Chinese export ceramics for the Asian market

***Yue celadon* stoneware (c. 600-960)**
Tang dynasty *celadon* colored stoneware.

Longquan *celadon* stoneware (c. 950-1550)
Dark green glazed stoneware from the Longquan kilns in Zhejiang province were the major export ceramic until the mid-14th century and inspired the Thai ceramic production of Si Sachanalai.

***Temmoku* stoneware**
Dark brown and black glazed stoneware for the Japanese market.

Brown-glazed stoneware
Coarse ceramics produced for a long period of time in provincial kilns for the markets in South East Asia.

***Qingbai* porcelain and stoneware (c. 1100-1350)**
Fine and translucent porcelain or stoneware with a pale bluish- or greenish-white glaze produced in the kilns of Jingdezhen.

Jingdezhen blue and white porcelain (c. 1330-1853)
Fine often translucent blue and white porcelain produced in, by far, the biggest and most important kiln site of China in Jiangxi province. Most of the export porcelain for the European market was produced in Jingdezhen as well and transported mainly by rivers 1400 km southwards to Canton – the main export harbor of the 18th century.

***Swatow* (Zhangzhou) porcelain (c. 1570-1650)**
Coarse mainly blue and white porcelain produced in Fujian province and exported from Zhangzhou near Xiamen. Exists also with red and green overglaze colors. Originally named *Swatow* after a South China harbor city, which was mistakenly thought to be the shipping place for the Zhangzhou ware. The underglaze blue decoration is either rather limited to some lines of characters or flowers, birds and other animals painted in a free style and has some parallels to the *Kraak* porcelain made in Jingdezhen for the Portuguese and Dutch.

***Dehua* blue and white porcelain**
Coarse underglaze blue porcelain from the provincial Dehua kilns of Fujian. The *Tek Sing* junk discovered in 1999 had a huge cargo of these ceramics for the Indonesian market.

***Bencharong* porcelain**
Enameled "five color" porcelain produced in Jingdezhen exclusively for the Thai market. Main shapes included bowls, covered jars and stem plates, often with a depiction of a Buddhist minor deity: "Thepanom". Later gold decorated types called *Lai Nam Thong* ware.

***Peranakan* porcelain (c. 1800-1930)**
Very colorful enameled porcelain or blue and white porcelain (often with the double happiness character) produced for the Straits Chinese community in the former Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore. An older term is *Nonya* (Nyonya) ware, referring to porcelain used by married Chinese women of some standing in Malaysia.

2. The Beginning of a Globalized World: European – Asian Trade Relations

2.1 The Portuguese

Europe came into contact with Chinese porcelain rather late - in the 16th century. Porcelain was never transported long distances over land – due to its weight and fragility. It was only in 1498 that the first European, Vasco da Gama, reached Calicut

in India on a seaway and it still took another 25 years before a mission lead by the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan and the Spaniard Juan Sebastian Elcano completed the first circumnavigation of the earth, passing by South America, the Philippines and Indonesia.

Pic. 1: Vasco da Gama, Explorer and Viceroy of Portuguese India (c. 1460 – 1524)

Much has been written about the reasons for these early voyages discovering the sea routes between the East and West. The Portuguese sent out expedition after expedition to find out alternatives to the land routes which had linked East Asia, the Arab world and the Mediterranean Sea for centuries. With the establishment of the Ottoman Sultanate the traditional trading routes had been blocked and the search for alternatives started. However, it was not porcelain which attracted Europeans the most. It started with spices. “Am Anfang war das Gewürz” (In the beginning was the spice), was how Stefan Zweig began his biography on Magellan. Spices were very much in demand in Europe and people were willing to pay very high prices, giving traders good margins: Pepper from the Indian western Malabar Coast and Sumatra and more exotic spices such as nutmeg and cloves from the Indonesian Spice Islands or Moluccas between the Philippines and Australia. In the 350 years following the discovery of the seaways to Asia we saw a battle between various European powers to get their share in the lucrative trade of Asian products. Portugal, the Netherlands and Great Britain were the main actors, Spain, France, Sweden, Denmark and later also the US played a role as well.

However, all these seafaring countries didn’t enter an untouched market. As described above, a vibrant trade stretching from the Arabian Sea along the coast of Persia, India, and Ceylon towards the South East Asian coasts and the South China Sea had been established and working for centuries. Arab dhows, Chinese junks, Muslim traders from Gujarat and the Malay peninsula, and Armenian and Persian merchants had facilitated the exchange of Indian cotton and pepper, Persian silk,

Chinese gold, silk and ceramics, Indonesian spices, Japanese silver and lacquer ware long before any European ship appeared. A complex system of trading and foreign relations had been in place for centuries, mainly working according to the rules of the Chinese tributary system. Countries wanting to trade with China had to send tribute missions to the Chinese Emperor, to acknowledge the cultural superiority of the "Middle Kingdom". From the 11th to the 14th century the South China Sea saw an intensity of maritime traffic like in the Baltic or Mediterranean Sea in Europe. Quanzhou (泉 州), beside the Taiwan Strait and at the north east corner of the South China Sea, was the most relevant port during that time. During the Ming dynasty countries such as Annam (northern Vietnam), Champa (southern Vietnam), Korea, Japan, the Sultanate of Malacca, Java, Sukhothai, Ceylon and even Indian provinces have accepted the tributary relationship. Official tributary trade was the predominant form of commodity exchange, since private trading was banned. However, being a tributary state of China did not imply a colonial status, it established an economic relationship based on mutual benefit.

Malacca was one of the most important entrepots and trading hubs before the Portuguese arrived. Traders from all parts of Asia built their warehouses in Malacca – a city taking advantage of its strategic geographic location and the cosmopolitan attitude of the Malacca Sultanate. The Malacca strait linking the South China Sea with the Indian Ocean is still today one of the most important shipping routes in the world. The main maritime Eurasian Silk Road of today still includes the Strait of Malacca (but with Singapore instead of Malacca as main entrepot), the Strait of Hormuz and the Suez Canal. More than six centuries after the creation of Malacca, the Chinese Government is linking itself to this vibrant intercultural exchange by creating the so-called one belt, one road initiative. One belt refers to the new maritime belt from Asia to Europe and the one road to the reactivation of the ancient Silk Road.

Map 3: Major porcelain trading routes 1550-1685

Graphic by the author

Soon after having established the first trading posts (factories) and fortifications in

India the Portuguese headed further south east in order to gain control of Malacca and to get access to the trading routes for spices. A Portuguese fleet under the command of Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511 and established various new entrepots on the way between Africa and East Asia to facilitate Asian-European trade. Goa at the Indian west coast became the capital of the Portuguese Estado da India. Jorge Alvares was the first European who reached China by sea in 1513, and the Europeans first contact with Japan took place in 1542. The Portuguese Estado created entrepots along the trading route from Lisbon to India via the African and Arab coasts, from Malacca to the Spice Islands and from Macao to Nagasaki. The commercial network brought Portugal great wealth during the 16th century. However, even though they forced (by executing military force) their way into the existing Asian trading system, Portugal was not able to alter the commercial rules. Spices, textiles, porcelain and other commodities highly in demand in Europe had to be paid for. And since Portugal did not have much to barter, the commodities had to be paid for in silver. Portugal's power was off-shore. Highly armed ships, bigger and faster than any Asian competitor, and the control of various important entrepots such as Muscat, Hormuz, some Indian ports in northern Gujarat and at the southern Malabar Coast, gave them much advantage on the sea routes. They did not only ship commodities from one port to the other but they were also able to tax other ships with the so-called "cartaz" fee. The cartaz had to be bought by every merchant ship in the region as a license to trade and transport, and it granted the buyer Portuguese protection against pirates and other states. Goa, Diu, Hormuz and Malacca were the most important customs offices to charge the cartaz fee[7]. On-shore however, the influence of the Estado da India on Mughal India, Ming China or the Japanese Tokugawa Shogunate was negligible. These land-based or inland-oriented empires did not really take notice of what happened at their narrow coastal strips or – like China and Japan – opened only a very tiny window for some very restricted trading activities: The Chinese Emperor gave permission in 1557 to the Portuguese to rent the Macao peninsula for an annual tribute, and in Japan the Estado was allowed to open a small trading post in Hirado, near Nagasaki.

Macao (澳门) was the only official trading city for Europeans in Mainland China for more than a century until Canton (Guangzhou) - one hundred kilometers in the north of Macao - was officially opened for Sino-European trade in 1684. But even then, the Chinese officials restricted direct exchange for more than 150 years, until they had been violently forced to give access to more harbors after they lost the Opium war against the UK. And it was the sea route between Macao and Nagasaki which produced the highest profit for the Portuguese traders. Since the Ming banned private trade, Portuguese ships were able to substitute Chinese junks in shipping Chinese silk and porcelain to Japan in exchange for Japanese silver, which was highly in demand in China, and which gave Portugal additional means to purchase spices or textiles in Indonesia and India. The silk for silver trade was one of the most lucrative arbitrage trades until the 17th century. This applied also for the Dutch East India Company which gained a monopoly for trade with Japan in 1641. Macao is for several reasons a fascinating case in the history of trade and Chinese European relations. It was not only the first settlement for Europeans in China, it also preserved its position as the most relevant location for foreigners for almost 200 years until Hong Kong – just across the Pearl River Delta – was founded. However, other than Hong Kong, Macao stands at least for these two centuries with a by and large peaceful relationship with China. Hong Kong unfortunately cannot deny its origins are from drug trafficking and armed warfare. This was probably the reason why Portuguese

control over Macao lasted symbolically for two more years until its hand-over to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1999, which gave the city the “privilege” of being also the last European possession in Asia. Nowadays, the three cities Macao, Canton and Hong Kong are the three corners of the Pearl River Delta triangle shaping, step by step, one of the most prosperous and dynamic megalopolis (Greater Bay Area) in the world with more than 60 million habitants.

Comparing these three cities, Canton has played the most prominent role in the Eurasian porcelain trade. Macao had already lost its economic importance when the mass exportation took off. Hong Kong was established four decades after the export of porcelain to Europe had already come to an end, and when Europe had already replaced almost all Chinese imports with its own ceramic production. The import of Chinese porcelain by Portuguese ships started around 1550. Since direct trade was not possible until the establishment of a trading post in Macao was endorsed, Portuguese traders may have purchased the first pieces of porcelain in one of the inner Asian entrepots: in Malacca or Patani on the Malayan Peninsula, in the Thai capital Ayutthaya[8] or on Sumatra, Java or Sulawesi - places, where Chinese junks stopped to barter silk, copper, gold and ceramics for spices, tin and silver. In 1567 the Ming ban officially ended and one can see the expansion of the ceramic trade. Portuguese traders were now able to buy porcelain both officially in Macao and from Chinese junks at any entrepot in the South China Sea. However, porcelain was just a necessary ship ballast and a supplement to the other more relevant and precious trading goods heading to Lisbon such as pepper, other spices and plants, silk and cotton. It did not play a crucial role in trade with Europe until 1600. Cargo lists from the 16th century give evidence: in the years 1587-1588 around 68% of the cargo weight was pepper, 3.7% ginger, 6.3% cinnamon, 10.5% cotton and silk, 8.4% indigo dye and 1.5% others including porcelain[9]. The Wanli, discovered off the east coast of Malaysia, was a ship under Portuguese flag sent to ground in a battle with the Dutch in 1625. It had a porcelain cargo of approximately 37,000 blue and white porcelains from Jingdezhen[10] and it was on a voyage from Macao to Malacca. The cargo gives a good overview of the early Eurasian trade with Ming porcelain (see plate 46). Some of the items are examples of an early “chine de command” – ordered by its European customers with underglaze images of the coat of arms of the families who ordered them.

Between 1580 and 1640 Portugal and Spain were unified under the Spanish monarchs forming a huge empire including the Iberian Peninsula, the Low Countries and other Spanish Habsburg territories in Europe, the Viceroyalties of the Americas and all the Portuguese and Spanish possessions and factories in Africa and Asia. Spain, so far banned from the Indian Ocean by the treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza, earlier arrangements with the Portuguese, had organized Asian-European trade via the Philippines and Mexico. After the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire in Mexico, the new Viceroyalty of New Spain served as a basis for further Spanish expansion towards Asia across the Pacific. Magellan had reached the Philippines in 1521 on his circumnavigation of the earth but it still took several decades until a colonial rule was established – the first European colonization in Asia. Manila became capital of the Spanish East Indies in 1571 and the archipelago was named after Philip II of Spain. The colony was administered through the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). Miguel López de Legazpi (1502-1572) was the first Governor-General of the Spanish East Indies including Guam and the Mariana Islands which were important resting points for the Spanish galleons sailing between the Philippines and Mexico. The Manila galleon route was established in 1565 and lasted until 1815. “The galleons, which sailed the oceans between Manila and Acapulco for about 250 years, brought

porcelain, spices, silk, ivory, jade and other luxuries from China to Mexico in exchange for New World silver"[11]. Spain did not have much to offer to China in exchange for the Asian products in demand, except silver from the Americas. Hundreds of Chinese junks sailed every year (from December to April) between the Chinese coast and Manila, which became an important entrepot for Chinese-European trade via Mexico[12]. The San Diego – a Spanish galleon sunk in 1600 in a battle with two Dutch ships near the Manila bay – was discovered in 1991 by the maritime archaeologist Franck Goddio. The Dutch independence war against Habsburg Spain even took place far away from home. Goddio has excavated from the seabed Chinese blue and white Kraak porcelain from Jingdezhen (plate 44) and blue and white Swatow porcelain from Zhangzhou as examples of the intensive trade relations between China and the Spanish Philippines and Spanish Mexico. And in 2016, thousands of Ming dynasty porcelain shards were found a meter and a half underground nearby Acapulco's Cathedral.

2.2 The Dutch

For more than a hundred years the ships of the Estado da India had a monopoly in the maritime long-distance trade between Europe and Asia, only challenged by the Spanish galleons sailing from Manila to Acapulco and from Veracruz towards Cadiz or Sevilla. Spanish politics in Europe were the reason Portugal had to face a new powerful European competitor starting from 1600, a competitor that was able to destroy almost all its possessions in Asia. Sixty years later Portugal had been almost pushed out of the profitable trade and a new actor had been established supplying Europe more effectively and on a much bigger scale with Asian goods than ever before.

The Low Countries came in under the Habsburg rule 1482, and became part of the Spanish Empire in 1556. The Dutch Eighty Years' War for independence from Spain starting in 1568 turned into a Dutch-Portuguese war when Spain and Portugal formed the Iberian Union in 1580. The religious and political conflicts of Europe were exported to Asia when the first Dutch ships reached the Indonesian Island of Java in 1596 and the first encounters between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Macao ended fatally for the protestant sailors. In response, Spanish and Portuguese ships were attacked by Dutch warships, and sent to ground or taken as a prize. The Portuguese carrack Santa Catarina fully laden with silk, musk and porcelain was captured near the shores of Singapore and the cargo was sold in Amsterdam – this was the first big auction of Chinese porcelain in northern Europe. The Dutch later called the blue and white porcelain from Jingdezhen "Kraak", since it had first been shipped to Europe by Portuguese carracks[13]. Already the second Dutch expedition to the Indonesian Archipelago, under the command of Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck and with the polar explorer Jacob van Heemskerk and the discoverer of Australia Willem Janszoon, had been extraordinarily profitable. This led to the creation of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie VOC) - established as the first joint stock company in 1602. Between 1602 and 1796 the VOC sent almost a million Europeans to work in the Asia trade on 4,785 ships, and netted for their efforts more than 2.5 million tons of Asian trade goods, making them the most important trader and carrier between Asia and Europe. The VOC was probably the first truly multinational company with shareholders from various countries and workers from Europe to East Asia. The headquarters – the Oost Indisch Huis built in 1606 - was in Amsterdam and still exists today, belonging now to the University of Amsterdam.

Pic. 2: Flag of the Dutch East India company VOC

The VOC maintained trading posts similar to the Portuguese, in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, mainland South East Asia, maritime South East Asia and the Far East. The VOC established its first Asian headquarters on Ambon Island in Indonesia in 1610 where it tried to start the production of cloves originally from Ternate in the Moluccas. They moved their headquarters in 1619 to Batavia – today Jakarta – founded by Jan Pieterszoon Coen – the 4th Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The Banda Islands – home of nutmeg cultivation – became the first colonial possession of the Dutch in Asia giving them a monopoly over nutmeg production and trade. The massacre of the indigenous population of the Islands is one of the darkest sides of the Dutch rule in the Archipelago. In 1621, almost all of the 15,000 inhabitants of the Islands were killed and the surviving Bandanese were sent as slaves to Batavia.

Pic. 3: Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587 – 1629), Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies[14]

Similar to the Portuguese in India and China the Dutch also were not strong enough in the beginning to alter the established trade rules in Asia and they had to find

arrangements with the various Muslim Sultanates on Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi, and on the Indian east and west coast. In addition, they had to share the trading posts along the spice, textile and porcelain routes with other traders from China, India, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, Siam, Portugal and England. Surat in India, Jambi on Sumatra, Banten on Java, Patani at the Malayan Peninsula and Makassar on Sulawesi are fascinating examples of cosmopolitan entrepots for all kinds of Asian luxury goods where mainly Muslim rulers have created an open attitude and atmosphere. It took approximately 60 years until the Dutch had pushed out the Portuguese competition from most of the Asian trading entrepots (see table 1). At the end of the Dutch-Portuguese war, Portugal lost Ambon, Malacca, Ceylon and Cochin at the Indian Malabar coast to the forces of the VOC. Makassar - the entrepot for gold, diamonds, ivory, sandalwood, pearls and spices had been captured in 1669 by the Dutch. Banten, the center of pepper trade with a strong Chinese trading community and with Dutch, English, Portuguese and Danish trading posts, provided exclusive trading rights to the Dutch in 1682. By then, Batavia – the capital of the Dutch East Indies – became the top inner Asian entrepot and the point of origin for the cargo of the VOC fleet to Europe via Sri Lanka or India and Cape Town, to Amsterdam.

Table 1: East-East and East-West porcelain trading routes including ports of origin, entrepots and destinations from 1550 – 1842

Export Harbors	Entrepots	Import Harbors
China: – Zhangzhou – Canton (Guangzhou) – Macao – Xiamen (Amoy), – Zhoushan (Chusan), – Fuzhou – Ningbo Japan: – Imari – Hirado – Nagasaki (Dejima) Vietnam: – Tonkin – Hoi An	China: – Pescadores Islands – Anping, Taiwan Malay Archipelago: – Banten – Jambi – Palembang – Batavia – Makassar – Manila Mainland South East Asia: – Ayutthaya, Thailand – Patani, Thailand – Malacca, Malaysia India: – Goa – Surat – Calcutta – Cochin Persia: – Hormuz – Bandar Abbas Sri Lanka	South East Asia: – Banten (Bantam) – Batavia – Makassar – Ayutthaya – Tonkin – Longvek – Manila Europe: – Lisbon – Amsterdam, Middelburg – London – Lorient – Gothenburg – Copenhagen – Ostend Americas: – Acapulco – Salem and Boston, Massachusetts Persia: – Bandar Abbas Ottoman Empire: – Mocha – Basra Cape Town

However, the VOC realized profits not only from the long-distance trade between Asia and Europe but from the high and complementary demand in other parts of maritime Asia, and from the arbitrage between product prices. In this sense the Dutch East Asia Company copied an economic pattern the Portuguese had already started – but they improved it and brought it to a scale never seen before. Jan Pieterszoon Coen has described this in a letter to the VOC board: “Piece goods [means cotton] from Gujarat we can barter for pepper and gold on the coast of Sumatra. [...] Sandalwood, pepper and rials we can barter for Chinese goods and Chinese gold; we can extract silver from Japan with Chinese goods; piece goods from Coromandel coast in exchange for spices, other goods and gold from China; piece goods from Surat for spices; other goods and rials from Arabia for spices and various other trifles – one

thing leads to another. And all of it can be done without any money from the Netherlands and with ships alone. [...] We have the most important spices already. [...] Hence gentlemen and good administrators, there is nothing to prevent the Company from acquiring the richest trade in the world."

Nevertheless, the VOC had its difficulties accessing the Chinese market directly. Even though the Dutch tried to conquer Macao and to force the Chinese authorities of the Ming dynasty to open ports for direct trade, they finally had to rely on Chinese middlemen in the above mentioned entrepots. During the first two decades of the 17th century, Chinese silk and porcelain were acquired in Banten and Patani where Chinese migrant communities have established the junk trade for spices and other goods from India and South East Asia. The first Dutch import of Chinese porcelain took place in 1604 and lasted until 1657 when the Chinese civil war between the new Qing dynasty and Ming loyalists ended most porcelain production and trade for about 25 years.

In 1622, the VOC settled near the Chinese coast on the Pescadores Islands (Penghu) in the Taiwan Strait and moved two years later to Formosa (Taiwan) where they build Fort Zeelandia. Formosa until then hadn't been part of the Ming Empire and most of its population, like most habitants of the Malay Archipelago, belonged to the Austronesian ethnic groups. The Dutch ruled the southern part of Formosa for 38 years and took advantage of the short distance to mainland China (Fuzhou and Xiamen) enabling a vibrant junk trade or sailing directly to Zhangzhou (漳州 called "River of Chincheuw" in the original documents of the VOC). The possession on Taiwan was one of the most profitable for the VOC in Asia. From there the VOC has organized the silver-silk trade with Japan when Japan closed its ports to Portuguese vessels. Most of the Chinese porcelain imports of the VOC were handled through Zeelandia and then sent via Batavia towards Amsterdam. Alternatively, inner Asian markets were addressed: Porcelain next to other commodities was shipped to VOC trading posts in Persia (Bandar Abbas), to Surat in India, to the Ottoman Mocha on the Arab peninsula, to Ayutthaya – capital of Siam, Tonkin or Hoi An (Quinam) in Vietnam or to Lovek – the capital of the Khmer (see map 3).

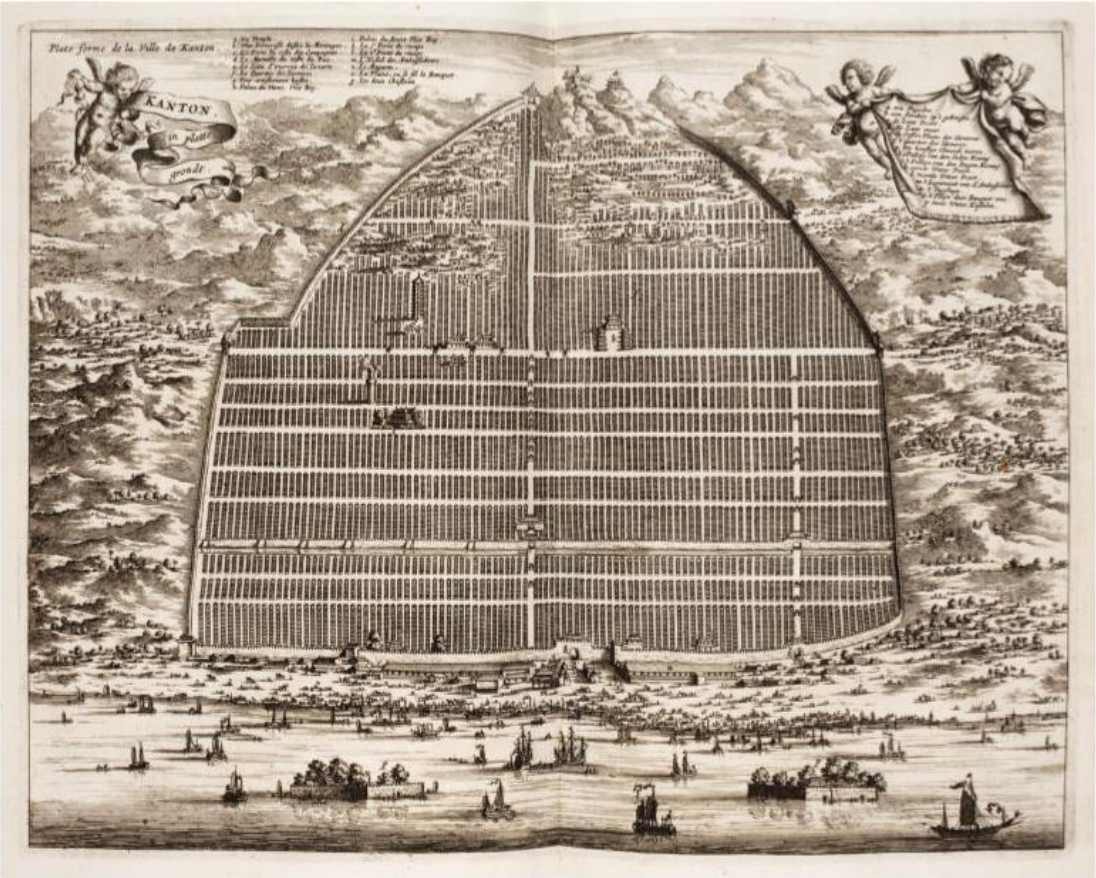
The daily reports (Dagh-Registers) of the VOC officials give us a detailed overview of the trading activities between the various VOC factories in Batavia, on Formosa, in Hirado (near Nagasaki), in Ayutthaya and Tonkin. The daily report of the Governor in Batavia on December 12th 1644, for example, mentions the arrival of the VOC ship Saayer from Formosa with 202,332 pieces of miscellaneous porcelain[16]. The invoice of the ship lists accurately all types and shapes of porcelain including flasks, flower pots, wine-jugs, beakers, mustard-pots, saucers, cups, bowls, dishes, platters etc. and even gives the exact number such as 9,070 klapmutsen (the Dutch name for large bowls – see plate 47), 10,485 bowls, 15,695 dishes, 33,020 red tea-cups etc. In total the price was 37,987 Dutch guilders (florin fl.) resulting in an average of about 0.18 fl. per piece. One Dutch guilder at that time was approximately 10.8 g silver or 0.29 tael – the Chinese silver based currency - which brings the porcelain cargo to an equivalent of 410 kg of silver. The list indicates clearly that most of the cargo was porcelain for daily use and most of it got broken and/or lost in Europe over the centuries. The dishes and platters came in different sizes from 50 cm diameter (hele schotel), 29-36 cm (see plate 45) (halve schotel), to 21-23 cm (een-derde), and can be found depicted in early 17th century Dutch and Flemish still life paintings (see picture no 4)[17]. Nowadays mostly half-size dishes and klapmutsen can be found in collections and on the antique market.

Pic. 4: Dutch still life painting with Chinese Kraak porcelain by Floris van Dyck[18] (1575 – 1651)

In 1662 during the Chinese civil war, the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong (better known in the West as Koxinga) led his Chinese troops from the mainland coast and won Formosa[19]. Zheng established the Kingdom of Dongning until Formosa got captured in 1683 by the Qing Emperor Kangxi. With this event the civil war came to an end and China again become the world's biggest porcelain producer and exporter – a position it lost to the Japanese within two decades. When in 1653 the shipment of Chinese porcelain to the Netherlands came to an end cause of the civil war, Dutch customers were desperately looking for alternatives. Two options existed: first, to find another Asian producer who could provide a substitute for Chinese porcelain; second, to produce it domestically. The Dutch tried both. Japanese potters were encouraged to copy Chinese Kraak porcelain (see plate 173). And the potters from Delft in South Holland were businessmen enough to take a chance by establishing new pottery companies. Out of the 34 factories in Delft, 17 were established within the ten years between 1653 and 1662 as a direct response to the shortage of Chinese imports. Dutch Delft ceramics are not porcelain but Faience – earthenware with a white tin glaze - which looks like porcelain only from a distance (see plate 209). It is neither as translucent nor as durable as porcelain. It still took the Europeans about 50 years before they were able to produce real porcelain. The VOC, having lost its favorable geographic location in Taiwan, however still played a crucial role as facilitator for the trade on Asian goods to Europe and within Asia.

In order to safeguard this position, the Dutch sent an official delegation to the young Qing Emperor Shunzhi in 1655. Their main purpose was to convince the Chinese ruler to grant the Dutch direct access to the Chinese market, and to offer support against the Ming rebels who controlled the coastal area of Fujian. The journey started in July 1655 in Batavia reaching Canton by ship in September.

Pic. 5: Western map of Canton at the time of the first VOC embassy to Emperor Shunzhi, published 1665



The VOC embassy travelled mainly along the rivers from March 1656 and reached Beijing in July where they stayed until October. The embassy itself was a failure and the aims could not be realized. The Emperor perceived it as a tributary mission and granted only very limited direct trade for every eight years. However, for another reason, the delegation was remarkable for the cultural development of Europe. Part of the delegation was the Dutch author and traveler Johan Nieuhof (born 1618 in Ülsen and died 1672 in Madagascar) who wrote a book about the journey through China with 145 copper engravings on the basis of his drawings: An embassy from the East-India Company of the United provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China, published in 1665 in Dutch and 1669 in English. The book and these pictures built up the European image of China for more than hundred years and it is amazing that even in the mid-18th century most depictions of China were mere copies of these old copper engravings.

Pic. 6: Title page of the Book on the VOC embassy to emperor Shunzhi by Johan Nieuhof 1665 [20]

HET
GEZANTSCHAP
Der Neêrlandtſche Ooſt-Indiſche Compagnie,
AAN DEN
GROOTEN
TARTARISCHEN CHAM,
Den tegenwoordigen,
KEIZER VAN CHINA:
WAAR IN
De gedenkwaerdighſte Geſchiedenisſen, die onder het reizen door de Sineeſche Landtſchappen, Quantung, Kiangſi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het Keizerlijke Hof te Peking, ſedert den jare 1655. tot 1657. zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigſte verhandelt worden.
BENEFFENS
Een Naukeurige Beſchryving der Sineeſche Steden, Dorpen, Regeering, Weetenſchappen, Hantwerken, Zeden, Godsdienſten, Gebouwen, Drachten, Schepen, Bergen, Gewaſſen, Dieren, &c. en Oorlogen tegen de Tartersi.
Verçiert met over de 150. Affbeeldſels, na 't leven in Sina getekent: En beſchreven
DOOR
JOAN NIEUHOF;
Toen eerſte Hofmeeſter des Gezantſchaps, tegenwoordig Opperhooft in COYLAN.
TAMSTERDAM,
By JACOB VAN MEURS, Boekverkooper en Plaatſnijder, op de Keyzers-graft, ſchuyn over de Weſter-maeſt, in de Stadt Meurs. ANNO 1665.

As we have mentioned, China was a closed country. Only very few tiny coastal windows were allowed such as Macao, Canton and ports like Zhoushan or Xiamen from time to time. Like in Japan, no foreigner was allowed to travel around the country unless a formal tributary mission had been endorsed to visit the Emperor's court in Beijing. An exception was made for some Jesuit missionaries whose knowledge about natural sciences was treasured by Chinese Emperors. Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) were not only allowed to visit, but also to live in the Forbidden City, or to work at the Beijing observatory. Ruggieri and Ricci wrote the first Chinese dictionary in 1588. Two German Jesuits who left Lisbon in 1618 and reached Macao in 1619 became important advisors to the late Ming and early Qing emperors. Both – Johann Schreck (born 1576 in Bingen) and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (born in Cologne) - have spent the rest of their life in Beijing.

Pic. 7: Adam Schall von Bell and Matteo Ricci, copper engraving, 1667 [21]

Dutch cartography has also contributed to the image of China in the West. The first modern Western map of China was published in 1584 by Abraham Ortelius.

Pic. 8: The first modern China map in the Atlas Theatrum Orbis Terrarum by Abraham Ortelius published 1584 [22]

One can imagine that under these circumstances people in Europe were very curious to learn more about the country from where silk and porcelain was imported and treasured. The Nieuhof travel report and a second report compiled by the Dutch Olfert Dapper (1636-1689) have shaped the image of China in Europe for a long time and have created the chinoiserie fashion for almost two centuries[23].

The engravings show cities, plants, animals and scenes of everyday life in China. Specifically, the pictures of these scenes created a positive attitude towards China – a kind of dreamland with wise rulers and cultivated people devoting their life to music, painting and poetry. In a country suffering from decades of civil war, in the south against rebels and in the north against nomad tribes, the reality however, was very different. Nevertheless, Europe and the Netherlands also suffered from war – from the Eighty Years' War, including the Thirty Years' War, to the Anglo-Dutch wars and the War of Spanish Succession. There was reason enough to dream of a country of peace and harmony.

China was not the exotic dreamland the chinoiserie displayed, but it entered with Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) into a period of stability and relative wealth. His reign lasted for 61 years making him one of the longest-reigning monarchs in the world. It therefore is not a surprise that the most beautiful and best quality export porcelain was produced during his reign. The Dutch became his best customer and the VOC its carrier between Europe and Asia. In the first 50 years, until the 1650s when the export of Chinese porcelain came almost to a standstill, the VOC shipped more than three million pieces to Europe. T. Volker[24] describes in detail the Asian-European and the

inter-Asian trade activities of the VOC by having analyzed the daily reports (Dagh-Registers) of VOC officials in Asia from 1602 to 1682. The second import period from 1683 to 1728 is unfortunately less documented. The third and last import period of the Dutch from 1729 to 1795 is almost perfectly documented and analyzed by C.J.A. Jörg[25]. But this is the subject of one of the following sections covering the Canton system.

After unsuccessful missions to Beijing and unable to establish direct trade, the Dutch again made use of the Chinese junk traffic with Batavia. When the Dutch were not allowed to go to China, they invited Chinese to come to their headquarters on Java Island. On average 14 junks arrived every year in Batavia[26] carrying Kangxi blue and white porcelain (plates 48 – 61), Famille Verte porcelain (plates 69 – 72) and the brown glazed so-called Batavia porcelain (plates 73 – 76) according to the taste of their customers from far away. The indirect China trade via Batavia lasted until 1729 when the VOC decided to make use of the (only) officially open window of China – the harbor of Canton. However, now porcelain was not the center of Dutch demand, it had been overtaken by a new product, which not only attracted a new European competitor but also would change the course of the 19th century balance of power between China and the West: tea.

The variety and quality of porcelain exported to Europe had increased in the after-war period in comparison to the pre-war Kraak ware. The blue and white ware was of good quality with a very white and translucent shard and careful underglaze blue painting. The difference between the high-quality porcelain for the domestic imperial use (guanyao) and the export ware was not big even though these days the prejudice of low export quality still dominates the perception of Chinese collectors. What were the main differences between the Kangxi export porcelains and the items for domestic use? Around 80 pieces of imperial Kangxi porcelain are listed in the Complete Collection of Treasures of the Palace Museum[27]. This is no doubt the highest standard. But it would be not fair to compare applied art for export purposes with fine arts made for the Emperor. But even here we can partly answer the question. First, it is not the quality of the material. Second, the shapes of export ware and domestic ware are similar, but differ in size. The biggest difference is in the finesse of the blue underglaze painting.

Pic. 9: Emperor Kangxi (1654 – 1722), third emperor of the Qing dynasty

Almost half of the imperial ware consists of vases, with many cups and bowls, and few plates. Displaying them, not using them, was the main purpose of any porcelain collection. The same applied for the export porcelain at least until the end of the Kangxi era in 1720. Most of the Kraak porcelain exported to Portugal and the Netherlands in the beginning of the porcelain trade was probably also for decoration or used for fruits as shown in many Dutch still life paintings of the 17th century.

The cargo of the Vung Tau shipwreck is a good example of what was demanded by Europeans during that time (plate 56). The ship sunk on its way to Batavia in 1690. Most of the 48,000 recovered items are small vases with or without covers, for display only. The main shapes and subsequently also the usage of imported porcelain changed in Europe during the first quarter of the 18th century. Vases became much less popular and tableware including plates, tea cups and saucers started to dominate the shipments. Plates were still used mainly for decoration but the cups were also used for drinking tea. Evidence gives us the cargo list of 18th century ships and discovered shipwrecks. Tea cups, saucers, and coffee cups dominate the porcelain cargo.

2.3 The British

The British Empire was the largest empire in history and left its footprints not only in India but also in other regions of Asia including the Malay Archipelago and China. However, we should be careful not to overestimate its role and influence on Asia in a time when the first English ships started to discover the seaways of the Indian and Pacific Ocean. The history of the Eurasian porcelain trade is very much linked to the age of discovery and trade had come almost to an end when Great Britain started to establish its colonial regime. The bulk importation of Chinese porcelain by the British East India Company (EIC) ended after the 1791 season[28] – 25 years before the British Straits Settlements were created and 50 years before the establishment of Hong Kong. These events took place more than 250 years after the first English explorer, Francis Drake, completed the second circumnavigation of the earth in 1580 following the voyage of Magellan and Elcano who succeeded the circumnavigation in 1522.

When the first British diplomatic mission – the famous Macartney Embassy - to the Chinese Emperor Qianlong took place in 1793, the Eurasian porcelain trade was almost over. The mission - an example of intercultural misunderstandings – was often taken as evidence for an inflexible, isolated and weakening China: a China defeated and humiliated half a century later. However, it could also be understood as a symbolic event, what might happen when Europe does not pay respect to the historic and cultural achievements of China. The 1793 mission marks also the beginning of the Western feeling of superiority – a state of mind Europe is learning to overcome now more than two centuries later. When the porcelain trade ended, equal intercultural interaction ended. Now, in the 21st century we can link ourselves back to this period of equality when Europe was fascinated and sometimes overwhelmed by China – imitating its habits and products and sometimes even creating a chinoiserie dreamland.

Pic. 10: Coat of arms of the British East India Company

The "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies" or short the British East India Company (EIC) got its charter from Elizabeth I, Queen of England in 1600 which makes it the oldest East India Company in a row of others such as the already mentioned Dutch VOC (established in 1602), the French Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales (1664), various Danish East India companies, including the Asiatisk Kompagni (1730) and the Swedish Svenska Ostindiska Companiet (SOIC in 1731). The royal charter granted the EIC the exclusivity of the English and later the British trade with Asia, including India, South East Asia and East Asia, even though the monopoly was debated a lot until a competing East Asia company was established in 1698. In addition to the trade monopolies the EIC became, during the 18th century, a sovereign ruler of Asian territories such as Bengal in India with its capital Calcutta and Penang including a huge military force and the right of taxation. The EIC was the main actor in one of the most crucial turning points in the history of Eurasia – as is defined by the historian John Darwin in his book "After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires"[29]. Troops of the EIC defeated the Indian ruler of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Calcutta and later the whole of Bengal was captured by the EIC. This marked the beginning of British rule in India which lasted for almost two centuries and which was part of the formation of a Global Empire. Bengal – the major production area of cotton – was the wealthiest state of the Indian Mughal Empire and soon became economically as important to the EIC. As we will see later, the EIC possessions in India – three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay – also played their role as funders of the tea, silk and porcelain trade with China.

However, the beginning of the EIC activities in Asia was not very successful. During the 17th century it had to face the strong economic and military rivalry of the powerful Dutch VOC. Three Anglo-Dutch wars between 1652 and 1674 were fought and ended in favor of the Dutch States. The EIC therefore could hardly deliver the spices from the Archipelago to its customers in Europe and was always number three in maritime South East Asia after the Chinese junk traders and the VOC. However, in India it became a powerful player not only in trade for cotton and black pepper but also in the second half of the 18th century in the political arena of Bengal in North East India. The VOC was able to secure the Eurasian spice trade from its capital Batavia which was also easy to reach for Chinese junks shipping porcelain and silk. Similar to the Portuguese and the Dutch the EIC also established small trade factories and fortifications in Patani, Ayutthaya, Banten, Ambon, Makassar and Hirado, but were not able to take control or monopolize the Eurasian trade for any of the commodities. After the Anglo-Dutch wars the EIC – similar to the Portuguese – had to withdraw from the East Asian region. The factory in Banten – the most important one

for the English spice trade on Java Island – was lost to the Dutch in 1682. It took more than a century before the British were able to get strongholds in the East Indies – mainly on the Malay Peninsula when they took formal possession of Penang Island in 1786, and with the foundation of colonial Singapore in 1819. However, for several reasons the EIC was the most successful East Indian company to establish a direct trade relationship with China – crucial for the porcelain trade being the subject of this book. England became only the second European nation to open direct trade with China in mainland China – after the establishment of Portuguese Macao in 1557. The British became by far the most relevant carrier of Chinese goods to Europe surpassing the successful VOC and surpassing all other European nations combined. The literature on the EIC is abundant and the works of the Indian historian and economist K. N. Chaudhuri[30] are worth studying for anybody who wants to learn more. Much less documented however are the details of the volume and the characteristics of the EIC's porcelain trade.

The EIC imported substantial amounts of Chinese porcelain but not before 1685. The EIC built a small trading post in Xiamen (Amoy) in 1678[31] and was able to purchase silk, tea and porcelain in exchange for silver. Zhoushan Island (Chusan) opposite Ningbo in Zhejiang province was a second trading post of the EIC and a third was established in 1672 in Taiwan. All these trading posts were located in the area controlled by the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, making the EIC an ally of the Qing Emperor's biggest enemy. This may have been one of the reasons why the Qing dynasty did not favor too many uncontrolled activities by foreign merchants and dedicated in 1699 Canton as the place where most of the SinoWestern trade should be carried out. In 1699 the EIC alone imported porcelain to the value of more than £15,000 or 45,000 Chinese Tael (liang) - a silver unit of 37.5 g[32]. This amounts to almost 1.7 tons of silver and must have been around 1.2 million pieces of imported porcelain for this specific year alone. From 1699 until the official porcelain imports of the EIC came to an end in 1791, porcelain to the value of an average of £6,000 annually was purchased in Canton. This is a rough equivalent of 500,000 pieces per year and in total around 45 million pieces have been imported and shipped to London by the EIC alone. After 1791 British private traders – in most cases the crew members of the EIC vessels - continued importing Chinese porcelain from Canton. However, the amount probably came down to £1,500 annually[33] during the two decades until 1810.

2.4 The Canton-System Export Boom

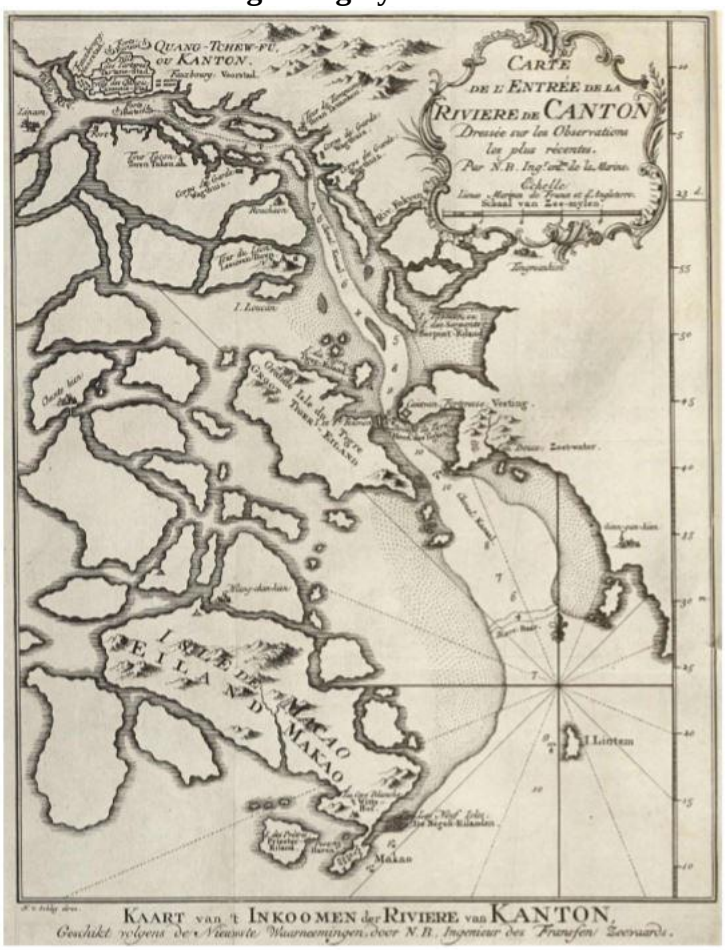
Direct Chinese trade with Europe in the 18th century took place almost exclusively in Canton – the only port open to European traders until the end of the first Opium War in 1842. Most of the porcelain that went from China to Europe was shipped from Canton.

The Canton System began in the early 18th century and continued for roughly 150 years until 1842. It was a system of regulating foreign trade between China and the Western world. Foreigners were confined to small commercial districts or agencies called "thirteen factories" (shi san hong 行) located at the Pearl River. Within these factories, foreigners were prohibited from outside contact with Chinese nationals. Outside the trading season, staff of the foreign companies had to move downstream to Macao. Essentially, this was to meet the desire of the Qing court and their concern with cultural protection, isolation of foreign interest in China, and also the secured collection of necessary taxes and duties. A central feature of the Canton System was the existence of the "Cohong", a monopolistic guild of licensed Hong merchants who officially traded with the foreign companies and charged all taxes and fees on behalf

of the Chinese government.

Canton had several advantages in comparison to other Chinese harbor cities, which finally led to its trading monopoly with East India companies from the West. First, geographically it was easy to reach for ships coming from the Indian Ocean being in the far South of China at the northern rim of the South China Sea. Also, it was not too far away from the tea growing areas of China and relatively easy to reach by river transport from Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province. Second, foreign ship traffic was easy to control as it did not face the open sea, but lay inland at the Pearl River. The river could only be used by bigger vessels with the ebb and flow of the tide. In addition, the Pearl River Delta forms a labyrinth of water arms, sandbanks and small islands, which makes the use of Chinese pilots necessary which acted as another way to control in- and outgoing ships[34]. Third, the proximity of the Macao Peninsula – the Portuguese settlement since 1557 – was an advantage for finding translators, experienced Chinese merchants and to settle port fees and duties. The East Indiamen were guided upstream along the Pearl River by Chinese pilots to the Island of Whampoa (pazhou) just a couple of kilometers in the east of the city where their cargo was unloaded and loaded. The import-export business of the East India companies was in the hands of so-called "supercargoes" (daban). They represented the company to the Chinese authorities and the Hong merchants.

Pic. 11: Map of Canton, Macao and the mouth of the Pearl River, copper engraving by Bellin



The thirteen factories district was outside the city walls, in the south west along the river. The foreign companies were allowed to rent the buildings but not allowed to enter the city itself. The buildings and two, later three, streets in-between the

buildings heading from the river to the thirteen factories street formed an enclave. To some extent this arrangement is comparable with the artificial Dejima Island next to Nagasaki, where the Dutch VOC staff trading with Japan had to live in isolation for more than 200 years. Nowadays one would rather compare this with a free-trade area or a free-port terminal. Many illustrations show the set-up of the factories with flag poles in front indicating whether the foreign staff is present or absent.

Pic. 12: Thirteen factories in Canton by an unknown painter, 18th century[36]

The Macclesfield, owned by the English Company Trading to the East Indies, established in 1698 as a competitor to the Company of Merchants of London, reached Canton in 1699. This was the first English ship which got approval by the Chinese central authorities to start official trade between England and China. In 1708 both English East India companies merged as the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies. The new EIC started renting one of the permanent factories in Canton in 1715.

Canton had not only attracted the British EIC but also every other European East India company which had been established during the 17th and 18th centuries: The French Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales built its trading post in Canton in 1699, the Swedish Svenska Ostindiska Companiet (SOIC) in 1732, the Danish Asiatisk Kompagni (DAK) in 1734. Also, smaller companies, such as the Habsburg Ostend Company or the Spanish Company of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in America, leased factory buildings in Canton. Later, Spain acted under the framework of the Royal Philippine Company (RPC) established in 1785. The RPC had the right to trade between Cadiz, Canton and Manila directly, and via the Pacific Ocean and the American colony. Armenian traders also used Canton for the Sino-Persian trade. In 1784 the first US East Indiamen Empress of China reached Canton from New York. The VOC had opened a factory later because there was a longer dispute between Amsterdam and Batavia about whether a trading post in Canton would damage the position of Batavia as entrepot of the Chinese junk trade. Chinese products were shipped by junks to Batavia so that there was no urgent need to enter into direct trade in Canton. The first VOC ship – the Coxhorn – reached Canton in 1729. From then on four to five VOC ships anchored at Whampoa every year – altogether more than 200 ships.

The Swedish SOIC is somehow a special case in Eurasian trade. It was established

in 1731 enjoying the Swedish monopoly for all trade and shipping east of the Cape of Good Hope. The privileges granted in 1731 (Royal Charter) were renewed by the Swedish Government four times and these periods are divided in octrois, 61 ships sailed to Asia during the first and second octroi (1731-1766), 39 ships during the third octroi (1766-1786), and 32 during the fourth octroi. The last SOIC ship turned back to Gothenburg in 1806.

Pic. 13: Flag of the Swedish East India Company (SOIC)

The term "East Indies" refers to the large area covering the Indian Ocean and part of the Pacific Ocean including Japan and Australia. However, the Swedish had no colonial possession or enclave like all the other East India companies, especially the British, Dutch and French. For their transactions, the SOIC rented a factory in Canton next to the English factory. On paintings of the Canton factories one can see the Swedish flag on the west side of the British one, and on the east side of the US factory, after its establishment in 1784. The SOIC made a total of 132 voyages and 129 of them from Gothenburg via Cadiz to Canton and back to Sweden. In Cadiz Spanish silver dollars were purchased – the only currency Chinese merchants were willing to accept. Most voyages went directly from Cadiz to Canton passing the Cape, crossing the Indian Ocean in the East of Madagascar and the Sunda Strait between Sumatra and Java. Only three voyages aimed directly at Bengal and not China. The first SOIC ship Fredericus Rex Sueciae left Gothenburg on 7 March 1732 and arrived in Canton on 19 September, stayed there until 16 January 1733 and turned back to Gothenburg on 7 September 1733. The voyage took 550 days. Seven SOIC ships got lost. The most famous accident happened to the Götheborg in 1745 on its third China voyage. The ship sunk on its homeward journey at the entrance of the Gothenburg harbor and its cargo was partly excavated later (plate 125), including several thousand pieces of porcelain and porcelain shards. Detailed information on the duration and route can be found in the annex of the analysis of C. Koninckx and in the work of J.F. Nyström[37]. The Swedish SOIC was a latecomer, established 130 years after the Dutch VOC, but nevertheless was very important for the Sino-European porcelain trade.

Pic. 14: Headquarters of the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) in Gothenburg

The other Scandinavian East India company – the Danish Asiatisk Kompagni (DAK) – was smaller and was already the third attempt by the Danish government to set up an economically sustainable trading firm. Established in 1732, it focused not only on the Canton trade but also had a foothold on the Indian East Coast – Tranquebar. The DAK carried out 120 voyages to Canton, mostly directly between Copenhagen and China, several also with a stop at their trading post on the Indian Coromandel Coast. The first DAK ship, the Slesvig, reached Canton in 1734. Both Scandinavian companies imported mainly tea and porcelain for domestic use or to smuggle to Great Britain.

The two European continental powers, France and the Habsburg Empire, never played a big role in the Sino-European trade. Both were victims of European power games and the wars of the 18th century. France had already established in 1664 an East India company with trade privileges between the Cape of Good Hope and the Strait of Magellan, and its first president was the Minister of Finance of Louis XIV. However, the numerous and long-lasting wars against England, the Dutch and the Habsburg Monarchy impeded any bigger engagement in sea-born trade. The War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War between France and Great Britain even found battlefields in India, where France had a big colonial possession around Pondichéry at the East Coast of India. Even though the first French ship, the Amphitrite, had already reached Canton in 1699, trade had to be suspended various times, for several years, in order to avoid hostile action of European powers against the ships of the Compagnie des Indes (CDI). The CDI had its headquarters in the harbor of Lorient, but usually auctioned Chinese or Indian commodities in Nantes. Bigger shipments took place in the years 1722-1723. More than 683,000 pieces were auctioned[38]. Other major shipments took place in the 1730s, the 1760s and the 1770s [39]. The Company was liquidated by 1790.

The history of the Habsburg Ostend Company (officially Compagnie générale établie dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens pour le Commerce et la Navigation aux Indes) is much shorter, however economically more successful. The Austrian Netherlands (nowadays Belgium and Luxemburg) became territory of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1714 following the War of Spanish Succession. By this acquisition, the favorable deep sea port of Ostend served as a departure point for the vessels of the first Habsburg East India company in 1722. The headquarters was in Antwerp, the major trading hub of the early spice trade of the Portuguese in the 16th century. Within the relatively short period of existence, ten years, 21 ships were sent out to Canton and India[40]. The

economic success of the Ostend Company however, increased the political pressure by the British, Dutch and French to close it down. In order to secure the recognition of his daughter Maria Theresia as the ruler of the Habsburg dominions, the Habsburg Emperor ordered the suspension of the Ostend Company in 1732. His daughter, the future Holy Roman Empress, having no East India company, however became a collector of Chinese and Japanese porcelain. The two – an oval and a round - porcelain cabinets at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna, with 252 pieces, provide evidence of her passion[41]. The Ostend Company focused its trading mainly on tea. Data about porcelain imports to Europe are missing.

Porcelain was not the most expensive or most sought after product in the European-Chinese trade relations in Canton. It could be found on most ships either treasured for the profits it could generate, or simply as ballast and to form a layer to ensure that the tea and silk cargo would not be affected by seawater. Tea was from the beginning of the Canton trade the most relevant single Chinese commodity for Western companies, but the percentage in terms of cargo value increased over time. The composition varied also between the various East India companies. As far as statistics are available tea accounts for 73.5% of the total value of British EIC imports in the years from 1765-1769, silk for 20.9% and others including porcelain for 5.4%[42]. In the case of the Dutch VOC the percentages during that period were rather similar, even though they had imported less in absolute figures. However, over the whole period of Dutch-Canton trade from 1728-1793, the importance of porcelain seems to be higher than in the case of the EIC. The years from 1769-1774 were the peak in absolute terms. Each year, the value of Dutch porcelain imports was above 100,000 fl. (or approximately 30,000 taels). This is the purchase price for about one million pieces of porcelain.

Pic. 15: The Noord-Nieuwland in Table Bay, Anonymous, 1762

The EIC in comparison hardly imported more than 500,000 pieces per year, even though they sent many more ships to Canton than the VOC. The VOC statistics for the porcelain imports are incredibly detailed[43]. This might also reflect that porcelain

played a bigger role for the VOC than for the EIC. EIC statistics are rather broad and list the number of chests and the purchase price, rather than exact numbers of pieces. The VOC statistics are somewhat extraordinary also from an artistic point of view. Not only has the exact number of pieces been recorded, but also details about the form, the use and the decoration. For the year 1770 we can read inter alia the following:

Imports from Canton 1770 by five Dutch VOC ships *Willem de Vijfde, Princes van Oranje, Bodt, Jonge Hellingman and Burgh*

1,854	blue and white beer tankards
1,600	beer tankards with enamel colours
6,070	blue and white bottles
8,260	blue and white single bowls
2,030	blue and white single bowls with dragon
4,305	Chinese Imari single bowls
3,760	Batavia brown single bowls, blue and white inside
1,575	Batavia brown single bowls, with enamel colours inside
4,285	single bowls with enamel colours
3,395	white single bowls
42,000	half-pint bowls without saucers
21,355	quarter-pint bowls without saucers
15,848	bowls with saucers
997	blue and white round butter dishes with lids and stands
18,379	butter saucers
348	blue and white chamber pots
35,959	chocolate cups with saucer
367,678	coffee cups with saucer and without handles
195	blue and white coffeepots
199	Chinese Imari coffeepots
339	coffeepots with enamel colours
2,516	cupboard garnitures
387	blue and white cuspidors
62,364	single dinner plates
215	blue and white dinner services
8,640	round dishes
240	fish dishes
420	blue and white milk cups
3,151	milk jugs
53,165	moorish cups
7,323	punchbowls
1,709	salad bowls
175	oval shaving bowls
12,851	soup plates
7,014	sugar bowls
219,141	tea cups and saucers without handles
934	tea pots
821	tea and coffee services
338	blue and white tureens

Total items listed: 921,835

If one would count cups and saucers separately the number would be around 1.6 million. To be more exact one could also calculate each piece of a service or of the garniture. This shows the difficulties in getting an estimation of the number of pieces exported. Koninckx counts each cup and saucer separately and comes to the incredible number of 33.8 million pieces imported by the Swedish SOIC between 1732 and 1766 [44], and another 11.3 million for the third octroi until 1786 [45]. In the end, all attempts to get exact figures will be in vain, since the statistics are incomplete or measure different aspects such as purchase value, selling price, weight, pieces or services, chests or barrels. Table 2 summarizes the most likely numbers of imports. As a rule of thumb, one can estimate that 3,000 taels (112 kg of pure silver or £1,000) was about 100,000 pieces and that VOC and EIC East Indiamen ships transported approximately 200,000 pieces per voyage back to Europe. SOIC and Danish ships were bigger than those of the VOC and EIC, and have transported more pieces per ship than the other companies. But their lists give us much more information. One

gets a good insight into the different types of porcelain exported, their shapes and decorations.

While most export ware comprised mass-produced blue and white tableware, specifically designed pieces for the Western taste – so called chine de command – could increasingly be ordered. This applies, for example, to the custom-painted armorial designs (plate 110) with a family coat of arms, or initials which become popular specifically in England[46]. Another favored form was the garniture – a set of five vases for display – and tea and dinner services being consistent in shape and decoration. Cups with handles – not common in China – and used for tea, coffee, hot chocolate and even beer, were produced according to European taste and drinking habits (plate 93). Many different styles of porcelain were exported to Europe, the Spanish Philippines and the Americas: the ivory white and glazed Blanc-deChine, overglaze enamel ware (Famille Verte and Famille Rose, armorial porcelain, Rose Medaillon), Nanking, Canton, Fitzhugh blue and white ware, the outside brown glazed Batavia ware, Chinese Imari and Kakiemon as copies of Japanese export products (see box 2) and unglazed red and brown stoneware from the Yixing kilns in Jiangsu province.

Ninety-nine percent of the items sold in Canton came from Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province. Only the white or ivory colored Blanc-de-Chine (plate 272) ware was produced mainly in Dehua in Fujian province. The underglaze blue was applied at the kiln site, but the overglaze enameling was often done in Canton. Especially, the chine de command which was easier to produce in Canton workshops according to the Western patterns the company or company staff had provided the painters. Millions of pieces had to be transported from Jingdezhen to Canton to reach the European, and later US, customers. The journey was mainly by boat on various rivers crossing the province of Jiangxi and Guangdong. “This route began in Lake Poyang and proceeded up the Gan River to Nanchang. Re-loaded onto smaller river boats, the porcelain cargo would then continue upstream to Ganzhou. Continuing on smaller rivers, the cargo boats eventually reached the southern border of Jiangxi province. Here the porcelain had to be hand carried over the Meiling Pass, a stretch of some 30 kilometres that reached about 275 meters above sea level. After the Meiling Pass, the goods were again reloaded onto small boats that navigated the winding narrow upper reaches of the Bei Jiang River before reaching Canton”[47].

Design influences flowed both ways – and sometimes around. The forms of Chinese export ware might have been designed after metal, glass and wood examples, the décor after drawings the companies brought with them – such as many Ming dynasty blue and white ware were imitations of Arabic brass vessels – while the decoration might have been copied from Chinese sources, Japanese sources, Western sources, or a combination.

Box 2: Main standard patterns of Chinese export porcelain to Europe

***Kraak* porcelain (1575-1645)**

Underglaze blue porcelain from Jingdezhen with segmented decorations and a thin translucent shard produced mainly in the period of the Ming Emperor Wanli.

Kangxi and Kangxi style blue and white (1678-1760)

Refers to a high-quality underglaze blue porcelain exported mainly to the Netherlands during the reign of the Qing Emperors Kangxi, Yongzhen and early Qianlong with a wide range of images and sceneries.

Chinese *Imari* (1695-1760)

This pattern is a combination of a red overglaze enamel color with underglaze blue, often highlighted with gilt. Chinese *Imari* is a copy of Japanese red colored products from Arita which were shipped from the Japanese harbor city Imari to Nagasaki, and from there to Europe.

***Famille Verte* (1685-1730)**

The "green family" (*wucai* in Chinese) is the name for porcelain with bright overglaze enamel colors, mainly green and red produced in Jingdezhen during the reign of the Emperors Kangxi and Yongzhen.

***Famille Rose* (1720-1800)**

The "pink family" (*fencai* in Chinese) is the name for colorful overglaze enamel porcelain including pink and rose colors produced in Jingdezhen. The technique of using opaque and semi-opaque enamels was imported from France to China. The introduction of a white color has allowed gradations of color intensity and shades.

***Nanking* (1760-1820)**

Refers to various underglaze blue porcelains produced in Jingdezhen with specific border decoration and in many cases pavilion, temple, river and tree scenery. The decoration has been influenced by British chinoiserie images and vice versa. The quality of the raw material is lower than in the case of the Kangxi blue and white. A big proportion of the *Nanking* ware has been gilded in the UK or overpainted with enamels in the Netherlands.

***Fitzhugh* (1780-1820)**

High quality underglaze blue porcelain from Jingdezhen consisting of four groups of flowers or plants spaced evenly around a central panel and mainly exported to the US.

Canton (1785-1853)

Refers to a rather low-quality underglaze blue porcelain produced in Jingdezhen and exported mainly to the US with Chinese river and pavilion scenery similar to *Nanking* porcelain.

***Chine-de-Commande, Armorial, Grisaille* (1720-1820)**

Describes porcelain produced in China on demand for Europeans often with their family's coat of arms applied in the center mostly with enamel colors. The decoration reflects European taste and usually does not look Chinese. The porcelain is from Jingdezhen but the painting was done in workshops in Canton.

***Batavia* (1695-1790)**

A decorative style of Chinese export porcelain using a surface covering brown engobe with or without panels in conjunction with underglaze blue or enamels. It has been named after the city of Jakarta which at that time was Batavia - the Dutch East India Company trading center in South East Asia.

***Blanc-de-Chine* (1600-1800)**

Refers to undecorated white or ivory-colored porcelain - often figurines and cups - made in the Chinese kilns of Dehua in Fujian province.

***Rose Medallion and Rose Mandarin* (1860-1911)**

Refers to a very colorful overglaze enamel porcelain with four alternating panels around a central gold medallion mainly exported to the US. *Rose Mandarin* is a variety with a Chinese (chinoiserie) scene of everyday life in the center of the item. Both are called *guangcai* in Chinese since the enameling took place in Canton.

3. The Four Billion Pound Deal: The Economics of the Porcelain Trade

Table2：Summary of the European-Chinese porcelain trade

Period	Main European trader	Main trading places	Estimated number of pieces shipped to Europe
1550 – 1650	Portuguese Estado	Macao	2.5 million
1602 – 1655	Dutch VOC	Formosa, Banten, Patani	2.5 million
1678 – 1728	Dutch VOC	Batavia	10 million
1669 – 1710	British EIC and private traders	Xiamen, Zhoushan	4 million
1699 – 1805	British EIC and private traders	Canton	50 million
1687 – 1779	French Comp. de Indes	Canton	8 million
1729 – 1793	Dutch VOC	Canton	45 million
1732 – 1804	Swedish SOIC	Canton	40 million
1734 – 1806	Danish DAK	Canton	12 million
1700 – 1800	Others	Canton	10 million
			Total c. 184 million

The table above gives an overview of the estimated number of Chinese porcelain shipped to Europe within two and half centuries. Not much was exported to Europe before or after. Picard et al, who first tried to summarize the Eurasian porcelain trade in 1966, estimate 30 million less for the European carriers, but the research of C.J.A. Jörg shows, that they have underestimated the imports of the VOC and probably also the imports of the EIC. In addition, other smaller companies and private traders were not taken into consideration, and the imports of the Portuguese, French and Swedish have been overestimated. By far the best porcelain trade statistics are available for the Dutch VOC thanks to the research of T. Volker and C.J.A. Jörg. For the first export period from 1602-1655 the exact figures are known through the analysis of the daily reports from the VOC factories in Hirado, Dejima (Japan) and Batavia. The second VOC export period which has been facilitated mainly by Chinese junks coming to Batavia is not documented. This is quite unfortunate since this is by and large covering the period of the Chinese Emperor Kangxi when the finest Chinese export porcelain was produced. Many pieces have been imported as we can still see in the number of Kangxi porcelain on the contemporary antique markets in Europe and in the number of Kangxi porcelain in famous collections such as the collection of August the Strong in Dresden. The third period is very well documented in the VOC archives in the Hague. Statistics show 42.7 million pieces were purchased between 1730-1789 for a total value of 4.57 million Dutch guilder (fl.), and shipped in 216 journeys between Canton and the Netherlands – some directly, some via Batavia. Sixteen ships got lost – the Geldermalsen lost in 1752 on the homeward voyage in the South China Sea being the most famous (see plate 73), since it was discovered in 1985 and part of its porcelain cargo was auctioned in Amsterdam.

Data for the Swedish SOIC[48] is unfortunately only detailed with regard to the duty paid on the imports in Gothenburg, but it omits the purchase prices in Canton and information on the exact composition of the cargo. This makes it more complicated to calculate the possible numbers of pieces. Data for the EIC and the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales and Compagnie des Indes respectively are also incomplete, but missing figures can be estimated relatively closely. The porcelain cargos of other European carriers such as the Portuguese Estado da India and the Danish DAK are an educated guess; the shipments of the Habsburg Ostend Company, the Prussian Königlich Preußische Asiatische Compagnie in Emden nach Canton und China (1751-1757) or the Spanish galleon trade from Manila via Mexico to Spain, by private traders, and the numbers of pieces carried officially or smuggled by crew members are estimated, since data is - for obvious reasons in the latter case - not available. Also, the secondary trade from the Ottoman Empire or Persia towards Western Europe is missing. However, I assume that through these carriers less than 10 million pieces

have reached Europe. In summary, more than 180 million pieces have been exported from China to Europe – and about 90% of the ware left China from Canton through the Pearl River towards the South China Sea.

G. Godden[49] lists the purchase prices the supercargo of the English East Indiaman Prince George paid in 1755 to a Chinese merchant in Canton: £112 for 10,236 blue and white plates. The price for a single plate (0.11 fl. - Dutch guilder) is the same C.J.A. Jörg has given for the purchases of the Dutch VOC for the period from 1729 to 1765[50], if we use the standard conversion rate of 1£ = 3 tael = 10.5 fl. Since porcelain has been paid in silver currency (and measured in the Chinese silver unit tael) the prices were relatively stable for a long period of time. If we want to calculate the costs of all imports of the various European trading companies we have to look at the prices of the individual piece and estimate an average price per piece. In the following list, the purchase price of other items in Dutch guilder (or cents) and in the silver equivalent are listed:

- one tea cup with saucer: 8 cents fl. (approximately 0.85 g silver)
- one shaving bowl (see plate 78): 70 cents fl. (7.5 g silver)
- one small blue and white teapot (see plate 63): 16 cents fl. (1.7 g silver)
- one enameled teapot: 30 cents fl. (3.2 g silver)
- one sauce boat (see plate 121): 40 cents fl. (4.3 g silver)
- one 23 cm diameter enameled dinner plate (see plate 99): 23 cents fl. (2.5 g silver)[51]

As calculated above, the average porcelain cargo per ship amounted to 200,000 items. The estimated cost of 500,000 pieces is about £5,000 or 52,500 fl. or 20,000 Spanish silver dollars. The whole porcelain export from China to Europe from 1550 – 1800 cost approximately 7.4 million Spanish silver dollars or £1.85 million or 189 ton of pure silver. Less than two million does not sound much, but in inflated prices of 2018 this amounts to £267 million and the income value (reflecting the purchasing power) in 2018 would be approximately £4.2 billion[52]. This is not surprising, if we take into consideration that in 2018 one would pay much more than 1.7 grams of silver for a blue and white teapot.

Pic. 16: Am East Indiaman returning home (circa 1712 – 1777)

One question remains: what could Europe offer to settle the huge bill for approximately 185 million pieces of porcelain? The answer at first sight is quite simple: not much except Spanish silver coins from Mexico and Bolivia. Most of the attempts to pay Chinese merchants with European products failed. The letter of the Chinese Emperor Qianlong sent to King George III in 1793 summarizes the Chinese view on that: "Hitherto, all European nations, including your own country's barbarian merchants, have carried on their trade with our Celestial Empire at Canton. Such has been the procedure for many years, although our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces, are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favour, that foreign hongs [merchant firms] should be established at Canton, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence."

Box 3: European and Chinese currencies in the era of the porcelain trade

1 Chinese tael 两 (37.5 g of silver or 1.21 oz) = £0.33 British Pound (6s 8d) = 3.5 fl. Dutch Guilder = 1.5 Swedish Riksdaler specie (0.826 oz)

1 real de a ocho ("piece of eight" or Spanish silver dollar) = 25.56 g pure silver = 0.72 tael = 5 shilling (£0.25 British Pound)

The Spanish silver dollar was, from the 16th to the 19th century, the world currency and the only accepted Western currency in China. It was also legal tender in the US until 1857. Silver dollar coins used in China have often been counter stamped with Chinese chop marks. It is said, that the column surrounded by a ribbon of the Spanish coat of arms is the origin for the USD "$" sign.

Pic. 17: Global legal tender: Silver from Latin America, minted in Europe and paid in Asia. Spanish silver dollar with Chinese counter chops, diameter 38 mm, 27.5 g of 93% pure silver[53]

Thus, the Spanish silver dollar (see pic. 17) minted with silver from the Spanish colonies in North and South America was the primary form of payment for Chinese goods: for silk, gold and porcelain in the 17th century, and for tea, silk and porcelain in the 18th and 19th century. After the Spanish conquest of the Americas and soon after the establishment of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1535, silver was discovered in Zacatecas. Potosi in nowadays Bolivia was the second place where silver had already been exploited during the Incan Empire. It is estimated that the silver production in these two areas together with some other mines in Mexico and Peru was 17,000 tons in the 16th century; the production rose to 42,000 tons in the 17th century and 74,000 tons in the 18th century[54]. Much has been written about the miserable conditions for the Indian and African slaves working as silver miners in Mexico and Bolivia. The production of mercury in Huancavelica necessary for extracting silver from ore might have been the only thing worse[55]. About 25-30% of the American silver production ended up in Asia – mostly in China to finance the huge European trade deficit. The silver went either from Veracruz and Portobello

(Panama) via Havana to Seville and Cadiz, or from Acapulco with the Spanish galleon trade to Manila[56]. Most East India companies then purchased the Spanish silver dollars in Cadiz on their way to Canton, or silver dollars were used in Manila to pay for silk and porcelain arriving with Chinese junks. China attracted the silver like a magnet and the Europeans were desperate because nothing else was accepted by the Celestial Empire. Interestingly enough, a similar trade imbalance emerged at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century between China and Europe, and China and the US. Again, China attracted billions of US dollars – a currency which has directly derived from the Spanish silver dollar.

At second glance, the answer as to how all the Chinese commodities were paid for is more complicated because a) the trade relationship varied from nation to nation, and over time, and b) because one should take a broader view, not only of the porcelain trade but of the economic interaction between continents and countries in a holistic way. The fact is, as Qianlong wrote in his letter to King George, European products, such as woolens or raw metal (copper, lead and iron), were not attractive and could only be bartered for a small percentage of Chinese goods. The fact is also, as we have seen above, that there was a huge trade deficit between Europe and China in the 18th century. It is estimated that approximately 25-30% of all American silver exploited within 250 years ended up in China to finance the huge merchandise imports by the European East India companies. Porcelain, as we will see, contributed only a very small part to this deficit, but the pattern is the same. Europeans purchased annually 9,000-10,000 tons of tea in Canton during the 1760s and 1770s and this increased to 20,000 tons in the first decade of the 19th century when the US started to trade with China[57]. The average yearly value of all exports from Canton to Europe from 1765-1769 was 4,177,000 taels or 157 tons of pure silver, from 1785-1789 (including the exports to the US) on average 8,454,000 taels or 317 tons of silver and from 1820-1824 yearly more than 14,678,000 taels or 550 tons58. The average yearly value of tea purchased in the 1820s by the EIC alone exceeded 5.7 million taels. That means, that by in large the tea exports by the EIC from Canton of only one year in the decade of the 1820s are valued at as much as the whole European porcelain imports from China for 250 years! The EIC was the most important single company and contributed in the last decade of the 18th century to approximately 75% to all exports from Canton by Western merchants. Being such a crucial customer, Britain and EIC tried various ways to circumvent the silver drain by introducing new schemes. Finally, they succeeded by pumping drugs into the Canton system.

Two main Eurasian trading patterns can be distinguished. The first seems to be the simple one: Chinese goods for silver. This pattern has been the one of Spain via their colonies in America and the Philippines. Spanish or Philippine traders paid the Chinese junks shipping silk and porcelain to Manila in silver coins. This was also the pattern for the two Scandinavian East India companies. Each voyage to Canton either from Copenhagen or from Gothenburg stopped in Cadiz to get the necessary silver coins. The same applied for the French Compagnie des Indes. The export of the Swedish Silver Riksdaler specie and the French silver currency was forbidden by law and was not accepted by Chinese merchants. This silver based trade has also been the main trading pattern for the EIC at least until 1757. The statistics show that the EIC paid for 90-95% of the Chinese goods with silver bullion and paid for only 5-10% by selling European goods such as metals or woolens[59]. The EIC tried to increase the volume of European products in return for tea and even wanted to make higher proportions a condition for business with Hong merchants. But wool products were not very suitable in the tropical climate of South China. In 1753 for example, EIC

ships brought about 31 tons of silver to Canton (worth £276,333). The peak of the physical transport of silver to Canton took place in the years after the British Commutation act passed in 1784, which drastically reduced the British import duty on tea, and lead therefore to a sharp expansion of tea imports. The 1789-1790 season only required a shipment of 80 tons of silver transported by approximately 20 EIC ships landing at Whampoa Island. One could call this the "silver for tea" trade period, but of course, also the "silver for porcelain" period. However, even though 1789 was the peak for silver exports by the EIC, the overall pattern had already started to change. The EIC silver exports from Europe to Canton after 1757 reduced drastically and came to a standstill in the years from 1772 to 1784 and again after 1806. How could this happen? if we bear in mind that during that period thousands of tons of tea was exported by the EIC and also several million pieces of porcelain. Answering this question leads us to the second Eurasian trading pattern, which is based on intra-Asian trade or so-called "country trade".

The Portuguese Estado da India invented this pattern in the 16th century and the Dutch perfected the idea. Getting the necessary resources for buying desired goods not by using silver but by getting involved in intra-Asian trade is the main characteristic. It started with the silk for silver trade between Macao and Hirado, when Portuguese traders sold Chinese silk in Japan to get silver, which then could be used to buy other Chinese goods, South East Asian spices or Indian cotton. Another example was the sandalwood for gold trade between the Portuguese trading post Timor and Macao. The VOC imitated this approach and even inherited the silk for silver trade organizing it between Taiwan and Japan. Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies described it very well (see letter quoted in chapter 2): "And all of it can be done without any money from the Netherlands and with ships alone". It reduces trade deficits, transport risks and the dependence on the European home base. The extent of country trade is a good indicator for the incorporation of Europeans into the Asian networks. Only three countries reached this kind of integration which requires at least two strong footholds in Asia: Portugal in the 16th century with its base in Goa and the satellite in Macao, and the VOC in the 17th century with its Asian headquarters in Batavia, several other possessions and factories in South East Asia, on Taiwan, Dejima Island in Japan and trading posts in India. They used Japanese silver, nutmeg from Banda, cloves from Ternate, pepper from Sumatra and sandalwood from Timor to buy products in demand for Europe. This is perfectly reflected in the statistics of the VOC. The proportion of silver exports from Europe to Asia were much lower than in the case of the EIC or the other East Asian companies. Much could be financed from intra-Asian revenues[60]. However, the situation changed in the course of the 18th century when the further expansion of importing Chinese commodities had to be paid for with an increasing proportion of silver exports.

The EIC was, during the 17th century, mainly concentrated in India with three presidencies in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The incorporation of the EIC into the South East Asian spice trade ended in 1682 when Banten was captured by the VOC troops. The EIC could only control a small trading post in Bencoolen, Sumatra for a limited intra-Asian cotton-pepper trade. When the Canton tea and porcelain trade started the EIC didn't have much to offer. Indian cotton was produced for the European market. Therefore, England had to follow the traditional trading pattern by shipping silver to Asia. However, the situation changed with the conquest of Bengal in 1757 after the battle of Plessey. The colonial power of the EIC in Bengal included the right of taxation of Indian citizens and businesses. The silver generated in India could

then be used to finance Chinese commodities. But this was not the only advantage of the EIC government in Calcutta. As John Darwin points out, this conquest of one of the richest regions in Asia marked the beginning of a British Empire ruling the world. The terms of trade for cotton had been changed and England became, over the decades, the biggest industrialized cotton yarn producer, organizing the worldwide cotton value chain between Asia, Europe, Africa and America.

With the conquest of Bengal and the establishment of the Bengal presidency in 1765, under the rule of the EIC, the country trade between Bengal and other Asian regions including China took off and the British were able to copy the Portuguese and Dutch intra-Asian trade pattern. Initially, the EIC tried to monopolize – similar to the VOC – the country trade between India, Indonesia and China, but they could not control it effectively. Instead, they at least, required private merchants to have a license for trade. Over the years the intra-Asian country trade became mainly private business. The sale of raw cotton, cotton goods, pearls, saltpetre, shark fins and many other items became an important source of income for Indiabased British private traders in Canton. From the beginning, the trade balance of the private merchants with the Chinese Hongs in Canton was positive. They sold many things in Canton, but received mainly silver. The tea business was exclusively in the hands of the EIC and other Chinese items except porcelain were not really in demand. In 1786 the positive trade balance of the private traders exceeded one million taels whereas the EIC had a negative balance of almost four million taels. With the proceeds of the sales further silver bullion import could be reduced. Only ten years later in the 1798-1799 season the British trade balance with China became positive for the first time since the Macclesfield started the Canton trade in 1699. At the turning point from the 18th to the 19th century China lost the trade dominance it had maintained for centuries. The silver magnet turned into a silver pump in the other direction. The terms of trade had been changed within a few years. And a new product from Bengal became fashionable in China, which had the power to reverse the trade imbalance between England and China: opium.

Opium consumption had a long tradition in China and was imported first from Arab merchants during the Tang dynasty. In 1729 an imperial decree prohibited the smoking and domestic trading of opium in China[61], but the Chinese government was not able to stop the illegal trade. When the EIC took over control of Bengal, the British started shipping Indian opium to China. In 1773 the EIC established a government monopoly over opium purchase and sales in India and organized public auctions in Calcutta where country traders got their opium for the Canton trade. Since opium trade with China was illegal, the EIC did not want to get involved directly in the transport and sale to and in China. A triangular business was established. Private traders bought opium in Calcutta, smuggled it into China, received silver on site, which then was handed over to the EIC in Canton for which the traders got bills of exchange. The bills could be cashed out either in India or in London. This was a win-win scheme. The country traders had no trouble shipping silver coins from Canton on a risky trip back home and the EIC had no need any more to import silver from Europe: one of the reasons the silver bullion import of the EIC came to an end in the 1770s. The EIC was able to get the necessary silver for purchasing tea and porcelain from the private British merchants in Canton. The statistics show the expansion of the bills of exchange together with the expansion of the Indian-Chinese country trade carried out by British merchants. From 1779-1785 two thirds of the funds of the EIC Canton treasury consisted of bills of exchange – silver purchased in Canton in return for treasury receipts[62]. No silver had to be imported from Europe

during these years. The trade pattern for tea had changed from the “silver for tea” into the “cotton and opium for tea” or the “cotton and opium for porcelain” scheme. In the beginning of the country trade, Indian cotton was the major export article to China. Opium made up only about 15% between 1775 and 1800. Starting from 1820 opium became the most important export product[63] and the trade balance became highly negative for China. From then trade turned into the “opium for tea and silver” scheme. However, at that time the Eurasian porcelain trade with China had already ended. The EIC stopped the import of porcelain in 1791. Private trade on EIC ships continued and also some country traders facilitated a reduced porcelain trade between China and India. The Diana which sunk in 1817 in the Strait of Malacca had a big porcelain cargo (plate 147) for India after having sold cotton and opium in Canton.

The EIC lost its Asian trade monopoly in 1833 and private merchants were able to expand their trading activities in Canton. When the Chinese government tried to stop the silver drain by detaining the British opium smugglers in Canton, the opium war was the response. The first opium war ended in 1842 with the unequal Treaty of Nanjing. With the treaty, the Canton system ended, four additional treaty ports had to be opened for trade with foreigners: Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai, and Hong Kong Island – just 100 km to the south of Canton - became a Crown colony – the first colonial possession of a Western power in China. In addition, 21 million silver dollars compensation had to be paid by the Chinese government[64].

In summary, if one tries to answer the question, how the huge porcelain export was financed, different sources can be identified. We consider only the top five European importers of porcelain, the Dutch VOC, the British EIC, the Swedish SOIC, the Danish DAK and the French CDI, who together carried more than 90% of all Chinese porcelain to Europe. The Swedish, Danish and French companies simply shipped Spanish silver coins to Canton; the British EIC did the same until 1760. Then they were able to increase the acceptance of European merchandise such as woolens and metals. After 1770 the expanding country trade of British private merchants allowed an indirect barter business of cotton and to a smaller extent opium for porcelain. Since this pattern started rather late – it applied for only the last two decades of the EIC porcelain trade – one can assume that probably only 10 million pieces have been indirectly “bartered” for European and Indian goods and only 10% of these have been indirectly financed by the opium trade. The VOC – similar to the Portuguese – started its porcelain trade, right from the beginning, in the early 17th century as an intra-Asian trade with Fort Zeelandia and Batavia as the main hubs. Not much silver was exported by the VOC until 1680. However, when the Dutch started direct trade in Canton in 1729, the mass imports of porcelain also had to be purchased by increasing silver imports from Europe[65]. Similar to the EIC, in the second half of the 18th century, they increased the emission of bills of exchange to foreign citizens in Asia.

3.1 The Customers

We have studied the ceramic products, the trading routes, the carriers and merchants, the economics of the trade, but have hardly cast an eye on the ultimate customers in Europe, in the US or in West Asia. The European 17th and early 18th century customers were wealthy families from the Netherlands and aristocrats from all European courts. In many aristocrat collections of the early 18th century one would find mainly Kangxi blue and white porcelain, Japanese and Chinese Imari, Japanese Kakiemon and Chinese Famille Verte porcelain. Most of these types have not been used as table ware but displayed in cabinets. Therefore vases, plates and figurines dominate the collections. This changed in the 18th century when with the mass imports the prices dropped. Porcelain was not only displayed, but became rather

a commodity for daily use. The tea, coffee and chocolate drinking habits made new forms necessary. The Dutch always had a preference for Chinese blue and white porcelain; the same applied for the British. When Japan started exporting the more colorful Imari and Kakimon porcelain to Europe, tastes were changing. French customers – being the focus of the French Compagnie des Indes who imported most of their porcelain only after the Kangxi period had a preference for colorful enameled ware. Famille Rose porcelain with western décor or with a quite westernized decoration dominates the export to France.

As mentioned above, the Ottoman Sultanate was the most important customer in the intraAsian trade. The Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul hosts the biggest collection of Chinese export porcelains worldwide if we don't take into consideration the shipwreck founds stored in Chinese and South-East Asian museums. Another famous Asian collector of Chinese porcelain in the Kangxi style (Kangxi revival) was the Thai King Rama V. In Europe, by far the most addicted collector was the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, August the Strong (1670-1733). His collection consisted of approximately 21,000 pieces of porcelain. He himself called his addiction the maladie porcelain which, together with other artistic plans he realized in Dresden, was a burden for the state treasury. Many courts around Europe were touched by China and contributed to a new chinoiserie fashion wave by building East Asian cabinets, Chinese pavilions or Japanese lacquer rooms. However, August the Strong was unique in planning a whole Porcelain Palace (Japanisches Palais) in Dresden Neustadt, facing the river Elbe. His passion for porcelain also led to the discovery of the secrets of porcelain making in Europe. The collection of August the Strong now in the Dresden Zwinger is probably the biggest Chinese export porcelain collection in the world and by far the biggest collection of Kangxi period porcelains. The Guangzhou Thirteen Hongs Museum hosts with approximately 650 pieces a big collection of 19th century exports ceramics for the European and US market. The Winterthur Museum in Delaware has a collection of 5,000 Chinese Western market export porcelains focusing on the late 18th and 19th century. Other important export porcelain collections can be found in the Keramiek Museum Princesshof in the Netherlands in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the British Museum in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and in the Östasiatica Museum in Stockholm.

Pic. 18: August the Strong, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony (1670 – 1733)[66]

Still these days, Chinese export porcelain is not highly valued and lacks

appreciation in China mainly for the notion that is has been customized to the Western taste. The porcelain on demand or "chine-de-command" still dominates the perception of many Chinese collectors and historians on Chinese export porcelain. Already the Portuguese started to influence Chinese potters in the 16th century by asking for specific forms and shapes which did not exist in China or to provide samples of "coat of arms" or Western paintings and copper engravings in order to decorate the ceramics according to their taste. The same customization also took place for Muslim clients in the Ottoman Sultanate or Persia or for Southeast Asian clients in the Malayan Archipelago. However, the degree of customization is by far overstated. In fact, only a very small percentage of items reflect purely Western taste. Armorial porcelain (see plate 112), chine-de-command with Christian religious scenes or Western landscape or Baroque rim decoration is an exception and has been mainly facilitated through private traders – mostly staff of the East India companies using their allotment of private trading items. Western style decoration is rather unusual. Also in Europe the perception has been misled because many publications on export porcelain in the 1960 and 70s have been mainly devoted to the Western style decoration[67]. Also many museum collections in Europe do not really have a representative collection of export porcelain. If we analyze the figures provided by the East India companies, we see that probably only one or two percent has been porcelain on demand in terms of the decoration[68]. The decoration of Chinese export porcelain follows until the reign of Emperor Yongzhen in the 1730s Chinese design principles – few exceptions as mentioned were some blue and white Ming porcelains for the Portuguese or items decorated with the "VOC" emblem for the Dutch. Whether Famille Verte items were exported to Europe (as shown in the collection of Dresden) or produced for Chinese costumers (as in the Imperial Palace collection) can hardly be distinguished. If we talk about customization in this first half of the porcelain trading period, then we have to focus rather on the forms and shapes than on the decoration.

Indeed, probably right from the beginning, porcelain shapes have reflected the potential use. This is true for all export porcelain. In China bowls and the small plate are the standard table ware. Muslim costumers of the Chinese Yuan dynasty potters however asked for huge dishes – for decoration and for sharing food. The same applied to the Dutch: The blue and white Kraak porcelain dishes are big (from 20 to 50 cm diameter) in comparison to what has been used in China. Also flattened rims were unknown in China. However, the decoration (see plate 44) is not at all European.

During the main Canton-system period of 1750 to 1800 the shapes of the exported products followed definitely the Western eating and drinking habits: cups with handles, coffeepots, soup plates, meat platters, saucer boats, salt cellars, tureens, milk jars and sugar boxes have been on the purchase list of the supercargoes.

Pic. 19: Tea Party, Joseph van Aken (c. 1704 – 1749)[69]

Also the decoration – still Chinese – became friendlier for Western eyes. But surprisingly, the same applied to the imperial ware made in Jingdezhen for the court or for Chinese clients. The Famille Rose decorated items ("fencai" or "falangcai" in Chinese) produced for the inner Chinese market look quite similar to those exported abroad. Of cause the quality differs – but this is not an expression of a differing artistic view or tradition but of a highly demanding client. Another example is the "pavilion and river" decoration (see plate 237) – imitated in the factories of Staffordshire and Shropshire as "Willow" or Two Temple" pattern. River scene decoration is a very common pattern in China also for the local market. Still, it has been simplified for the European market and probably also customized according to European "Chinoiserie" images. However, the export items are very close to the blue and white river scene decorated pieces for the Chinese market. This is the true story of all export porcelain. European costumers got used to Chinese décor but also Chinese décor changed over time and became apparently more "Western". However, the notable thing is not that Chinese things adopted Western style and Western things adopted Chinese style: what took place was a cross-cultural amalgamation and a new global – or better Eurasian culture has been created.

3.2 The End of the Chinese-European Porcelain Trade

"Although having stepped down from the stage of history, the Thirteen Hongs' spirit of honesty and pragmatism, opening up and tolerance as well as daring has been handed over to the Guangzhou people." (Plate in the Guangzhou Thirteen Hongs Museum)

In the 19th century, the Chinese-European porcelain trade declined due to changing tastes, high import taxes on porcelain and the fierce competition by European manufacturers. The production of blue and white copies had started in Delft and the knowledge to produce true porcelain had been acquired first in Meißen, Saxony in

1709 and later in more and more European regions. The British soft paste porcelain, creamware and pearlware (white earthenware) and European porcelain started to substitute ceramic imports. By the end of the 18th century almost all East India companies stopped the import of porcelain: The CDI in 1790, the EIC in 1791, the VOC in 1794, the SOIC in 1805 and the DAK in 1806. Most of the Companies lost their trading monopolies and were liquidated. From then, the Eurasian trade became an open endeavor for private traders who primarily traded in tea and hardly ever traded in porcelain. The US became an important destination and trading partner from 1784 until the end of the 19th century, for blue and white ceramics (Canton and Fitzhugh) and even until the end of the Chinese empire for some very colorful porcelain called Rose Medallion and Rose Mandarin. But in terms of volume it could not compensate for the European export market for China. In addition, Japan started to compete with China on porcelain exports to the US. The quality of the exported porcelain declined as well. The Chinese Rose Medallion and Rose Mandarin porcelain and the Japanese late Imari, Satsuma and Kutani ware are mainly mass produced items damaging to some extend the image of Asian export porcelain in the view of experts. The Canton-system ended in 1842 with the first Opium War between the UK and China, and the thirteen factories were set on fire during the second Opium War in 1856. "So, ended the first era of foreign life in Guangzhou (Canton). The remaining merchants and consular staff removed to Macao…"[70]. Intercultural interaction ended in a disaster and it took almost 150 years to normalize the relationship between China and the West. The last episode of these unfortunate and lost 150 years was the handover of Hong Kong and Macao in 1997 and 1999.

The inter-Asian trade however continued during the 19th century. Several shipwrecks found in the South China Sea give evidence of the 19th century trade: The Tek Sing – sunk in 1822 off Sumatra carried several hundred thousand pieces of blue and white ware from the Dehua kilns in Fujian province (plate 148). The Diana - a country trader licensed by the EIC - carried thousands of Fitzhugh, Nanking, Canton and coarse blue and white porcelains from Canton to India. It sunk off Malacca on its way back to Madras in 1817. The Desaru, a Chinese junk[71] sunk in 1840 off Singapore with a huge shipment of blue and white, and brown glazed porcelains including 50,000 spoons (plate 152) and Nonya porcelain for the Chinese living in the Straits Settlements. Fine blue and white Bleu de Hue porcelain was exported to Vietnam. The so-called Peranakan or Straits porcelain (plate 172) is a famous example of Chinese porcelain produced for markets in Singapore and Malaysia mainly to target the Chinese overseas population. Straits porcelain is a very colorful enamel ware with a bright pink, yellow or green base. It has still been exported during the Republic period (1912-1949) until the Japanese occupation of China. Another example is the Chinese Bencharong ware (a five-colored enamel overglaze decorated ware) exported to Thailand in the 18th and 19th century and later imitated in Thailand itself (plate 167). During the reign of the Thai king Chulalongkorn or Rama V (1868 – 1910) started the import of fine Chinese blue and white porcelain in the former Kangxi period style[72]. This porcelain calls today "Kangxi Revival" indicating the reference it made to the forms and decorations of the porcelain made 200 years before (plate 162 – 165). It was mainly produced and exported during the Guangxu period (1875-1908) of the late Qing dynasty.

In the 20th century due to civil wars, occupation, revolutions and isolation, China lost much of its artistic innovation and production capacity. Exports came to a standstill. In Europe – once copying Asian ceramics and techniques – relevant artistic centers of porcelain production emerged. In Germany (Saxony, Bavaria and

Thuringia), the Austrian Empire (Vienna and Bohemia), France (Limoges and Sevres), the English Midlands and Denmark (Copenhagen) – new designs, forms and decorations were innovated. Mass production of creamware and pearlware (e.g. by Wedgewood, Spode and Villeroy and Boch) made ceramics affordable to everybody. The production of porcelain figurines – influenced by the Blanc-de-Chine items – became an important field for the artistic departments of European manufacturers. In the 19th century Chinese influence on new European ceramics became less and less, even though some Asian décor patterns are still produced today (such as Kakiemon and Imari designs, the Meissen dragon décor, the already mentioned blue onion and the Willow pattern).

Jingdezhen is still the most important ceramic center of China, and probably the world, in terms of output, but most of the mass-produced products of today are either simple replicas of Ming and Qing porcelain for decorative purposes or rather cheap dishes hardly able to compete in quality with European, Korean or Japanese products. There is still a vivid studio pottery culture in China. However, it seems that especially in Japan, but also in Korea, modern ceramic art enjoys a higher appreciation than in the motherland of porcelain.

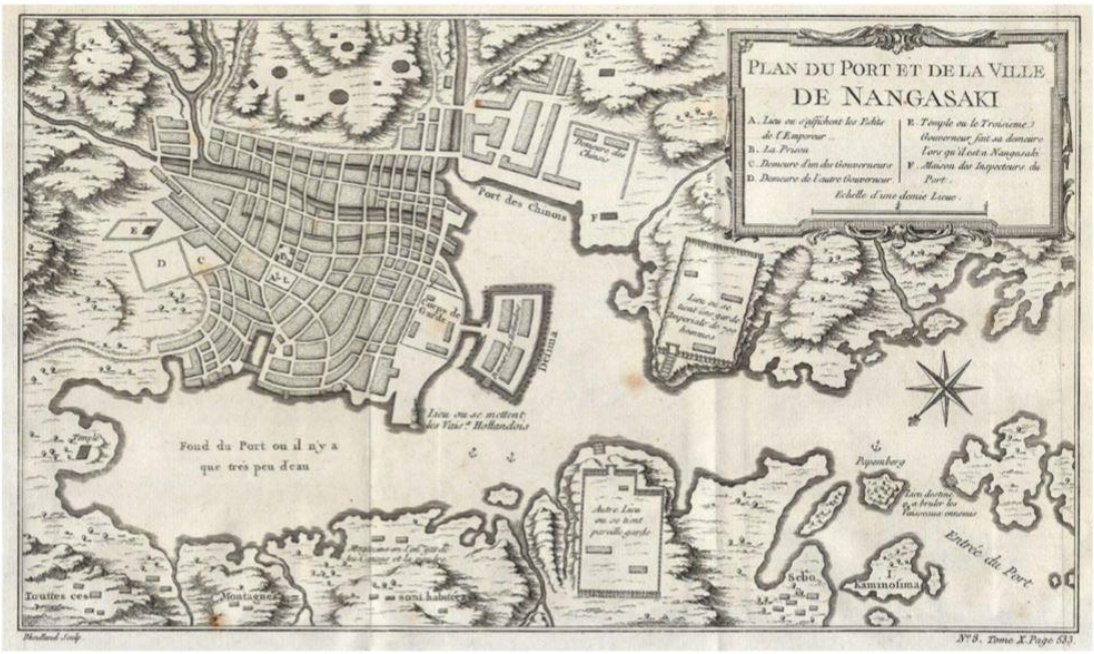
4. Other Asian Trade Ceramics

4.1 Japanese Export Ceramics

In 1650 – during the Chinese civil war, when Chinese porcelain exports came to a standstill – the Dutch East India Company searched for new sources of porcelain in Japan. At that time, the kilns from Arita on the Japanese Island of Kyushu, where kaolin raw material was discovered in the early 17th century, could supply enough quality porcelain to the Dutch East India Company. The VOC had already established trading activities with Japan in 1609 in Hirado, and took over a small trading hub from the Portuguese near Nagasaki in 1637 – only 75 km away from Arita.

Japan during the Edo period (1603-1868) was closed to the outside world, similar to China during the Ming dynasty. It was in 1542 when the first European – the Portuguese Mendez Pinto - landed accidentally on the shores of Japan. Over the following six decades Portuguese missionaries tried to convert Japanese to Catholicism and trade between China and Japan was facilitated. The Portuguese played a crucial role in the silk and silver trade between China and Japan through their hubs in Hirado, near Nagasaki, and Macao[73]. Portuguese shipbuilding know-how also supported the creation of a Japanese merchant fleet operating under the “Red Seal” system. During the early decades of the Tokugawa Shogunate between 1592 and 1635 approximately 350 so-called Japanese Red Seal ships – licensed by the Japanese Government – sailed to Annam, the Philippines, Formosa and Siam trading mainly silver for silk and sugar but also ceramics (see map 3). Vietnamese ceramics found their way on Red Seal ships to Japan. However, in 1635 the favorable policies towards foreigners and local international merchants changed and a period of selfisolationism (sakoku means “closed country”) started. Only one port was left open to European traders – the artificial tiny Dejima Island in the bay of Nagasaki, a trading post of the Dutch VOC. It was forbidden to enter the country or have contact with the Japanese until the mid-19th century. Dejima is not an island anymore, but through land reclamation it is fully integrated into the city of Nagasaki. The reconstructed buildings are now a tourist destination and remind visitors of the impact of changing mindsets in foreign relations in a city which has suffered a lot from aggressive politics, wars and Japanese isolationism.

Pic. 20: Map of the Harbor of Nagasaki and Dejima Island, Copper engraving by Bellin 1764[74]



The Dutch, from 1659 to the mid-18th century, facilitated the trade of Arita porcelain to Europe and together with Chinese junks also within Asia[75]. The first Dutch order of 35,000 pieces of Japanese porcelain was for the Ottoman marketplace in Mocha[76]. The first import to Europe took place in 1660. Dutch traders were explicitly asking for porcelain in the Chinese Kraak style.

Pic. 21: Japanese Kraak style plate with the VOC coat of arms

And indeed, the Arita blue and white porcelain (called "sometsuke" in Japanese, see plate 173) was in many cases an imitation of either Chinese products or even Dutch Delft Faience sent to the Japanese potters as reference pieces. The beginning of the Dutch-Japanese porcelain trade was not very successful: according to T. Volker a total of 190,000 pieces were shipped to Europe from 1660 until 1683 – when China came to the market again. Taking into consideration the monopoly the Japanese had on Asian ceramics for these two and a half decades this was a small number of pieces. It seems that the Dutch customers were somehow comparably satisfied with their Delft products – even not being hard and translucent porcelain but soft, coarse and easy breakable white covered earthenware. Since the Delft Faience were imitations of Chinese Ming and Qing porcelains we could actually describe some Japanese blue

and white wares as the second derivation of Chinese originals. And for fairness, one has to mention that the same indirect intercultural influence also took place with the Japanese Imari porcelain. The Imari ware (called “kinrande” in Japanese) is an underglaze blue decorated porcelain with overglaze red and gold invented by Japanese potters in the mid-17th century (see plate 175). The name Imari comes from the town Imari – a harbor city nearby the Arita kilns on the southern Island of Kyushu. The products became so successful that even Chinese producers started to imitate them during the reign of Emperor Kangxi. The Dutch and German, but above all English producers copied Imari ware as well: in some cases, according to the Japanese originals, in some cases according to Chinese Imari. It is not easy to say whether the European Imari is the first or the second cultural derivation of the Japanese object.

A second decoration style and kiln in Arita – Kakiemon – became popular as well and was exported to Europe (plate 180). Kakiemon refers to a scheme of decoration which comprises sparse design in colored enamels (orange, red, green and others), usually asymmetrically placed and without a framework as border. Also, Kakiemon porcelain has been copied in Europe, for example, by the Meissen factory in Saxony (see plate 273). When Chinese producers restarted porcelain exports during the Kangxi period, and with the emergence of European porcelain and white glazed earthenware in the mid-18th century Japanese exports to Europe became less and less.

Japan entered the ceramic export market at a very late point in time compared with China, Vietnam and Thailand. However, Japan became in the last quarter of the 19th century the most influential Asian exporter, keeping that position until the 1930s. Japanese producers influenced by Korean potters discovered the art of porcelain making many centuries after the Chinese and only about 100 years before it was discovered in Europe. Before, Japan was a major destination for Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai export ceramics itself. Domestic production was not sufficient, even though the products made have a unique standing in the Asian tradition of pottery. Indeed, traditional Japanese traditional domestic tea ceramics are to some extend not comparable with the products of the neighboring countries. They are at the first sight simple, thick, uneven and even somehow primitive. However, the beauty lies in its proximity to nature, and in the way it pleases the hand touching it; every piece is different and has its own natural appearance very much linked to Japanese philosophy and Zen Buddhism, but of course, also not very suited to export purposes. This may partly explain the negative image Japanese export porcelain had in Japan itself. The difference between the domestic ceramics and the ceramics made for export purposes seems to be much wider than in the case of China. Both major export periods - the Japanese-VOC trading period from 1659 to approximately 1720 and the Meiji export period from 1873 to 1940 - have seen a major role of the Western costumers in defining the forms and decoration.

The close-door politics came to an unintended end when the US navy commander Perry was able to negotiate in 1854 a treaty with Japan in Yokohama. Yokohama, established in the mid-19th century near the capital Tokyo and nowadays the biggest port of Japan – became to some extent the heir of Dejima – a symbol of a new period of intercultural interaction between the East and the West. The new Meiji imperial government (1868 – 1912) abolished the isolated feudal society and introduced fundamental political, economic and military reforms according to Western examples. Starting in 1872, Japanese companies participated in World Expos and demonstrated arts and crafts to a curious European and US audience. Gottfried Wagener, a German chemist and ceramics specialist, has assisted on invitation of the Meiji government, to modernize the Japanese ceramic industry[77]. Vice versa, Japanese design and culture

spread out to Europe and the US, and a new fashion – Japonism – influenced the European Art Nouveau or Jugendstil[78]. Samuel Siegfried Bing, a French German art dealer, who travelled in Japan and facilitated the export of Japanese art through a company in Yokohama, helped introduce Japanese design to Europe. He started publishing in 1888 the journal Le Japon Artistique and opened in Paris a famous gallery "Maison de L'art Nouveau", which gave this new art movement its name[79]. Especially Scandinavian porcelain factories such as Bing and Gröndahl, Royal Copenhagen and Rörstrand, but also the Dutch Rozenburg and the German Rosenthal were under Japanese influence and developed elegant vases with flower or floral decoration in the Japanese Kakiemon style, or imitating the design language of cloisonné, lacquer ware or woodblock prints. Again, ceramics played their role in transmitting oriental design to other places. Japanese Imari from Arita experienced a rebirth in the 1860s and was shipped to Europe and the US in big volumes. In addition to Imari style porcelain, Satsuma ware - multi-colored and gold enamel decoration on ivory colored earthenware with transparent and crackled glaze – was exported abroad (see plates 183-184) [80] . The design of Satsuma ware has also influenced Bohemian Art Nouveau ceramic producers such as Stellmacher and the Amphora Company in Turn-Teplitz (see plate 274). In the late 19th century, Japanese porcelain producers integrated into the international trade in a professional manner targeting mainly the US and European markets with standardized Imari plates and vases (plate 178). The Koransha Company established in 1875 by the Fukagawa family is one of the most famous Japanese producers[81] still operating today. New or reactivated kilns from the Ishikawa prefecture (Kutani ware) or Nagoya (Noritake) have produced and exported Western style and westernized Japanese products until 1940[82]. Japanese porcelain decor became the second most influential Asian design on European ceramics after the blue and white decor. However, Japan's influence on European art – Impressionist painting, European Art Nouveau furniture, glass, silver and copper works, architecture and other applied arts - can't be overstated. And still today, Japan's influence on creating a globalized sense of culture is quite obvious.

4.2 Vietnamese Ceramics

North Vietnam was part of the Chinese empire for about 1,000 years, from about 111 BC until 939, and again for a brief period between 1407 and 1427. Large quantities of glazed and unglazed earthenware and some stoneware in Chinese-inspired shapes were produced during the period of Chinese rule, mainly during the time of the Han dynasties. The Chinese called the region Annam which means the "pacified South" and Vietnamese ceramics are also often called Annamese in English and Tongkinese by the Dutch, who traded this ware in the 17th century, due to a mispronunciation of the name Hanoi which was then called Dong Kinh. The ceramic industry of Vietnam blossomed during the independent dynasties of Ly (1009-1225) and Tran (1225-1400). The early kilns of the Han dynasty were located in the Vietnamese province of Thanh Hoa, later production shifted to the province of Hai Hung in the east of Hanoi. Ly and Tran glaze colors fall into three types: ivory, brown and a range of greens. Ivory colored glazes were the basic glaze of the Ly period. The Vietnamese celadons are never bluish green or dark green like in China, but more commonly yellowish or olive tinged. Other typical features are the chocolate-brown dressing on the base and stack-firing marks in the interior. Especially during the Tran dynasty, Vietnamese potters often used Chinese models, such as Longquan ware which were exported to Vietnam during the Southern Song and Yuan dynasty. In the late 13th or early 14th centuries Vietnam entered the export pottery trade. The maritime "Spice and Silk Road", linking the Chinese ports Ningbo,

Guangzhou, ports in the Vietnamese Red River Delta and ports of the Kingdom of Champa in Southern Vietnam with India, Arab countries and Persia, was used for trading ceramics – often with the assistance of Muslim merchants who had settled along the coast. The presence of Muslim merchants in South China and Vietnam was a major stimulus for the development of blue and white export porcelain in both countries. During the Ming gap Vietnamese and Thai ceramics substituted Chinese products especially in Indonesia and the Philippines, but also in Turkey and Japan. Indonesia was the most important destination for Vietnamese ceramics.

A turning point in the development of Vietnamese ceramics was the Chinese occupation in the early 15th century and the introduction of blue and white ware. China occupied northern Vietnam for the period 1407-1428 and from that time Ming style blue and white porcelains were made there. While showing strong similarities in décor, Vietnamese bodies tended to be greyer and non-translucently glazed. The products from Vietnam traded in the 15th century were mostly blue and white ware; the most important piece dated 1450 is preserved in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. The unique combination of underglaze blue with overglaze red and green enamels (see plate 185) was used mainly on plates but also on covered boxes which were produced in underglaze blue en mass. The Hoi An shipwreck discovered in the 1990s off the Vietnamese coastal city of Hoi An is the most important find of Vietnamese ceramics of the late 15th century. During the 17th century Vietnamese ceramics were traded in South East Asia by the Dutch VOC[83], Japanese Red Seal ships and Chinese merchants. By the middle of the century the Dutch were making regular sailings from Batavia to the Japanese Dejima via Tonkin and South China, purchasing Vietnamese ceramics on the return journey for sale in South East Asia. The favored ware for this period was the highfooted rice bowl decorated in underglaze blue (plate 187). Millions of pieces have been traded during the 17th century. The production of Vietnamese blue and white porcelain and its trade in South East Asia came to an end at the beginning of the 18th century when the Chinese returned to the market after decades of war.

From the middle of the 18th to the end of the 19th century Vietnam became a big importer of Chinese ceramics. So-called Bleu de Hué porcelain has been customized both for the Vietnamese court and for wealthy clients. The rim of the cups and bowls are in most cases protected by a metal band. In the 20th century Vietnam again entered the export market, but continued to be influenced by Chinese ceramics. Vietnamese potters from Lai Thieu, about 100 km north of Ho Chi Minh City, still produce Sino-Vietnamese blue and white and overglaze enameled ware.

4.3 Thai and Burmese Ceramics

There are two old kiln centers in the former Thai Kingdom of Sukhothai. One center is just north of the city wall, the other center is located some 60 km north of Sukhothai in Si Satchanalai along the banks of the Yom River. The Sukhothai kilns produced in the 14th century mainly underglaze iron (black) decorated stoneware, such as plates with a fish motive. The city of Sukhothai is today one of the major archaeological sites of South East Asia with approximately 100 brick temples with beautiful stucco decoration and Buddha sculptures. The Thai Kingdom of Sukhothai was founded in the mid-13th century and annexed by the Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya in 1438. Before the establishment of Sukhothai, the region was part of the Hindu Khmer Kingdom of Angkor which can still be evidenced by the architectural style of some of the temples in the old city of Sukhothai. People have been culturally influenced also by Sri Lanka, and practices such as, in Sri Lanka and in nowadays Cambodia, Theravada Buddhism.

In Si Satchanalai, the second Thai kiln center, the variety of ceramic products is bigger than in Sukhothai: potters produced underglaze iron decorated stoneware, celadons, brown, white and black monochromes. Generally, these products are also named Swankhalok ware. The celadon ware has usually incised or carved decoration of flowers under a thick translucent glaze. The underglaze black ceramics (see plates 191 & 192) were inspired by Chinese blue and white porcelains of the Yuan and Ming dynasty, and by Vietnamese blue and white ceramics[84]. However, the influences of Chinese celadons from Longquan on the Thai celadons from Si Satchanalai are much more obvious. When the Ming ban came into effect, the potters of Si Satchanalai took advantage of the shortage of Chinese products in the inner Asian market. The kilns of Si Satchanalai exported ceramics continuously – mainly to Indonesia and the Philippines – from sometime in the late 14th century until about 1580 when the area was depopulated under the impact of wars with Burma. Si Satchanalai celadon plates comprised the primary cargo for practically all the middle 15th century shipwrecks. At that time the area belonged to the Siamese Kingdom of Ayutthaya. The Royal Nanhai, a Siamese junk on the way to Java, that sunk in 1460 had a big cargo of Si Satchanalai celadons. More than 21,000 items were recovered in 1992 by the maritime archaeologist Sten Sjostrand (plate 195)[85].

The history of glazed ceramics is not restricted to the Sukhothai Kingdom alone. Several kilns have been found in northern Thailand in the city of Kalong and Sankampaeng. However, these ceramics have mainly been made for local use rather than for export.

Ayutthaya itself was never an important ceramic center but a relevant entrepot both for the inter-Asian ceramic trade and for the Eurasian spice trade. Most of the European East India companies had trade posts in Ayutthaya – the Venice of the East[86]. In 1608 a Siamese delegation visited Amsterdam and in 1635 the Dutch VOC built a permanent warehouse in Ayutthaya and stayed there for more than 130 years. Around 1700, Ayutthaya was one of the biggest cities in the world. The capital of Siam got destroyed in 1767 by a Burmese army and the new Thai royal dynasty moved to Bangkok.

Pic. 22: Siamese capital Ayutthaya, copper engraving by Mallet[87], 1686

The more than 600 year old tradition of celadon production in Thailand is still vivid

today. Celadon continues to be produced in Si Satchanalai, and other places, and is used as common tableware in many restaurants and private households. This tradition almost got lost in China, the motherland of celadon ware.

Thailand was not only an important exporter of ceramics but it also imported Chinese, Burmese and Vietnamese ware. In September 1984, thousands of ceramics appeared in the antique shops of Bangkok, Sukhothai and Chiang Mai. There were beautiful large 14th century Chinese celadons, Ming blue and white ware (see plate 33), spectacular underglaze black decorated dishes and bowls from Sukhothai-town and Si Satchanalai, Thai celadons, Hariphunchai water bottles and an extraordinary and quite unknown group of white ware, some with vivid under glaze green decoration which many now believe to have been made in the area of Pegu in Burma (plate 204). All these ceramics came from a hilltop burial site with thousands of graves in the Tak province of Thailand. The province of Tak lies on a trading route between Sukhothai and the harbor city Martaban in present day Burma. A prosperous group of people must have lived in the mountainous area dividing the Kingdoms of Thailand and Burma in the 14th - 16th centuries. Burmese ceramics with green decoration under white or opaque glaze have been found in kiln sites in the Twante district southwest of Yangon. Applying a tin and lead glaze and the design patterns could have been influenced by Islamic ceramics. The trading routes from the city of Martaban to India and Indonesia were in the hands of Muslim merchants which may have also influenced the taste of Burmese potters.

In the 18th and 19th centuries Chinese five colored enamel overglaze ceramics, called Bencharong, became popular in Thailand and were imported from China, but also locally produced.

4.4 Khmer and Champa Ceramics

Most probably, Chinese potters brought the glazing technology and decoration styles to Cambodia in the late 9th century – during the beginning of the Angkorean period (802-1431). Angkor is known for its beautiful and impressive temple architecture, its reliefs and stone sculptures. Most of these monuments and pieces of art reflect Hinduism, as the state religion – specially the Shivaism practiced almost exclusively from the 5th to 11th century. Under the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-1220), Mahayana Buddhism was promoted and it is assumed that the famous monumental faces of Angkor Thom depict the Bodhisattva Lokeshvara. However most of the Buddhist reliefs have been destroyed. The Angkorean period is famous for stone carving rather than for its pottery art. The grey stoneware and the dark brown glaze looks, on first sight, rather coarsely lacking of the finesse of Chinese ceramics. However, similar to domestic Japanese ware, beauty becomes visible by getting familiar with them. Khmer ceramics were discovered rather late. The most important kilns have been discovered on the mountain of Phnom Kulen located in the east of the old capital Angkor. Greenish and yellowish glazed ceramics were produced at the Kulen kilns starting from 1050. These products rarely have the thickness and strong green colour normally associated with celadon although the glaze derives also from wood ash and iron (plate 205). The second important production site for Khmer ceramics is in the north east of Thailand at the city of Buri Ram. Buri Ram ceramics are brown glazed, sometimes yellowish brown. Jars, pots and bottles with zoomorphic features (such as bird tails or elephant heads) are quite common (plate 206). The kilns of Buri Ram operated from at least the mid-11th century into the 12th. Because they were not used as articles of long distance trade, Khmer wares today are rarely found outside the present or former Khmer dominions.

The South of Vietnam has historically not been part of China or the Kingdoms of

northern Vietnam, but belonged to the independent Hindu Kingdom of Champa. The Cham were seafaring people and controlled the trade of spices and silk between East Asia, India, Indonesia and the Arab world from the 7th to 10th century. They also produced and exported ceramics. The Pandanan shipwreck of the 15th century carried thousands of Cham monochrome ceramics. The Kingdom of Champa ended tragically with the conquest of its capital Vijaya in 1471. At least 60,000 Cham people were killed and 30,000 were taken as slaves by the Vietnamese army.

The history of the production and use of ceramics is a history of trade – an early form of globalization. Many commodities have been exported and imported between East Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe: textiles, metals, paper, jade, spices, tea, wood, animals, and even slaves and drugs. However, only ceramics were able by the hand-made nature to represent the culture of the place of its origin and to integrate the culture of the place of destination. Therefore, ceramics were able to become the ambassador of taste and art, and to facilitate the exchange between people and countries.

Table 3: Main ceramic export periods

Time	Origin	Main Destinations	Main products
850-1500	China	Middle East, Vietnam, Siam, Malay Archipelago, Japan	*Celadon* porcelain
1330-1400	China	Mamluk Sultanate, Persia	Blue and white porcelain
Ming gap: 1368-1567			
1370-1560	Thailand	Malay Archipelago	*Celadon*, underglaze black stoneware
1500-1655	China	Malay Archipelago, Siam, Vietnam, Japan, Ottoman Empire, Persia, Portugal, Netherlands, Spanish Mexico	Blue and white *Swatow* and *Kraak* porcelain
1350-1685	Vietnam	Malay Archipelago, Siam, Ottoman Empire	Blue and white stoneware
1300-1500	Middle East, Spain	Italy	Lustre ware, *Faience*
1659-1720	Japan	Netherlands, Great Britain, Saxony, Austria, Persia	Blue and white, *Imari* and *Kakiemon* porcelain
1678-1850	China	Malay Archipelago, Siam	*Swatow* and *Dehua* ware (blue and white, red and green enamel)
1678-1810	China	Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, France, Holy Roman Empire	*Kangxi, Famille rose, armorial, Chinese Imari, Blanc-de-Chine, Nanking* and *Canton, Batavia, Yixing* stoneware
1784-1911	China	USA	*Canton* and *Fitzhugh* blue and white, *Rose Mandarin and Medallion, armorial* porcelain
19th century-1911	China	Siam	*Bencharong* enamel porcelain, Blue and white *Kangxi Revival*
19th century-1911	China	Vietnam	*Bleu de Hue* porcelain
19th century-1930	China	Singapore, Malaysia	*Peranakan* enamel porcelain, *Nonya* blue and white porcelain
1873-1940	Japan	UK, USA	*Imari* and *Kutani* porcelain, *Satsuma* earthenware

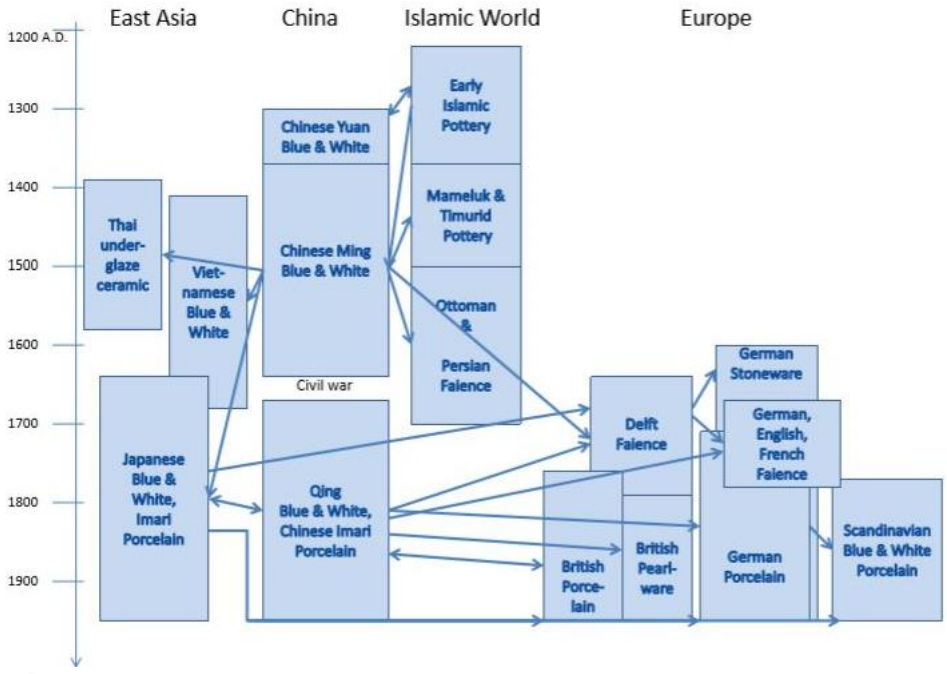
5. The Eurasian Cultural Melting Pot – the Story After the Trade

"The Japanese had copied the Chinese, who in turn copied the Japanese, all of which was copied by the Europeans. And then the Chinese copied the Europeans, who copied each other."[88]

The creation of a Eurasian ceramic market has now been described. However, this is only the first part of the Eurasian ceramics story. The customers of East Asian ceramics – in Europe and the Middle East – have not only imported hundreds of millions of pieces of porcelain. They started themselves to replicate, invent and to further develop the production of ceramics. In the long run, this had even more culturally unifying effects on Europe and Asia then the mere trade. The import of Asian ceramics influenced and broadened European senses and their feeling for décor. However, applying Asian décor elements, colors and shapes to their own products, has been much more: a reflection of Asia and an expression of a changing relationship and identity.

The following chart is a summary of the various routes the blue and white décor took and how it spread out within Eurasia. In chapter 3 and 4 we have described the first two columns; now we want to look at the reflections East Asian ceramics had in the Islamic world and in Europe.

Chart 1: The linkages of the blue and white ceramic production centers



5.1 Islamic Ceramics

The geographic area influenced by Islam is actually too heterogeneous and too wide historically stretching from Spain, northern Africa, the Middle East to Turkey and the Balkans,

Central Asia, South Asia and the Malay Archipelago - to be reasonably summarized under just a religious category. However, more and more literature can be found where common features of the pottery art of several Islamic countries are presented: the use of glazed tiles in architecture, the lustre painting, the underglaze painting technique, the three color splash décor. In the center of the research are countries, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Egypt where kilns have been found and specimens are part of famous collections all over the world. Relevant in the context of this introduction is of course the question, to what extent the Islamic World, China, South East Asia and Europe have interacted and exchanged techniques, design and

taste.

As already pointed out, the Middle East started to be the main destination for the export of Chinese ceramics during the Chinese Tang dynasty, gained momentum during the Mongolian Yuan dynasty and reached its peak with the improvement of the sea roads in the 16th century. During that time Vietnamese ceramics were also exported to Islamic countries. The Mongolian dynasty in China played a crucial role not only in facilitating the trade between China and Islamic countries by its open-door policy within the immense empire, but also because the production of blue and white porcelain began under the Mongolian rulership. The cobalt based color used in the kilns of Jiangxi province from the year 1320 on was imported from Iran, where the underglaze blue decoration originated. Underglaze painting techniques were used by Iranian potters in the city of Kashan probably 100-120 years earlier than in China. And it is likely that it was the demand for underglaze blue ceramics from the Middle East which prompted the beginning of a ceramic style which later became the synonym for porcelain worldwide. Persia and the biggest part of Islamic Asia belonged to the Il-Khanate and was part of the Mongolian empire when the import of blue and white porcelain begun. That blue and white porcelain was initially mainly produced for trading purposes can also be evidenced by the fact that domestically it did not play an important role until the first quarter of the 15th century when the Ming court acknowledged it as imperial ware. Most Chinese customers in the 14th century still preferred the monochrome celadons. And still under the early Ming Emperors many Chinese blue and white pieces are actually copies of Arabic or Ottoman vessels or vases made of brass.

Kashan and Nishapur in Iran were the most productive ceramic centers in the Islamic lands from the 9th to 14th century. Kashan is not only famous for the underglaze paintings but also for producing beautiful and mysterious blue and turquoise monochromes, lusterware having a color shiny as metal and it is known for inventing fritware - a technical innovation of an artificial siliceous paste. Fritware is a composite material made from quartz sand mixed with small amounts of finely ground glass and some clay. When fired, the glass frit melts and binds the other components together. Fritware is not porcelain but it shares some of its features. The artificial paste can be thrown to produce a very thin wall which normally cannot be achieved with stoneware or terracotta. Black decorated pieces under a turquoise glaze and lusterware, produced in the early 13th century, were also found in the city of Raqqa in Syria – the former capital of the caliph Harun al Rashid, and nowadays, unfortunately more known as the capital of the terrorist so-called “Islamic State”. The kilns of Nishapur in Iran produced in the 10th century terracotta painted in green, yellow and brown under a transparent glaze which reminds very much of the three color ceramics of the Tang dynasty. However, since the Tang pottery was mainly used as funeral decoration and no export pieces have been found in Iran, it is still unclear how the exchange of the three splash color decoration took place.

The gold and bronze shining lustre painting technique was invented, most probably, in Iraq under the Abbasid caliphate in the 9th century. The lusterware was a luxury good given the fact that it was difficult and expensive to produce. During the Fatimid period (909-1171) lustre painting was also adopted in Egypt. The kilns of Old Cario (Fustat) have produced mainly lusterware. The import of Chinese blue and white porcelain during the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt (1250 – 1517) has also influenced local potters to imitate blue and white ceramics. Next to hundreds of thousands of sherds of Chinese origin, Mamluk blue and white fritware and Faience has been excavated in Cairo[89] and in Syria. Many of these pieces are now part of the al-Sabah

Collection or the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait. Unfortunately, only a very few complete items exist[90]. One rare example is a blue and white dish, excavated in Mamluk Syria and probably produced from a kiln in Damascus. The dish is from the late 14th or early 15th century which makes it one of the first imitations of Chinese blue and white porcelain outside China[91]. In the late 14th century, blue and white had already started its cultural journey towards Europe. At the time when Egypt and Syria were ruled by the Mameluks, the region of nowadays Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Usbekistan was conquered by Tamerlane (also called Timur), a nomad of Turkish origin from Turkistan. He came into power in 1370 and the Timurid Empire he created, within three decades, lasted more or less until 1500[92]. Potters of the Timurid capital Samarqand and later also in Nishapur produced blue and white ceramics inspired by Chinese imports of the early Ming dynasty. One blue and white jar with floral decoration of the late 15th century, now in the Tareq Rajab Museum, is an extraordinary example of these very early blue and white imitations of the Timurid period of Persia[93] (see chart 1). After the establishment of the Safavid dynasty in Persia this tradition continued on a much larger scale. The so-called Kubachi ware, probably produced in Tabriz shows clear Chinese influences, but also influences from the Ottoman Iznik ware. Similar to the Dutch Delft ware the white does not come from the ceramic paste but is a white opaque glaze on a brown shard. Instead of porcelain, Iranian potters have used fritware[94]. These blue and white Faience of Persia were produced until the 19th century, but most got lost as they are quite fragile and get easily chipped or broken.

A short overview of the main features of ceramic art in the Islamic world would not be complete without mentioning the use of glazed tiles as the main decorative element of architecture. One finds it in the Alhambra in Spain, in the Topkapi palace in Istanbul, in the Friday mosque of Herat in Afghanistan and Isfahan in Iran, and at the Registan Square in Samarqand. Again, Persia plays an important role since the main architectural design of mosques with a dominant ivan (portal) and the custom of decorating them with mainly blue colored tiles originated in Persia during the Mongolian empire and influenced the design of mosques in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The same turquoise glaze we find on the ceramics from Raqqa and Kashan, we can find on the tiles decorating the entrances of the mosques from Isfahan, at the mausoleum of the Mongolian ruler Oldjaitu in Sultaniyeh, and at the Friday mosque in Yazd, all built in the 14th century. The Mongolian rulers and their successors who facilitated the trade of porcelain between East and West Asia also played a crucial role in the cultural exchange of Persia with the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia. The architecture of the Mogul Emperors in India and the Timurids in Central Asia is heavily influenced by stylistic elements of Persia, creating a continuum of architectural design features from Azerbaijan to West China, from Uzbekistan to India. The Mongolian, who later adopted Buddhism which originated in India, first played an essential role in bringing Islamic art via Persia to India. The term “Mogul” which derives from the word “Mongol” makes this relationship obvious.

Another crucial period for the development of Islamic ceramic was the Ottoman Empire and the pottery of Iznik in western Anatolia. It has been already mentioned that the Ottoman Empire has been a major destination for Chinese porcelain exports. From the late 15th century, potters in Iznik and later also in Kütahya began producing wares that were decorated in cobalt blue on a white fritware under a clear glaze. In the 13th century the town of Kashan in Iran was already an important center for the production of fritware. The fritware body in Iznik was covered by engobe and in a few cases also by a tin-glaze in order to achieve the white cover necessary for

applying the paint. From the 15th century on, blue and white fritware was produced with many references to the Chinese blue and white ware of the Ming dynasty[95]. The so-called Golden Horn ware, was a variation of blue and white ceramics and was popular from the 1530s to 1550s. This type of decoration consists in series of thin concentric spirals adorned with small leaves. The more colorful products from Iznik called Damascus ware (with green and purple) and Rhodian (including red) were produced between the 16th and 18th century. In the 20th century the pottery industry experienced a revival in Kütahya reproducing Iznik style products both for domestic use and for tourists. In a sense, modern Turkey has been one of the latest countries joining the almost 500 year's history of Eurasian porcelain trade.

5.2 Europe under Asian Influence

The import of Chinese porcelain was first arranged by the Portuguese, but - as we have seen - it was the Dutch VOC which started importing on a larger scale in the 17th century.

The blue and white Kraak ware was exported until the end of the Ming dynasty and the transition period to the new Qing dynasty. Then Japanese porcelain partly replaced Chinese exports for about 25 years, until around 1685 when the new Qing Emperor Kangxi restarted mass exportation to Europe. The European demand for East Asian porcelain increased over time and reached its peak in the second half of the 18th century. A China fashion broke out and wealthy Dutch entrepreneurs and rulers from many countries started their collections, created China rooms inside palaces, used it as tea and dinner services or displayed imported Chinese pieces at home.

Like in the Asian neighboring countries of China, this big market also prompted experiments in Europe to find out the secret of porcelain production. However, it took around two hundred years after the first Chinese porcelain arrival in Europe before the formula for porcelain was discovered in Meißen in 1709. One year earlier the first copy of the Chinese brown Yixing stoneware was successfully produced in Meißen. The Asian influence on European porcelain design is more than obvious. The early Meissen pieces produced are direct copies of the huge collection of Chinese and Japanese originals of August the Strong, the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. The Meissen manufacturer intended to keep the formula for the porcelain paste a secret, but was not able to avoid the fact that other German manufacturers were able to attract some of their workers. In 1718 the formula reached Vienna, where the Vienna porcelain manufacture was established and some decades later the secret became known in Höchst near Frankfurt. In England the composition of the porcelain paste was discovered in Plymouth in 1768 and the patent later transferred to the New Hall manufacturer in Staffordshire in 1781[96].

But even before Europe developed the formula and the techniques to produce the high fired porcelain, European manufacturers tried to imitate the appearance of Chinese porcelain. Even not knowing the secrets of the porcelain paste, European producers tried at least to get the same look applied on various ceramic types such as stoneware, terracotta, white earthenware and other formulas including bone ash or glass. Stoneware from the German Westerwald, and the white tin glazed brown earthenware (Faience) of Delft in the Netherlands of the 17th and 18th century, and from various German cities such as Hanau, Frankfurt or Bayreuth are, in many cases, imitations of Chinese blue and white ceramics. China-inspired Faience has been produced also in Liverpool and London (called "Delft" by the English) and in France in Rouen and Nevers. The soft-paste porcelain from Lowestoft, Worcester, Liverpool, London, Staffordshire in England and Saint-Cloud and Chantilly in France produced in the 18th century is very much influenced by Chinese blue and white, Famille Verte

and Famille Rose or Japanese Imari and Kakiemon (see map 4). Very few of these ceramic products were able to reach the quality of Chinese porcelain. Faience and other earthenware are low-fired products, get easily chipped or broken, are heavily pottered, not translucent and pervious to water. Therefore, one could use them mainly for decorative purposes but not as table ware. The Faience technique was actually an import from Asia too. The first tin glazed ceramics reached Italy via the Islamic Iberian Peninsula and were first called Majolica – named after the Spanish island Mallorca from where exports to Italy were handled. In Italy the Faience production flourished during the 16th century in the cities of Faenza (from which the name Faience was derived) and Deruta. In Florence beautiful Faience sculptures were modelled by the Della Robbia family – still today there is evidence that the beauty of the tin glazed products originated in the Islamic world like the lustre painting and the cobalt color decoration.

Map 4: European ceramic production centers of the 17th – 19th centuries

European pottery has been influenced by Asian ceramics in two ways. First, technically, by adopting, for example, the tin glaze for producing earthenware or terracotta Faience and also by using tilework to decorate walls and houses, as we can still see in Spain and Portugal. Especially in Portugal where tiles (azulejos) decorate churches, outside walls and the interior of houses, the Arabic influence cannot be ignored. Also, the Dutch blue and white tiles make reference to this Islamic tradition mixed with Chinese elements (plate 210). Secondly, artistically, by adopting Chinese design, colors and symbols. The first and most obvious influence can be noted in the Dutch Faience of Delft. By 1665 there were already more than twenty Faience potteries in Delft, most of which produced “imitation porcelain” en masse in order to fill the Ming-Qing transition gap left by the Chinese. The Dutch potters imitated Chinese blue and white porcelain, such as Kraak ware (plate 209) during the second half of the 17th century. In the Delft Faience industry, the focus of product development was the painting. Exceptional pieces were almost always decorated with immense care by the best painter in the factory. In addition to the copies of Chinese originals we can find everything between Chinese design and pure European design: From Kraak copies to pseudo-Chinese characters, or free interpretations of Chinese landscapes to religious scenes and Dutch scenery. Later also Famille Rose, Japanese

Imari and Kakiemon were copied by Delft factories.

Pic. 23: View of Delft by Johannes Vermeer (1632 – 1675)[97]

Much of the million pieces produced disappeared because earthenware is easy to break or damage. The Delft industry gradually declined during the 18th century due to Chinese imports being available again and the competition created by real porcelain made in Germany and later also by manufacturers in France and England. The Delft and with it the whole European Faience industry disappeared in the early years of the 19th century and were replaced by porcelain and pearlware now produced in many countries. Only one Delft company survived – the Koninklijke Porceleyne Fles (Royal Delft) which still produces blue and white pearlware for decorative purposes. A revival of the Faience technique took place in Austria in the first three decades of the 20th century when the Vienna manufacturer Goldscheider produced Art Deco figurines.

Map 4 shows the locations of the main European ceramic centers producing China and Japan inspired products in the 17th and 18th centuries. This includes the main Faience production centers, Delft in the Netherlands, Rouen in France and Hanau in Germany, the centers of soft-paste porcelain such as Chantilly in France and Worcester, Lowestoft and Staffordshire in England. Meißen and Vienna were the two main porcelain production centers in the first half of the 18th century, followed by many manufacturers in Thuringia and north east Bavaria in the second half of the century, and then by New Hall in Staffordshire. Other than French Faience, French porcelain has not been so influenced by East Asian decoration. Map 4 also shows the main import harbors and headquarters of the East Asia Companies. It is by no means a coincidence that the countries and regions which have imported most of the Chinese porcelain – especially Great Britain and the Netherlands – became also the major production centers of China-inspired ceramics. Godden estimates that over 50% of British ceramics show an oriental influence[98]. August the Strong, who actively supported and financed the “oriental” porcelain producing Meissen factory, was at the same time one of the biggest collectors of Chinese and Japanese porcelain in Europe. Miles Mason who established factories in Liverpool and Staffordshire was an important “china-man” – merchant of Chinese porcelain and wholesale client of the British EIC – before starting his ceramic production[99]. He established the first factory

in 1796, soon after the EIC ceased the official import of Chinese ceramics as a consequence of the high duties imposed by the British Government.

Porcelain and porcelaneous ware replaced the tin glazed terracotta in the course of the 18th century, but the history of copying Chinese and Japanese designs continued. Chinese blue and white porcelain was copied and newly interpreted by Meissen, Vienna, Rauenstein, Worcester, Caughley, Royal Copenhagen etc. – the so-called "Zwiebelmuster" (blue onion: plate 228) and the "Strohblume" ("blue fluted" décor or "Musselmalet" in Danish: plate 232) were typical China-inspired blue and white decorations and one of the most common coffee or dining service styles in Germany and Scandinavia until the mid-20th century.

The biggest variety of imitations and pseudo-Chinese ceramics can be found in the UK. Already a major destination for Chinese porcelain in the 18th century, many British porcelain manufacturers started to imitate Chinese blue and white décor. To replace broken items from China may have been the initial reason. Millions of pieces were shipped from Canton to the ports of Great Britain by the EIC. However, with the discovery of the necessary raw material and the techniques of producing porcelain or porcelaneous ware, the import of Chinese porcelain declined at the end of the 18th century. The EIC ceased to order Chinese porcelain in 1791[100]. Only private trade continued. This was a protective measure for the local British ceramic industry which was able to substitute imported goods step by step.

Producers from London, Liverpool, Lowestoft and the Midlands of England were excellent imitators and it is today sometimes difficult at first sight to distinguish Chinese from British blue and white or British Famille Rose porcelain (see plate 242 and 263). Chinoiserie even became a mass production when Wedgewood developed the cheap pearlware ceramics with underglaze transfer prints (plate 238). Pearlware has a slightly blue shining glaze which is applied on a kind of low fired bright earthenware. Since it has a transparent glaze it can be painted blue under the glaze and even can make use of underglaze blue transfer prints. Pearlware with printed décor of Chinese river scenes and other landscapes became very famous in the UK in the 19th century. The Spode factories from Staffordshire developed various standard Chinese patterns such as the "Willow" and the "two temple" pattern applied by transfer prints to the shard (plate 239). Similar patterns can be found on Chinese export ceramics of the second half of the 18th century but it is somehow unclear whether the Chinese reproduced some dream landscapes according to European wishes or European producers have imitated what has been shipped from Canton (plate 236). This is a somewhat funny story of generating joint Eurasian designs where at the end nobody knows who the actual originator was. Table 4 shows the most famous European 17th and 18th century producers of blue and white ceramic with Asian influences or in the chinoiserie style.

Table 4: Early European producers of blue and white ceramics

Country	Start	Main production location	Type of ceramic
Portugal	1625	Lisbon	*Faience*
Netherlands	1625	Haarlem, Delft	*Faience*
Holy Roman Empire (Germany)	c. 1600 1661 1709 1718 1747	Westerwald Hesse (Frankfurt, Hanau), Bavaria (Bayreuth, Nürnberg), Ansbach Meißen Vienna Fürstenberg	Stoneware *Faience* Porcelain

	1770 1794	Thuringia (Rauenstein, Ilmenau) Bavaria (Tettau)	
Great Britain	1630 1749 1750 1754 1757 1775 1768 1781 1790	London, Bristol, Liverpool London Worcester Liverpool Lowestoft Shropshire Plymouth Staffordshire Stoke-on-Trend, Staffordshire	*Faience* Porcelaneous ware Porcelain *Pearlware*
Scandinavia	1723 1775	Copenhagen, Rörstrand Copenhagen	*Faience* Porcelain
France	c. 1650 1673 1693 1725	Rouen, Nevers Rouen Saint-Cloud Chantilly	*Faience* Porcelaneous ware

Generations of Europeans grew up with cups, saucers and plates decorated in blue and white, which has been one of the most influential artistic expressions of an Eurasian cultural identity. An identity, which originated in 1200 in Persia, shaped up around 1320 in Southern China and made its way first to the Middle East in the 14th century and then to Europe in the 16th century.

In addition to the Europe wide promulgation of blue and white porcelain, the Japanese and Chinese Imari and Kakiemon decoration became the second most influential Asian style on European ceramics. German, British and French porcelain factories imitated the decoration during the 18th and 19th century and in the UK Imari porcelain produced, for example, by Royal Crown Derby or Miles Mason (plate 255) was very popular until the 20th century. The influence of Japanese porcelain on European Art Nouveau ceramics has been described already in chapter 4.

Box 4: Chinoiserie, copies and cross-cultural ceramics

H. Davis distinguishes three design categories of European porcelain influenced by Chinese patterns and designs[101]. And he qualifies only the third category as true chinoiserie. In category one fall "exact copies" of Chinese items, in category two "copies of copies" – modified or amended designs – and in category three fall true chinoiserie designs based on the imaginative use of Chinese motifs. Generally, one could categorize European porcelain in that way. However, I still believe that it is more complex than that, because one should not underestimate the fact that Chinese porcelain design was also influenced both by other producers and by customers. Let me give some examples: many of the early *Meissen* porcelains would fall into category one. *Meissen* produced almost perfect copies of Japanese *Kakiemon* and *Imari*, Chinese *Blanc-de-Chine*, *Famille Rose* and *Batavia* ware. They are exact copies (see plate 233) – or at least the manufacturer has tried to copy exactly the design, even if they were not always able to copy the ceramic material. One could also put the *Willow* and *Two Pagoda* pieces from Staffordshire into this category (see Chinese and English plates in 236). Others like the real old Willow design from Booths would be an example for category two similar to *Meissen*'s *blue onion* (plate 227) and the Copenhagen *Musselmalet*. However, we start having difficulties in categorizing if we bear in mind that the *Willow* and *Two Pagoda* design is probably an English invention and Chinese potters have produced them according to the requirements of their customers. This would put them then into category three. Also the *Famille Rose*, *Rose Mandarin* and *Rose Medallion* porcelains of China have been very much influenced by European imagination, but have also shaped Chinese design. The Höroldt chinoiserie porcelains of *Meissen (*see pic. 24*)*, the chinoiserie ceramics from Staffordshire or the French Moustiers could be obvious examples of category three, but probably also of category one since many of the chinoiserie scenes can also be found on Chinese originals. The case of Chinese *Imari* and its interpretation in England makes the story even more puzzling. *Imari* porcelain (underglaze blue and overglaze red plus sometimes gold) is originally from Japan and became a desired export product to Europe. Chinese potters have taken

over this design – initially in the two color version and further experimented with the decor. In Europe the design has been used by many producers, but also red color or gilding was added to Chinese imports of underglaze blue pieces to convert standard blue patterns into the *Imari* pattern. This kind of clobbering is a creative way of Eurasian joint production done in the 18th century both in the Netherlands and in England (plate 92). Westernization also took place by mounting porcelain with silver or brass. Probably also clobber ware then was sent back to China as reference pieces for the producers. Many English factories, such as *Miles Mason* or *Royal Crown Derby* have produced *Imari* ware and in view of this it is impossible to decide who copied who. Thus, we can see that the term "copy" might be misleading when cross-cultural effects take place. Chart 1 of the development of the blue and white ceramic shows how complicated cross-cultural effects can be. At the end no one copies but all contribute to the emergence of a global piece of applied art.

Pic. 24: Meissen tea caddy with cover and chinoiserie décor by Johann Gregorius Höroldt (1696 – 1775)

The monochrome green glazed celadons of China – the dominant decoration style of Chinese export ceramics until the Ming dynasty have never been exported to Europe. When the Chinese-European trade started during the late Ming dynasty they had already lost a lot of their appreciation in China and when Qing Emperors rediscovered them and imitated the old shapes and glazes, China had already lost its European market. However, in the first half of the 20th century, many European ceramic artists were influenced by the old Chinese celadons. In the Art Deco ceramics of France and Belgium we can find the craquele glaze of Song dynasty ceramics and the modern Bauhaus potters experimented with the colored celadon glazes. Studio ceramic artists in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries are often applying green and bluish green glazes on their pottery. Even this traditional ceramic art of China became a heritage to Europe.

Part II

The collection focuses mainly on two types of ceramics:

i) the trade ware or export porcelain from China, Japan and Southeast Asia

ii) the Asia influenced ceramics of Europe

The sections of part 2 follow the sequence of the book: Chinese export ceramics, Japanese export ceramics, Vietnamese export ceramics, Thai and other export

ceramics and European ceramics influenced by imports from Asia. The internationally studied imperial ware of China (called guanyao) or Korea is missing for obvious reasons: first, most originals are safely located in the most famous ceramic collections such as in the palace museums of Beijing and Taipei, in numerous Chinese provincial museums, the Percival David Foundation and the Victoria and Albert Museum or in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. Second, the Chinese art price boom or bubble of the recent years made the rare pieces which are not part of museum collections unaffordable. Also, Islamic ceramics are unfortunately missing, since they are quite rare and have hardly been exported to Europe.

Publications on ceramics of daily use for common people (called minyao in China) and on the Chinese export ceramics to Europe and Asian neighbors are still quite limited in number. This applies to Chinese export table ware which is normally not part of European court collections, but also to Thai and Vietnamese ware which was mainly produced for trading purposes. Older publications on Chinese export porcelain to Europe focus mainly on the chine-de-command and armorial porcelain. This is quite astonishing bearing in mind, that porcelain decoration on demand has played a minor role. Less than five percent of the approximately 185 million pieces has been decorated according to European motives such as copper engravings or European coats of arms. Most of the cargo has been blue and white and Famille Rose with Chinese designs or at least in a "kind-of China" style. The collection and the analysis have tried to be more representative. The documentation shall help to partly fill these gaps and shall also highlight, that ceramics are in the first place products for daily use – a fact which might get lost because most of the current museum collections display pieces which have been made for courts or for decoration only – and which are not allowed to be touched anyway.

Ceramics are fragile, easy to break and the likelihood that they get damaged or broken grows the older they are. Ceramics fascinate everyone who is attracted by the idea of owning and touching something which is hundreds of years old and has experienced generations of human beings and the history of past centuries. But still, apart from the old collections we find these days in museums, not many Asian ceramics have survived the centuries of war, natural disasters, migration, the rise and fall of cities and empires characterizing this region. China and Vietnam for example are both countries with a violent history even up to recent days. Remember that these days we find hardly any houses in China which are older than 50 years. I assume that Italian cities like Rome, Venice or Florence have more houses older than 400 years than you could find in the whole of China. How could a fine and thin dish have survived all these centuries of destruction and rebuilding?

This brings us to the fascinating story of maritime archaeology – fascinating because of the treasure hunter stories and of the adventures, but also the hazards the expeditions have faced. More than a million pieces of Asian shipwreck ceramics together with about 180 ships have been discovered over the last four decades[102]. Most ceramics were products for the inner Asian markets. Famous hoards have been found by the Australian Michael Hatcher[103] who discovered, for example, the Chinese junk Tek Sing with around 350,000 pieces of porcelain auctioned in 1999 in Stuttgart, and the Dutch VOC ship Geldermalsen with over 150,000 pieces of porcelain sold in an auction by Christie's in Amsterdam. The latter hoard slept on the seabed off Sumatra for about 250 years before it was lifted and sold in Europe with an auction number and record. Companies such as Maritime Explorations[104] and Nanhai Marine Archaeology [105] specialize in maritime archaeology and have found dozens of shipwrecks in the South China Sea. The maritime archaeologists Michael Flecker,

Franck Goddio and Sten Sjostrand have contributed a lot to deciphering the secrets of shipwrecks. Other famous shipwrecks are the Hoi An carrying mainly Vietnamese ceramics and the Ca Mau which sunk with early Qing dynasty porcelain produced for European markets. Eight big international auctions for shipwreck ceramics have taken place so far between 1984 and today (see table 5). Some of the items auctioned are again on the market carrying the original auction sticker as evidence of its provenance. This collection consists of pieces from seven of the eight auctions and from several other shipwrecks. Together with the auction catalogue and a careful look these items are most probably the most reliable Chinese pieces of the Ming or Qing dynasty one can find these days for affordable prices.

Table 5: Biggest recoveries of shipwreck porcelain

Name of the ship	Date	Recovered cargo	Auction
Hoi An	15th century	150,000 Vietnamese blue and white porcelain	2000 in San Francisco by Butterfields
Bin Thuan	c. 1600	34,000 Chinese blue and white *Swatow* ware	2004 in Melbourne by Christie's
Hatcher Junk	1645	25,000 Chinese blue and white from Jingdezhen	1984 in Amsterdam by Christie's
Vung Tau	1690	48,000 Chinese Kangxi blue and white from Jingdezhen for Europe and white ware for Indonesia	1992 in Amsterdam by Christie's
Ca Mau	c. 1730	130,000 Chinese blue and white from Jingdezhen for Europe	2007 in Amsterdam by Sotheby's
Geldermalsen	1752	150,000 Chinese blue and white, Chinese *Imari*, Chinese *Batavia* ware porcelain for Europe	1986 in Amsterdam by Christie's
Diana	1817	24,000 Chinese blue and white porcelain	1995 in Amsterdam by Christie's
Tek Sing	1822	350,000 Chinese blue and white *Dehua*, *Swatow* ware and *Yixing* stoneware for Indonesia	1999 in Stuttgart by Nagels
Desaru	1840	70,000 Chinese blue and white from Jingdezhen, *Dehua* and brown glazed stoneware for Indonesia	On sale by Nanhai Marine Archeology

Appendix：Historical Periods

Chinese Dynasties

Han dynasty	**206 BC - 220 AD**
Six dynasties	**220-580**
Sui dynasty	**581-618**
Tang dynasty	**618-906**
Liao dynasty	**907-1125**
Five dynasties	**907-960**
Song dynasty	**960-1279**
Jin dynasty	**1115-1234**
Yuan dynasty	**1279-1368**
Ming dynasty	**1368-1644**
Hongwu	1368-1398
Jianwen	1399-1402
Yongle	1403-1424
Hongxi	1425
Xuande	1426-1435
Zhengtong	1436-1449
Jingtai	1450-1456
Tianxun	1457-1464
Chenghua	1465-1487
Hongzhi	1488-1505
Zhengde	1506-1521
Jiajing	1522-1566
Longqing	1567-1572
Wanli	1573-1620

Taichang	1620
Tianqi	1621-1627
Chongzhen	1628-1644
Qing dynasty	**1644-1911**
Shunzhi	1644-1661
Kangxi	1662-1722
Yongzhen	1723-1735
Qianlong	1736-1795
Jiaqing	1796-1820
Daoguang	1821-1850
Xianfeng	1851-1861
Tongzhi	1862-1874
Guangxu	1875-1908
Xuantong	1909-1911
Republic	**1912-1949**
People's Republic	**1949-**

References

Albert Amor Ltd.: Dr. John Wall, 1708 – 1776. A Commemorative Loan Exhibition of Dr. Wall Period Worcester Porcelain, London 1976

Andrade, Tonio: Lost Colony: The untold story of China's first great victory over the West, Princeton and Oxford, 2011

Arensberg, Ingrid: Ostindiefararen Götheborg Seglar Igen: The Swedish Ship Götheborg sails again, Mölndal, 2009

Aronson, Robert D.: In the Eye of the Beholder: Perspectives on Dutch Delftware, Amsterdam 2011

Avitabile, Gunhild and Graf von der Schulenburg, Stephan: Chinesisches Porzellan, Frankfurt, 1992

Bai Shouyi: Chinas Geschichte im Überblick, Beijing, 2009

Barnes, Ian and Hudson, Robert: Historical Atlas of Asia, New York, 1998

Beijing Capital Museum: Porcelains of the Yuan dynasty, Beijing, 2004

Beurdeley, Michel: Porzellan aus China: Compagnie des Indes, München, 1962

Bi Keguan: Chinese Folk Painting on Porcelain, Beijing, 1991

Bramsen, Christopher Bo: Peace and Friendship. Denmark's Official Relations with China 1674 – 2008, Hong Kong, 2008

Brown, Roxanna M.: The Ceramics of South-East Asia: Their dating and identification, Chicago, 2000

Brown, Roxanna M.: The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia, Bangkok, 2009

Burnet, Ian: East Indies: The 200 year struggle between the Portuguese Crown, the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company for supremacy in the Eastern Seas, Sydney, 2013

Butterfields: Treasures from the Hoi An Hoard. Important Vietnamese Ceramics from a late 15th/ early 16th Century Cargo, Auction catalogue, San Francisco and Los Angeles, October 11 – 13, 2000, two volumes

Carswell, John: Iznik Pottery, London, 1998

Carswell, John: Blue & White: Chinese porcelain around the world, London, 2000

The Chalre collection: Ceramic treasures of Southeast Asia, http://ceramics.chalre.com/index.html

Chandhavij, Bhujjong: Blue-and-White Chinaware and Siamese Ceramics, Bangkok, 2015

Chen Ieng Hin, Roy, Sit Kai Sin: A Rota Marítima da Porcelana. Relíquias dos Museus de Guangdong, Hong Kong e Macau, 2012

Chaudhuri, Kirti Narayan: The Trading World of Asia and the English East India

Company 1660 – 1760, Cambridge, 1978
Chen, Xiejun and Chen, Kelun: Traces of the Trade: Chinese export porcelain donated by Henk B. Nieuwenhuys, Shanghai, 2009
Chicarelli, Charles F.: Buddhist Art: An illustrated introduction, Chiang Mai 2004
China Guardian Seasons Auctions: Shipwreck Treasures of South China Sea, Auction catalogue, December 16, 2006 Beijing
Christie's: The Vung Tau Cargo, Auction catalogue, 7 – 4 April, 1992, Amsterdam
Christie's: The Binh Thuan Shipwreck, Auction catalogue, 1 – 2 March, 2004, Melbourne
Christie's South Kensington: The property of the late Valerie Howard removed from 4 Camden Street
Collani, Claudia von: Von Jesuiten, Kaisern und Kanonen: Europa und China – eine wechselvolle Geschichte, Darmstadt, 2012
Copeland, Robert: Blue and White Transfer-Printed Pottery, Oxford, 2010
Copeland, Robert: Spode's Willow Pattern and Other Designs After the Chinese, London, 1980
Corrigan, Karina, Campen, Jan van, Diercks, Femke, Blyberg, Janet C. (Ed.): Asia in Amsterdam: The culture of luxury in the Golden Age. Salem, Amsterdam, 2015
Cox, Ian: Royal Crown Derby Imari Wares, London, 1998
Crick, Monique: Chinese Trade Ceramics for South-East Asia: Collection of Ambassador and Mrs Charles Müller, Milan, 2010
Curatola, Giovanni (Ed.): Persian Ceramics from the 9th to the 14th century, Milan, 2006
van Dam, Jan Daniel: Delffse Porceleyne: Dutch delftware 1620 – 1850, Amsterdam, 2004 Darwin, John: After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, London, 2007
Davis, Howard: Chinoiserie: Polychrome Decoration on Staffordshire Porcelain 1790 – 1850, London, 1991
De Jonge, C.H.: Delfter Keramik, Tübingen. 1969
The Desaru ship: http://www.mingwrecks.com/desaru.html, accessed on 17.12.2017
Diamond, Jared: Arm und Reich: Die Schicksale menschlicher Gesellschaften, Frankfurt 2006
Van Dyke, Paul A.: The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700 – 1845, Hong Kong, 2007
Van Dyke, Paul A. and Mok, Maria Kar-Wing: Images of the Canton Factories 1760 – 1822, Hong Kong, 2015
Edwards, Hugh: Weisses Gold aus blauer Tiefe, München, 2001
Farris, Jonathan Andrew: Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries, Hong Kong, 2016
Fehérvári, Géza: Pottery of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Hawally, 1998
Feldbauer, Peter: Die Portugiesen in Asien 1498 – 1620, Essen, 2005
Frank, Andre Gunder: ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998
Freunde des Historischen Museums Bayreuth e.V.: Bayreuther Fayencen: Sammlung Burkhardt, Bayreuth, 2006
Freundeskreis Kunstgewerbemuseum e.V. Schloss Pillnitz: Teichert-Werke Meißen. Keramik und Porzellan 1863 – 1945, Dresden, 2003
Fung Ping Shan Museum: Green wares from Zhejiang, Hong Kong, 1993
Ganse, Shirley: Chinese Porcelain: An export to the world, Hong Kong, 2008

Garnier, Derick: Ayutthaya: Venice of the East, Bangkok, 2004
Gawronski, Jerzy (Ed.): Amsterdam Ceramics. A city's history and an archaeological ceramics catalogue 1175 – 2011, Amsterdam, 2012
Godden, Geoffrey A.: Oriental Export Market Porcelain and its Influence on European Wares, London, 1979
Godden, Geoffrey A.: Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks, London, 1986
Godden, Geoffrey A.: Godden's Guide to English blue and white porcelain, Woodbridge, 2004
Goddio, Franck: Das Geheimnis der San Diego, Zürich, 1996
Goddio, Franck: Weißes Gold, Göttingen, 1997

Gøbel, Erik: Asiatisk Kompagnis Kinafart 1732 – 1833, Denmark, 1978
Goepper, Roger (Ed.): Legende und Wirklichkeit. Frühe Keramiken aus Südostasien, Köln, 1977
Guerin, Nicol and van Oenen, Dick: Thai ceramic art, Singapore, 2005
Gunn, Geoffrey C.: History Without Borders: The making of an Asian Wold Region, 1000 – 1800, Hong Kong, 2011
Guratzsch, Herwig (Ed.): Fayencen aus dem Ostseeraum: Keramische Kostbarkeiten des Rokoko, München, 2003
Haggar, Reginald and Adams, Elizabeth: Mason Porcelain & Ironstone: 1796 – 1853, London, 1977
Harding, Richard, Jarvis, Adrian and Kennerley, Alston: British Ships in China Seas: 1700 to the present day, Liverpool, 2004
Harrisson, Barbara: Swatow, Leeuwarden, 1979
He Li: Chinese Ceramics: The new standard guide, London 1996
Heilbronner Kunst- und Auktionshaus Jürgen Fischer: 66. Fischer Auktion, Fayence- und Steinzeugsammlung Heinz Weck, 28. März, 1992
Hess, Catherine (Ed.): The Arts of Fire: Islamic influences on glass and ceramics of the Italian Renaissance, Los Angeles, 2004
Hetjens-Museum, Deutsches Keramikmuseum (Ed.), Pantzer, Peter: Imari-Porzellan am Hofe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, Düsseldorf, 2000
Ho, Wing Meng: Straits Chinese Porcelain: A collector's guide, Singapore, 2008
Impey, Oliver: Chinoiserie: The impact of oriental styles on western art and decoration, London, 1977
Irvine, Gregory (Ed.): Der Japonismus und die Geburt der Moderne: Die Khalili-Sammlung, Leipzig, 2014
Jahn, Gisela: Meiji Ceramics: The art of Japanese export porcelain and Satsuma ware 1868 – 1912, Stuttgart, 2004
Jenkins-Madina, Marilyn: Raqqa Revisited: Ceramics of Ayyubid Syria, New York, 2006
Koh Antique: Jepara shipwreck: http://www.koh-antique.com/jepara/jepara%20wreck.htm, accessed 31 December, 2017
Jörg, Christiaan J.A.: Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade, The Hague, 1982
Jörg, Christiaan J.A.: The Geldermalsen: History and porcelain, Groningen, 1986
Jörg, Christiaan J.A.: Fine & Curious: Japanese Export Porcelain in Dutch Collections, Amsterdam, 2003
Jörg, Christiaan J. A.: Famille Verte: Chinese porcelain in green enamels, Schoten, 2011

Kerr, Rose (Ed.): The World in Colors, The Oriental Ceramic Society, 2006
Kerr, Rose and Mengoni, Luisa E.: Chinese Export Ceramics, London, 2011
Ketel, Christine: https://independent.academia.edu/ChristineKetel, Identification of export porcelains from early 17th century VOC shipwrecks and the linkage to their cultural identification, accessed on 29.04.2017
Kjellberg, Sven T.: Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna, 1731 – 1813: Kryddor, Te, Porslin, Siden, Malmö, 1974
Klein, Adalbert: Islamische Keramik, Baden Baden, 1976
Koninckx, Christian: The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731 – 1766), Kortrijk, 1980
Krist, Gabriela and Iby, Elfriede (Eds): Investigation and Conservation of East Asian Cabinets in Imperial Residences (1700 – 1900), Vienna, 2015
Lawrence, Louis: Satsuma. The Romance of Japan, Tarzana, 2011
Langer, Axel: Blauer Lotos – weisser Drache: Blau-weisse Keramik aus Asien und Europa, Zürich, 2006
Madsen, Andrew D. and White, Carolyn L.: Chinese Export Porcelains, Walnut Creek, 2011
Miedtank, Lutz: Zwiebelmuster: Zur 300jährigen Geschichte des Dekors auf Porzellan, Fayence und Steingut, Leipzig 2001
Miksic, John, N.: Southeast Asian Ceramics: New light on old pottery, Singapore, 2009
Morris, Ian: Wer regiert die Welt? Warum Zivilisationen herrschen oder beherrscht werden, Frankfurt, 2011
Mostert, Tristan and van Campen, Jan: Silk Thread: China and the Netherlands from 1600, Amsterdam, 2015
Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts. Geschirr und Ziergerät, Frankfurt, 1983
Nagel Auktionen: Der Schatz der Tek Sing, 1999
Narantuya, Ts. and Shur, B.: Masterpieces of Nomadic Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2010
Nezu Museum: Ko-Imari: A Catalogue of Hizen Porcelain from the Nezu Museum's Yamamoto Collection, Tokyo, 2017
Nielson, Jan Eric: Gotheborg.com: http://gotheborg.com/dest/company.shtml, accessed on 29.04.2017
Nielson, Jan Eric (2): Japanese porcelain marks: http://www.gotheborg.com/marks/fukagawa.shtml, accessed on 23 December 2017
Nierstrasz, Chris: Rivalry for Trade in Tea and Textiles: the English and Dutch East India Companies (17001800), Houndsmills, 2015
Nyström, Johan Fredrik: De svenska ostindiska kompanierna: historisk-statistisk framställning, Göteborg 1883
Olson, Steve: Herkunft und Geschichte des Menschen.: Was die Gene über unsere Vergangenheit verraten, Berlin, 2002
Osterhammel, Jürgen: Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert, München, 2010
Palmer, Arlene M.: A Winterthur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain, New York, 1976
Picard, R., Kerneis, J.-P., Bruneau, Y.: Les Compagnies des Indes Route de la Porcelaine, France, 1966
Pichelkastner, Eleonore: Bruckmann's Fayence-Lexikon, Majolica, Fayence, Steingut, München, 1981
Pietsch, Ulrich: Meissener Porzellan und seine ostasiatischen Vorbilder, Leipzig, 1996
Pietsch, Ulrich, Loesch, Anette and Ströber, Eva: China, Japan, Meissen: Die

Porzellansammlung zu Dresden, Berlin, 2006
Pietsch, Ulrich and Bischoff, Cordula: Japanisches Palais zu Dresden: Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken, Dresden, 2014
Pitcher, Philip Wilson: Fifty Years in Amoy: Or a history of the Amoy mission, China, Founded February 24, 1842, New York, 1893
Pluis, Jan: De Nederlandse Tegel: Decors en benamingen 1570-1930, Leiden, 2013
Ptak, Roderich: Die maritime Seidenstraße, München, 2007
Puga, Rogério Miguel: The British Presence in Macau 1635 – 1793, Hong Kong, 2013
Qu, Yongjian: Dating and Connoisseur of Ceramic Sherds Unearthed from the Beijing city, Beijing, 2011
Reinhard, Wolfgang: Die Unterwerfung der Welt. Globalgeschichte der europäischen Expansion 1415 – 2015, Bonn, 2017
Robinson, Natalie V.: Sino-Thai Ceramics, Bangkok, 1982
Röntgen, Robert E.: Deutsche Porzellanmarken von 1710 bis heute, Regenstauf, 2007
Rooney, Dawn F.: Khmer ceramics: Beauty and meaning, Bangkok, 2010
Rooney, Dawn F.: Bencharong. Chinese Porcelain for Siam, Bangkok, 2017
The Royal Nanhai shipwreck site: http://www.sawankhalok.com/royalnanhai.html, accessed on 01.10.2017
Savage, George: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century French Porcelain, Feltham, 1969
Schaap, Ella B.: Delft Ceramics at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2003
Schiffer, Herbert, Schiffer, Peter and Schiffer, Nancy: Chinese Export Porcelain. Standard patterns and forms, 1780 to 1880, Exton, 1975
Schiffer, Nancy: Japanese Porcelain 1800-1950, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1986
Schmitt, Eberhard, Schleich, Thomas and Beck, Thomas (Ed.): Kaufleute als Kolonialherren: Die Handelswelt der Niederländer vom Kap der Guten Hoffnung bis Nagasaki 1600 – 1800, Bamberg, 1988
Shaw, J.C.: Introducing Thai ceramics, also Burmese and Khmer, Bangkok, 1987
Shono, Masako: Japanisches Aritaporzellan im sogenannten Kakiemonstil als Vorbild für die Meißener Porzellanmanufaktur, München, 1973
Sjostrand, Sten, Taha, Adi Haji and Sahar, Samsol: Mysteries of Malaysian Shipwrecks, Department of Museums Malaysia, 2006
Sjostrand, Sten and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus: The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo, Malaysia, 2007
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden and VEB Staatliche Porzellan Manufaktur Meissen: Meissener Blaumalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten, Leipzig, 1989
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Die schönsten Porzellane im Zwinger. Katalog der Sammlung in Dresden, Gütersloh, 1982
Sterba, Günther: Meissner Tafelgeschirr, Stuttgart, 1989
Stevenson, John and Guy, John: Vietnamese Ceramics: A separate tradition, Chicago,
Tan, Rita C.: Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines: “Swatow” export ceramics from Fujian 16th – 17th century, Malaysia, 2007
Tan, Heidi (Ed.): Marine Archaeology in Southeast Asia: Innovation and Adaptation, Singapore, 2012
Übersee Museum: Keramik aus Thailand. Sukhothai & Sawankhalok, Exhibition catalogue, 1977
Ulrichs, Friederike: Johan Nieuhofs Blick auf China (1655-1657): Die Kupferstiche in seinem Chinabuch und ihre Wirkung auf den Verleger Jacob van Meurs,

Wiesbaden, 2003
Volker, T.: 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, 1954
Watney, Bernard: English Blue & White Porcelain: of the 18th Century, London, Boston, 1979
Watson, Oliver: Ceramics from Islamic lands, Kuwait national museum, Singapore, 2004
Wellington, Donald C.: French East India Companies: A historical account and record of trade, Lanham, 2006
Wiesner, Ulrich: Chinesische Keramik auf Hormoz, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln, 1979
Wolf, Norbert: Jugendstil, München, 2015
Wu Ruoming: The origins of Kraak Porcelain: in the late Ming Dynasty, Weinstadt, 2014
Yang-Chien Tsai, Simon: Trading for Tea: A Study of the English East India Company's Tea trade with China and the related financial issues, 1760 – 1833, Thesis at University of Leicester, 2003
Zeh, Ernst: Hanauer Fayence, Hanau, 1978
Zhejiang province relict office: Longquan celadon of China, Zhejiang, 1998
Zweig, Stefan: Magellan: Der Mann und seine Tat, Frankfurt, 2011

Endnotes

[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belitung_shipwreck, accessed 29 December, 2017
[2] Watson 2004, p. 422 f
[3] Carswell 2000, p. 66
[4] Brown 2009, p. 27 - 28
[5] Goddio 1997, p. 79 - 101
[6] Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu, c. 1565, Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vasco_da_Gama_(Livro_de_Lisuarte_de_Abreu).jpg
[7] Feldbauer 2005, p. 129
[8] Garnier 2004, p. 66 - 75
[9] Feldbauer 2005, p. 144
[10] Sjostrand 2007, p. 44 - 45
[11] Ganse 2008, p. 37
[12] Goddio 1996, p. 100
[13] Mostert 2015, p. 38
[14] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_Pieterszoon_Coen.jpg. With thanks to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
[15] Frank 1998, p. 281 - 282
[16] Volker 1954, p. 51 - 52
[17] Ketel, p. 10
[18] With thanks to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SKA-4821 and Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Floris_van_Dyck_002.jpg?uselang=de
[19] Andrade 2011
[20] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UB_Maastricht__Nieuhof_1665_-_title_page.jpg
[21] Frontispiecie for Athanasius Kircher's 1667 China Illustrata, Wikimedia Commons:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:China_Monumentis,_qua_sacris_profanis_by_Athan asius_Kircher.jpg
[22] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CEM-11-Chinae-novadescriptio-2521.jpg
[23] Ulrichs 2003
[24] Volker 1954
[25] Jörg 1982
[26] Jörg 1982, p. 20

[27] Frank 1998
[28] Godden 2004, p. 36
[29] Darwin 2007
[30] Chaudhuri 1978
[31] Pitcher 1893, p. 30
[32] Chaudhuri, p. 519
[33] Madsen 2011, p. 42
[34] Van Dyke 2007, p. 35
[35] Van Dyke 2015
[36] With thanks to the Corning Museum of Glass and Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Foreign_Factories_of_Canton__Google_Art_Project.jpg?uselang=de
[37] Nyström 1883, p. 154 - 161
[38] Beurdeley 1962, p. 43
[39] Wellington 2006, p. 131 - 206
[40] Picard 1966, p. 150
[41] Gawronski 2012, p. 90
[42] Yang-Chien Tsai 2003, p. 82
[43] Jörg 1982, p. 226 - 306
[44] Koninckx 1980, p. 220
[45] Kjellberg 1974, p. 233 - 34
[46] Ganse 2008, p. 140 - 145
[47] Sjostrand 2007, p. 64
[48] Goddio 1996
[49] Godden 1979, p. 127
[50] Jörg 1982, p. 121
[51] Jörg 1982, p. 121 - 192, purchase prices per item also in Copeland 1980, p.160 [52] Calculation assisted by https://www.measuringworth.com/, accessed on 2 January, 2018
[53] owned by the author
[54] Frank, p. 143
[55] Reinhard, p. 340
[56] Reinhard, p. 342 - 345
[57] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 80
[58] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 81
[59] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 118 - 120
[60] Nierstrasz 2015, p. 39 - 40
[61] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 193 - 94
[62] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 218

[63] Yang-Chien Tsai, p. 209
[64] Bai Shouyi 2009, p. 400 - 404
[65] Nierstrasz 2015, p. 40
[66] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Louis_de_SilvestreAugust_II.jpg
[67] for example Palmer 1976, p. 22: “It is only in the porcelains designed for the West in both form and decoration that the nature of the export trade can be fully understood.”
[68] Palmer 1976, p. 24
[69] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Van_Aken,_tea_party.jpg
[70] Farris 2016, p. 64 - 65
[71] The Desaru ship
[72] Chandhavij 2015
[73] Ptak 2007, p. 286
[74] Antoine François Prévost d’Exiles: Histoire générale des voyages with copper engravings by Jacques Nicolas Bellin, 1746 - 1759
[75] Shono 1973, p. 11f
[76] Volker 1954, p. 130
[77] See Jahn 2004, p. 117
[78] see Irvine 2014
[79] Wolf 2015, p. 108
[80] Lawrence 2011
[81] Schiffer 1986, p. 61 - 108
[82] Jahn 2004
[83] Volker 1954, p. 184
[84] Brown 2000, p. 74 - 76
[85] The Royal Nanhai
[86] Garnier 2004
[87] Alain Manesson Mallet: Description de L’Univers, Paris, 1683 – 1719
[88] Ganse 2008, p. 65
[89] Carswell 2000, p. 65 - 66
[90] Watson 2004, p. 419 - 423
[91] Fehérvári 1998, p. 54
[92] Barnes 1998, p. 94 - 95
[93] Fehérvári 1998, p. 68
[94] Langer 2006, p. 26 - 32 and Watson 2004, p. 449 - 481
[95] Carswell 1998
[96] Godden 2004, p. 381

[97] Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:View_of_Delft,_by_Johannes_Vermeer.jpg. Thanks to Mauritshuis in The Hague.

[98] Godden 1979, p. 339

[99] Haggar 1977, p. 53 - 56

[100] Godden 2004, p. 36

[101] Davis 1991, p. 43

[102] Brown 2009, p. 162 - 186

[103] Edwards 2001

[104] Maritime explorations: http://www.maritime-explorations.com

[105] Nanhai Marine Archaeology: http://www.mingwrecks.com/

中国人民大学国际货币研究所

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY INSTITUTE, RENMIN UNIVERSITY OF CHINA

Address: Room 605 Culture Square, No. 59 Zhongguancun Street, Haidian District, Beijing 100872

Tel: 010-62516755 **Email:** imi@ruc.edu.cn