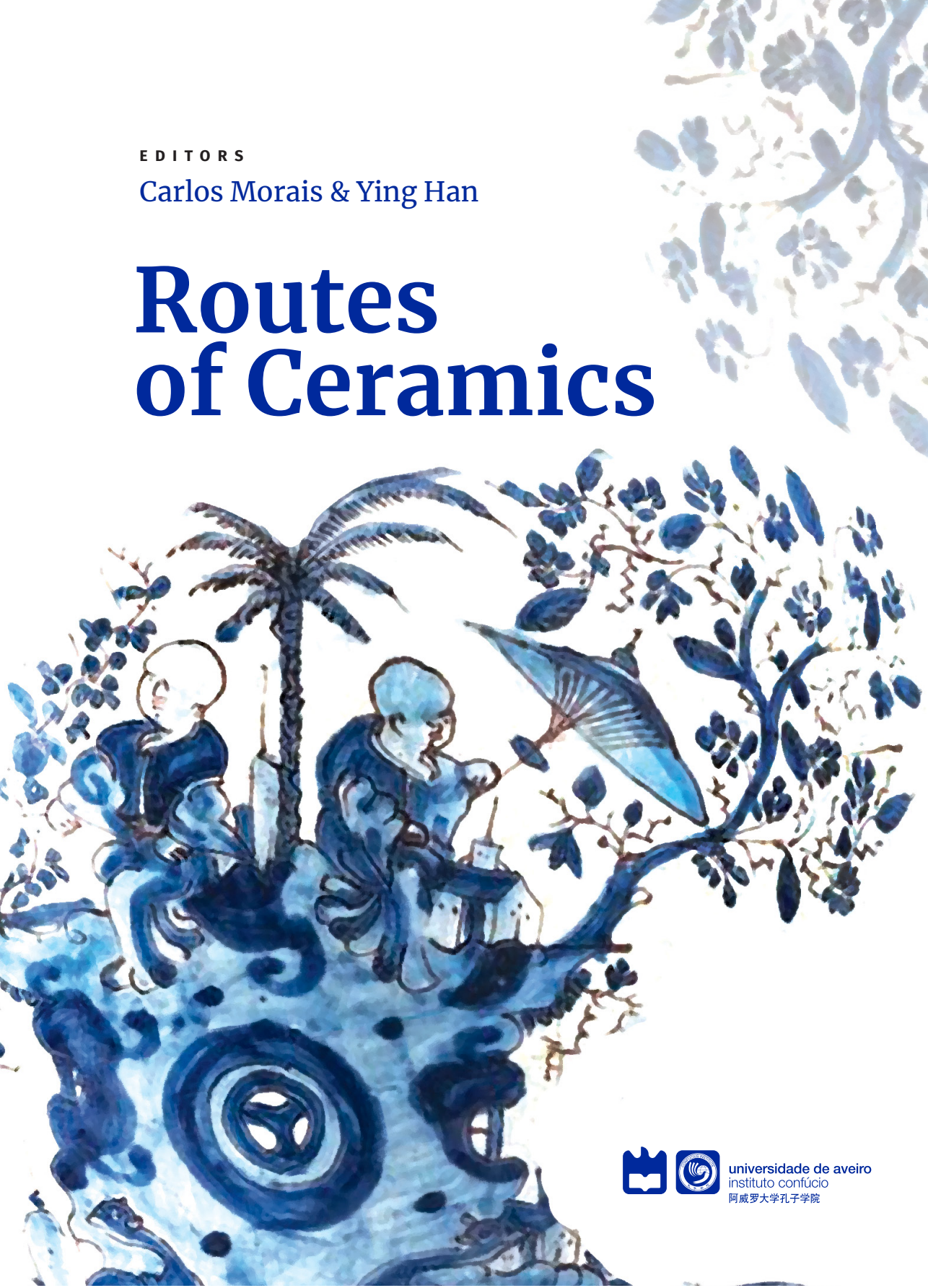
EDITORS
Carlos Morais & Ying Han

Routes of Ceramics



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In limine

Carlos Morais & Ying Han
University of Aveiro & Dalian University of Foreign Languages

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José Ribau Esteves
Mayor of Aveiro

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Guo Mo
Macau University of Science and Technology, China

In limine

Carlos Morais & Ying Han

University of Aveiro & Dalian University of Foreign Languages

Inaugurated on April 23, 2015, the Confucius Institute of the University of Aveiro has the fostering of research activities in the field of Chinese-Portuguese relations as one of its main missions, in this way contributing to improve mutual understanding and friendship between these two geographically very distant countries, but united by secular historical relations.

To this end, among many other scientific events, it has held two conferences dedicated to intercultural dialogues between Portugal and China, which have given rise to books, and a Cycle of conferences entitled "Rotas a Oriente", which generated the annual journal *Road to the East: Studies on China and Portugal*, which is now in its second issue.

It was in this context, and in response to a challenge from the organization of the XV International Ceramics Biennial of Aveiro 2021, that the idea emerged to publish a book about the Routes of Ceramics, focusing on the porcelain production centres in China (especially Jingdezhen) and its exportation to the East and West, with special emphasis on the reproductions and influences of Chinese porcelain in Portuguese ceramics.

Launched in the context of the "Good Morning Ceramics 2022" Programme (Aveiro, 21-22 May 2022) – an initiative of the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation Cities of Ceramics – this book has the contributions of five experts from China and Portugal: Zhong Yandi (Fudan University, Shanghai), Han Yeliang (Dalian University of Foreign Languages), Zhi Rui (Dalian University of Foreign Languages), Alexandre Nobre Pais (National Tile Museum, Portugal) and Guo Mo (Macau University of Science and Technology).

We would like to express our gratitude and thankfulness to all authors for their contribution to the implementation of this book.

Aveiro International Biennial Exhibition of Artistic Ceramics: The Present of a Millennial Heritage

José Ribau Esteves

Mayor of Aveiro

The Municipality of Aveiro heralds its Biennial Exhibition of Artistic Ceramics as an outstanding event and which is of the utmost importance in the life of the municipality. At the same time, it adds a sense of modernity, innovation and future to an event with such a relevant history, and which has been growing in both quality and quantity over the last few years.

The last edition (XV) was held between October 30, 2021 and January 30, 2022, demonstrating a firm belief in its continuous growth. Moreover, for the first time its exhibition lasted a full three months, thus allowing visitors greater enjoyment and more time to appreciate and reflect on Artistic Ceramics. For this the Municipality of Aveiro was able to draw on the invaluable collaboration of various Artists and Entities, public and private, local, regional, national and international, particularly the Confucius Institute of the University of Aveiro, which is an active partner wholly committed to the dissemination of artistic Ceramics, a heritage which is both traditional as well as contemporary.

In this way the Aveiro International Biennial of Artistic Ceramics brings together a diverse set of exhibitions and involves an intense and diverse programme, which includes seminars, conferences, workshops and publications, an example of which is *Ceramic Routes,* which is here being published, and which results from a challenge launched by the Municipality of Aveiro to the Confucius Institute at the University of Aveiro.

We thus reiterate the continuity of our commitment to promoting the territory, drawing on the unique Culture and Identity of this City, Municipality and Region. Moreover, Artistic Ceramics holds a special place of reference as a differentiating element, in which we intend to continue to invest, namely through the creation of a museum unit dedicated to the Biennial. Finally, we have also been strengthening the strategic partnerships that we have been developing, specifically with the International Academy of Ceramics (IAC), which was integrated at the end of 2021.

These steps are also a way for us to comply with what was defined in the Municipality of Aveiro's Strategic Plan for Culture, highlighting our commitment to Aveiro's Candidacy for the European Capital of Culture 2027.

The porcelain city of China: Production and Export of Jingdezhen Porcelains during the Ming and Qing Dynasties

Zhong Yandi

Fudan University, Shanghai (China)

Since the Sui-Tang 隋唐 Dynasties (581-907AD), Chinese porcelain had been exported as a commodity in Chinese foreign trade. During the Song-Yuan 宋元 Dynasties (960-1368), Chinese porcelain reached a new export level and was sold to all parts of the world through the continuous development of maritime trade routes. During the Ming-Qing明清Dynasties (1368-1912), Chinese porcelain continued to be exported on a large scale.

Jingdezhen was the seat of the imperial kiln factory, known as *Guanyao* 官窑, during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. This same imperial kiln factory's advanced porcelain production technology was behind the overall innovation and progress of the Jingdezhen porcelain technology, and on top of this the private kilns also ushered in the peak of production. During this period when Jingdezhen porcelain dominated both the domestic and overseas markets, it became an essential bridge for cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world, and profoundly influenced and contributed to the world's material culture, social life, and art.

1. Production of Jingdezhen Porcelain Industry during the Ming and Qing Dynasties

According to the results of archaeological excavations and investigations, it could be determined that the production center of the kiln site in Jingdezhen was mainly concentrated in the suburban areas of Jingdezhen before the 14th

century[1]. With the continuous development of various regions, the kilns of the suburban areas which had been developed earlier were gradually abandoned. The kilns of the urban areas became the production center of Jingdezhen, and the private kilns were mainly located in the the same urban area during the Ming and Qing Dynasties (Figure 1).

The concentration of private kilns in Jingdezhen within the urban area was related to the imperial kiln factory in the Ming Dynasty. On the one hand, there were apparent differences between imperial kilns and private kilns. Imperial kilns made porcelain for the court and the emperor and so production was closely related to the personal tastes of the emperor, the political policies of the dynasty, as well as the background of the court's own specifications. On the contrary, strict requirements and norms did not restrict the production management of the private kilns. The porcelains produced in private kilns were mainly sold to the private sector and overseas, with economic interests as the primary consideration. There were many private kilns located in many different locations, and so different kilns might produce different types and qualities of objects.

On the other hand, as a kiln producing porcelain for the country's supreme ruler, the imperial kiln factory continuously strived for perfection, both in research as well as in innovation, which also provided an excellent technical foundation for the production and development of private kilns. During the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522-1566), the Ming government carried out corresponding reforms to the porcelain industry system, and private kilns began to produce imperial porcelains[2]. The cessation of the imperial kiln factory firing in the 36th year of the Wanli 万历 reign(1608) caused many unemployed official potters to pour into the private kilns[3], and high-quality porcelain materials could also be used directly in the private kilns. The quality of the products produced by the private kilns began to be comparable to that of the imperial kilns. In this way, the establishment of the imperial kiln factory had a significant influence on the production center of the private kilns in Jingdezhen. Its production technology,

1 Quan, 2014.

2 Huang, 2013.

3 Wang, 2010.

Figure 1
Map of Jingdezhen, drawn by the author.

excellent artisans, and high-quality porcelain raw materials provided a solid attraction to transfer the private kilns to the urban area.

In the 8th year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1743), Tang Ying 唐英 (1682-1756), the Imperial kiln factory Superintendent at Jingdezhen, wrote the *Taoye tu bian ci*陶冶图编次 (Illustrated Explanation of Ceramics Production), which illustrated the production process of Jingdezhen porcelain in the Ming and Qing dynasties[4].

Based on a mixture of Tang Ying' s narrative, archaeological discoveries, and modern porcelain-making photographs, it can be seen that the production process of Jingdezhen porcelain mainly includes the following: mining porcelain stone and making porcelain clay; washing and purification of the clay; burning the ashes and preparing the glaze; making seggars; making molds for the round ware; shaping the round ware on the wheel; forming complexly shaped ware; mining cobalt blue pigment; selecting cobalt blue pigment; correcting the round ware and grinding color pigment; decorating the round ware with cobalt blue pigment; decorating complexly shaped ware; glazing the greenware; turning the greenware and hollowing out the foot; firing the unbaked ware in the furnace; opening the furnace and removing the porcelain; painting on white glazed porcelain; baking painted porcelain in the stove; packaging porcelain with straw; worshipping the gods.

1.1. Mining Porcelain Stone and Making Porcelain Clay

Jingdezhen porcelain raw materials could be classified into porcelain stone and kaolin.

After the porcelain stone was mined, it was first hammered into blocks and transported to *shuidui* 水碓(waterwheel and water-powered hammers) for pounding (Figure 2), and then the powdered porcelain stone was poured into the pool for washing, precipitating, sorting, and thickening. When the paste became plastic clay and suitable for shaping, the clay was made into bricks of uniform size and weight with a wooden mold, known as *dunzi* 不子, dried and

4 The album illustrations were drawn by the court painters and Tang Ying wrote the text. Hubei Provincial Museum, ed. Fuliang cuise: Jiangxi Jingdezhen Yuanming Qinghuaci浮梁翠色: 江西景德镇元明青花瓷 [Splendor of Porcelain: Exhibition of Yuan and Ming Blue and White Porcelains in Jingdezhen of Jiangxi province]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2013, pp. 186-198.

shipped to porcelain workshops for later use. Kaolin was mainly located in the Gaoling 高岭 Mountains in the northeast of Jingdezhen. It was a soil-based material and therefore did not need to be pounded. It could be directly washed, precipitated, thickened, and made into *dunzi* 不子. In the early development of Jingdezhen's porcelain industry, single porcelain stone was used, and kaolin was only later added to the porcelain stone in the Yuan Dynasty. Combining these two components overcame the single defect of porcelain stone, enabled the clay to withstand high-temperature firing, reduced the deformation of porcelain, and made it possible to make large-scale porcelain[5].

1.2. Washing and Purification of the clay

If the clay had too many impurities, porcelain would crack during firing. Therefore, the clay needed to be washed in a porcelain workshop to make it pure. Because different porcelains had different clay requirements, potters would adjust the relative proportions of the two ingredients after the clay made of porcelain stone and kaolin was processed and transported to the workshop. When washing the clay, potters put the prepared porcelain clay into a water tank, stirred it with a wooden rake into a consistent slurry, picked out floating impurities, filtered this slurry with a dill silk cloth, and poured the slurry into a bucket with good permeability to thicken it. Then, potters paved bricks on the bottom of the bottomless wooden box, spread a large piece of fine cloth on them, put the thickened clay into the box, and compacted bricks on the box to absorb water. Finally, potters moved the clay to the stone slab and used a shovel to turn it to make it even and dense, which was appropriate for making greenware.

1.3. Burning the Ashes and Preparing the Glaze

The glaze was a necessity for porcelain making and generally made of a combination of glaze ashes and porcelain clay. Potters burned the slaked lime and the Dicranopteris linearis grass together, then washed and sieved it to eliminate impurities to make the glaze ashes.

When preparing the glaze, potters added water to the porcelain clay and glaze ashes and mixed them into the equal-concentration slurry. When making

5 Weng, Cui, & Jiang, 2015, pp. 97-106.

Figure 2
Porcelain stone clay after pounding. Photograph taken by the author.

porcelain with different glaze colors, the proportions of clay and glaze ashes in the glaze were also different. Potters used a pot as a measuring tool, called *pen* 盆, which was passed through by wooden handles. Top-grade glazes used ten pots of porcelain clay slurry and one pot of glaze ash slurry, whereas medium glazes used seven or eight pots of porcelain clay slurry and two or three pots of glaze ash slurry. However, the same number of pots or even more pots of glaze ash slurry were used for coarse porcelain glazes.

1.4. Making Seggars

In order to protect the greenware from smoke pollution, potters usually put it into a seggar before the greenware was fired in the furnace. The clay for making seggars came from the northeastern part of Jingdezhen, and was rough and did not need to be washed. Newly-made seggars generally needed to be fired once in the furnace before being used. The seggars in Jingdezhen during the Ming and

Qing Dynasties mainly had funnel and cylindrical shapes. The funnel-shaped seggars were generally used to hold smaller bowls, plates, cups. The cylindrical seggars were used to hold all kinds of wares. In order to ensure the quality of imperial porcelains in the Ming Dynasty, potters first put the imperial porcelains in the circular seggars made of porcelain clay and then placed them in the cylindrical seggers for firing[6]. However, the seggars made of porcelain clay were very expensive, and only the imperial kiln factory used them (Figure 3).

1.5. Making Molds for Round Ware

The making of traditional porcelain in Jingdezhen could be classified into round ware and *zhuo* 琢ware(Complexly Shaped Ware). Round ware means porcelain with a round rotary body such as bowls, plates, cups, and saucers. Since there were many types of round wares, molds were needed to ensure the accuracy of shape and size. The requirements for molds were exact, and potters needed to understand kiln fire and clay properties to make suitable molds.

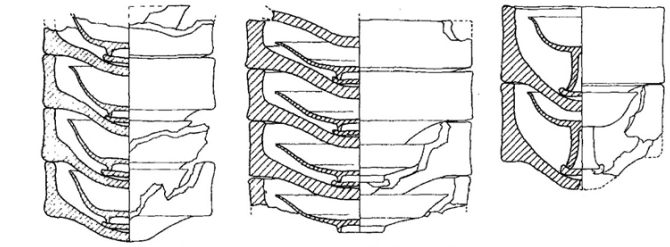
1.6. Shaping the Round Ware on the Wheel

Round ware was formed on the wheel. The shape of the wheel was like a round wooden plate with a crankshaft underneath. When shaping round ware, potters placed the clay on the wheel, sat on the frame, rotated the wheel with a bamboo stick, then shaped the ware with two hands. Excellent potters could master the technique of producing pieces whose shape and size were almost the same as the required styles simply by using the strength of their hands (Figure 4).

1.7. Forming Complexly Shaped Ware

Zhuo 琢ware(Complexly Shaped Ware) refers to porcelain with complicated shapes such as bottles, jars, and pots. When making round *zhuo* 琢ware, potters formed various parts of the ware on the wheel and then put them together with clay slurry after they were dried (Figure 5). When making square *zhuo* 琢ware, potters put the clay on the linen cloth, pat it flat, cut it into pieces according to the needed size and shape, and then glued them with clay slurry. There were also

6 Quan, 2009, pp. 10-25.



1 The funnel-shaped seggars holding bowls, plates, and cups

2 A funnel-shaped seggar unearthed in Jingdezhen imperial kiln site

3 A cylindrical seggar unearthed in Jingdezhen imperial kiln site

4 A circular seggar made of porcealin clay unearthed in Jingdezhen imperial kiln site

Figure 3
Different kinds of Seggars in Jingdezhen. Photograph 1 courtesy by Gao Xianping; Photograph 2-4 taken by the author.

Figure 4
A potter forming the round ware on the Wheel. Photograph taken by the author.

some *zhuo* 琢ware that were formed in the mold. After the wares were formed, potters would trim them with a knife to make the wares smooth in appearance and suitable in thickness.

1.8. Mining Cobalt Blue Pigment

The production of blue and white porcelain required cobalt blue pigment. Cobalt blue pigment was a kind of mineral raw material containing cobalt oxide. After cobalt blue pigment minerals were mined, potters transported them to Jingdezhen for washing, then put the cobalt minerals into seggars and then into the furnace for calcination. Finally, they were taken out and rewashed before being used.

Ancient Chinese cobalt blue pigment could be classified as either imported cobalt or domestic cobalt. Imported cobalt such as *su ma li qing* 苏麻离青 and *hui qing* 回青 was mainly sourced from Central Asia. Domestic cobalt such as *ping deng qing* 平等青 and *shi zi qing* 石子青 was mainly sourced from the Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Yunnan and Guangdong regions in China. It was generally believed that China used imported *su ma li qing* in the early Ming Dynasty, domestic cobalt from Jiangxi Province in the mid-Ming Dynasty, imported *hui qing* in the late Ming Dynasty, and domestic cobalt from Zhejiang Province in the Qing Dynasty[7].

1.9. Selecting Cobalt Blue Pigment

After being calcined, the cobalt blue pigments would form different quality pigments, and potters would classify them. The black-green and shiny ones were high-quality products, generally used for antique *ji qing* 霁青 glaze, blue-and-white fine porcelain. Black-green and more opaque pigments were used for coarse porcelain. Finally, colorless pigments with no shine were rejected. When making blue-and-white porcelain, potters first put the selected cobalt blue pigments into a grinder and ground it into powder. After that, they added water, mixed them thoroughly, and used a brush to dip the pigment water to paint greenware. Finally, they glazed the ware and put it in the furnace. If the glaze were not applied, the cobalt color would still be black. When the firing temperatures of blue-and-white porcelain were different, the colors of different cobalt blue pigments after firing were also different. Therefore, potters needed

7 Ma, Zhong, Cui, Qin, Jiang, & Xie, 2020, pp. 162-182.

Figure 5
Different kinds of round *zhuo* ware. Photograph taken by the author.

to test the firing effect of different cobalt blue pigments in the furnace. These experimental objects are called *huozhao* 火照 (Figure 6).

1.10. Correcting the Round Ware and Grinding Color Pigment

After the round ware had been shaped, potters put it in the mold and pressed it with their hands and a wooden tool to make the greenware body fit the mold perfectly. After the greenware had dried, potters put it on the wheel for rotating, and then trimmed it with a knife (Figure 7). In addition, the color pigments used to paint porcelain needed to be ground very finely before they were used.

1.11. Decorating the Round Ware with Cobalt Blue Pigment

There were often as many as a hundred pieces of blue-and-white round ware in the same batch. In order to ensure that the patterns and marks of the same batch of blue-and-white porcelain were the same, the division of labor for drawing

Figure 6
Different kinds of huozhao. Photograph 1 courtesy by Gao Xianping; Photograph 2 taken by the author.

the patterns was very meticulous. The drawing of lines, rendering, painting of swirling borders, flowers, birds, fish, figures, etc., writing marks were made by different potters in different rooms.

1.12. Decorating Complexly Shaped Ware

The shapes of the *zhuo* 琢ware(complexly shaped ware) included, for example, round, square, prismatic and angular, among others. Moreover, the decorative craftsmanship of it included painting, carving, hollowing, etc. Tang Ying 唐英 proposed that potters needed to innovate the shape and decoration craftsmanship based on tradition.

1.13. Glazing the Greenware

The greenware needed to be glazed before being fired in the furnace. Glazing methods included brushing, dipping, and blowing. The original glazing method

Figure 7
A potter correcting the round ware on the mold. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 8
A potter trimming the the bottom of the bowl. Photograph taken by the author.

was glaze brushing was used on *zhuo* 琢ware(complexly shaped ware), which might make the glaze of the wares uneven. Although dipping glaze was used on round ware, the ware was easily damaged when it was too heavy. Afterward, minor round wares were generally dipped in a glaze vat, and the other wares were glazed by blowing. When blowing the glaze, potters put gauze on one end of the bamboo tube, dipped the tube into the glaze, and blew the glaze onto the greenware. According to the size of the object and the type of glaze water, the potter decided on the frequency of glaze blowing.

1.14. Turning the Greenware and Hollowing Out the Foot

During the shaping process a little bit of the clay would remain at the bottom of the wares to make them easier to hold when painting and blowing glaze. After painting and blowing were completed, potters would remove the excess clay at the bottom of the wares. Then they dug the bottom into a circle foot shape, and finally wrote marks on the outsole. This process was generally carried out on the wheel, like the trimming of the round ware body (Figure 8).

1.15. Firing the Unbaked Ware in the Furnace

The furnaces in Jingdezhen during the Ming and Qing Dynasties mainly included dragon-shaped furnaces (Figure 9), gourd-shaped furnaces (Figure 10)[8], steamed bun-shaped furnaces (Figure 11), and egg-shaped furnaces (Figure 12). However, the temperature of the fire in different positions of the furnace was different: the fire in the front was potent and high in temperature, while the fire in the back was weaker and lower in temperature. Different porcelains had different requirements for firing temperature, and where they were placed was also different. When firing porcelain, the potter put the greenware in seggars, which were then put in the furnace. After all the seggars had been inserted, the potter would light the fire and block the furnace door with bricks, leaving only a square hole for throwing firewood in. When the seggars had burned to silver red, the fire could be stopped, and the furnace would be opened a day later.

8 Liu, Quan, & Li, 2005, pp. 35-41, 107-108+2.

1.16. Opening the Furnace and Removing the Porcelain

After the wares had been fired in the furnace for three days, potters opened the furnace door on the morning of the fourth day. The temperature of the seggars was still very high at this time, and potters needed to wear gloves dipped in cold water and also wrap their body with a damp cloth before entering the furnace to take out the seggars. After the last batch of wares had been taken out, the furnace was still hot. So the potters could place the new batch of wares in the furnace to bake in order to avoid them cracking when they were directly fired.

1.17. Painting on White Glazed Porcelain

When painting on white glazed porcelain, potters first painted the color pigments on the white porcelain flakes and burned them for a trial. Only after testing could potters be familiar with the color properties and heat conditions of different pigments. Potters generally used oil, glue, and water to reconcile the pigments. The advantages were as follows: using oil, color was easy to render; the color adjusted by glue was easy to spread, and the color adjusted by clear water was easy to fill.

Painting on white glazed porcelain in Jingdezhen was first seen in red-green color porcelain in the Yuan Dynasty. Overglaze colors such as red, yellow, aubergine, black, and green colors, called *wucai* 五彩 (five-color), and the combination of underglaze blue-and-white and overglaze colors appeared in the Ming Dynasty. The appearance of *famille rose*, and enamel porcelain in the Qing Dynasty marked a new stage in developing Jingdezhen overglaze color porcelain.

1.18. Baking Painted Porcelain in the Stove

The painted porcelain needed to be baked in the stove so that the color could completely adhere to the porcelain. According to different sizes of porcelains, potters baked them in different stoves. Small wares were roasted in the open stove (Figure 13), and large wares were fired in the closed stove. The closed stove comprised two layers of concentric cylinders, with charcoal in between, porcelain in the central stove, the lid sealed with yellow mud, and vents at the bottom (Figure 14).

Figure 9
A 9th-century dragon-shaped furnace unearthed in a country southeast of Jingdezhen. Photograph courtesy by Qin Dashu.

Figure 10
A gourd-shaped furnace unearthed in Jingdezhen imperial kiln factory site. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 11
A steamed bun-shaped furnace unearthed in Jingdezhen imperial kiln factory site. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 12
Seggars placed in an egg-shaped furnace. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 13
An open stove for baking painted porcelain. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 14
A closed stove for baking painted porcelain. Photograph taken by the author.

1.19. Packaging Porcelain with Straw

After porcelains were fired, potters would bundle and pack the porcelains with straw to protect them during transportation. In addition to being tied with straw, high-quality porcelains were wrapped with paper outside, and the whole package was barrel-shaped. The poor-quality porcelains, however, were directly tied with straw. Then potters used the straw to tie the barrel-shaped porcelain bag vertically again and tied it horizontally with bamboo pieces. The packaged porcelains were transported to the Chang River 昌江 for shipment and then transported all over China and the rest of the world by waterway.

1.20. Worshipping the Gods

Although the area of Jingdezhen was small, the prosperity of porcelain production had attracted potters and merchants from all over China to make a living here. Due to the unpredictability of porcelain firing, the people of Jingdezhen attached importance to the worship of the kiln gods in hopes that these would bless the production of porcelain. According to the records of 'Jiangxi sheng da zhi' 江西省大志, during the Ming Dynasty, Jingdezhen imperial kiln factory established three shrines, namely Xuandi 玄帝, Xiantao 仙陶, and Wuxian 五显, and there was a shrine named Shizhu 师主 outside the imperial kiln factory[9]. In the Qing Dynasty, the Youtao Ling Temple 佑陶灵祠 and the Guandi Temple 关帝庙were built in the imperial kiln factory to enshrine kiln gods[10](Figure 15).

The Jingdezhen porcelain industry in the Ming and Qing Dynasties had an extraordinarily meticulous and specialized division of labor. Only when the various industries were concentrated in the urban area could production efficiency be maximized. The concentration of industries also promoted the prosperity and development of Jingdezhen's urban economy. It promoted Jingdezhen to become the largest production center of Chinese porcelain, making it possible to export large-scale porcelain in Jingdezhen during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

9 Wang & Lu, 1989, pp. 815-817.

10 Lan & Zheng, 2004, p. 7.

Figure 15
The Youtao Ling Temple 佑陶灵祠 in Jingdezhen imperial kiln factory. Photograph taken by the author.

2. Characteristics and Changes of Jingdezhen Exported Porcelain in Ming and Qing Dynasties

According to the characteristics and changes of Ming-Qing Jingdezhen porcelain discovered overseas, the export of Jingdezhen porcelain could be roughly divided into seven stages.

The first stage was the early Ming Dynasty, from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century. During this period, the Ming government combined tributary and trade. Overseas countries had to establish tributary relations with the Ming government before they could obtain legal trade rights. Private trade was expressly prohibited. Therefore, the export of porcelain was mainly under the tributary trade system. The Ming court presented Chinese porcelain as gifts to visiting foreign envoys, and official trade such as Zheng He's 郑和 voyage also brought Chinese porcelain overseas. Many Jingdezhen porcelains

of the early Ming Dynasty have been found in Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Egypt, Kenya, and other regions[11]. The export porcelains of this period were mainly blue and white porcelain (Figure 16). In the late Xuande 宣德 reign(1426-1435), due to the decline of Chinese national power and domestic political turmoil, Emperor Xuande stopped voyages to the West. The special conditions and generous rewards offered for usiness with overseas countries were significantly reduced compared with the early Ming Dynasty, which caused the tributary trade to decline in the mid-Ming Dynasty.

The second stage was the mid-Ming Dynasty, from the late 15th to the early 16th century. During this period, the number of countries that came to China to pay tribute to China was significantly reduced, and the tributary trade declined. However, Chinese merchants started smuggling trade to gain profits due to the fact that the Ming Dynasty still implemented a strict maritime prohibition policy. Then, in 1514, the Portuguese arrived in China and engaged in the smuggling trade with merchants on the southeast coast of China. Later, in 1553, Portugal established a trading base in Macau and was allowed to conduct legal trade in China, becoming the first European country to trade porcelain with China[12]. During this period, the export range of Jingdezhen porcelain was extensive. A large number of Jingdezhen exported porcelains of the mid-Ming Dynasty have been found in many parts of the world, including Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, the Persian Gulf Coast, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Madagascar, Portugal, Italy[13]. The export porcelain of this period was mainly blue-and-white porcelain produced by Jingdezhen private kilns, in addition to colorful porcelain, white porcelain, and blue porcelain. Apart from traditional Chinese style porcelain, porcelain with Islamic shapes and Portuguese patterns also appeared in Jingdezhen export porcelain (Figure 17).

The third stage was the late Ming Dynasty, from the mid-16th to the late 16th century. With the ending of the sea ban by the Ming government in 1567,

11 Lu, 2003, pp. 219-258.

12 Wang, 2017, pp. 161-170, 152.

13 Zhong, Qin, & Li, 2020, pp. 49-66.

overseas trade once again gained legal status[14]. Later, in 1571, Spain conquered the Philippines and started the Manila galleon trade, connecting China's southeast coast, the Philippines, and the Americas[15]. Jingdezhen export porcelain of the late Ming Dynasty was traded to many places worldwide, including East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. The export porcelain of this period was still dominated by blue and white porcelain of private kilns. Some porcelains were decorated with European-style pattens, such as aristocratic emblems, Christian signs, and Portuguese letters, which have become a testimony to the cultural exchange between China and the West.

The fourth stage was at the end of the Ming Dynasty, from the beginning of the 17th to the middle of the 17th century. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, Jingdezhen's imperial kiln factory gradually declined and finally stopped firing porcelain. Many excellent potters gravitated to the private kilns, which contributed significantly to their development. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was established. The Netherlands actively opened up colonial and trading bases in Asia, gradually replacing Portugal and Spain, and monopolized the porcelain trade with China. In 1619 the Netherlands established a colonial and trading base in Java and renamed it Batavia. At this time, the Ming Dynasty government partially ended a sea ban at Yuegang 月港 Port in Zhangzhou 漳州, Fujian 福建 province, allowing Chinese merchant ships to conduct maritime trade, but prohibited foreign merchants from trading in China[16]. Therefore, the Netherlands did not establish direct trade with China at this time.

In fact, the Netherlands obtained porcelain and other goods through Chinese merchant ships coming to Batavia. Some of these Chinese goods entered the local market in Batavia, and some were shipped to Europe[17]. However, the Netherlands also plundered Chinese merchant ships on the southeast coast of China, and successively occupied Penghu 澎湖 Island and southern Taiwan 台湾[18], causing the trade channel between China and Manila to be cut off. With a base in

14 Li, 1990, p. 109.

15 Wang, 2011.

16 Li, 1999a, pp. 1-9.

17 Blussé, 2016, pp. 48-62.

18 Li, 1999b, pp. 61-69.

Figure 16
Jingdezhen export porcelains in the early Ming Dynasty. Photograph taken by the author in Okinawa.

Figure 17
Jingdezhen export porcelains in the mid-Ming Dynasty. Photograph taken by the author. There are similar wares found in the Topkapi Saray Museum.

Taiwan, the Netherlands obtained many porcelains in China, most of which were sold to Japan, Batavia, and Europe. At this time, blue and white porcelain accounted for the most significant proportion of Jingdezhen export porcelain. In addition to traditional Chinese porcelains, there were also exotic porcelains customized by Europeans. Moreover, the typical Jingdezhen export porcelains of this period also included Kraak porcelain and the blue-and-white porcelain of the transition period. In 1603, the Netherlands intercepted a Portuguese Kraak-type merchant ship carrying a large amount of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, which had thin bodies that looked like jade and which featured painted landscapes, figures, and animals within star-shaped, fan-shaped, and oval-shaped panels. After these porcelains were auctioned in Europe, they brought massive wealth to the Netherlands. Following this, many similar porcelains were shipped to Europe, commonly known as Kraak porcelain. As the demand for Kraak porcelain in the European market became saturated, the Dutch East India Company began to seek innovative porcelain varieties. These were prvided by Chinese blue-and-white porcelains of the the transition period[19], which were mostly painted with landscapes, Chinese poems, Buddhist and Taoist figures, as well as patterns taken from the plots of Chinese opera (Figure 18).

The fifth stage was the early Qing Dynasty, from the late 17th to the early 18th centuries. In the early Qing Dynasty, due to the effects of the war, Jingdezhen porcelain production entered a short period of stagnation. Besides, the Qing government implemented a strict maritime prohibition policy, which caused the porcelain trade to be sluggish[20]. Then, in 1662, Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 established power in Taiwan and expelled the Dutch, putting the porcelain trade between the Netherlands and China in jeopardy. From the 1650s to the 1690s, Japan took the opportunity to cannibalize the international porcelain market that initially belonged to China, and Japanese porcelain began to be sold overseas in large quantities[21]. However, after the 22nd year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign(1683), with the end of the Chinese domestic war, the stability of Chinese society, the rapid development of the economy, and the reopening of trade ports, the export of Jingdezhen porce-

19 The Chinese transition period refers to the 48th year of the Wanli 万历 reign to the 22nd year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1620-1683).

20 Wan, 2009, pp. 113-123, 162.

21 Xiong, 2012, pp. 108-123.

lains resumed prosperity. The porcelain industry in Jingdezhen had also entered its heyday. According to the conclusions taken from archaeological excavations, the remains of the porcelains industry from the 23rd year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign to the 59th year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign(1684-1794) occupied an area which was generally tens of meters in width and more than 10 meters in depth[22]. During this period, Europe was the most important overseas market for Jingdezhen porcelains as Europeans were very fond of these magnificent and gorgeous porcelains. However, blue-and-white porcelains could not fully meet the needs of the European market. Therefore, many *wucai* 五彩 porcelains (white porcelain or cobalt blue porcelain with overglaze enamel decoration) were also sold overseas. A new variety of *wucai* 五彩 porcelain called *famille verte* appeared, which was in fact enameled porcelain with transparent green glaze as the primary color. In addition, to compete with Japanese porcelain in the international market, Jingdezhen porcelain began to imitate Japanese Imari porcelain. This type of porcelain was called Chinese Imari. Chinese Imari porcelains were very successful in imitation and had better porcelain quality and lower price, which made them very popular in Europe (Figure 19).

The sixth stage was the mid-Qing Dynasty to the late Qing Dynasty, from the early to the late 18th century. In 1685, the Qing government had abolished the maritime prohibition policy and opened Chinese ports to allow trade. In 1715, the British East India Company established a commercial hall in Guangzhou 广州. In 1727, the Dutch East India Company was allowed to set up a commercial hall in Guangzhou[23]. In 1757, the Qing government stipulated that trade between foreign countries and China should be concentrated in Guangzhou 广州, which became the most important port for foreigners to purchase Chinese porcelains. Therefore, in order to meet the needs of various countries for Chinese porcelains, potters began to process porcelain in Guangzhou. At that time, Chinese porcelain merchants first went to Jingdezhen to purchase white porcelains, transported them to Guangzhou, painted and baked them, and finally sold them to foreign merchants. This kind of porcelain processed in Guangzhou was generally called Kwon-glazed porcelain. The production of Kwon-glazed porcelain was able to reduce losses caused by the damage to the porcelain in the long-distance transportation of Jingdezhen porcelain. Moreover, it met

22 Bai, 1995, pp. 27-35.

23 Morse, 2005, pp. 55-56.

the particular requirements of foreign merchants on porcelain modeling and decoration, significantly improving both the efficiency of production as well as the quality of porcelain. In addition to Chinese patterns, the decoration patterns of Kwon-glazed porcelain also included European patterns such as European prints, ships of the East India Company, and coats of arms (Figure 20). The Netherlands also designed its imaginary Chinese style decorations, the most typical of which was the pattern of the lady with the umbrella, the three doctors, and the four doctors, designed by the Amsterdam painter Planck in 1734. These European decorations were widely used on various Chinese porcelains, reflecting the influence of European custom-made porcelain on the production of Chinese porcelain at that time. Kwon-glazed porcelain was mainly processed from European samples, forming its unique style and being sold overseas in large quantities. During this period, Jingdezhen export porcelains were mainly blue-and-white porcelain and Chinese Imari porcelain. The export of Jingdezhen colored porcelain was gradually overtaken by Kwon-glazed porcelain.

3. The Influence of Foreign Culture on Jingdezhen Export Porcelain

The prosperous ceramic trade between China and overseas had led to Jingdezhen porcelain being heavily influenced by foreign cultures. Yet before the 16th century, Jingdezhen kiln porcelains were mainly influenced by Islamic culture. This mainly due to the fact that during the Yongle 永乐 reign (1403-1424) and Xuande 宣德 reign (1426-1435), Zheng He's voyages to the West made it possible for China to import overseas cobalt. In addition, Emperors Yongle and Xuande liked Islamic-style blue-and-white porcelain very much. As a result, the Jingdezhen imperial kiln factory produced many imperial porcelains imitating Islamic metalwares. After the Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinople in 1453, it entered a long period of conquest and expansion and established a developed and efficient trade network from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean. Arab merchants were able to trade Chinese porcelains with private merchants in Southeast Asia and the southeastern coastal areas of China. In order to meet the needs of private trade, Jingdezhen private kilns also produced a large number of Islamic-style porcelains (Figure 21).

After the 16th century, with the establishment of the New Sea Route, European countries such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and the United

Kraak porcelain

Blue-and-white porcelain during Chinese transition period

Figure 18

Jingdezhen export blue-and-white porcelains in the end Ming Dynasty. Photograph taken by the author.

Famille verte porcelain

Chinese Imari porcelain

Figure 19

Jingdezhen export porcelains in the early Qing Dynasty. Photograph taken by the author.

Kingdom successively entered China for trade activities, and ever since it has been mostly European countries that have developed the porcelain trade with China. Especially after the 17th century, and with the West's insatiable appetite for Chinoiserie, there was a boom in the European purchase of Jingdezhen kiln porcelain. Furthermore, from the shapes to the patterns, Europeans provided many samples for Chinese potters to imitate. In order to meet European demand for high-quality porcelain, Jingdezhen private kilns strived to improve the quality of porcelain so that private kilns were comparable to imperial kilns, and the shapes and decorations of the porcelains were more adapted to European cultural customs.

Jingdezhen export porcelain integrated Islamic civilization, European civilization, and Asian civilization and enriched the cultural image of Chinese porcelain. Acting as an emissary between the East and the West, Jingdezhen export porcelain became known worldwide and today vividly demonstrates the exchange and integration of diverse civilizations.

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Figure 20
European custom-made porcelain from the mid-Qing Dynasty to the late Qing Dynasty. Photograph taken by the author.

Jingdezhen porcelain Zun vase

Islamic pottery

Jingdezhen porcelain pen box

Islamic metal pen box

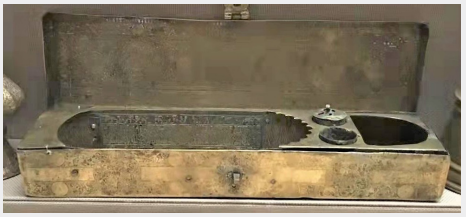

Figure 21
Islamic-style porcelains and Islamic metalware. Photograph taken by the author.

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The Spread and Influence of Chinese Ceramic Culture in Southeast Asia

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Preface

The invention of ceramics in ancient China has left a thick and colorful stroke in the history. Ceramics is the collective term for pottery and porcelain. Pottery is made of clay with high viscosity and strong plasticity. It has an opaque texture, thin pores and poor water absorptivity. It gives a heavy sound when tapped. Porcelain is made of clay, feldspar and quartz. It is translucent, doesn't easily absorb water but is highly corrosion-resistant. It makes a crisp sound when tapped.

With the continuous development of ceramics, its adaptability and worldwide popularity have earned it a high reputation. Over the centuries, China's ceramics, along with its related technology, have been exported to other countries in large quantities. In this way, the development of ceramics has also greatly contributed to the cultural development of world history and has exerted a long-term influence. This view is further confirmed in subsequent research, as a large number of ceramics have been unearthed from archaeological sites in many other countries. Thus, the ceramics also play an important role in the study of foreign relations and cultural history. In particular, the spread of ceramics in Southeast Asia is of great significance in the study of the history and development of China and the countries in the region.

This article will discuss the influence of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia from three different aspects. The first concerns the reason why Chinese ceramics were able to spread rapidly in Southeast Asia,

and how the cultural background of the time influenced the spread of ceramics. The second is about the localization, integration and re-spreading of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. The third aspect discusses the peculiarity of Southeast Asian ceramics and their differences from Chinese ceramics.

Introduction

1.1. Research background

1.1.1. Current research in China

At present, there are relatively a few studies dedicated to the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. In the early 1930s, Mr. Han Huaizhun (cf. Xiong, 2019, pp. 143-152) began to study the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia, then in the 1950s and 1960s he began a major study on this topic. His research combines all his years of experience in collecting Chinese ceramics scattered in Southeast Asia, together with the investigation on kiln sites in China, and have laid the foundation for the research on the spread of Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia. Next, Mr. Chen Wanli (cf. Ge, 2016, pp. 114-120) has analyzed general information concerning the export of Chinese porcelain in different periods and in this way his work has provided us with a preliminary understanding of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

Since the 1960s, researchers have conducted comparative studies on ceramics unearthed and collected in Southeast Asia as well as ceramics unearthed from Chinese kilns and have discovered a number of Chinese kiln sites producing porcelain that have been circulating in Southeast Asia. With the subsequent in-depth investigations of kiln sites across China by the archaeological and cultural relics departments, significant achievements have been made in the study of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in foreign countries. *The History of Chinese Ceramics* compiled by the Chinese Ceramic Society elaborates on the exchanges of ceramic culture in the Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties in different chapters.

Studies have shown that ceramics were transported to Southeast Asia in large quantities during the Ming dynasty, and its extreme usefulness promoted changes in local social life and food culture. In the early 1990s, Li Jian'an et al.

systematically sorted out the data of kiln sites in Zhangzhou during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. In addition, they published articles such as "Zhangzhou Kilns and Southeast Asia" and clarified that the so-called "Shantouware" unearthed in Southeast Asia were produced in the kiln sites in Pinghe County. In addition, following Feng Xianming's work (2001), the result of this research confirmed further kiln sites which produced Chinese porcelain that were exported to Southeast Asia. Consequently, the academic community has expressed widespread attention in the southeastern coastal kiln sites and the spread of Chinese ceramic culture to foreign countries. In their articles Lin Zhonggan, Zhuang Jinghui et al. have described in more detail the places where the spread of Chinese ceramic culture has taken place, as well as the means involved in that process. In addition, Zhu Jieqin (1990) and Yang Yongxi (2002) looked at the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia from the perspective exchanges in ceramic technology. Furthermore, Mr. Wu Chunming also confirmed the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia by studying the materials found in sunken ships and ceramics unearthed from these ships. All this has provided valuable support for the study of cultural exchanges between China and Southeast Asia.

Apart from the above documents, the "International Symposium on Exported Chinese Porcelain and Overseas Trade in the 12th to 15th Centuries" was hosted by Zheng Peikai in 2004, and the research results were released. In the symposium, some foreign websites about ceramic collection were presented, and these provided a useful platform for studying the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

From 2009 to 2010, the "Ceramic Road of Southeast Asia" exhibition was held by the Taipei County Yingko Ceramics Museum in Taiwan, and in this way the uniqueness and diversity of the ceramic culture in Southeast Asia was put on display.

1.1.2. Current research abroad

The topic of porcelain has been continuously studied and investigated by scholars from all over the world as it is fundamental in the study of ancient Chinese history. Due to its background and unique reference to a special time in history, porcelain has always served as an important medium in export.

Moreover, as a major export market for ancient Chinese porcelain, Southeast Asia has received long-lasting influences from porcelain. However, most of the current research and documents only focus on one aspect, and seldom conduct specific studies on the exported ancient Chinese porcelain and the development of Southeast Asian ceramics. Foreign scholars started to study the spread of Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia relatively early, and many of their research results were introduced to China in the 1980s. Among the numerous documents, the research done by Japanese scholars are of great importance, and they also put forward the iconic concept of "the ceramic road".

Many foreign studies are of far-reaching value to help Chinese scholars re-understand the spread of ceramics. Some articles like "The Vietnam Ceramics and Ceramics Trade", "Southeast Asian Ceramics Trade: On Its Unique Role", "On Vietnamese Blue and White Pottery", and "General introduction of Thai Ceramics" have provided valuable information for us to understand the local ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

However, foreign research tends to focus more on the artistic value of the ceramic utensils, and there are few studies on the local ceramic culture in Southeast Asia; thus further investigation is needed.

1.2. The innovation and significance of the current research

1.2.1. Innovation

This article will firstly look at the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia and its influence on local culture, food, architecture and other aspects based on the communication theory of cultural and geographical development against the historical background. On this basis, it will conduct a comprehensive analysis of the spreading mode and media, integration and innovation of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. It will mainly analyze the merging of Chinese ceramic culture with local culture and the formation of a new culture, and its feedback and influence on the original Chinese ceramic culture during its propagation in Southeast Asia.

Secondly, the article will integrate research results in business history, economic history, cultural exchange history, arts and crafts history and other fields to analyze the influence of Chinese ceramics culture on Southeast Asia.

Thirdly, this article will elaborate on the development of Southeast Asian ceramics and the ceramic technology from the aspects of glaze color, decoration, modeling, function, and firing technology. Taking a global perspective of the development of ceramics, this article will break the traditional narrow view that merely claims that China's porcelain export is supreme. Instead, it aims to reach a more reasonable conclusion based on scientific facts.

1.2.2. Significance

First of all, the large-scale export of Chinese ceramics throughout history also has an impact on the progress of Southeast Asian culture, especially on the ceramic culture. Since the Ming Dynasty, the number of Chinese ceramics exported to Southeast Asia far exceeded that in the Song and Yuan Dynasties. In fact, the amount of ceramics shipped to Southeast Asia for trade is huge. However, among the current research on world ceramics, there are few research materials on Southeast Asian ceramics, and most are just simple introductions to utensils, patterns, and shapes, rather than an in-depth analysis.

In 1954, thirty-three porcelain wares were unearthed in Johor, Malaysia, and most of them were produced in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi during the reign of Emperors Xuande, Longqing, Wanli, and Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty. It can be said that the influx of Chinese porcelain has subtly changed the habits of Southeast Asians. This article will involve some comprehensive research on ceramics and their relationship with the historical background, geographical environment and social customs. In this way it is hoped to enrich the research content of cultural exchanges involving ceramics.

With the export of Chinese porcelain, ceramic technology became known across Southeast Asia. According to related documents (Geng, 2018, p. 20), before 1407, Chinese porcelain workers fired blue and white porcelain in Vietnam, which were exported to West Asia. In the middle of the 14th century, Thailand also fired blue and white porcelain similar to the products made in the Longquan kiln in Zhejiang, which the local people really loved. When Chinese porcelains were exported in large quantities in the Ming Dynasty, pigments were also imported from Southeast Asia. Then, during the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He, during his voyages to the West, brought back Samarra green, purple, ruby red and other foreign glazes from Sumatra, Penang and Brunei respectively,

which significantly influenced the art of porcelain-making in the Ming Dynasty. Therefore, this article will also conduct in-depth research on the changes and impact of the cultural communication between Chinese ceramics and Southeast Asian ceramics.

1.3. Research object and methodology

1.3.1. Research aims

This article is mainly divided into the following parts:

The historical background of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. First of all, it presents the development of China's ceramic industry, shipbuilding and navigation technology, as well as China's foreign trade policies in the past dynasties, and further discusses the historical background of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. Secondly, it discusses the spreading media of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia from the perspectives of diplomatic envoys, trade and immigration.

This article also discusses the dissemination and application of Chinese ceramic culture in social customs and other fields from the perspective of cultural transmission, and then looks at the integration and innovation of Chinese ceramic culture with local culture in its spread in Southeast Asia.

In this respect, the development of ceramics in Khmer, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar and other countries is the first area to be discussed. Then, the characteristics of Southeast Asian ceramic culture and their influence in other regions are explained by analyzing archaeological relics. Finally, the characteristics of Southeast Asian ceramic culture are summarized: the contrast between inherited and unique features.

1.3.2. Research methodology

The first step is a survey of the literature. This comprises all available historical materials, pictures, videos, archives, archaeological reports and papers to ensure the objectivity and scientific nature of the study.

The second method involves analysis of available statistics. On the basis of a large number of available historical materials, this article undertakes sta-

tistical analysis of the trade of Chinese ceramics, archaeological excavations, kiln sites and cultural relics in Southeast Asia.

The third approach is the comparison method. The article compares similar artware from China and Southeast Asia, analyzes their characteristics and the natural, social and cultural factors that have led to differences. The article tries to find the dissemination characteristics of Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia, by comparing the ceramics imported from China to Southeast Asia with other exported ceramics.

The background of the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia

2.1.1. The development of Chinese ceramics and their status in foreign trade products

2.1.1.1. Prosperity of exported ceramics

Since the Song Dynasty, China's ceramic industry has witnessed a prosperous development. In particular, as a consequence of encouraging foreign trade policies, the southeastern coastal area has seen increased number and scale of ceramic kilns for export, more mature ceramic-making technology, and significant increase in the number of exported ceramics. The kilns include: Longquan Kiln in Zhejiang; Jingdezhen Kiln and Jizhou Kiln in Jiangxi; Quanzhou Kiln and Zhangzhou Kiln in Fujian; Xicun Kiln and Chaozhou Kiln in Guangdong and Yongfu Kiln in Guangxi. There kilns are called dragon kilns and are built on the hill to reach a length of one hundred meters. The increase in the length of kilns and the adoption of a special ceramic-making technique have both expanded the production scale and output of ceramics and met the increasing demand for Chinese ceramics at home and abroad.

As shown in Figure 1, during the Song and Yuan dynasties, hundreds of ceramic kiln sites were densely clustered around important rivers and ports in the southeastern coastal provinces of China. For example, the Bijiashan kiln in the Hanjiang River Valley, well-known as the "Hundred Kilns Village", produced ceramics that could be directly shipped along the Hanjiang River to Chaozhou Ports, and then shipped to Southeast Asia from there. During the Yuan Dynasty, Quanzhou replaced Guangzhou as the largest port on the southeastern coast.

The number of ceramic kilns in the Hanjiang River Valley decreased, while the number of ceramic kilns around Quanzhou increased sharply. During the Ming Dynasty, in the 14th century, the ban on maritime trade with foreign countries restricted the export of Chinese ceramics, causing the decline of kilns in the southeastern coastal provinces and the decrease of quantity and quality of ceramics produced there. Thus, it can be seen that the distribution, rise and fall of the ports directly affected the layout, scale and number of the ceramic kilns in the southeastern coast in China, especially since they relied on their production of ceramics for the purposes of trade.

In the latter half of the 14th century, an imperial ceramic factory was established in Jingdezhen in order to meet the demands of royal porcelain. This factory created new varieties such as blue and white porcelain and colorful porcelain. Its philosophy for ceramic-making was based on the principle of striving for perfection at all costs. Jingdezhen folk kilns also made great progress under such influence. For all these reasons, Jingdezhen became the most important ceramics manufacturing center in the world, and blue and white porcelain also became the main products of Chinese ceramic

industry during this period. As these blue and white porcelains were exported, the production technology of Jingdezhen porcelain spread to coastal provinces such as Fujian and Guangdong. In consequence, there was a revival of the ceramics industry near important rivers and ports in the southeastern coastal provinces.

The role of ceramics in exported commodities

Since the 11th century, ceramics have made up the bulk of commodities of China's foreign trade. According to records in Volume 186 of the "Journal of Food and Commodities" in "The History of the Song Dynasty", ceramics were important export products in the foreign trade of the Song Dynasty.

In addition to the import and export of official tributary ceramics, transactions among common people also served as a major channel for Song ceramics to be imported into Southeast Asia. According to the "Compilation of Historical Records of the Song Dynasty: Interpretation on Foreign Nations and Religions", a large number of folk ceramics and other products were shipped to ports and

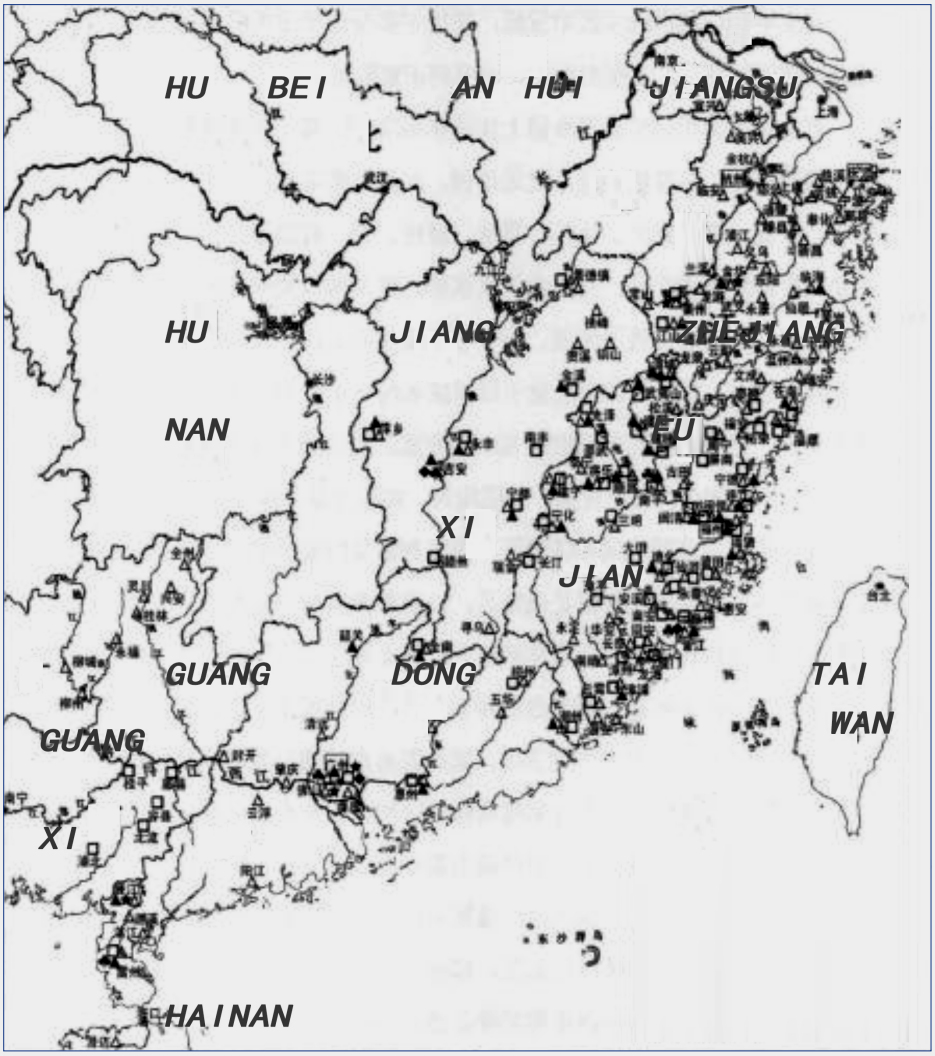

Figure 1
Ceramic production areas in southern China during the Song and Yuan dynasties

markets in Southeast Asia through Quanzhou Port and Guangzhou Port, which played an important role in exporting Chinese ceramics.

2.1.2. Foreign trade policy

The government's foreign policy is directly related to the development of foreign trade. As the major bulk commodity of foreign trade, Chinese ceramics is directly affected by the foreign trade policy.

The Song and Yuan dynasties actively encouraged overseas trade and set up specialized agencies such as the Bureau for Foreign Shipping to supervise trading activities. At the same time, individual merchants were encouraged to trade by sea as long as they abided by the law. Clear regulations were made on the size, weight, cargo of the ships, the number of people on the ships and the time they were at sea. In the middle and late Ming Dynasty, due to internal governance issues, maritime trade was often banned, but usually not for long, and the ban would often be removed after three or four years.

In the early Ming Dynasty, in order to maintain and consolidate its governance, the government imposed strict control over private overseas trade. Tributary trade with foreign countries was organized by governments, while merchants and ordinary people's private trade with foreign countries were strictly banned. This kind of official tributary trade was more significant for the Ming government in political rather than economic terms and in fact imposed a huge financial burden on the government. As a result, the tributary trade in the Ming Dynasty declined after Emperor Xuande's reign. However, for many foreign countries, this was of greater economic significance, as they benefited tremendously from using the tributary trade for their own business transactions.

During the reign of Emperor Zhengde and Emperor Jiajing in the Ming Dynasty, with the development of the commodity economy, the wealthy businessmen had increasing demand for overseas trade. At the same time, European colonists successively invaded Southeast Asia, which interrupted the tributary trade of Southeast Asian countries to China. Consequently, in order to increase fiscal revenue, the government realized the necessity of lifting the maritime ban. Thus, in the 1560s and 1570s, maritime bans were gradually lifted, allowing individuals to conduct maritime trade, in this way increasing the ceramics trade between China and Southeast Asia.

In the early Qing Dynasty, a strict maritime ban was imposed to suppress the anti-Qing struggle by the Han people. Then, in 1683, the emperors of the Qing Dynasty lifted the maritime ban. As recorded in the historical documents, the maritime ban on Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangzhou was lifted, and four custom houses were established in Guangzhou, Ningbo, Zhangzhou, and Macao. As the ban was lifted, trade developed, but there was still a limit on the size of merchant ships and fleets. In the 1720s, the Qing Dynasty prohibited trade with Nanyang, which hindered China's exchanges with Southeast Asia to a certain extent. But this ban was repealed in the fifth year of Emperor Yongzheng (1727). During the 22nd year of Emperor Qianlong to the 22nd year of Daoguang (1757-1842), the four-port trade in the Qing Dynasty was reduced to one-port trade (in Guangzhou). In order to meet foreign demand for Chinese porcelain and other items, the Qing government also set up a special foreign firm in Macao.

As can be seen from the following data, there was still trade between China and Southeast Asia despite the maritime ban in the Qing Dynasty. Even with the policy of one-port trade in Guangzhou, Southeast Asian countries were still allowed to trade at the customs of Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangsu. The number and gross tonnage of merchant ships to trade between China and Southeast Asia continued to increase.

Table 1: Trading ships between China and Southeast Asia in early Qing Dynasty

Year	Number of ships from China to Jakarta	Year	Number of ships from China to Southeast Asia
1685	10+	**1820**	295, with gross tonnage of 85,200 tons
1703	50+	**1830**	202, with gross tonnage of 70, 000 tons
1715	1000+	**1831**	275, with gross tonnage of 83000 tons

In short, although the overseas trade policies in the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties saw twists and turns, on the whole, the government's foreign trade policy promoted the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in foreign countries.

How Chinese ceramic culture spread in Southeast Asia

Cultural transmission refers to the process of a civilization being accepted by a society, i.e., the spread of new awareness or new cultural characteristics from one individual or a group of people to other people or groups. People work as a cultural carrier and media and cause the spatial transfer of culture from one area to another, while promoting the development and prosperity of the culture.

The spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia went hand in hand with the export of Chinese ceramics. Before the Tang Dynasty, there was no clear record of this, but with the discovery of Han and Tang pottery and porcelain unearthed in Indonesia and Malaysia, there is now clear evidence. After the 11th century, both official journals and personal works clearly noted that Chinese ceramics were one of the main commodities exported to Southeast Asia. There were two ways for ceramics to be commercially traded to Southeast Asia: one is the official tributary trade; the other is non-governmental trade. Whether it was for political purposes or commercial interests, both official tributary trade and non-governmental tributary trade served as the main ways for the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. In addition, immigrants were also an important medium for the spread of Chinese ceramics culture in Southeast Asia.

2.2.1. Tributary trips and trade envoys

The official exchange of envoys to conduct tributary trade is one of the media for the spread of Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia. As noted in "The History of the Song ", the tributary trade was accompanied by the exchange of a large number of items. Among the gifts that the Chinese government gave to envoys of various countries, porcelain accounted for a large share, and the amount still represents a significant number even today. In the Ming Dynasty, Southeast Asian countries came to pay tribute more frequently.

Table 2: Statistics of Envoys from Southeast Asian Countries to China in the Ming Dynasty

Year/Port	Java	Basai	Siam	Champa	Cambodia	Pahang	Malacca	Brunei	Philippines
1400-1409	8	3	11	5	4		3a	3a	2a
1410-1419	6	7	6	9	3	3	8a	4a	2a

Year/Port	Java	Basai	Siam	Champa	Cambodia	Pahang	Malacca	Brunei	Philippines
1420-1429	16	5	10	9			5a	2	5a
1430-1439	5	3	4	10			3		
1440-1449	7		3	9			2		
1450-1459	3		2	3			3		
1460-1469	3	1	1	4			2		
1470-1479			4	3			1		
1480-1489		3	3	3					
1490-1899	2		3	3					
1500-1510			1	2			2		

As shown in the table above, in the 15th century alone, Southeast Asian countries and regions made more than 230 tributary trips to China. These tributary exchanges must be accompanied by large quantities of export of porcelain. In order to meet these envoys' need for porcelain, the Chinese emperors ordered Jingdezhen to fire porcelain as a reward to the envoys. According to Wang Guangyao's statistics (Wang, 2021, pp. 49-58), Champa, Chenla, and Siam were rewarded with porcelain in the Ming Dynasty; Siam was rewarded in the Qing Dynasty. As soon as Chinese porcelains were introduced to Southeast Asia, they were appreciated, recognized and much desired by the local people.

In addition to the porcelain rewarded by the emperors, the envoys often purchased porcelain in private. However, the Ming government imposed restrictions on the quantity of porcelain purchased by envoys. During this period, a large number of Chinese porcelains were exported to Southeast Asia, among which were some of the restricted porcelains. Meanwhile, Chinese kiln workers went to Southeast Asia to provide guidance on ceramic firing techniques, which promoted the development of the Southeast Asian ceramics industry. A large number of iron-painted porcelain objects in Cizhou kiln style, celadon porcelain in Longquan kiln style and blue and white porcelain in Jingdezhen style were thus made.

2.2.2. Non-governmental Trade Merchants

Non-governmental trade is one of the main ways of spreading Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. This transmission from the 11th to the 19th centuries can be roughly divided into two phases: from the 11th to the16th centuries and from the 16th to the19th centuries. During the former period, Chinese, Southeast Asian and Arab merchants spread Chinese ceramic culture to Southeast Asia, while in the latter, European merchants and the East India Company also joined in and played a part.

2.2.2.1. The Chinese porcelain trade to Southeast Asia on merchant ships

After the 11th century, as the commodity economy developed and the navigation technology improved, the government actively encouraged merchants to conduct overseas trade. Ceramic production centers were mainly clustered in the southeastern coastal areas such as Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, and Jiangxi. Chinese porcelains were exported along the maritime Silk Road rather than along the Silk Road by land, and in this way further promoted the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

In addition, after the 11th century, more books describing the customs of various Southeast Asian countries had appeared and provided us with materials to understand the trade between China and the region at that time. For example, *Records of All Foreign Countries* in the 13th century and *Journal on Overseas Countries* in the 14th century had left valuable information on the ceramic trade between China and Southeast Asia. The former was written by Zhao Rushi, who was in charge of the Bureau of Foreign Shipping in Fujian Province at that time, and the author of the latter was Wang Dayuan, who went to sea with merchant ships twice during Emperor Shun's reign in the Yuan Dynasty, and traveled in Southeast Asian countries.

After the 14th century, the ceramic trade between China and Southeast Asia expanded. Since Wang Dayuan had followed the merchant ships to go overseas, he made more specific records of the types of porcelain traded in Southeast Asian countries. The following table shows the records of the ceramic trade in Southeast Asia in the *Journal on Oversea Countries:*

Table 3: Ceramic trade between Yuan Dynasty and Southeast Asia described in *Journal on Overseas Countries*

Present name of Southeast Asian countries	Ancient countries and places in South-east Asia	Traded porcelain
Vietnam	Champa	celadon, floral bowls, burnt beads
	Lingshan	crude bowl, burnt beads
Cambodia	Chenla	yellow and red burnt beads
Singapore	Karimun	celadon, crude bowls
	Dragon's Teeth Gate	Chu porcelain
Malaysia	Pahang	porcelain
	Kelantan	Green-glazed plate, floral bowls, red and green burnt beads
	Luowei	five-color burnt beads, blue and white bowls, big and small water jars
Malaysia	East Singgora	blue and white bowls
	Srokam	blue and white ware, water jugs, small pots
	Zhenlu	five-color burnt beads, big and small water jars
	Wuzhiba	green and white Chuzhou porcelain, pot-tery jars
	Longyaxijiao	blue and white bowls
	Lankawi	red and green burnt beads
Thailand	Lavo	green-glazed ware
	Siam	glass beads
	Sampang	big and small water jars
Myanmar	Danmiao	crude bowls, green-glazed ware
Indonesia	Rili	celadon, crude bowls
	Bajienajian	green-glazed ware, jars, urns
	Samboja	red glass beads
	Sebang	five-color glass beads, porcelain, pottery urn, crude bowls
	Java	glass beads, green and white floral bowls
	Banda	black-glazed vase, celadon
	Palembang	four-color burnt beads, Chu porcelain, big and small water jars, urns
	Panchor	porcelain

Present name of Southeast Asian countries	Ancient countries and places in Southeast Asia	Traded porcelain
Indonesia	**Puben**	celadon, crude bowls, big and small water jars, urns
	Kalimantan	green burnt beads
	Moluccas	burnt beads, celadon, jars
	Huamian	crude bowls, green-glazed Chu ware
	Tamiang	crude bowls
	Lamuri	blue and white bowls
	Gelam	green-glazed ware
Brunei	**Wangniangang**	earthen bottles
The Philippines	**Sandao**	blue and white bowls.
	Malilu	porcelain tray, Chuzhou porcelain, water jugs, big urns
	Jianshan	green bowls, big and small water jars, urns
	Sulu	green beads, Chu ware

The above data show that many new features had appeared when Chinese ceramics were spread in Southeast Asia after the 14th century. Firstly, porcelain types had changed, as so there were less standard porcelain and more celadon and green and white porcelain. Moreover, by this time new varieties of blue and white porcelain had also appeared. For example, the blue and white bowls listed in the above table refer to blue and white porcelain bowls, and the Chu and Chuzhou porcelain are Longquan celadon. Secondly, the trading area had expanded and the volume of trade had increased. According to the *Journal on Oversea Countries*, there were 56 ancient Southeast Asian countries and ancient places, 39 of which have records of porcelain trade. Thirdly, in addition to traditional celadon and white porcelain, the proportion of stoneware such as water jars, urns, jugs, and pots produced in the Jinjiang porcelain kiln in Fujian and Shiwan kiln in Guangdong had increased. In this way the daily needs of local people for Chinese ceramics were more than adequately served. For example, local residents used water jars, water jugs and urns to store water and drink it up to a week later.

At the end of the 14th century, because of the Ming government's ban on maritime trade, fewer Chinese merchant ships went to trade in Southeast Asia,

but coastal merchants usually built ships privately and went overseas to trade commodities with merchant ships from East and South Asia. After the removal of the ban in the late Ming Dynasty, Chinese porcelains were more frequently shipped to Southeast Asia. After the 16th and 17th centuries, Chinese merchants also received commissions from Southeast Asian countries and made porcelains with designated patterns requested by the customers. *Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics* lists exported products at that time, among which there was porcelain manufactured according to required patterns and samples. It was usually the Chaozhou people in eastern Guangdong who did this kind of business. They purchased products and traded with Westerners. The patterns would change every year, and there was no fixed shape or pattern for the products. "Bencharong" and "Lai Nan Thong" commissioned by Thai merchants fell into this category. Some of the decorative patterns on the artifacts faithfully depicted elements of Thai traditional culture, which could hardly be imagined or portrayed by Chinese craftsmen unless they were made according to given samples.

When the Chinese merchant ships arrived at the ports of various countries, they put up tents on the ships to trade products. The different kinds of commodities attracted local residents, and the market became busy. The Chinese merchant ships were like floating houses, on which Chinese ceramics, silk, and tea were sold to local merchants and local people. A seasonally stable market was thus created, and the present Chinatowns all over the world originated in a similar fashion. The historical records on foreign trade in Singapore also noted a similar scene: Chinese sailing ships each year carry tea, raw silk, camphor, homespun, a large number of crude porcelain, and other goods for Chinese immigrants in local and neighboring islands. When they arrived, the Chinese market was always bustling with people.

In addition, Southeast Asian and Arabian merchant ships also went to China to trade porcelain.

2.2.2.2. Chinese ceramics trade in Southeast Asia by European merchants and the East India Company

After the 16th century, European countries such as Portugal and Spain successively began to trade with China, and transported a large number of Chinese ceramics to sell in Southeast Asian countries.

After the Portuguese colonized Macao in 1557, they transported porcelain from Guangzhou and Zhangzhou to Macao and resold them to Southeast Asian countries. European products didn't sell well in Southeast Asia at that time, so when the shrewd and savvy European merchants found that Chinese ceramics were popular there, they first shipped Chinese ceramics to sell in Southeast Asia and then bought and shipped spices back to Europe. After Spain occupied Manila in 1571, around 30 to 40 Chinese ships loaded with Chinese goods came to Manila every year. Then, Spanish merchants bought porcelain and other Chinese goods and sold them to Southeast Asia, America and other countries.

In the 17th century, the Netherlands followed Portugal and Spain and established a trading base in Batavia. Dutch merchants shipped Chinese ceramics from Batavia to sell in in Southeast Asia in exchange for the items they needed. In 1636, over 400,000 pieces of porcelain were shipped from Batavia to Banten, Tegal, Cirebon, Pekalongan, Ribara on Java Island and Jotun, Anhang Island, Bali, and Jambi, West Bali, Palembang, Tingiri, and Aceh on Sumatra, and Sukadanna, Matapura, and Machen in Borneo.

2.2.3. Overseas immigration

Overseas immigration is another important factor in the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia from the 11th to the 19th century. Chinese people who actively or passively migrated to Southeast Asia became an important medium for the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. The main types of Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia are as follows: First, there were the businessmen, who took risks by traveling by sea in order to make profit. If they were allowed to trade freely and then managed to lead a stable and prosperous life after they had arrived at a new place, they might settle down.

Second, when there was a change in dynasties, the officials of the old regime who were not willing to be ruled by the new dynasty took the initiative or were forced to move their families to other countries. As they used to enjoy a high social status and were better educated, some of their living habits and ideological beliefs were imitated by Southeast Asians. In addition to prominent officials and eminent personages, many ordinary people of the old dynasties moved overseas with their families.

Figure 2
Map of ancient kiln sites in Southeast Asia

Third, some handicraftsmen along the coast and farmers who had lost their land couldn't accept the new system of sheer exploitation and chose to leave their hometowns. Chinese people from all walks of life moved to Samboja City at that time and they made a living in Southeast Asia by virtue of their superb craftsmanship. In addition, there were some people who were taken captive by pirates and trafficked to Southeast Asia.

No matter for what purpose they moved to Southeast Asia, they had retained many cultural traditions, which had contributed to the cultural exchange and national integration between China and Southeast Asia.

Development of Southeast Asian ceramics

Out of the 11 countries in Southeast Asia, that is, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Brunei, remains of ancient ceramic production centers were only discovered in five, namely Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar and Vietnam, which are mainly located in the northern part of the Indochina Peninsula. So far, no remains of ceramic production have been found in the south of the peninsula and the Nanyang Islands.

It is worth noting that the territories of ancient Southeast Asian countries were different from those of today, so the kiln sites in some ancient countries are to be found in other countries today. For example, certain sites in ancient Laos and Cambodia are located in present-day Thailand. The following map shows the ancient kiln sites in Southeast Asia:

3.1.1. Khmer (Cambodia) Ceramics

Pottery had been produced in Khmer in the Funan period at the latest. Then, at the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century, windlass was used in making thin pottery, which at this time was considered to be the imitation of Indian pottery in terms of shape. Later, in the first half of the 9th century, the Khmer people established the Angkor Kingdom in the northwest of Cambodia and its culture lasted for three hundred years. On the Karen Plain, 50 kilometers northeast of Angkor Wat, the earliest place where glazed pottery was fired in Southeast Asia was discovered. Khmer kiln sites are mainly located

in Phnom Kulen, which is rich in pottery resources, and Buri Ran kiln, which is currently located at the border area with southern Thailand. Since the territory of the Khmer dynasty covered most of the territory of present-day Thailand, some ancient Khmer kiln sites were located in present-day Thailand. This is the case with Buri Ran.

Since the 9th century, the production scale of Khmer pottery had continuously expanded. During this period, Khmer pottery was decorated with elephants, birds, cows, horses and other animal bossage with decals. So far, Khmer pottery has only been found in the territory of the Angkor Kingdom, thus it is clear that its products were just limited to the domestic market. At that time, Buddhism prevailed in the Angkor Kingdom, and the construction of sacred places such as palaces and temples demanded various decorations, which promoted the development of the pottery industry. The decorative tiles and spires unearthed from the kiln sites are proof of this. For this reason, Khmer pottery was not made to be used as daily utensils, but more to be used as sacred objects in religious and royal occasions. For example, earthenware bottles replaced metal products to be used as clean vases or to hold incense. Some scholars even believe that the Anlong Thom kiln site for firing green-glazed Kulen ware is an official kiln dedicated to firing utensils used by the royal family.

3.1.2. Thai ceramics

At present, the ancient kiln sites in Thailand are mainly distributed in the northern, central part, southern and eastern part of Thailand and its borders with Cambodia. The Buri Ran kiln on the eastern border with Cambodia has been discussed under the section of Khmer ceramics, so it will not be discussed here. Also, the Binche kiln, which is now located in Laos, belongs to ancient kilns in northern Thailand.

According to the history books, the King of Thailand once brought back nearly a hundred Chinese kilnmen during his visit to China in the 13th century. Kilns were built in Sukhothai and Songkhla, which pioneered the production of Thai ceramics. However, according to the excavation results on the official kiln sites, the Lopburi area in central Thailand had already produced black-glazed pottery under the influence of Khmer ceramics during the period of the Khmer Kingdom from the 12th to 13th centuries. Black glaze was not uncommon as

civilizations during this period were all able to produce such ceramic products. Moreover, many items Khmer-style unglazed gray pottery were unearthed in the Sukhothai site, which can be easily explained from the historical perspective, given that the borders of Cambodia and Thailand often underwent drastic changes over the centuries, and the cultures of the two countries had influenced each other. Therefore, it is in line with the historical background that Thai ceramics was originally a product under the influence of the Cambodian Angkor culture.

The arrival of Chinese kilnmen didn't have any pioneering influence on the production of Thai pottery, but had greatly improved the ceramic technique and firing technology of Sukhothai and Songkhla kilns, and also increased new ceramic varieties. As a result, the quality and output of the ceramic products and the production scale of both the Sukhothai and the Songkaluo kilns improved greatly and was elevated to a new level. The recent discovery of hundreds of pottery kilns from the 10th century in the Si Satchanalai area in the north of Sukotai City clearly shows that Thai ceramic production had been prosperous long before the Chinese influence.

3.1.2.1. Kilns in central Thailand

Sukhothai Kiln

The Sukhothai kiln is located on the outskirts of the old capital of Sukhothai. It was discovered early but was severely damaged before any archaeological excavations were carried out. Because of this, we have limited information about the development and history of the kiln industry. A total of 49 groups of ancient kiln sites have been discovered, and the unearthed products mainly include plates, bowls, basins, vases, pots, boxes, high-foot plates and architectural pottery. The most typical decorative pattern is, for example, the fish algae pattern, along with entwined flowers, flame patterns... The pattern layout is mainly a center design, with minor decorations on the periphery. Marks of supporting nails are usually seen inside, at the bottom of the pottery. The use of engobe and supporting nails, as well as the decorative patterns and layout all show that the ceramic technology used at this time was different from the Khmer period and was clearly influenced by Chinese ceramics.

Swangkhalok Kiln (also known as Si Satchanalai Kiln)

The Swangkhalok kiln is located about 60 kilometers north of Swangkhalok City. More than 150 kiln sites have been officially excavated there, and the unearthed ceramics include the earliest unglazed pottery, crude gray-glazed pottery, celadon, iron painted pottery, white-glazed pottery in brown color and brown-glazed porcelain. The evolution process is clearly seen from the kiln site. In fact, the structure of the kiln is similar to that of the Cizhou kiln in China, which is a horizontal-flame single-chamber circular kiln on flat ground. The main products include works related to large-scale buildings such as Buddha statues, mythical creatures and architectural constructions, as well as porcelain sculptures, bowls, plates, jars, basins, pots, bottles, boxes, vases and high-foot plates... The shape and the decorative style of the containers are greatly influenced by the blue and white porcelain made in Longquan Kiln and Jingdezhen.

Sing Buri Kiln

The Sing Buri kiln is located in Changktat Village, Sing Buri County, Thailand. A total of 6 kilns have been excavated there since 1985. The kilns are 13-15 meters long and have a brick structure, and can be dated from the 15th to 17th centuries. The main products are brown-glazed four-handle pots, which have also been found in Japan, the Gulf of Siam, Indonesia, Australia and other places. We know that four-handle pots unearthed from the kilns are closely related to trade activities and were used as containers to hold commodities.

Suphan Buri Kiln

The Suphan Buri kiln is located about 70 kilometers northwest of Ayutthaya. At least 10 ovens have been confirmed. The structure of the ovens is special, consisting of a chimney, a combustion chamber, and a firewood opening. It is a slender and oval cross-fire kiln, with a roof made of bamboo and clay, and a square chimney. Products from the kiln mainly include high-temperature unglazed bowls, bottles, pots, and sculptures.

3.1.2.2 Kilns in northern Thailand

Kalong Kiln

The Kalong kiln site is located in Kalong Village, Chiang Mai City. It flourished at the beginning of the 14th century and was abandoned during the middle of the 16th century. Judging from the ruins, the ovens, which had a very simple structure, were very small, measuring only about 2-3 meters in length and 1 meter in height. Kiln furniture and other remains, such as column-shaped firing utensils, claw-shaped supporting nails, bedders can be seen everywhere in the ruins. Furthermore, the rust-painted pottery are coated with a blue transparent glaze, which is a unique feature. Finally, in 1563, the Burmese invaded Thailand and the Kalong kiln was abandoned.

Sankampaeng Kiln

The Sankampaeng kiln site is located in Pathum Village, Chiang Mai City. A total of 83 ancient kilns dating from the 14th to 16th centuries have been discovered. The kilns are generally 2,5–3 meters wide, which makes it difficult to control the temperature of the kiln, and there are many waste products at the kiln site. The kilns were greatly influenced by the Sukhothai kiln and Songkhla kiln and produced, for example, rust-painted pottery, celadon, black-glazed pottery. The products, examples of which are both of the crude variety as well as more elegant ones, are mainly celadon. The vessel types mainly include narrow-mouth bottles, trays with impressed floral design, plate-mouth pots, round belly narrow-mouth pots and so on.

Paan Kiln

The Paan kiln is located near Paan Town, Chiang Mai City. Over 40 ancient celadon kiln sites have been discovered. The products are mainly bowls and plates, decorated with techniques like scratching, engraving, and decals. In addition, there are also the Phayao, Wangnai and Lampang kilns.

In summary, it can be seen that the 15th century was the golden age for the development of Thai ceramics. The kilns in both northern and the southern Thailand flourished, and the main types were celadon and rust-painted pottery. Some products were sold overseas for a short period, but all in all, they used to

occupy an important place in the ceramic trade across the world. Nevertheless, although Thailand produced ceramics for foreign trade, the upper class in the country still continued to import ceramics for daily use.

3.1.3. Vietnamese ceramics

Before the eleventh century, most of the mountainous areas in northern Vietnam belonged to the territory of the Song Dynasty at that time. Affected by the Han culture, glazed pottery was fired there in the first and second centuries AD. High-temperature gray-glazed pottery and plain pottery models in typical Han-style were unearthed in the Han Dynasty tombs in Vietnam, such as imitation bronze tripods, statues, pots and furnaces. Such influence continued until around the 7th century. After the establishment of a Protectorate of the Southern Regions in the Tang Dynasty, Tang-style works began to appear, such as green-brown glazed bowls and jars, often with four or five marks left by support burning in the center, on the inside of the bottom. In the 11th century, the northern part of Vietnam, under the leadership of the Li family of Vietnam, established an independent kingdom with the capital in Hanoi. The construction of a new capital and temples required a large number of building parts, which promoted the development of Vietnamese ceramics. From the 12th to 13th centuries, Vietnamese ceramics continued to absorb the production and decoration techniques of Chinese ceramics in the Song Dynasty and imitated the celadon of the Longquan kiln, using carved decorations to produce bowls, trays, bottles and other daily utensils, with marks left by support burning on the inside of the bottom. In addition, a series of works such as white-glazed and brown-colored pots and jars with floral engravings were also found in central Vietnam at this time.

From the 14th to the 16th centuries, as a result of the introduction of Chinese technology and the use of Chinese ceramic technicians with a wealth of experience, ceramics produced in northern Vietnam looked nearly the same as the Chinese ceramics made during the Song and Yuan Dynasties. With the unique local ore and the influence of the early western market, Longquan celadon from Zhejiang, and Jingdezhen white porcelain, blue and white porcelain, and colorful porcelain were imitated. These products were frequently traded in the world. It laid an important foundation for the early ceramics' development and

economic development in Vietnam. Chu Du kiln and Bat Trang kiln were the two major ceramic production centers at that time. As they were located near the export port of Haiphong, they enjoyed excellent transportation facilities to facilitate foreign trade.

The Dutch East India Company once set up a branch in Hanoi to purchase local porcelain and sell them to Southeast Asia and Japan. At the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the export of Vietnamese ceramics gradually lost their competitiveness. The Bat Trang kiln mainly produced religious utensils such as incense burners and vases, and a few daily utensils such as betelnut ash pots. In the second half of the 17th century, with the demise of the Li Empire in Vietnam, Vietnam's ceramic production fell into a slump.

3.1.4. Burmese ceramics

Since Myanmar is located to the west of the Strait of Malacca, compared with Khmer, Vietnam, and Thailand, its porcelains are less affected by Chinese ceramic production technology. In fact, Myanmar has been producing unglazed pottery since the early years in history, and the pottery products were mainly used to hold the ashes of the deceased after cremation. It is not clear when the production of glazed pottery began, but many green-glazed ceramic construction parts used to build pagodas have been unearthed. Celadon is one of the important varieties of Burmese ceramics, but it is not clear when they were first made. The main utensils include bowls and plates, and were influenced by the Longquan kilns in China as well as by the Songkhla kilns in Thailand. Legend has it that when Myanmar invaded Thailand, Songkhla potters were taken captive to Myanmar. The kiln sites that have been discovered include the villages of Lagumbyee near Twante and Bago. The kiln type is an elliptical cross-fire kiln above the ground, and cylindrical and columnar firing utensils have also been found near the kiln site. A small amount of Burmese celadon unearthed from the shipwreck of Lena Shoal and similar celadon plates unearthed from the remains of the Bago Palace show that the kilns were still in production during the second half of the 16th century. Another important ceramic variety, Mataban Jar, is famous because of the Martaban port, where the jars were transshipped. Mataban jars are large black-brown glazed large jars with a belted pattern. They were produced in southern Myanmar and were mainly used to hold trade

commodities. They were widely distributed along the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the number of these jars unearthed in a few sites even exceeded that of Chinese ceramics.

Other regions

3.1.5.1. Laos

Although Laos had begun to produce ceramics in ancient times, it didn't receive widespread attention. Laos started making pottery in the capital of Vientiane when King Setthathirath (AD 1550-AD 1572) built the capital, and its ancient pottery kiln area was on the outskirts of of the city. From some unearthed items in the country, it is generally known that Lao ceramics include black, plain and glazed pottery. From the traces of linear cut on the bottom of the utensils, it can be inferred that the local potters had used the windlass molding technique. The linear trace is an effective proof of the cut with a linear tool to separate the pottery from the windlass after it had stopped rotating.

3.1.5.2. Nanyang Islands

As mentioned earlier, the ancient kiln sites in Southeast Asia are mainly distributed in the northern part of the Indochina Peninsula, and no remains of ceramic production have been found in the southern part of the peninsula and the Nanyang Islands. However, this does not mean that pottery has never been produced in this area. The author has seen signs of ceramic production in the Nanyang Islands in some documents. Since the great geographical discoveries, a closer relationship had been established between pottery urns and the Philippines. Ancient Chinese people living in Kuching and Sarawak made pottery urns there and imitated the shape of ancient pottery urns, and traded them with the residents in the mountainous area. Although the potters were from China, it is still evidence that pottery was produced in Borneo and Sarawak. At the time when ceramics made in the late Tang and early Song dynasties of China were traded in the Philippines, the crude pottery in the Philippines was just limited to household use, such as cooking pots, stoves, utensils, lids, and water kettles, for example which is clear evidence of pottery production in the Philippines, however crude it was. In ancient tombs in the Philippines, this kind

of earthen stoneware was put together with Chinese ceramics to hold items for sacrifice. Such pottery is usually unglazed and may be produced by residents in nearby villages. However, ceramic production in Laos and Nanyang Islands needs further study.

3.2.1. Malaysia

In 1958, a pile of porcelain pieces was discovered in Jincheng (Malaysia). Chinese porcelain pieces and Songkhla pieces from the early 15th to 16th centuries were unearthed, and most of them were celadon, white porcelain and brown-glazed stoneware. Burmese black-glazed and white-colored large urns, white-glazed plates, celadon bowls and plates, were unearthed in the relics on the Tioman Island, which was a thoroughfare in the waters of the east coast of the Malay peninsula. They were also discovered in the relics in Lhok Seumawe near Samudera Pasai, the Islamic Kingdom of Sumatra, in the relics of Banten and Tirtayasa on Java Island, and from the shipwrecks in the waters of Lena Island.

According to Japanese scholar Yoko Aoyagi's statistics, Among the 520 ceramics unearthed from the Karatagan Tombs in the Philippines, 411 are Chinese, 96 are Siamese, 9 are Vietnamese and 4 are porcelain of unknown origin. All these excavations show that ceramics produced in Vietnam and Siam can be found in remains from the late 14th century to the early 16th century, but they account for a small percentage. Professor Bell, who has rich experience studying pottery unearthed in the Philippines, also believes that at the beginning of the 15th century, there was fierce competition in the southern Philippines between Chinese pottery and their counterparts produced in Southeast Asian countries like Siam and Vietnam. The total trade volume of the latter reached 20%-40%. However, in the northern Philippines, Southeast Asian ceramics accounted for a small percentage, only about 10%.

Indonesia

Blue and white ceramic tiles have been found in the remains of Trowulan, the capital city of Majapahit Kingdom in the eastern part of Java, and in the remains of the Demak and Kudus mosques in central Java. Wu (2012, pp. 59-64) noted that the blue and white tiles inlaid on the facade of the Masjid Agung Demak (Java) built in the 15th century may have come from the Kingdom

of Cham (Central Vietnam). These blue and white ceramic tiles have different shapes, including oblong, petal-shaped, cross-shaped and hexagonal. The patterns are mostly with animal and plant design from China and Vietnam, but some tiles, especially the hexagonal tiles, have geometric patterns. The blue and white ceramic tiles found in Java were not delivered by merchants or businessmen but were commissioned by East Java and made in Vietnam. There is data showing that in 1665, the Dutch East India Company alone bought a sailing ship loaded with porcelain bowls from Vietnam, the quantity of which amounted to 10,000 pieces.

According to available historical data, it is estimated that from 1663 to 1682, the East India Company imported up to 1,450,000 pieces of Annam (Vietnam) porcelain into Jakarta. In 1936, Japanese archaeologists unearthed 115 pieces of Songkhla ceramics, 104 pieces of Vietnamese ceramics, and 181 pieces of Chinese ceramics near Makassar.

After the East India Company built business halls for Ayutthaya in the north in Bangkok in 1680, King Ekathotsarot of Siam sent envoys to visit. Subsequently, the Dutch East India Company obtained the right to trade European goods for Songkhla ceramics in Siam, and then transshipped them to Japan and Java.

3.2.2. West Asian and South Asian regions

In the second half of the 15th century, Southeast Asian ceramics could be seen in West Asia. In the Topkal Palace in Istanbul, Turkey, there is a famous Vietnamese blue and white globular shape vase with the inscription "Craftsman Pei's Playful Work in the Nance Prefecture in the eighth year of the Dahe Period (1450)". In the article *East and Southeast Asian Porcelain Unearthed at the Qal'at al-Bahrain Archaeological Site in Bahrain, the Persian Gulf*, Zhao Bing, a French scholar, confirmed that a total of 1,450 pieces of East and Southeast Asian porcelain have been unearthed since 1973. Among them, the Burmese celadon plates unearthed from the Qal'at al-Bahrain site are all over 295 cm in diameter. Such porcelain plates have also been found in other port sites in the Middle East. In the ruins of Julfar in the United Arab Emirates, apart from Vietnamese blue and white pottery, Thai ceramics and a large number of Burmese celadon were found. In a port on the east coast of India many celadon and iron painted fragments from central Thailand have been found in the remains.

3.2.3. Taiwan and Japan

In Taiwan, four-handle pots, Vietnamese hard pottery, and white-glazed green-colored pots made in the Thai Singburi kiln, were unearthed from the ruins of Zeelandia; Vietnamese underglaze iron painted ceramics were unearthed from the Shenei ruins in Tainan County.

In the 15th century, the Ryukyu Kingdom actively participated in the trade between China and Southeast Asia and as a result a large number of Thai and Vietnamese porcelain have been found in the remains in Okinawa, Japan. Moreover, black-glazed and white-colored large urns made in Myanmar were discovered in the ruins of Otomo Uchimachi, and according to experts' speculation, these may have been used as containers to store liquids.

The hectic maritime trade spurred the rapid development of Southeast Asian ceramics. From the 15th century to the 17th centuries, ceramics from Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar occupied a sizeable market share in the ceramic trade. However, the good times did not last long as the share began to decline at the end of the 16th century. Siamese and Annan pottery can no longer be found in the Antiquities Zone in the Philippines, except for the inherited ones left over from the early trade.

The ceramic production in Southeast Asia was basically carried out in families. Each household workshop had several dependent relatives or apprentices who worked with the craftsmen. Although they had superb professional skills, they didn't have sufficient capital. So they only began working after getting the deposit for the order. In the northern capital of Vietnam, a large number of lacquer, silk and ceramic artisans started their work only after the merchant ships had docked and the deposits paid for the required export product. The artisans would be extremely reluctant to take the risk of using their own funds to start work if they couldn't receive the advance payment. It is precisely because of this passive attitude that when Chinese ceramics resumed production at the end of the 16th century, Southeast Asian ceramics lost their competitiveness and fell into recession.

3.3. Characteristics of Southeast Asian ceramic culture

3.3.1. Imitation of Chinese ceramics

In most Southeast Asian areas that produced porcelain, there is a widespread legend about Chinese potters coming to make pottery in kilns. According to Du Modiae, a Chinese artisan named Huang Guangxing came to live in Vietnam and taught villagers how to make pottery molds, jars, and urns. For this reason, Huang Guangxing and his first disciples were regarded as the originators of Vietnam's pottery industry, and even today there are still two temples dedicated to them. Bachang Town in Hanoi in northern Vietnam is another well-known ceramic production center. In 1810, the first Emperor of the Nguyen dynasty of Vietnam instructed He Dahe, the governor of Guangdong Province, to hire three bricklayers from Guangdong to make glazed tiles in various colors of blue, yellow and green. As a result, Longshougang quickly developed into the production center of colored glaze. The pottery kiln in Bac Ninh, Vietnam, was also said to have been built by Chinese potters who came to Bac Ninh from Lao Cai in 1465 AD.

According to Zhu Mengzhen's *The History of the Southwestern Tribes* (cf. Zhang, 2020, pp. 170-176), there were also Chinese potters producing ceramics in Myanmar. The pottery, tiles, copper, and iron were all made by Cantonese craftsmen. In the Philippines, Chinese ancestors living in Kuching and Sarawak, Borneo, used to make pottery urns there. In 1295, when the King of Siam returned from his visit to the Yuan Dynasty, he brought back 50 potters from Cizhou kiln. When the envoys returned from the second visit to the Yuan Dynasty in 1300, it recruited 500 potters and their relatives in the Longquan kilns. Although there's no exact written records for some legends, it is an indisputable fact that Chinese potters went to Southeast Asia to build kilns and burn pottery or to instruct potters in Southeast Asia to make pottery in ancient times. Sometimes even if there were no Chinese potters to go there, some experienced local potters would imitate Chinese ceramics by observing the patterns, glaze colors, and firing methods of Chinese ceramics. That's why Southeast Asian ceramics and Chinese ceramics have a certain degree of similarity.

Even without detailed knowledge of the structure of the kiln and the loading and firing method, ceramics can be easily imitated by using the shapes and decoration of the prototype. In other words, even if the technicians do not have direct contact with the ceramics the receiving party can use its own technique

to imitate the appearance to a certain extent. Generally speaking, products are circulated around the world in various forms. Whether they will be accepted or rejected mainly depends on the function and aesthetics of the products. Wider acceptance brings about demand, which stimulates copying or imitation. A large number of Chinese ceramics were imported and loved by Southeast Asians, so these would naturally be imitated in shapes and patterns. Influenced by the Cizhou kiln, the underglaze iron paintings of Sukhothai, Songkhla and Annam first applied a layer of white engobe on the porcelain body, and then painted the decorative patterns. The Sukhothai kiln also imitated the Cizhou kiln to produce a thick and hard porcelain jar. Mikami Tsugio claimed that most of the yellow-glazed and yellow and green glazed ceramic bowls, basins, pots and other porcelains of the Li Dynasty in Vietnam imitated the shapes and decorations made in Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Guangdong and other places from the North Song Dynasty to the early South Song Dynasty. There were hardly any utensils made based solely on their own creativity.

3.3.2. Cultural and regional characteristics

Although Southeast Asian ceramics imitated the shapes and patterns of Chinese ceramics, most of the initial imitations lacked the understanding of their original technical and cultural perspectives. Due to the fact that the local technology, culture and values were different from China, the imitations were inherently different. According to Pariwat in the article *Creative Inspiration for Ceramics in Southeast Asia*, that some of the unearthed pottery shows that Burmese potters didn't understand the meaning of the decorative patterns on Chinese ceramics. As a result, the themes presented in their works were often very different from the prototypes, and the appearance shows unique characteristics. Moreover, the function of the pottery may also be different.

This type of selection in cultural transmission may adopt a new cultural feature into the original culture, or even use it to replace a certain original cultural feature. Foreign cultures and technologies are usually integrated through such a top-down process. So, as each culture has its own peculiarity, as time goes by, foreign culture and technology will gradually adapt to the local natural environment, social economy and cultural way of thinking. Any culture and technology that fits the local development are digested and absorbed, while any

unsuitable culture and technology will be discarded. Consequently, although Southeast Asian ceramics imitated Chinese porcelain in terms of technology, shape, and patterns, their uniqueness can be found with careful observation and comparison.

The same applies to the decorative patterns and shapes. For example, the fish pattern is a typical decorative theme that Southeast Asian ceramics imitated from Chinese ceramics. The layout of the double fish pattern basically copied that of Chinese ceramics, facing opposite and chasing each other. However, because saltwater fish, which were obese and round, were more commonly seen in the coastal waters of Southeast Asia, this unique regional phenomenon is directly reflected in the local ceramic fish pattern decoration.

In short, although the ceramic production in Southeast Asian countries imitated Chinese ceramics to a certain extent, they made changes and innovations according to the property of materials, people's lifestyle and religious beliefs. Thus, a distinctive ceramic culture was created, based on their own characteristics, which contributed to the development of ceramics in Southeast Asia.

Conclusions

This article takes the cultural and geographical perspective of cultural transmission to study the spread and influence of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. This novel theory is applied to comprehensively analyze the spreading mode and spreading media of Chinese ceramics and Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, it also analyzes the integration of Chinese ceramics culture with local culture and the formation of a new culture in its spreading process in Southeast Asia and its positive impact on local culture. The conclusions of the research include the following:

First: the background for the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

The prosperity of China's ceramic industry, especially the continuous increase of the scale of ceramic kilns devoted to foreign trade, together with the incentive following the government's encouraging foreign policy, jointly promoted the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

Second: the transmission of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia

As the carrier and media of cultural communication, human activities cause the spatial transfer of culture from one region to another and promotes the development and prosperity of culture. The spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia took place along with the export of Chinese ceramics to Southeast Asia. The exchanges of tributary trading envoys, non-governmental trading merchants, and overseas immigrants all contributed to the spread of Chinese ceramic culture. In fact, these are the main media for the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia.

Third: the regions influenced by the spread of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia

The diffusion and exchanges of culture in different regions enable the integration of a culture with the local culture in the process of dissemination, thereby promoting the generation and development of new cultural forms. This kind of cultural integration is manifested in the process of new cultural features being appreciated and adopted and becoming part of the local culture or replacing some of the original cultural features. This process of selection is inseparable from the local geographical environment, cultural background, social demands, and religious beliefs.

Fourth: the development of local ceramic culture in Southeast Asia

Among many countries in Southeast Asia, relics of ancient large-scale ceramic production have only been found in Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos, as they are neighboring China. The relics are mainly distributed in the northern part of the Indochina Peninsula, which is close to China. So far, no ceramic production remains have been found in the southern part of the peninsula and the Nanyang Islands.

With the increase in demand for ceramic products in Southeast Asia, especially during the 14th to 17th centuries, when the Ming and Qing Dynasties banned maritime trade, the ceramic industry in the north of Southeast Asia achieved intermittent rapid development due to demand from Western markets and the local people. Though such achievement should not be attributed

to Chinese foreign policy, the latter indirectly promoted the development of the ceramics industry in Southeast Asia and played an important role in local social and economic development, generating a unique ceramic style characteristic of local cultural environment, geographical environment, and religious beliefs in South Asia.

In conclusion, envoys, merchants, and immigrants served as the media for Chinese ceramics and Chinese ceramic culture to be spread in Southeast Asia, and in this way brought about the spatial transfer of ceramic culture from one place to another. Chinese ceramic culture is influenced by local cultural factors, geographical factors and local residents' living habits, and the two cultures have learned from each other and become interwoven. Such cultural integration has promoted the formation, generation, development and prosperity of a new Chinese ceramic culture. Furthermore, adapting to the development of the local natural environment, social economy and the cultural background was fundamental to the appreciation and adoption of Chinese ceramic culture in Southeast Asia. The Chinese ceramic culture and technology that suited its environment and development were digested and absorbed, while those not suitable to its cultural and technological development would be gradually abandoned. Consequently, in this continuous cultural fusion, a unique ceramic culture of Southeast Asian nations and regions was created.

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The peregrine Art. The production of tin-glazed ceramics in the 17th century Lisbon[1]

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Lisbon was one of the first places in Europe where there was a massive production of ceramics inspired by Chinese porcelain. However, this manufacture was so expressive that the objects had to be exported to other regions. Moreover, this trade had the specificity of producing ceramics with the special characteristics that each different market required.

This is a narrative that it is almost forgotten but when we look at the objects produced in Lisbon towards the end of the 16th century and until the 3rd quarter of the 17th century one is compelled to admire a production so diverse and imaginative. One of the main aspects of the Portuguese production of this period is the fact that these objects are mainly inspired by Chinese porcelain. In these pieces, the decoration consists of a mixture of several elements that are put together to create an exotic atmosphere and not simply mimic the original production. This aspect and the fact that these objects were made according to the demands of

1 We wish to present our deepest gratitude to Carlos Morais for his patience and serenity. Besides inviting us for this publication, he was an extraordinary support in the long process of producing this text. Furthermore we are grateful to several people who allowed us and facilitate the images that illustrate this text: Alexandra Encarnação and Tânia Olim Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF), José Costa Reis e Rui Pinheiro (MNSR), Maria da Graça Carmona e Costa and Dinorah Lucas (Carmona e Costa Foundation); Salomé Abreu and Ricardo Rodrigues (Museum of Decorative Arts, Viana do Castelo), Helmy Frank, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Roterdão.

the European market they were destined for, meant that several characteristics had to be adjusted to make them more attractive to specific tastes. In this way, everything contributed to the creation of an unusual production. Our purpose is to tell this complex and almost forgotten story and to renew an interest in these remarkable objects created in a moment when the world was becoming larger and people could start to discover the wonders of the diversity brought to Europe by other cultures.

On the origin of Lisbon's ceramics inspired by Chinese porcelain

Although the origin of the production of ceramics in Portugal is unknown, objects inspired by Chinese porcelain can be traced back to the end of the 16th century.

The production of majolica, which was almost entirely restricted to Lisbon in those days, had already been used in the making of azulejos, as was the case of the panels made by João de Gois, a Flemish potter active in the city between (1553/4 – c.1580)[2]. Arrested by the Inquisition in 1551, in a series of statements regarding this, João de Gois, whose original name was Hans Goos, is quoted as having made a series of ceramic objects for a *botica* (pharmacy)[3]. Apart from this we don't know what the decoration of these pieces was like or if they were trying to mimic Chinese porcelain or were simply white with no other embellishment. Bearing in mind that this man Gois and his brother Filipe were responsible for complex decorations in azulejos it is strange that no material examples of the same intricate motives in ceramic objects have been found either in museums or private Portuguese collections. Moreover, in the many archeological excavations that have taken place in recent years in Lisbon, no such examples have turned up.

The first Portuguese majolica object to have a date painted on it is a vessel marked 1608. Until now there is no other known piece with a chronogram prior. Of course this, doesn't mean there was no previous production, but for this there is no evidence with this kind of proof (photo 1).

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2 Pais, Reis, Campelo, Mimoso, & Silva, 2019, pp. 1-23.

3 Pais, Reis, Campelo, Mimoso, & Silva, 2019, pp. 1-23.

Apart from material evidence one must rely on documents to try to understand when in Lisbon the earliest ceramics that were inspired by Chinese porcelain must have been produced. Some texts are being used to suggest that this production was previous to the mid-16th century or even before. However, due to a certain amount of ambiguity of the texts, and also because this is not the proper context for making a review of the several documents used in the Portuguese bibliography, we will only address those that seem to be the more accurate and less uncertain.

The most important document in this context is probably the one by Manuel Severim de Faria (1584-1655) whose "News from Portugal" (*Notícias de Portugal*) published in 1625, but compiled several years before, states that:

> A few years back a potter from Talavera (Spain) came to Lisbon and upon seeing the quality of its clay started to make glazed white ceramics not only like the ones in Talavera but also like those from China. In beauty and perfection, the porcelains from Lisbon can compete with the ones from the East. As these ceramics have been copied by other potters, the production has grown in such a way that they have not only filled the Kingdom but have also been taken abroad by ships in large numbers[4].

Although the identity of the potter referred to in this statement remains unknown this is key information regarding the way the majolica ceramics inspired by Chinese porcelain started to be produced in Lisbon. Another fundamental aspect in this text is the information regarding the exportation of these items, a statement that we will be addressing again.

Several years afterwards, in 1619, an important festivity took place to welcome the monarch, the King of Spain and Portugal, Phillipe the 3rd, the 2nd of Portugal, on his arrival. For this occasion, several constructions had been erected to exemplify the trades of Lisbon. The construction made by the potters, for which

4 "Poucos annos hà, que um Oleiro, que veio de Talaveira a Lisboa, vendo a bondade do barro da terra, começou a lavrar louça vidrada branca, não só como a de Talaveira, mas como a da China, porque na formusura e perfeição pòdem competir com as perçolanas de Lisboa com as do Oriente, e imitando-o outros Officiaes cresceo a mercadoria de maneira, q. não sómente está o Reino cheio desta louça, mas vay muita de carregação para fóra da barra". Cf. Faria, 1740, p. 19.

we don't have an image but we do have a very detailed description[5], refers to different aspects of the trade in terms of the decoration that was applied (photo 2). Among the various elements there is a description of a painting that states:

> In another painting, on the left side the Art (of pottery), was painted. At her feet are several instruments and among them a vase of the porcelain made in Lisbon copied from China and nearby a poem: Here our Monarch reigns supreme / Receive a gift from this peregrine Art / Made in the Portuguese Kingdom / What was, in the past, so expensive and sold to us from China. Above this was depicted another emblem of a ship from the Indian trade, from where Chinese porcelain was unloaded and foreign ships loaded the one produced in Portugal, while others, filled with these goods sailed from harbor and the wording on this emblem was *Et Nostra Pererrant* / Ours also go to other regions[6].

Once again, the two main points of interest are that these objects showed a quality that was comparable to Chinese porcelain (of course there is some exaggeration in this statement) and that it was a commodity that was much valued in other places and so for this reason it was exported.

According to the evidence at our disposal we can state that there was ceramic production in Lisbon of a high quality inspired by Chinese porcelain at around the late 16th century, and that these goods were highly prized and were exported to several other regions.

The first manufactured artifacts and their markets

The production of ceramics made in Lisbon can be more easily identified by being divided into periods of 25 years. This is because we can define changes

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5 Cf. Lavanha, 1622, pp. 29v-30.

6 *Noutro quadro da mão esquerda estava pintada a Arte; a seus pees varios instrumentos mecanicos, & entre elles hũ vaso de porcelana da que se faz em Lisboa contrafeita da China, ao pee desta avia estoutro quarteto. Aqui Monarca excelso soberano / Vos offerece a Arte peregrina / Fabricado no Reino Lusitano, / O que antes nos vendeu tam caro a China. Encima do quadro pequeno avia outro Emblema, era hũa Nao da India da qual se descarregavão barças de porcelana da China, & outros Navios estrangeiros que carregavão da nossa, & outros que ja carregados della, saião do Porto; era a letra deste Emblema. ET NOSTRA PERERRANT. / Tambem as nossas vão a varias Regiões.*

Figure 1
Pot, 1608, Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, inv. 1005 CER, Jorge Coutinho, (DGPC/ADF).

Figure 2
Arch from the potters, 1619, reconstitution proposal by Alexandre and Margarida Pais.

in the manufacture of the objects by these chronological moments and this way aid in their characterization.

The objects we can associate to the first production were mainly painted in blue over the white surface of the ceramic. This is the period when we can find the objects that are more related with the Chinese production, in which the decoration is more a copy than simply an inspiration. We can trace three main markets for the "Lisbon porcelain" and the different aspects on the decoration were tailor-made for the specific markets to which they were destined.

The internal market, that is the manufacture for Portugal and some of the regions overseas still under its influence, sought a product that would be more exotic, with surfaces which were more completely covered with decoration. In this regard we can find two different sets of exoticism, one more influenced by the far east and the other more related with an Islamic style of production. In the first the rim of these plates are divided like their Chinese counterparts and filled with symbols that can be seen in the porcelain. The centers also show elements found in Chinese production (deer, landscapes, birds, monks) but also more European motives like coats of arms (photo 3).

With respect to the more Islamic decorations in terms of aesthetics, the objects, which are mainly plates, are fully filled and totally covered with geometric elements made up almost entirely of dense and small spirals (photo 4). This very carefree decoration also appears in objects found in the Netherlands and Belgium, the main consumers of "Lisbon porcelain" after the internal market. Although we can trace the origins of these decorations to the so called "luster" production made in several potteries of Spain and one of the most sought ceramics made in the 15th and 16th century, one can also see the Islamic style also bore some influence of the Italian Montelupo manufacturing process. Archaeological evidence shows that there was a huge market for these commodities in Lisbon, which can explain why there had been some transfer of decoration when a local manufacture became settled in the city.

When we start to look to the "Lisbon porcelain" objects found in the Netherlands and Belgium for this chronological period and compare them to items produced at the same time for the internal market one aspect becomes evident. Through the objects found in archeological diggings in Deventer, Vlissingen and Dordrecht, but mainly in Amsterdam for periods that one can pinpoint to be around 1570/1580 and 1610, we can have a glimpse of the Lisbon

production that was destined for the Lower Countries and it is evident that there are two main differences. One is the preponderance of the areas in white. The objects are generally less filled, with empty areas that allow the white to stand out and "shine". Another feature is the careful choice of blue that is used, not a darker shade more common in the objects for the internal market but a lighter one, more cerulean and one which gives to this production a more sophisticated appearance. Furthermore, the motifs in the decoration are more detailed and less carefree (photo 5). This doesn't mean that there aren't other types of decoration more associated with the production in Portugal found in these regions but what stands out is the fact that we can see mainly a specific combination of elements that are less common in one place than the other.

It is now coming to light that there was another market involved in commercial activity with Lisbon, which also required distinctive traits in the production process. This was the Hansa League, which is, in fact, mainly the territories of what today we know as Germany. The "Lisbon porcelain" that was negotiated by this huge trade league reached very far regions, from Sweden to Poland, from Denmark to Croatia. Although its peak will be reached between 1620-1650, in contrast with the Lower Countries, whose commerce fell earlier, in fact, between 1590-1615, the aspects that will characterize the taste for this market can be traced as far back as this first production. Contrary to the manufactures destined for Portugal or the Lower Countries, the ones made specifically for the areas under the control and influence of the Hanseatic League preferred not only more colors than the blue over the white but also an aesthetic in which we can trace aspects of the Italian production. The objects meant for this market and in this first period of production usually have some areas with yellow contours and a mixture of motifs that can be found in Italian majolica, like crowns of flowers and fruits in Della Robbia fashion, as well as coats of arms, mythological or allegorical compositions.

Moreover, there are specific morphologies according to the market the pieces were meant for.

For the Lower Countries we can see flower jars with specific shapes, which were usually more sophisticated than those for other markets. Beside this, there were also plates with foots and rims that have both relief and cut decoration. Rare, but very unusual, are some circular hollow flasks meant as flower jars, which seemed destined for this same market (photo 6).

Amongst the most common objects that can be found destined for the Hanseatic League is a vessel that usually had a sieve in one of the interior walls applied in ceramic. Tradition says these objects were used to serve hot wine spiced with cinnamon and slices of orange and lemon, all put in the referred passer (photo 7).

The shift of commerce and the new productions

Circa 1615 it seems that we can start to trace a different type of production, probably due to the fact that the interest of Lower Countries markets in the "Lisbon porcelain" starts to fade. This was eventually related to the fact that, since 1602, the VOC or the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (the Netherlands Company of the East Indies) was actively consolidating its influence with the commercial trade routes once held by the Portuguese. With these the flux of Chinese porcelain started to go directly to the Netherlands, and gradually the real, authentic product surpassed the manufacture inspired by it and produced in Lisbon. Nevertheless, there are archeological materials in Amsterdam that show the presence of Portuguese ceramics until circa 1650-1675, which testifies to the fact that there were different moments in this abandonment of the production made in Lisbon. One explanation could be the presence of a large number of Sephardic Jewish families living in these regions and many of Portuguese origin, who continued to be a direct consumer of these items.

In the meantime, Portuguese ceramic production consolidated its trade with the Hanseatic League and at the same time a mutation in the decorations for the internal market can be noted. International production also changed and adjusted to what appears to have been new demands.

This is the period when we start to see a noticeable increase in the use of a decoration that will be hugely popular and become known in Portuguese as "aranhões" (large spiders). The motifs that gave origin to this colorfully named decoration are the ones that can be found in the beginning, mainly on the brim of the plates. Inspired by the Chinese elements called the "Eight Buddhist emblems", among which sweet wormwood (Artemisia plant) leaves and the laces reminded several contemporary Art historians of the bodies of large spiders, hence the name. This will be a decoration that will be used from the second half of the decade of 1610 until almost the end of the century, albeit in a lesser erudite form.

Figure 3
Plate, c. 1590-1620, Museu de Artes Decorativas, Viana do Castelo, inv. 00904-MAD

Figure 4
Plate with a coat of arms, c. 1600-1630, Museu de Artes Decorativas, Viana do Castelo, inv. 00707-MAD

Figure 5
Jar, c. 1600-1630, Col. Fundação Carmona e Costa, Lisbon, photo António Jorge Silva

The presence of motifs that can be traced to the Italian majolica associated to those inspired by Chinese porcelain becomes more evident. Also, we start to see the production of a larger variety of objects made in molds, among which are containers with the shape of fish, one dated 1620 (photo 8). This is a period when we start to see several objects inscribed with dates in marked contrast with the previous decades. Although one can see different types of objects with dates, the most common form we have found are jugs. Among the latter, the majority were destined for the Hanseatic League, with the earliest examples being found in Museums in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Berlin, all dated 1624.

However, it is still uncertain why the majority of objects with dates were jugs and why more than one third of them were in foreign collections. One of the hypotheses could be related to specific Jewish practices, among which are those that demand the use of objects that have never been used and therefore considered pure. Although this might be a tempting explanation, we know that several of these objects weren't, in fact, meant for Jewish owners. Therefore, another unknown explanation must still be found.

What is interesting about these objects is that a large number of them also have heraldic decorations both representing individuals as well as cities. However, it is not just heraldry that begins to figure in the decoration of the decades of 1620 - 1630, because we also start to see compositions with figurative elements in narratives of a biblical, mythological or allegorical nature. Besides this, we notice a more common use of the yellow of antimony, giving a gold-like dimension to the blue over white decorations (photo 9).

This decade and the next (1640) constitute the main point of the diversity of decoration and color in the production of majolica of this period in the workshops of Lisbon. Gradually there are similarities in decoration that can be found in azulejos (tiles) and these objects. Themes like the "camellias" for instance become widely popular in both, and the color palette becomes more diverse with the presence of green and orange. This will be a rarely used color and one usually sees it only in objects or decorations that are considered to be more sophisticated.

This is a period when we start to see ceramic sculptures of different sizes usually related to the Virgin Mary and other objects with more figurative shapes. Among these some seem to be very specific of the Lisbon workshops the so called "Cetus" and the "Horatio's monsters" jugs. The latter described by the Roman poet Horatio in his "The Art of Poetry" as a monster who never existed, and

Figure 6
Ring jar, c. 1600-1630, Museu Nacional Arte Antiga, inv. 86 Cer, José Pessoa, (DGPC/ADF)

Figure 7
Pot, c. 1610-1630, Col. Fundação Carmona e Costa, Lisbon, photo António Jorge Silva

Figure 8
Jug “Fish”, c. 1610-1630, Museu Nacional Arte Antiga, 2411 Cer, José Pessoa, (DGPC/ADF)

Figure 9
Pot, 1658, Col. Fundação Carmona e Costa, Lisbon, photo António Jorge Silva

Figure 10
Jug “Horace’s monster”, c. 1610-1630, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. A 3843 (KN&V), creditline photographer: Tom Haartsen

Figure 11
Jug “Cetus”, c. 1610-1630, Museu Nacional Arte Antiga, inv. 7486 Cer, Luisa Oliveira, (DGPC/ADF)

as a criticism of the delusions of human imagination. We are not aware of any other European productions that applied this motif to ceramic (photo 10). Today we can only pinpoint 4 known examples of these objects, 2 in Portugal and the others abroad (Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt am Main and Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Roterdam). The "Cetus" jugs of which we know of 13 objects in two models with different sizes, seemed inspired by an engraving by Conrad Gesner (1516 -1565) in the *Icones Animalium Aquatilium*, printed in 1560 in Zurich. The molds for one of the sizes of the "Cetus" model and the "Horatio's monsters" could be the same, the sole difference being that the former has a dog's head and the latter that of a woman (photo 11). Another jug seemed to mix elements from different molds to create a lavishing container in the form of a "Mermaid" (photo 12). Other jugs, jars, candleholders, flower vases, incense burners also chose figurative elements: dogs, lions, cats, women heads, angels....

The cost of Independence

In December 1640, Lisbon declared that Portugal was separated from the Spanish crown. In the aftermath of ensuing battles there was a long period when the Portuguese King, João IV tried to obtain recognition from the other European leaders for the sovereignty and independence of the kingdom. This was revealed to be a very difficult task because some of the European empires had already occupied territories that Portugal claimed as its own. During a period of almost 20 years, the country underwent conflicts on its borders with Spain, which tried to regain control of the territory, and also with other sea potencies who controlled the lands in Africa, South America and Asia which had once been under Portuguese domain.

As a result, the once blooming production and trade of Lisbon's ceramic production began to go into decline. The turmoil of the period caused a drop in the number of potters available due to the fact that men were needed to fill the ranks of the army and secondly there were serious financial difficulties. Yet this was all a gradual change. Slowly, we start to see that the once precise paintings start to become sloppier, and the colors become less bright due to the difficulties in buying some of the products, mainly cobalt oxide for the blue. Gradually other oxides like nickel, copper and iron start to be mixed with cobalt, making a more greyish and opaque shade of blue, which became duller as time went by.

Figure 12
Jug "Mermaid", c. 1610-1630, Col. Fundação Carmona e Costa, Lisbon, photo António Jorge Silva

Figure 13
Plate with a coat of arms, c. 1660-1680, Museu de Artes Decorativas, Viana do Castelo, inv. 00714-MAD

The Chinese inspiration remained, even more atmospheric than before but now very different from the objects that came from the East Indies. The motifs are still the ones that were known formerly, making some continuity in aesthetics if not in quality of the design (photo 13).

Because this was a period of needed exaltation and recognition of Portuguese tradition, we start to see many objects with the kingdom's coat of arms as well as those bearing the ones of the most important families in the country. Besides this, for the internal market we start to see objects with chronograms with the date 1641, as a reminder of when the territory had become independent again.

The commerce with the Hanseatic League remained for some time. We can see in several North and Central European countries objects that were produced in Lisbon and sent abroad during this period. In the decade of 1650 the paintwork continued to be precise and accurate, and, in terms of quality, they tried to maintain the previous high standards. However, as time went by we can gradually feel more rigidity and coldness in these objects. Only in those destined for the export market can one still see some touches of yellow in details of the decoration. Having said this, such examples are scarce and constitute another testimony to the differences regarding the production for exterior markets.

One characteristic that starts to be revealed over time is that gradually the production after the decade of 1650 starts to have more objects but the decoration, which is mostly in white, remains very limited. This will be the start of a kind of production current by the end of the century, where one can see a tendency to make objects with simpler decoration and with only some element in blue, leaving the white of the surface. This can be understood as a step backwards in terms of production. Another production replicated the more common solutions from earlier decades, mostly with the so called "aranhões" (large spiders) motif. This is a period when figurative elements and Portuguese coats of arms start to become more common in the decoration of the plates, reflecting different aspects of a more patriotic atmosphere in the country.

As we start to see the production around 1660 we have indications that the trade of the "Lisbon porcelain" has become less important. The countries that were associated with the Hansa start to consume a product that was becoming hugely popular, namely the ceramics from the Lower Countries, mainly from Delft, which stepped in to fill the void left by the trade with Portugal. This production starts to mimic Chinese porcelain to a high degree of perfection, creating a far

Figure 14
Vase, c. 1660-1680, Col. Fundação Carmona e Costa, Lisbon, photo António Jorge Silva

Figure 15
Plate "Bella", c. 1670-1700, Museu de Artes Decorativas, Viana do Castelo, inv. 00972-MAD

less expensive manufacturing process than the original far east commodities, this making it accessible to more buyers. The sophistication of the Delft ceramics was the last stroke for the already very debilitated production from Lisbon. In a final attempt to overcome this we see a new set of aesthetic principles appearing from the workshops of Lisbon. This was probably a production made only in a few and selected places and involved a change not only in the palette of the ceramic productions of the period but also some differences in the subjects and understanding of the painting techniques of the ceramic surfaces. It's the period of the so called "desenho miúdo" (small drawings), which consists of a more calligraphic understanding of covering the surfaces with motifs that had contours in manganese purple, an oxide almost absent in the production prior to this period.

The song of the swan

The "desenho miúdo" production, which lasted for almost 15 years, shows a flair for sophistication and humor that seemed to be absent from the Lisbon production in previous years. This stye acted as a sort of a counterpart of the Delft production but showed less of a relationship with Chinese references, and also followed what was being made in other European centers, like Nevers, in France. Moreover, it was a tribute to the porcelain paintings from the reign of Wan Li (1573-1620) and the so called "transitional period" (1620-1683). It's a very calligraphic decoration, filling all the areas of the ceramic surface in what might seem like paying homage to the Islamic cultural substrate that can be traced in many Portuguese ornamentations. This sense of a *horror vacui* and the dynamic use of lines filled with details which are often surprising, demands from the observer an attentive eye for all the details in many of these objects. Among the elements present in these drawings are oriental monks with their parasols walking in landscapes disseminate as islands in the ceramic surfaces, sometimes looking at ladies getting undressed or with mermaids in an unexpected dialogue (photo14). Although a small part of this production found its way abroad it seems that it was meant for internal customers albeit those with some financial prospects.

At the same time that a few Lisbon ceramic workshops were making this "desenho miúdo", others seemed to follow this lead by using the idea of a manganese contour for the subjects painted in the ceramic ware that was being

produced. At the core of such choice was probably the possibility of using less cobalt oxide and mixing it with less expensive ones that were being used in previous years. The decorations become less remarkable and more unimaginative. We see the start of several types of decorations that allow the surfaces to be filled by using fewer strokes. In fact, the main subjects were rendered in so few strokes that sometimes they almost seemed to be done by children.

By the end of the century, we can see less interesting decorations, for example, the so called "rendas" (lace) for imitating these motifs and "contas" (beads), which found their inspiration in the mushrooms of Immortality in Chinese porcelain. At the same time, one can still see a florescent production of "aranhões" (large spiders), which had become a popular ornamentation of the period. Albeit with far less detail (photo 15).

With the new century Portugal regained financial importance and this allowed the reopening of commerce with China and a new and very important flux of porcelain, many with the coats of arms of those who commissioned them. This renewal of the trend of having Chinese porcelain at home started to be one of the reasons the ceramic workshops abandoned their productions and instead became increasingly specialized in the making of azulejos in blue and white. Moreover, they seemed to pour them out at such a fast pace that this production seemed to take up all the time of those involved. Some objects were still made but they were meant for a niche of people with lower income and who needed vessels for use in the kitchen or in the pharmacies. These objects are almost devoid of decoration, which might be considered an almost anticlimactic end for a production that once created beautiful objects sought after in different countries and which were adjusted to specific clienteles. However, this lackluster ending of the production of ceramic objects has a bright counterpart because it also marks the beginning of one of the must sumptuous moments in a new stage of manufacture: the production of baroque azulejos. However, that is a story for another place and another time.

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Chinese Motifs in Portuguese Faience: three examples of "honoring without subservience"

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With the expedition of the Portuguese explorer Jorge Álvares in 1513, Portugal took the first steps towards discovering the new world. As a result, Portuguese sea voyages produced significant results and high profits. The travelers brought "China" back to their homeland and began to create a set of images about this mysterious country.

There are a few types of artwork in the Portuguese territory that may embody this cultural encounter between China and Portugal, thereby corroborating this dialogue with their living testimonies. Chinese porcelain, being the first globalized product, which was initially imported and then actually produced in Portugal, deeply influenced the life of the Portuguese and their eating habits, as well as their artistic style. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, around 100 million pieces of Chinese porcelain had reached the European continent. Once they arrived, they were adapted to the Western taste and gradually became a symbol of wealth and social status. Within the Portuguese territory, this delicate art was also well accepted and safeguarded. More importantly, Chinese porcelain was decisive in the shaping of an artistic identity, acting as a direct iconographic for the potters.

However, the secret of porcelain manufacture was only revealed in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century. In previous times, European craftsmen were limited to working with fine glazed and polychrome clay, known as faience. It is not difficult to imagine the impact that Chinese porcelain must have had on Portuguese potters in the early 1500s; in fact, they were the first European pot-

ters to have access to this blue and white porcelain, and to witness its growing demand and large profits. Consequently, there were more than enough reasons to encourage them to replicate it.

Chinese culture undoubtedly played an essential role in the manufacture of Portuguese faience during the 17th century. Its development went from identical imitations to a hybrid of Chinese and European motifs, then to the simplification of Chinese motifs, and finally to the diminishing of Chinese influence. Reynaldo dos Santos mentioned that "firstly, the Portuguese faience was essentially imitated from Chinese themes; secondly, faience pieces were made with mixed decoration, part Chinese, part Portuguese; thirdly, the simplified Chinese themes that were typical of the original decoration led to a decrease in quality in imitation; in the latter, Chinese influence disappears and national themes herald the transition to the 18th century" (Santos, 1960, p. 18). Chinese culture was well integrated into the manufacture of Portuguese faience, thus making it a creative and unique art in Portuguese art history.

One of the reasons why it is crucial to investigate Portuguese faience is the fact that its original decoration was inspired by Chinese porcelain, rather than being direct copies, which is the case of Delft ceramics. Portuguese faience during the 17th century not only absorbs different cultures, learning mainly from Chinese porcelain, but it also maintains its particular aspects. Throughout the history of learning and the evolution process, Portuguese faience has contributed to national identity due to its personality, which is distinguished by Monteiro "to honor without subservience" (Monteiro, 1994, p. 24).

The present study explores the distinct features and the cultural significance of three motifs in the Portuguese faience of the 17th century, by comparing them with the identical motifs depicted in Chinese porcelain.

Parrot motif in Portuguese faience

The parrot is one of the most interesting and much esteemed birds by both Chinese and Europeans, due to its linguistic competence and affectionate characteristics. From an etymological point of view, if we separate these words - the parrot (papagaio) in Portuguese, the *papagallo* in Italian, the *papayo* in Spanish - into two parts, the first part, *papa*, has the meaning of "talking non-stop" and the second part is synonymous with rooster, whose Latin root is *gallus*. That

is, the parrot is simply a type of cock that always talks non-stop. From there, if we observe the parrot motif in Portuguese faience, this coincidence exists: the parrots were designed in a similar way to roosters and pheasants.

Similar to peacocks, pheasants and other species, the parrot pattern normally appears in pairs on Chinese porcelain, signifying conjugal love. Likewise, we note that in Portuguese faience there are birds in pairs, surrounded by exuberant vegetation, as in the dish 745-MNSR[1] (**Figure 1**): "in the back two birds, strolling among flowers; oriental style of fabric. Second half of XVII century (*no fundo duas aves, passeando por entre flôres; estylo dos tecidos orientaes. Segunda metade do sec. XVII*)" (Vasconcelos, 1909, p. 91). Here, Joaquim de Vasconcelos suggests the possibility that the bird pattern is based on the oriental style of fabric. Although Joaquim de Vasconcelos does not identify the type of these two birds, they seem to be parrots, given the shape of the head and plumage, as well as the fact that they are very similar to the parrots painted on the Chinese porcelain plate. A similar motif of this genre appears in the oriental fabric, yet the most direct connection is established when observing the motifs in Chinese porcelain.

The Chinese porcelain dish featured in this study, made in the Xuande period, depicts a pair of parrots on a peach branch, looking at each other. The dish was broken and found in the ancient porcelain kiln site at *Jingdezhen*, in 1982[2] (**Figure 2**); The combination of parrot and peach generally appears in Chinese painting, in addition to Ming dynasty porcelain. Parrots always emerge in pairs, whereas immortal peaches signify longevity; thus, this combination contains a beautiful expectation, which is to live in marital happiness forever. Moreover, the parrot motif is a traditional design in Chinese painting.

Throughout Chinese history, the parrot has gained the admiration of the Chinese, and beginning with the Tang dynasty, it was introduced to other Asian countries. In *Jiu Tang Shu* [Old Book of Tang] volume 198, it is recorded that "in 720 A.D., the representative of Tianzhu (ancient India) offered parrots with exceptional linguistic competence" (original text in simplified Chinese: 八年，南天竺遣使献五色能言鹦鹉). Parrots are considered far more intelligent than other

1 Retrieved from http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=306789 , 09-05-2021.

2 *Jingdezhen chutu Ming chu guanyao ciqi / Imperial Hongwu and Yongle Porcelain Excavated at Jingdezhen*, Chang Foundation, Taipei, 1996, cat. nos. 36-8.

Figure 1
Portuguese Faience, 1625 – 1650. Height: 6.2; Diameter: 37.3. Collected in Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis: 745-MNSR

Figure 2
Chinese Porcelain, Xuande period (1426-1435). Unearthed from Zhushan in 1982. Collected by Jingdezhen Ceramics Archaeology Research Institute.

animals and their lives have a much longer span, reaching between 40 and 70 years. Furthermore, they establish an intense relationship with their owner. For these reasons, Chinese emperors have always tended to adopt parrots as pets. In *Xin Tang Shu* [New Book of Tang] it is shown that Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (Li Longji, 李隆基, 685-762) had the five-colored parakeet adopted at court (original text in simplified Chinese: 玄宗有五色鹦鹉，能言，育于宫中). In the Song dynasty, more specifically, near the end of China's Song Dynasty, around 1110, Emperor Huizong (Zhao ji, 赵佶, 1082-1135) painted a parakeet perched on an apricot tree in his garden. Huizong's remarkable handscroll, "Five-colored Parakeet on a Blossoming Apricot Tree"[3], opens a revealing window on the art of ancient China's imperial courts. The handscroll reveals a vivid parakeet, and still provides a classic "flower-and-bird" pattern for the future artistic creation. In the Ming dynasty, almost everyone could buy parrots, as they were probably starting to be bred in Chinese territory. Emperors Xuande and Yongle also enjoyed raising parrots, descriptions of which emerge in many parts of the

3 The original painting is now at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. See https://collections.mfa.org/search/objects/*/Five-colored%20Parakeet, 09-05-2021.

Ming Shi [History of Ming]. However, Emperor Xuande's rule only lasted 10 years and his parrot was probably inherited from his grandfather, Emperor Yongle. Nevertheless, Xuande's reign is among the most memorable times of peace in China's history, during which time the development of the imperial kilns in the Ming Dynasty reached its peak. In emulation of Yongle models, the imperial kilns in the Xuande period produced many parrot motifs. The talented Emperor Xuande designed his parrot's food bowl and even made a special vase for it, for the flowers to be arranged and fully appreciated. All this attests to the Chinese emperor's passion for the parrot.

Besides the historical records, we can also find the parrot pattern in classic literature. As one of the greatest Chinese poets, *Dufu*, rightly reminds us of this parrot pattern in his poem *Shan Si* [Mountain Temple],

> Few monks remain in the wilderness temple,
> a tiny road goes high to its mountain garden.
> A musk-deer sleeps among stone bamboo,
> parrots peck at the golden peaches.

The description of "parrots peck at the golden peaches" in this poem corresponds exactly to the pattern in Portuguese faience dish 745-MNSR (**Figure 1**) and similarly to the broken Chinese porcelain dish (**Figure 2**), which was unearthed from Zhushan.

This kind of 'Flower-and-bird' pattern can be traced back at least to the Five Dynasties period, becoming one of the most outstanding painting genres in China in the Song dynasty. It was created particularly by academy painters working for the court and was one of the favorite subjects of the great imperial painter, including Zhao Ji, the Huizong Emperor himself. The 'Flower-and-bird' pattern had considerable influence in Chinese porcelain, starting to be depicted on Ming official porcelain in the Yongle period and thriving in the Xuande period. It is speculated that this official porcelain pattern, especially its central set, may have been shaped by imperial painting and calligraphy, and affected by imperial court life.

In the Soares dos Reis National Museum, one piece of Delftware revives this imperial court life closely related to the parrots. This Delftware plate 1598-

MNSR[4] (**Figure 3**) portrays a Chinese garden, with three standing female figures. One of them holds a parrot and is followed by another woman who protects her with a long-handled fan. Scenes with noblewomen or concubines holding parrots are ubiquitous in Chinese porcelain; therefore, it can be said that this piece manufactured in Delft was directly influenced by Chinese porcelain. Gan Xueli also explains that, in the 17th century, colored enamel porcelain parrot sculptures were exported and, as a result, the parrot motif became quite popular in Europe at that time. Delft artisans began to reproduce various types of animal-shaped sculptures from the 1730s onwards, and they brought the exotic style into the European decorative setting of the mid-18th century as well (Gan, 2008, p. 117).

In both the Portuguese faience (**Figure 1**) and the Chinese porcelain (**Figure 2**) featured in the study, their central medallions are decorated with the 'flower-and-bird' pattern depicting two parrots standing on branches laden with peaches. By comparing the pair of birds on Chinese porcelain with that same representation on Portuguese faience, it can be concluded that the two birds depicted in the porcelain are painted delicately with thin lines. They have beautiful long tail feathers, and their heads face each other, looking at each other with loving eyes. The vivid and natural movements and expressions seem to present a dynamic scene. Quite confidently, we can still trace the influence of "flower-and-bird" Chinese painting in this porcelain pattern. When we look at the birds depicted in faience (**Figure 1**), despite still maintaining the overall structure and similar movement posture, the parrots are over-stylized and demonstrate a technique which is closer to the western style of portraying parrots. In addition, the background image in this faience plate showed not only branches laden with peaches, but also blooming chrysanthemums as well as other plants, flowers, branches, and so forth. All of these elements are depicted in a highly geometric style, giving the impression of a huge decorative overload. The filled space, in an iconographic attitude of *horror vacui* – a Latin term meaning "fear of emptiness" – is a common decorative phenomenon that we can perceive in other Portuguese faience of this period, which may have been influenced by Islamic art. By comparing the pair of parrots on Chinese porcelain with the Portuguese faience, it is clear that Portuguese craftsmen imitated Chinese motifs in porcelain, though at the same time simplifying, modifying and stylizing them, even adding Islamic-inspired

4 Retrieved from http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=305406, 10-05-2021.

Figure 3
Delftware, 17th century-18th century. Height: 6; Diameter: 39,5. Collected in the Soares dos Reis National Museum: 1598-MNSR

Figure 4
Portuguese Faience, 1590 – 1620, Height: 6.7; Diameter: 39.2. On display in the Viana do Castelo Museum of Decorative Arts: 00902-MAD © *Guo Mo*

aesthetic features. Furthermore, the auspicious pairing of parrots and peaches as displayed on porcelain does not seem to be very evident on faience.

Peach motif in Portuguese faience

The peach is the fruit of the peach tree, a small tree native to China, with alternate leaves and purple flowers (Casimiro, 2010, p. 608). The origin of the peach in China is very ancient, having been taken to Persia and India and, later, to Greece and Rome. It was given the name *Prunus persica* by Theophrastus (372 BC – 287 BC), the ancient Greek philosopher and botanist. In Chinese culture, the peach holds several symbolic meanings.

Shijing [Classic of Poetry] contains many eulogizing phrases regarding the peach. Nevertheless, as a plant motif, whether peach or peach tree, it still has a strong presence in Chinese porcelain. Due to its distinctive features, as well as the correlative ancient legends and symbolic connotations, the peach has been admired by Chinese people for a very long time. Even today, it remains as one of the main plant motifs in porcelain and other art forms.

Although it is not possible to identify the first Portuguese pieces with the peach motif, to my knowledge, it is possible to pinpoint the use of the peach motif in some types of Portuguese faience to the 17th century. In the first instance, this motif often appears in Portuguese faience dishes, especially on their borders, but sometimes drawn on the central background. However, the peach motif has assumed a variety of characteristics as time progresses.

The Viana do Castelo Museum of Decorative Arts exhibits pieces of faience made between 1590 and 1620, in which the plates 00902-MAD, 00904-MAD, 00956-MAD, 00957-MAD, feature the peach motifs. For example, plate 00902-MAD (**Figure 4**) shows a decoration on its border divided into fourteen reserves, seven with a large flower and seven with a lattice filled with dots (Suzana, 2015, p. 50). This large flower mentioned in the catalog looks like a peach surrounded by some leaves. Even though it was decorated with overly lush leaves, the shape of the fruit stands out in the center and the peduncle, or stalk of the peach was drawn with a curved line. The same happens in other pieces mentioned from this period, among them the 00956-MAD and 00957-MAD plates, which also incorporate the Islamic style. Moreover, at that time, the peach motif was not only painted on the border, but also in the background. Plate 890-MNSR (**Fig-**

ure 5), produced in the first half of the 17th century, has its center filled with a stylized landscape, with two large flowers with leaves and rocks all around (Inventory of Matriznet)[5]. In my personal opinion, these two large unidentified flowers appear to be peaches. Regardless of whether they are depicted on the border or in the center, these peach motifs on faience pieces made before 1650 demonstrate color variations in the fruit and vaguely express the Islamic-inspired notion of aesthetics.

Another type of peach is one of the most prevalent and stylized motif in 17th century Portuguese faience. Plate 92-CMGJ (**Figure 6**), made in the second half of the 17th century, is decorated on the border, filled with elements derived from Chinese ornamental themes, and features four "*aranhões /spider motifs*" [Portuguese interpretation of "*folhas de Artemisa*" (Artemisia leaves)] or "*leques de palmeira*" (palm fans) alternated with many "peach branches" (Calado, 2003, p. 78). The element "*ramos de pessegueiro"* (peach branches), treated by Rafael Salinas Calado (Calado, 2003), or "*dois pêssegos com ramagens*" (two peaches with branches), mentioned by Miguel Cabral de Moncada (Moncada, 2008), appears in a large number of Portuguese faience in the second half of the 17th century, mainly in the third quarter. Miguel Cabral de Moncada wrote in his book, in the chapter on *"Decoração de Aranhões"/Decoration of the Aranhões /spider motifs* (1650-1700), that there was a misrepresentation in the "stylized branches of a kind of plant" that resulted in "two peaches with branches" (Moncada, 2008, p. 71). Tânia Casimiro also indicated the period V, that is, between 1660 and 1770, and explained that during this period manganese becomes predominant, roughly delimiting the decorative motifs that are filled in blue, especially the "*aranhões*"/spider motifs, which represent exclusively Artemisia leaves and peach trees. These two elements, during this period, had replaced chrysanthemums (Casimiro, 2010, p. 667). This type of peach motif can be found in faience plates MMP-8, MMP-12, MMP-712, MNSR-391, MNSR-40, MNMC-9578, MNAA-88, and in some private collection items (Monteiro, 1994, pp. 138-145), in plates MAD-00971, MAD-00972, MAD-00712, AM-51 and AM-65 (Moncada, 2008, pp. 72-79), among many other Portuguese faience dishes.

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5 Retrieved from http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=305227, 21-06-2021.

From the observation of the pieces and the studies carried out by Portuguese researchers, three characteristics of the peach motif stand out. First, it mainly appears in the form of two peaches, which are symmetrical and balanced, surrounded by leaves that are also equally proportioned. The second feature is that the peach motif is usually combined with the "*aranhão*"/spider motif. Another feature worth mentioning is its Chinese inspiration, especially that of porcelain made in the Wanli period, with a very accurate imitation of Chinese porcelain.

However, unlike the fixed and unalterable image presented in Portuguese faience, the peach motif presents a great diversity in Chinese porcelain while having some characteristics in common. For instance, the Chinese *Kraak* bowl 197-MNSR[6] (**Figure 7a**), made in the Wanli period, whose border is decorated by four panels with lobed reserves showing peaches and flowers, alternated and separated by vertical panels with a pattern of pearls. The dish 11-JW (**Figure 7b**) has a slightly rounded border, painted with ten tear-shaped medallions, with peach sprigs and stylized flowers and auspicious symbols (Canepa, 2008, p. 126). Bowl 37-JW[7] (**Figure 7c**) is decorated with six wide lobe-shaped panels, delicately painted with two stylized peaches on a long branch (Canepa, 2008, p. 224). In comparison, although they all represent a branch with two peaches, they have very different expressive and aesthetic forms. On the one hand, the peaches decorated in bowl 197-MNSR (**Figure 7a**) reveal a free and elegant form, with flexible and varied leaves and branches. The peaches depicted in dish 11-JW (**Figure 7b**), on the other hand, display rigid, geometric styles, lacking diversity and flexibility. However, although the peach motif of Portuguese faience seems identical with the peach motif painted on dish 11-JW, it is in fact just an inspiration and yet another source of direct imitation. In addition to the two peach motifs drawn on the *kraak* porcelain borders, the individual peach motif of the plate medallion can be found in the 7-JW[8] *Kraak* porcelain dish (**Figure 7d**). Although this peach motif is painted quite imprecisely, with fine, watery traces of paint, it is still possible to observe similar aspects between the peach motifs on this plate and those on plate 00902-MAD (**Figure 4**).

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6 Vinhais & Welsh, 2008, cat. 11, p. 127 (The spread of global commerce at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century).

7 Vinhais & Welsh, 2008, cat. 37, p. 225.

8 Vinhais & Welsh, 2008, cat. 7, p. 109.

Figure 5
Portuguese Faience, 1601 – 1650. Height: 5.2; Diameter: 31.3. On display in the Soares dos Reis National Museum: 890-MNSR. © *Guo Mo*

Figure 6
Portuguese Faience, 1625-1650. Height: 6.5; Diameter: 38. Collected in Casa-Museu Guerra Junqueiro: 92-CMGJ. © *Guo Mo*

The *Kraak* porcelain bowl 37-JW (**Figure 7c**), made in the Wanli or Tianqi period, exhibits two stylized peaches with a long branch and shows a shape that looks odd from the perspective of Chinese aesthetic standards. The peach motif identical to this 37-JW bowl, to my knowledge, has not been found in Portuguese faience; nonetheless, there is a Delftware dish[9] (**Figure 7e**) in the Soares dos Reis National Museum, on which four large panels are drawn with the stylized peach on a long branch. The peaches painted on Chinese porcelain bowl 37-JW and this delftware dish 723-MNSR (**Figure 7e**) are rather identical, deriving from a precise imitation in the manufacture of Delftware, which differs from the creative spirit of the manufacture of Portuguese faience.

Taking Chinese porcelain into account, the peach is indisputably one of the most widespread and traditional motifs. It can be drawn individually or in combination; it could appear on the border or as the background; it could be painted with a branch or with a tree. All the examples of Chinese porcelain featured in this article refer to the peach-on-branch pattern, referred to as 折枝桃纹 (in pinyin: zhé zhī táo wén, simply meaning the peach-on-branch motif). Regarding its origin, branches laden with fruit first appeared on Chinese porcelain during the Yongle reign (1402-1424). This type of decoration, using a pattern with flowers, fruits and birds, constitutes an individual theme with no relationship to the surrounding motifs. The peach-on-branch motif is one of the forms of flower and fruit painting in which only a representative part is painted, and not the whole plant or all the branches (Xiong, 2010, p. 21). From a partial element, the entire image is incorporated. The peach-on-branch motif, with just one branch and two peaches, already suggests the entire tree.

The periods when the peach, as a decorative motif, began to appear in Chinese porcelain have not yet been investigated. According to some reports, it must have originated in the Song dynasty, although many Chinese porcelain pieces already had the peach configuration. In the Yuan dynasty, the peach-on-branch motif began to appear in the center the plate. Afterwards, in the Ming dynasty, the peach had already become one of the most popular decorative motifs (Dong, 2002, p. 42). Ma Weidu also wrote in his book that some fruit motifs, such as the peach motif and pomegranate motif, started in the Jin dynasty (Ma, 2013, p. 97).

9 Retrieved from http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=308018, 12-05-2021.

Figure 7

a. Detail of a Chinese Porcelain, Wanli period (1573-1620). Height: 7; Diameter: 22.5. On display in the Soares dos Reis National Museum:197-MNSR. © *Guo Mo*

b. Detail of a Chinese Porcelain, Wanli period (1573-1620). Diameter: 35. Unearthed from Guanyinge, Jingdezhen. Collected by Jorge Welsh Works of Art: 11-JW.

c. Detail of a Chinese Porcelain, Wanli/Tianqi period (1573-1627). Height: 15.3; Diameter: 35.7. Collected by Jorge Welsh Works of Art: 37-JW.

d. Detail of a Chinese Porcelain, Wanli period (1573-1620). Diameter: 14.5. Collected by Jorge Welsh Works of Art: 7-JW.

e. Detail of a Delftware, 17th century-18th century. Height: 5.7; diameter: 33.4. On display in the Soares dos Reis National Museum: 723-MNSR.

Since the peach motif appeared so early and was spread so widely in porcelain, it undeniably contains rich symbolic meanings of Chinese culture. In fact, the oldest peach legend is associated with the story of "Kua Fu chasing the Sun" (simplified Chinese: 夸父逐日)[10]. In the following developments, due to its physical nature and its similar shape to the female sexual organ, the peach motif would naturally be linked to female characteristics, namely fertility and fecundity. In literary work, the first poem *Taoyao* (peach tree) of *Shijing* [Classic of Poetry] applies the metaphors of the peach flower, fruit, and leaf to express the three happiest times in life when a woman gets married (Xiong, 2010, p. 5). In the Han dynasty, the cultural connotation of longevity, also influenced by Taoism, was added to the peach motif. Jo Kazuo reports in his book that, in the Chinese legend, the peach tree produces fruit every three thousand years and whoever eats this fruit is bestowed a long life. Therefore, at the time of peach ripening, Xi Wangmu [Queen Mother of the West] summoned the immortals at Yaochi, where Xi Wangmu lives, to taste the fruit. In this way, Xi Wangmu and the peach became symbols of longevity. (Jo, 2002, p. 54). It is not by mere chance that the tradition of offering peaches as a gift to celebrate seniors' birthdays continues today.

The excessive stylized branches with peach design depicted in *Kraak* porcelain 37-JW (**Figure 7c**) also appears on Delftware 723-MNSR (**Figure 7e**) with almost no modification. This stylized pattern, which is out of line with Chinese aesthetics, has been passed down on Delftware. However, the Portuguese are not enthusiastic about this pattern, nor did it appear on Portuguese faience; instead, what can be seen in Portuguese faience is a peach design similar to the peach-on-branch pattern (折枝桃纹), a traditional pattern in Chinese porcelain. Through creative modification by Portuguese craftsmen, the peach motif depicted on Portuguese faience presents a simplistic and graphical feature while still retaining traits of the influence of Chinese porcelain.

The human figure in Portuguese faience

In Portuguese faience we can find several examples of pieces with similar motifs depicting the human figure. However, as they move away from the theme of Chinese history, it is still not easy to summarize the characteristics or to divide them into defined groups. In addition, most of these pieces belong to the "*De-*

[10] For more information, see Yang & An, 2009, p. 155.

senho Miúdo"[11]group, as José Queirós called it. According to Portuguese studies, such as those by José Queirós, Miguel Cabral de Moncada, Rafael Salinas Calado, among others, "*Desenho Miúdo*" appeared on a large scale approximately in the third quarter of the 17th century in Portuguese faience, constituting a phase of transition from purely oriental motifs to a hybrid decorative theme. As mentioned in the dissertation of Alexandre Pais, the more a piece has oriental features, the further back we can locate its production (quanto mais orientalizante a peça, mais recuada a sua produção) (Pais, 2012, p. 50).

Given the complexity, there may have been more figurative and expressive changes in Chinese porcelain, transposed to Portuguese faience in terms of the motif of the human figure. However, there are some pieces of Portuguese faience from the 17th century too, in which the human figure on Chinese porcelain was rigorously copied. One representative human figure motif was chosen to be presented in this study:

The Portuguese faience plate 6778-MNAA (**Figure 8**), produced in the second half of the 17th century, corresponds perfectly to the human figure painted in Chinese porcelain, whether it be in its narrative theme, in the expressive human figures, or the decorative motifs accompanied in the background of the image. The central medallion of this Portuguese faience plate superbly captured an idyllic scene which demonstrated a traditional Chinese-style setting. The center is adorned with two human figures standing in front of a baluster and standing under two trees with an overhanging branch. Behind two human figures, the floating clouds in the sky stand out and beyond that a fairyland surrounded by floating clouds, as if it were the *Penglai* immortal island[12]. The background depiction of this Portuguese faience is very similar to *Kraak* porcelain, whether it is the overhanging branch or the floating clouds. What captures our attention is the human figure depicted in this faience. Unlike most human figures portrayed in Portuguese faience, they have distinct characteristics that allow

11 Literally meaning "tiny drawing", this was a characteristic decorative family of 17th century faience, obtained through the use of small drawings representing Chinese figures and themes.

12 Penglai island was one of the three mythical islands where immortals lived. The three islands are Penglai, Fangzhang and Yingzhou, which were regarded as real, existing islands yet simultaneously symbolized heaven or fairyland.

them to be identified. Both men are dressed in long robes and wear official *Wushamao* headdresses (simplified Chinese: 乌纱帽, formally known as *futou*). This type of headdress was worn by court officials during the Ming dynasty, consisting of a black hat with two wing-like flaps, with thin, oval shape boards on each side. According to chapter 61 of *Da Ming Huidian* [Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty], ordinary inhabitants were not allowed to wear this type of headdress, unless they attended wedding ceremonies or other events involving imperial members.

The two officials depicted in faience 6778-MNAA (**Figure 8**) face each other, one of them holding an object. It is quite difficult to identify the object, though we can infer what it is based on themes and images presented on Chinese porcelain, which is similar to this Portuguese faience.

One possibility can be found in Wang Yue's master's thesis. The author shows three pieces[13] (**Figure 9**) from the Ming dynasty, belonging to the theme of *Bai Guan Tu* [Image of visiting the government official] (simplified Chinese: 拜官图), which can be associated with the Imperial Examinations. The Imperial Examinations, whose history dates back since the Sui dynasty in 605, consisted of a series of tests to select distinguished persons to serve at the imperial court. In the Ming dynasty, the Imperial Examination system was especially influential. In this way, several themes refer to the Imperial Examinations that, both explicitly and subtly, were highlighted in Chinese porcelain, in the imperial kiln, as well as in the private kiln. *Bai Guan Tu* [Image of visiting the government official] was one of these, showing that, in former times, people who passed imperial examinations had the obligation to visit the chief examiner, with the intent of expressing their gratitude. The human figures depicted on plate 6778-MNAA (**Figure 8**) are identical to the government officials shown on Chinese porcelain, and the object in the hands may indicate the offering.

Based on the shape of the object in the hands of the human figure represented on plate 6778-MNAA (**Figure 8**), we suggest that here is another example of imitation. In the Kangxi period of the Qing dynasty, a motif called *Shang Gu Tu* [Image of Appreciating Antiques] was in fashion. The porcelain plate referred in Ma Weidu's book[14] (**Figure 10**) was finely painted with a realistic scene, in which

13 See Wang, 2013, p. 13.

14 See Ma, 2013, p. 264.

Figure 8
Portuguese Faience, second half of 17th century, height: 4.6; diameter: 40. Transfer from Palácio das Necessidades, 1957. Collected in Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga (the National Museum of Ancient Art): 6778-MNAA.© *Guo Mo*

Figure 9
Chinese Porcelain, Ming. *Bai Guan Tu* [Image of visiting the government official] © *Wang Yue*

Figure 10
Chinese Porcelain, Kangxi period. *Shang Gu Tu* [Image of Appreciating Antiques] © *Ma Weidu*

a government official is scrutinizing the object in the hands of his young page boy. Consequently, we can establish the connection between the image drawn on the 6778-MNAA Portuguese faience plate and the image of *Shang Gu* that used to appear in porcelains from the Kangxi period.

However, Portuguese craftsmen were selective in their imitation of Chinese patterns to make their own artistic creations. So, if we look carefully at the example of Portuguese faience 6778-MNAA (**Figure 8**), we can first notice that the background with overhanging branch and floating cloud adheres rigidly to the pattern depicted in *Kraak* porcelain, in addition to the choice of human figures that clearly suggests a theme expressed in Chinese porcelain. On the other hand, the depiction of the human figure is not meticulous, particularly with the crease in the trousers, which may have been influenced by Indian art or by Delftware.

Conclusion

As the present study has demonstrated, the three faience motifs under consideration were greatly influenced by Chinese porcelain. Nevertheless, they were more than a mere imitation of the Chinese motifs. Three different types of motif, namely the animal motif, plant motif, and the human figure have

been chosen to demonstrate the variety and extensiveness of the influence of Chinese porcelain on Portuguese faience.

Portuguese craftsmen reveal that they wanted to copy Chinese motifs. With this in mind, they kept the original artistic compositions, drew the motifs in the same places, and created similar shapes. At the same time, they applied subtle changes, corresponding to their own aesthetics and culture and related to *horror vacui,* deliberate regularity, and symmetry. The parrot motif depicted in Portuguese faience (**Figure 1**) was a painstaking imitation, yet the overall image, marked by geometric plant motifs, had an Islamic-inspired style and gives the impression of fullness and abundance. The peach motif was one of the most popular and stylized patterns incorporated in Portuguese faience. The motif of two peaches featured in this study (**Figure 6**), inspired by Chinese porcelain, had a regular and symmetrical shape, which contrasts with the aesthetic value of Chinese culture. Thus, even though it is a close imitation, it has lost the vitality and spirituality presented in Chinese porcelain. Nevertheless, this symmetrical motif of two peaches became a stylized motif with Portuguese characteristics, frequently employed in faience.

In Chinese porcelain, the expressive form of the human figure motif is primarily based on narrative history. The images featuring human figures are not constructed of their own volition, nor are they based on casual drawings by Chinese craftsmen. Rather, they are images based on dialogues or scenarios taken from novels or other literary forms. Regardless of the source, for the Portuguese, the identification of the exact literary work to which each scene is connected was extremely difficult to determine.

As a result of their lack of knowledge about Chinese literature and the ineptitude shown in painting, Portuguese craftsmen had difficulties in replicating human figures, face details, feelings and emotions, even the tunic with pleated parts, although in some cases they did not forget the objects accompanying the human figure. Portuguese craftsmen were very much into copying these objects, such as balusters, musical instruments, antiques, and others. They would be added in a simple way, with few strokes, yet the effect was quite exotic for Western culture. The craftsmen created exotic Chinese-style scenes despite not fully understanding the original designs of the human figure and objects.

While this evident lack of knowledge might have led to some problems in understanding the background culture, it did not diminish artistic creativity.

On the contrary, Portuguese faience adopted some new exotic elements, and as the changes and simplifications evolved stylized motifs became standard. This refusal to imitate detail by detail not only reflects an insufficient understanding by the Portuguese craftsmen, but also shows the persistence of the aesthetic and expressive values that were most familiar to them.

In fact, the motifs featured in this article are just three of the numerous Portuguese faience motifs inspired by Chinese porcelain. As a result, in the manufacture of Portuguese faience it is imperative to take into account the aesthetic effects of deliberate manipulation; that is, any piece of Chinese porcelain was inevitably seen and interpreted in a way compatible with the Portuguese people's own views expectations. Portuguese craftsmen also built a symbolic reality and exercised cultural power over the original model, and subsequently presented them in their own way in Portuguese faience. Reasonable and understandable changes have been made; hence, Chinese motifs gradually became stylized and schematic in Portuguese faience. Chinese-inspired motifs managed to survive in Portuguese faience through assimilation, adaptation, westernization, and other processes. Essentially, this corresponded to looking for and accepting similar aspects while making subtle and gradual changes in the different aspects. For Edward Said, "to the Westerner, however, the Oriental was always like some aspect of the West" (Said, 2003, p. 67).

Whether in Chinese porcelain or Portuguese faience, the motifs themselves do not contain any cultural or symbolic content. They became significant through attributed meanings, created figures, connections established by human intelligence and imagination. Portuguese craftsmen sought their inspiration from Chinese porcelain and brought their improvisation and imagination to Portuguese faience, by honoring without subservience, thus they created something exotic but comprehensible, and more importantly, built an irreplaceable national artistic identity.

Furthermore, in the current era of globalization, Portuguese faience continues to be a timeless witness of the Luso-Chinese connection. These pieces provide acknowledgment, in Portugal, to this special historical-artistic moment and incredible intercultural dialogue.

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Routes of Ceramics

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