

The Archaeology of Asia-Pacific Navigation 2

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Archaeology of Manila Galleon Seaports and Early Maritime Globalization

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Chapter 5

Chinese Porcelain in the Manila Galleon Trade



Guanyu Wang

Since the 16th century, Europeans started to explore the Asian sea with the financial and military support from both the royal families and nobles. Their efforts to trade with China drew the Ming Empire into the early Globalization. The beautiful artefacts with perfect craftsmanship made in Ming China soon became popular products around the world, among which, the Chinese porcelain was undoubtedly marked as the top brand. Europeans had participated actively into the stages of designing, producing, shipping and trading of Chinese porcelain wares, to ensure they make maximum profits from the business. Different interest groups and the various needs from markets prompted the diversification of the Chinese porcelain in circulation.

This chapter aims to take the Manila Galleon trade of the late Ming period as a study case. By tracing the clues of specific types of Chinese export porcelain wares and their changing combinations in the ship cargos from time to time, the author will discuss on the moving of their target markets and the dominant power behind.

5.1 Background

Starting from the end of the 15th century, Europeans entered the Age of Discovery. Among the Europeans who were keen on expanding their Oceanic Empires, the Portuguese arrived at the China coast as the earliest. After that, the maritime trade between China and Portugal suffered a difficult time until the Portuguese occupied Macau in the year of 1553 and got the permission to trade at the Canton port from the Ming Court the year after. The maritime trade between China and Europe entered its golden age shortly afterwards.

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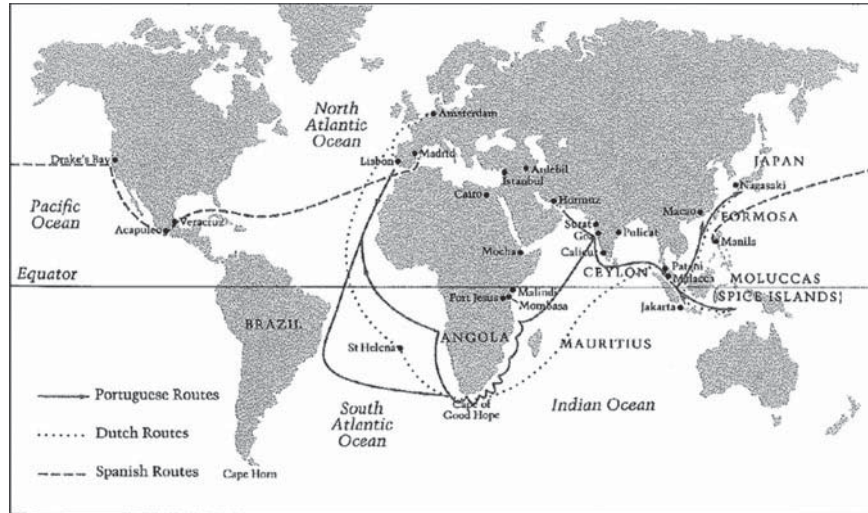


Fig. 5.1 The international maritime trade routes of 16th and 17th centuries (Harrison 1995)

From the map we can see the three main maritime trade routes under the control of the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch during the 16th and 17th centuries (Harrison 1995). Due to the military and trade monopolies of the Portuguese along the Indian Ocean, the Spanish explored a new travel route sailing across the Pacific Ocean from the Philippines to Drake's Bay and then to Acapulco. After that, they had to cross a land route to Veracruz and then sail all the way back to Europe (Fig. 5.1). Although the route was rougher and riskier for the Spanish sailors, the use of it further avoided the fierce competition with the Portuguese and Dutch in a later stage.

5.2 Jingdezhen (景德镇) and Zhangzhou (漳州): Main Origins of the Chinese Porcelain Cargos

During the time when the Spanish came to the Southeast coast of Ming Empire, the main place of origin of the Chinese export porcelain wares was still Jingdezhen. Located in the inner land of Jiangxi province, China, Jingdezhen was famous for its export porcelain wares of high quality and fine decoration (Fig. 5.2). After being produced copying the orders from the merchants or agents, porcelain wares were packed carefully with woven straw or rough paper, settled in wood barrels or bamboo split packages. They were then transported by boats through the rivers to the Poyang Lake (鄱阳湖), and then move southwards along the Ganjiang River (赣江) to the Dayu (大余) County, a place named after the famous Dayu Mountain (大庾岭) located there. Upon arrival at the Dayu County, the porcelain packages

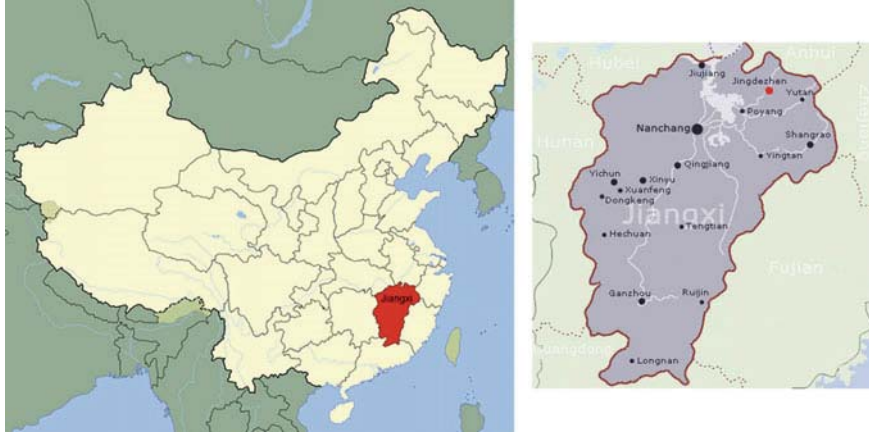


Fig. 5.2 The location of Jingdezhen (<https://jowoffinden.wordpress.com/2014/12/30/porcelain-where-does-it-come-from/>)



Fig. 5.3 Painting showing the porcelain production and trading process (Left to Right: Packing, cross the lake, mountain pass), late 18th century (Collection of the Maritime Museum of Hong Kong)

will be carried by the local porters to walk cross the Dayu Mountain, which separated the two provinces of Jiangxi and Guangdong (Fig. 5.3). After the mountain pass, the porcelain wares would be loaded on board again at Nanxiong (南雄) and transported through the Zhen River (浈水), Beiji River (北江) and the Pearl River to Guangzhou (Canton), where the foreign boats were sailing up to the river for trade.

Many kiln sites in Jingdezhen have been systemically excavated by ceramic archaeologists during the recent decades. Among them, shards of export type porcelain wares were unearthed from the Guanying (观音阁) Kiln site, Zhushan (珠山, Pearl Hill) imperial Kiln site and Luomaqiao (落马桥) Kiln site located along the Chang River (昌江) (Fig. 5.4). Comparative pieces with these discoveries could be seen in some of the cargos belonged to the Spanish shipwrecks, indicating that

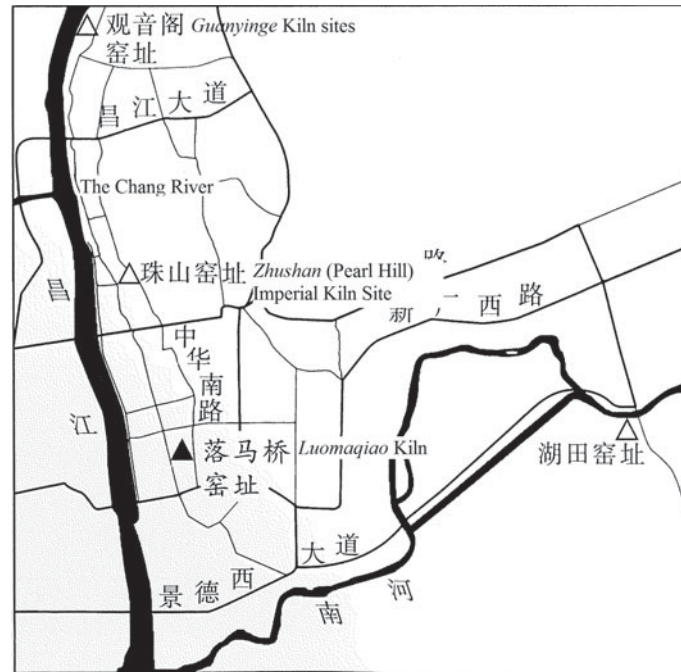


Fig. 5.4 The location of kiln sites in Jingdezhen (JDZCAI et al. 2017)

during the early stage of their arrival on the China coast, the Spanish were also very active in the trade of Jingdezhen porcelain wares near Canton (Fig. 5.5). But soon, the story turned to a new page.

Unlike the Portuguese who are conducting trades with Chinese merchants based on Macau, a port near Guangzhou, the Spanish were based at the Philippines, which was more closely connected to the ports along the Fujian province. When the Longqing (隆庆) Emperor succeeded the Jiajing (嘉靖) Emperor in 1567, he made the decision to open the seaport Yuegang (月港, literally “Moon Barbour”) of Zhangzhou, Fujian province, to private trades, allowing the Chinese merchants active in Quanzhou (泉州) and Zhangzhou to conduct trade with foreign merchants (Japanese merchants were still excluded) near Yuegang. This was a great opportunity for the Spanish who were active around Zhangzhou to attend the maritime trades there. Furthermore, in the year of 1574, when the Ming Navy commanded by the Fujian Military Headquarter fought against a branch of Chinese pirates who had fled to Luzon at the northern part of the Philippines. They invited the Spanish to conduct joint operations against the pirates and won the war. So the next year, when the Spanish requested for official permission from the Ming court to trade with Chinese merchants and start missionary work in China, their requests were approved shortly afterwards (Gu et al. 1630). The Spanish merchants then became much more active in maritime trade along the Fujian coasts.



Fig. 5.5 Shards of Jingdezhen wares from the Guanying Kiln site, Zhushan (pearl hill) Imperial Kiln site and Luomaqiao Kiln site (JDZCAI)

Soon after Zhangzhou opened Yuegang to private trades, its local production of Chinese Blue and White porcelain wares raised dramatically. According to field investigations and archaeological works done in the previous decades, there are more than 50 kiln sites located in the area of the Zhangzhou City and the surrounded counties. In some of the sites, kilns and remains from the ancient firing activities distributed widely within the archaeological area, indicating that prosperous productions had been conducted everywhere. Most of the porcelain wares produced here were for exportation only, they were rarely seen in the domestic market. Comparative pieces with the Zhangzhou wares found in Spanish shipwrecks could mainly be seen in the kiln sites concentrated at Nansheng (南胜) and Wuzhai (五寨) located in Pinghe (平和) county closely to Zhangzhou, indicating that this was the production centre of Zhangzhou export porcelain wares during the late 16th to early 17th centuries, which is also the first peak of the trade of Chinese porcelain wares by the Manila Galleons (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7).

5.3 Jingdezhen Wares: The Beginning of the Trade

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive at the China coast. Starting from the early 16th century, the Portuguese made great efforts to cultivate the diplomatic relationship with the Ming court, but had limited results. Decades before their occupation of Macau, they were active in the smuggling trade among the offshore islands near Canton, Fujian and Zhejiang. As the local smuggling trade was already in its mature stage, merchants and pirates from the Southeast coast of China, Japan and Southeast Asia were all quite active here. This is also a good chance for Portuguese to get acquainted with the local merchants and pirates to further expand their knowledge and network in Asia (Lungstedt 1994). They were very aggressive in the trade of local products of the Ming Empire, as recorded in the historical documents, among which porcelain wares were one of their favourites. According to the Chinese blue and white porcelain wares discovered from the *Xuande* (宣德) shipwreck—originally a Portuguese ship dated to the mid-16th century, found at the north of the island of Pulau Tioman, Malaysia, we can have a glimpse of the porcelain wares they traded during the early stage. Comparative pieces of examples from the shipwreck site can be found in the porcelain collection of the Palace of Santos in Lisbon, where the French embassy is now located (Fig. 5.8). The Palace of Santos was one of the favourite royal residences of King Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521), who had an endless passion for the Far East and offered strong support to the activities of exploring Asia and discovering China. The earliest pieces in the Santos Palace collection could be imported into Portugal during his reign in the early 16th century.

According to the record of Chinese documents, in the year of 1553, some Portuguese claimed that their boats were destroyed by the great waves near Macau, so they needed to land on Macau and stay there to dry their cargos. The request was



Fig. 5.6 The location of kiln sites of Zhangzhou, Fujian province (FJPM 1997)

approved by the local governor Wang Bo (汪柏), who had accepted the bribes from the Portuguese. In the following years, Wang also played a key role in legalizing the Portuguese trade activities with the Chinese merchants in Canton in 1554 (Guo 1602), and prompting the lease of Macau to the Portuguese in 1557 (Boxer 1959).



Fig. 5.7 Shards of the Zhangzhou wares unearthed from the Wuzhai and Nansheng kilns sites (FJPM 1997)

The maritime trade between Portugal and Ming China developed remarkably afterwards. Large amounts of Chinese porcelain wares were traded to the markets along the Portuguese travel route, as well as their terminal port in Europe.

Não Espadarte was a Portuguese ship which sank in 1558 off the coast of Mozambique, enroute from India to Portugal. The ship was found in 2001 with the main body badly destroyed. Besides a substantial amount of gold ingots, Chinese blue and white porcelain wares were also discovered, including a special bowl with



Fig. 5.8 Blue and white dish from the *Xuande* shipwreck (left) and comparative blue and white dish from the collection of the Palace of Santos in Lisbon (right) (Brown 1999; Lion-Goldschmidt 1985)

the mark of 癸丑年造 (Gui Chou Nian Zao), literally “made in the Gui Chou year” (the year of 1553) (Official website of UNESCO). The porcelain wares excavated from the shipwreck are undoubtedly good examples of the Jingdezhen wares traded by the Portuguese after they settled down at Macau. Both the quantity and quality of the exported Jingdezhen porcelain were much better than before. Comparative pieces were found also on land sites along the travel routes of the Portuguese, especially the porcelain shards unearthed in the North Bay of Macau (Fig. 5.9).

Archaeological discoveries indicate that shortly after the Spanish arrival at the Southeast coast of the Ming Empire, they were also active in the trade of Jingdezhen porcelain wares of high quality. Some fine examples were unearthed in the previous decades from the land sites along the travel route of the Manila Galleons, such as the sites in the Philippines, the sites off the California coast and the sites in Mexico City (Fig. 5.10).

5.4 The Rise of Zhangzhou Kilns: The Variety of Porcelain the Manila Galleon Trade

After the seaport Yuegang was opened to the Chinese private traders in the first year of Longqing (1567), trades with foreign merchants near the islands off Yuegang became legalized. This caused the rise of the local production of export wares for overseas markets, among which the Zhangzhou wares became famous and popular to the Spanish merchants. Shortly after the Spanish getting permission from the central government for conducting trades along the Fujian coast, they became active



Fig. 5.9 Comparative porcelain wares discovered from the *Não Espadarte* shipwreck (top; Official website of UNESCO), unearthed from the North Bay of Macau (middle; Wang 2015), and from the collection of the Palace of Santos in Lisbon (bottom; Lion-Goldschmidt 1985)



Fig. 5.10 Comparative porcelain dishes from the local collection of the Philippines (left; Tan and Diem 1997), an unpublished site off the California coast (middle; Kuwayama 1997), and excavated from the Donceles street, Mexico City (right; Museo del Templo Mayor)

in trading Zhangzhou wares to Southeast Asia and got great profits from it. As a result, besides the Jingdezhen wares they have already started to trade in the early years, Zhangzhou wares produced locally in the Fujian province soon became another important part of their porcelain cargos. That is to say, the porcelain cargos of Spanish ships became more various than the Portuguese ones of the same time. Instead of competing with the Portuguese near the Canton coast, the Spanish merchants moved their attention to the trades along the Fujian coast and became more focused on sailing between Fujian and Luzon afterwards (Giraldez 2015).

The Nan'ao No. 1 (南澳一号) shipwreck was a Chinese ship which sank in the Sandianjin (三点金) waters off the coast of Nan'ao Island, Shantou, Guangdong province. It is dated to the early years of Wanli (万历) period (1570s) and is believed to be owned by a Chinese merchant according to recent research. It is a perfect time capsule showing the variety and combination of the porcelain cargos during the 1570s. An unprecedented amount of Zhangzhou wares, more than 20,000 pieces, was discovered from the shipwreck, showing the rapid development of the export productions of Fujian kilns and the popularity of Fujian wares in the maritime trade (GDPICRA 2014). These early examples of export Zhangzhou wares showed a rather different style from Jingdezhen pieces. The main types are dishes and bowls, decorated with hastily drew patterns in under glaze blue of grey tone, leaving much space in blank. The body and glaze of most of the Zhangzhou wares are obviously lower in quality than the Jingdezhen ones. It is also the reason why the Zhangzhou wares were always identified as coarse porcelain of the time on contrast to the fine ones made in Jingdezhen. There are several shipwrecks with Zhangzhou wares, such as the Beijiao No. 3 (北礁三号) shipwreck sank shortly after 1586 (UARNMC and HNPBCRPM 2005), the *San Isidro* shipwreck of the second half of 16th century (Tan 2007), the *San Felipe* shipwreck of 1576 (Canepa 2016), the *San Augustin* shipwreck of 1595 and the *San Diego* shipwreck of 1600 (Canepa 2016; Desroches 1996). In addition to the Chinese ship Beijiao No. 3 and Southeast Asian ship *San Isidro*, all other ships belonged to the Spanish and were discovered along the sailing route of the Manila Galleons, indicating that the trades

of Zhangzhou wares were actively conducted by the Spanish towards the markets of Southeast Asia and other districts along the sailing routes (Fig. 5.11).

Besides the new tendency of the present of Zhangzhou wares in the porcelain cargos during this time, changes also occurred among the export porcelain wares from Jingdezhen, among which the most obvious is the increasing of overglaze enamelled porcelain wares. The overseas trade of over glaze enamelled Jingdezhen wares could be traced back to the Portuguese commercial activities of the 1540s–1550s on the Shangchuan (上川) Island, Taishan (台山), Guangdong province, shortly before their landing on Macau. As a new category of export porcelain wares traded by the Portuguese, it was mainly discovered on the Shangchuan Islands, not being seen in any earlier land sites or shipwrecks (Yang 2015). Over glaze enamelled porcelain wares could be seen in the cargos of the Nan'ao No. 1 shipwreck, in a relatively small number of less than 500, indicating that they were still quite rare for the overseas market (Fig. 5.12). Recent discoveries from shipwrecks and land sites also proved that they were traded by both the Portuguese and Spanish as cargos during the time. As published, there were 17 samples in total of over glaze enamelled porcelain wares discovered from the Portuguese ship *Não Espadarte* sank in 1558,



Fig. 5.11 Porcelain dishes from the shipwrecks of *San Felipe*, *San Isidro* and the Nan'ao No. 1 (Tan 2007; Canepa 2016; GDPCRA 2014)



Fig. 5.12 Jingdezhen over glaze enamelled porcelain wares discovered from the Nan'ao No. 1 shipwreck (GDPIRA 2014)



Fig. 5.13 Jingdezhen over glaze enamelled porcelain wares excavated from an unpublished site off the California coast (left), excavated at the Casa de Martín Calvo de la Puerta, known as the Casa de la ObraPía, Havana, Cuba (middle), excavated from Santa Fe La Vieja, Argentina (right)

44 pieces found in the Spanish ship *San Phillipe* of 1576 and one example from the *San Diego* shipwreck of 1600 was published (Canepa 2016; Desroches 1996). Although in an extremely small scale, the Spanish had still shipped the Jingdezhen over glaze enamelled porcelain wares to many districts along their sailing routes. Examples could be seen from the land sites of Santa Fe La Vieja, Argentina, the site of the Casa de Martín Calvo de la Puerta, known as the Casa de la ObraPía, Havana, Cuba, as well as the private collection of comparative pieces from some unpublished sites off the California coast (Fig. 5.13, Kuwayama 2001), all proved that the Spanish were incredibly active in the trade of every kind of porcelains they could get from the Chinese merchants.

Another perfect example showing the variety of porcelain cargos traded by the Spanish is the *San Diego* shipwreck of 1600, which sank at a short distance away from Fortune Island, Nasugbu, Philippines. It was converted from a trading ship to a warship, overloaded with cannons and more than 34,407 artifacts including Chinese porcelain, Japanese Katanas, Mexican coins, etc. (Desroches 1996). Blue and white wares made in both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou were discovered among the cargos, as well as the over glaze enamelled porcelain wares made in Jingdezhen (Fig. 5.14), covering the main kinds of export porcelain wares during the time. Besides, it is also showed a new tendency in the style of the maritime trade porcelain wares when time moved closer to the 17th century.

The shapes and decorative styles of the Zhangzhou and Jingdezhen blue and white wares became similar to each other. Some of the Zhangzhou wares and Jingdezhen wares looked identical in terms of shape and decorative patterns. It is for sure that although made from different raw materials with local ceramics techniques behind, the export porcelain wares of Zhangzhou and Jingdezhen were designed and produced for a similar taste. The most typical example, the Kraak style, which stood out by its specific decoration with foliated radial panels, has never been seen in the Chinese traditional blue and white porcelain wares before, but soon popped up from the very end of 16th century and became the mainstream of the export porcelain wares produced both in Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou (Rinaldi 1989; Fig. 5.15). The phenomena indicated that production centres of export porcelain wares were adjusting themselves to better fit the demands and tastes of the overseas markets by reducing their own local features, and producing porcelain wares exactly copying the orders from the merchants or brokers. As a result, the export porcelain wares from different kilns became visually similar, reflecting that the leading role of the demands of the overseas markets was unprecedentedly emphasized. A new era of maritime trade of porcelain had come.

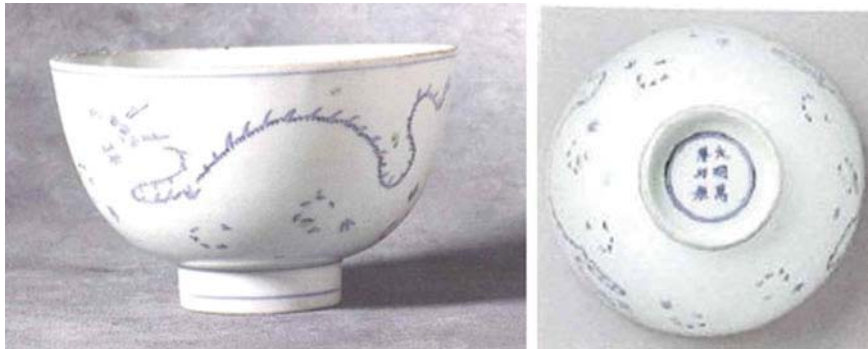


Fig. 5.14 Jingdezhen over glaze enamelled porcelain bowl discovered from the *San Diego* (Desroches 1996)



Fig. 5.15 Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou wares of Kraak style discovered from the *San Diego* (Desroches 1996)

5.5 The Convergence and Diversity of Porcelain Wares: Production for the World Market

In the early 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was founded by a government-directed amalgamation of several rival Dutch trading companies. Similar to its predecessor as a chartered company originally established in 1602, the VOC was active in conducting the trades with India, Southeast Asian and other Far East districts (Boxer 1965). In 1603, the first permanent Dutch trading post in Indonesia was established in Banten, West Java, and in 1611 another was established at Jayakarta (later “Batavia” and then “Jakarta”). The Dutch became a strong competitor in the Asia trades with the Portuguese and the Spanish. As the Dutch was active in the same travel route of the Portuguese and always seized the Portuguese merchant carracks by force, its growing power in the trade threatened and damaged much the vest interest of the Portuguese. However, on the other hand, the presentation of the Dutch in the Far East trade further expanded the markets for Chinese porcelain wares and other products, diversifying the demands for porcelain wares of different styles and types.

The Binh Thuan wreck sank off the southern coast of Vietnam around 1608 was believed belonged to the Chinese merchant I Sin Ho under the commission of the Dutch traders in Johore. It was carrying silk, ceramics and cast-iron pans from China to the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch planned to use these wares to barter for

spices in South-East Asian markets. Among the cargos, the earliest Zhangzhou wares with over glaze enamels were discovered (Flecker 2004). As the over glaze enamelled wares discovered from the shipwrecks of earlier time are all made in Jingdezhen, the Zhangzhou wares with similar decoration were undoubtedly a new category for the exporting porcelain wares during the time (Fig. 5.16). The types and styles of these early pieces are showing many similarities to the Jingdezhen wares already got popularized around the late 16th century. Take the over glaze enamelled Zhangzhou wares discovered from the Binh Thuan wreck of 1608 for example, the covered boxes were obviously copying the Jingdezhen pieces of earlier time and we can also find the original design of the Zhangzhou covered bowls from the Jingdezhen wares in the Nan'ao No.1 shipwreck of the early Wanli period (late 16th century) (Figs. 5.17 and 5.18). In another word, the Zhangzhou kilns had received the same orders as the Jingdezhen kilns did earlier.

However, in addition to the early pieces copying the Jingdezhen wares, a new style of Zhangzhou wares decorated with over glaze enamels had been created based on the similar techniques, which has never been seen in any Jingdezhen product. The most representative pieces were the large dishes and bowls decorated in large area with over glaze blue outlined by over glaze black, showing a quite different taste from the red-tuned Jingdezhen enamelled wares (Fig. 5.19). The blue-tuned Zhangzhou wares later became the mainstream of the enamelled Zhangzhou wares for the Southeast Asian market. Examples are found as treasured heirlooms and excavated in ancient historical sites and shipwrecks of Indonesia. Comparative pieces can be seen in the overseas collections as well. Among them, many were valued by Japanese collectors and bought from Southeast Asia to Japan



Fig. 5.16 Zhangzhou dishes, covered boxes and covered bowls with over glaze enamels discovered from the Binh Thuan shipwreck (Flecker 2004)



Fig. 5.17 Zhangzhou covered box discovered from the Binh Thuan shipwreck (left), Zhangzhou covered box from the in the Seikado Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo (middle) and Jingdezhen covered box with over glaze red and green from the collection of Shanghai Museum, China (right)



Fig. 5.18 Zhangzhou covered bowl discovered from the Binh Thuan shipwreck (left), Jingdezhen bowl discovered from the Nan'ao No. 1 shipwreck (middle) and Jingdezhen bowl from the collection of the British Museum (right) (Hall 2001)



Fig. 5.19 Zhangzhou plates in the Seikado Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo

in the last two centuries (Seikado Bunko Art Museum 1997). They were published by museums and private collectors in the recent decades. Besides, some European collections of Zhangzhou wares were also showing an Asian origin, such as the famous collection of the Princesses of National Museum of Ceramics in

Leeuwarden, Netherlands. The collection were donated by the heirs of Mr. Reinier D. Verbeek (1841–1926) who had amassed an impressive collection of Zhangzhou wares while living and working in Sumatra, Indonesia (Harrison 1979). They are also important databases for us to get a whole picture of the style and types of Zhangzhou wares traded.

According to the recent archaeological findings and related researches, we that Europe was once the biggest market for the Jingdezhen wares, while the Southeast Asian market imported most of the Zhangzhou wares. Based at the trading posts in Southeast Asia, the Spanish and Dutch were both deeply involved in the trades of Zhangzhou wares inside the Asian local markets. As discussed above, the Spanish played an indispensable role in prompting the production of Zhangzhou blue and white wares and traded them to the other Asian markets via Luzon at the initial stage of their exportation. While the rise of over glaze enamelled Zhangzhou wares were more closely related to the Dutch commercial activities in the Asian market. The reason for Zhangzhou kilns to start producing the over glaze enamelled wares was quite complicated. Internally, its interaction with the Jingdezhen kilns, especially the move of local potters and techniques from Jingdezhen to the Zhangzhou district should be put into consideration. However, undeniably, the arrival of the Dutch at Asia and their expansion of the Southeast Asian market, especially Indonesia, as one of the biggest markets of the over glaze enamelled Zhangzhou wares also played a crucial part in the rapidly increasing of the production scale of Zhangzhou wares. Following the Dutch, merchants and companies from British and other European countries arrived in the following years. The continuing expanding demands of the world market led the trade to a new era. An era that the relationship between the demands of overseas markets and the production of the Chinese porcelain kilns became unprecedentedly close. The Chinese export porcelain adjusted itself quickly, showing the unexpected convergence and diversity towards the world market.

5.6 Conclusion

The trade of Chinese porcelain by the Manila Galleon experienced mainly three stages. Upon their arrival, the Spanish were active in the trade of any kind of export Chinese porcelain they could get. The blue and white Jingdezhen wares as mainstream and the rare type of over glaze enamelled Jingdezhen wares can both be found from the Spanish shipwrecks and land sites along the Manila Galleon routes. But soon, the Spanish found their own approach of trading with Chinese merchants. Closely connected with the merchants who were active along the Fujian coast, the Spanish started to involve in the trade of Fujian local porcelain wares and shipped the porcelain to the Southeast Asian and further markets based on its trading post at Luzon. Different from the cargos of Spanish shipwrecks, large amounts of Zhangzhou wares were rarely seen in Portuguese shipwrecks, indicating that the Spanish and Portuguese focused on the customers of different markets.

The porcelain wares of different quality with similar patterns and shapes made in Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou kilns satisfied the various levels of purchasing power for the products of same style. Conducting commercial activities separately in Fujian and Canton with mutually beneficial cooperative interactions, the Spanish and Portuguese had kept a delicate balance in the expansion of their ocean empires and the growth of their own commercial benefits.

The balance had been broken thoroughly by the arrival of the Dutch and interest groups from other European countries. The Dutch suppressed the power of the Portuguese in the East by despoiling the trading posts along their sailing routes and grabbing their trade ships by force. After settling down at Batavia (present day Jakarta), Indonesia, the Dutch started to aggressively expand their power in the following years. After several unsuccessful attempts in occupying some of the trade islands, they finally ruled Formosa (present day Taiwan) in 1624 and grabbed Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. As reflected on the Chinese porcelain, both the Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou wares adjusted themselves and showed the unprecedentedly varieties towards a wider world market. Take the Jingdezhen kilns for example, by reducing the styles and types from their traditional porcelain wares, new shapes and patterns were made following the tastes of markets. As we can tell today, for example, Kraak wares for the European market and *Kinrande* wares for the Japanese. The same situation happened at the Zhangzhou kilns. By making wares copying the similar designs with Jingdezhen but of lower quality, they fulfilled the needs of customers and markets sharing the same taste of Jingdezhen wares but cannot afford them. Meanwhile, they produced the blue-tuned over glaze enamelled wares which were highly valued by the customers from Japan and the Southeast Asian market, showing their great flexibility in producing porcelain wares towards the needs of specific market. In this background, the Chinese porcelain wares shipped by the Manila Galleons also reflected the diversification of the cargos. After the three stages of development of trade, it is quite difficult for one to tell the differences of cargos shipped by the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch. More closely connected and interacted, they were sharing the Chinese export porcelain wares not produced for a specific country active in the Far East trade, but for a world market.

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