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FREER GALLERY OF ART  
OCCASIONAL PAPERS

VOLUME TWO

NUMBER ONE

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY BLUE-AND-WHITE  
A GROUP OF CHINESE PORCELAINS  
IN THE  
TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ, ISTANBUL

By  
JOHN ALEXANDER POPE



PUBLICATION 4089

WASHINGTON

1952

## FREER GALLERY OF ART OCCASIONAL PAPERS

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# FOURTEENTH-CENTURY BLUE-AND-WHITE: A GROUP OF CHINESE PORCELAINS IN THE TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ, ISTANBUL

By JOHN ALEXANDER POPE

*Assistant Director, Freer Gallery of Art*

[WITH 44 PLATES]

## INTRODUCTION

### THE BACKGROUND

ATTEMPTS to assign pre-Ming dates to Chinese porcelains decorated in underglaze cobalt blue are by no means new, but they have never ceased to be troublesome; certainly no general agreement in the matter has been reached beyond the fact that such porcelains do exist. More than 20 years ago Hobson wrote tentatively of Sung and Yüan blue-and-white, and the types of wares he singled out for these early honors are well known.<sup>1</sup> Since that time, although the words Sung and Yüan have been bandied about rather freely, there would appear to be little consistency in the nature of the wares to which they have been applied, and on the whole very little progress has been made. The one irrefutable fact is that in the matter of Sung blue-and-white there are no facts whatever to deal with. Word has been spread abroad that such and such pieces have been "excavated from Sung tombs," but no witnesses have come forth, no documents have turned up, and, most unhappily of all, the pieces themselves have shown no characteristics that link them conclusively to the Sung Dynasty or indeed any qualities that distinguish them clearly from other wares usually considered to be early blue-and-white.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., 18, figs. 141-144, 293, 294, 296-303.

The case for Yüan is different. Two magnificent blue-and-white vases formerly in the Elphinstone and Russell Collections are now in the collection of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; both have long inscriptions which date them precisely and beyond any doubt in the latter part of the Yüan Dynasty. The Chinese date is given as an auspicious day in the fourth month of the eleventh year of the Chih-cheng reign, and this falls in the period from April 26 to May 25, 1351. Here, then, are documents; yet it appears that while one of them was published as long ago as 1929<sup>2</sup> and they have been mentioned repeatedly since then in the literature of the subject, it was not until 1949 that anyone really looked at them to see what it was besides the inscription that set them apart from the general run of early blue-and-white. This was finally done in the attempt to find the proper date for an unusual plate that turned up in New York; and in the course of their investigation the authors of the resulting paper<sup>3</sup> observed and isolated certain distinguishing characteristics which the new plate and the David vases have in common and which, at that time, seemed otherwise to be extremely rare. It is a striking fact that when they began to seek out further material with what they considered the same characteristic types of design, they could find only three other pieces of which published photographs were available; and to these they subsequently added some half dozen more which they felt were related, though less closely, to the dated documents. That only 11 pieces should come to hand among the hundreds<sup>4</sup> of published examples of

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<sup>2</sup> 14, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> 47, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> To provide at the outset a general idea of the background of the present study it can be stated that about 15 of the principal publications on the subject include illustrations of something over 600 pieces of Ming blue-and-white. Bibliography Nos. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 31, 33, 34, 38, 44, 49, 50, 51, and 56 form the basic corpus, and there are many others which show a few pieces each. To continue using round figures, about 200 of these may fairly safely be assigned to the fifteenth century, and an almost equal number belong to the sixteenth century. In making this rough count the attempt has been made to eliminate pieces about which there may be a reasonable amount of uncertainty. Out of the 200 remaining pieces a good many "probables" and even more "possibles" could be added to both groups.

Ming blue-and-white tended to indicate that this was something of a new category; and if the conclusion of this pioneer study seems somewhat disappointing, it is certainly to a great extent because the authors attempted to define these pieces as the work of one single potter and to insist that even the slightest deviation in any detail of the execution was unacceptable and betrayed the hand of a later imitator. It should also be pointed out that an investigation based on such a small body of material could hardly be expected to produce any broad general conclusions. The fact remains, however, that this was the first attempt to look closely at the only existing pre-Ming wares of any acceptable pedigree and to point to the significant details. In so doing the authors charted a course for further studies, which may ultimately be instrumental in bringing order out of a confusion so old as to be almost stagnant. It is in the hope of being able to make another step toward clarification that the present study has been undertaken.

During the summer of 1950, I had the opportunity of extending the scope of my studies in Chinese porcelain by visiting the two great collections assembled in early times in the Near East. These were the remains of the collection deposited by Shāh 'Abbās in the Ardebil Shrine in 1612, some 800 pieces now in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran; and the huge collection gathered by the Ottoman sultans mostly during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, some 10,000 pieces now in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. Both of these collections are renowned for the quantity and quality of the blue-and-white they contain; and while the Turkish collection had been visited by scholars in the field, only two publications have resulted—one very faulty and one very small<sup>5</sup>—and the collection in Iran had not, at that time, been visited by anyone interested in Chinese ceramics. With the details pointed out in the above-mentioned study fresh in my mind, I was immediately struck by the realization that these two great collections for the first time made available similar material in appreciable quantities. A preliminary report of the

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<sup>5</sup> 12, 16, 56. Cf. also Appendix III, p. 72, below.

findings on the trip as a whole has already been published;<sup>6</sup> and future plans include a general catalogue of the Ardebil Collection with illustrations of as many significant pieces as possible and a number of smaller studies on various phases of the Topkapu Sarayı Collection. The first of these is the present volume, which includes illustrations of 31 pieces in the collection that are believed to be earlier than the rest.<sup>7</sup> Six additional pieces are included, among them one of the David vases which form the keystone of the argument; and in compiling the criteria brought forth in evidence 30 similar pieces in the Ardebil Collection have also been drawn upon although their illustration must await the appearance of the catalogue of that collection.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the preparation of this study I have received many kinds of help from many people. Bey Tahsin Öz, director of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, provided the most complete cooperation in every way. In Istanbul he gave us every facility for the most careful study of the porcelains themselves, and since that time he has sent additional negatives and patiently answered many detailed questions by mail. His assistant Bey Ismail Ünal spent entire days with us and was of invaluable assistance throughout our stay in Istanbul, as was also the then English translator of the museum, Bey Iskender Gürol. Sir Percival David very kindly took the trouble to provide new photographs of his vases and a special view of the base, and has given many helpful suggestions in correspondence. I am indebted to Mrs. Alfred Clark for sending me a photograph of her *mei-p'ing*, and for granting permission to publish it, and to Mr. Robert Bruce who sent me prints of his plate before he presented it to the British Museum. For similar assistance I owe thanks to Mr. Theodore Y. Hobby of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and to Messrs. Warren E. Cox and Shinzo

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<sup>6</sup> 41.

<sup>7</sup> There are a few more than 31 of these early pieces in the Topkapu Sarayı. The present selection may be regarded as representative; it is hardly necessary to add that this collection, like any other, also includes some puzzles.

Shirae. For the photograph of the handsome vase in Siam I am indebted to Dr. Schuyler Cammann who visited the temple, recognized the importance of the piece, and took the picture. Miss Jean Gordon Lee provided photographs and references to a group of important pieces which have augmented the checklist. In linguistic matters I am indebted to Mrs. Kamer Aga-Oglu, of the University of Michigan, to Prof. Karl H. Menges, of Columbia University, and to Prof. Jean Deny, of the Georgetown University Institute of Languages and Linguistics for the translations of Turkish texts and the discussion of several puzzling points. Miss Marion Schild, of the Library of Congress, very kindly translated the relevant passages in the Italian account of Turkey. My very special debt to Dr. Li Hui-lin is recorded elsewhere. In the United States National Museum, Dr. Herbert Friedmann, curator of the division of birds, and Dr. Edward A. Chapin, curator of the division of insects, both generously helped with their special knowledge, and Dr. Robert Kanazawa kindly provided information on the fishes.

My colleagues in the Freer Gallery of Art have been cooperative in every way. To mention only those who have taken the most active parts, the Director, Archibald G. Wenley, made possible the travel which enabled me to undertake this study and has shown a continuing interest in the results. Mrs. Bertha M. Usilton, the librarian, has assisted with the bibliography; and all photographic work has been carried out by Burns A. Stubbs and Raymond A. Schwartz, much of it from negatives supplied by the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi. From these photographs, drawings of some of the design details were made by Mrs. Eleanor M. Jordan; and Mrs. Lnor Onontiyoh West has typed the many revisions of the manuscript with infinite patience and good humor.

My wife accompanied me on the trip, took down all the notes and kept them in order, and was otherwise of the greatest assistance in every phase of the investigation.

## NUMERICAL LIST

<i>T. K. S. No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>T. K. S. No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>
1366	26	1420	7a
1370	28	1422	18, 19
1376	23, 24	1425	29
1377	22	1428	4
1379	20, 21	1429	5
1382	12	1434	10a
1383	9	1453	35
1387	11, 17	1465	14b
1391	25	1466	6
1398	27	1467	10b
1411	32	1471	33
1413	31	1473	34
1416	8	1480	15, 16
1417	13	1481	14a
1418	3	3027	30
1419	7b		

The pieces belonging to the Percival David Foundation, the British Museum, Warren E. Cox and Associates, the Alfred Clark Collection, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Wat Mahāthāt in Siam are on plates 36 to 40, respectively.

## CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Names and dates of those dynasties, reign periods, and rulers that are of interest to this study are as follows:

### CHINA

SUNG	960-1279	
YÜAN	1260-1368	
	(Nineteen years elapsed between Khubilai's election as Khan and the extinction of the last Sung pretender. The only Yüan reign period mentioned in this work is the last one, Chih-cheng 至正 1341-1368.)	
MING	1368-1644	
	Important reigns:	
	Hung-wu 洪武	1368-1398
	Yung-lo 永樂	1403-1424
	Hsüan-te 宣德	1425-1436
	Ch'eng-hua 成化	1465-1487
	Hung-chih 弘治	1488-1505
	Cheng-te 正德	1506-1521
	Chia-ching 嘉靖	1522-1566
	Wan-li 萬曆	1573-1620
CH'ING	1644-1912	

### TURKEY

Ottoman sultans from the capture of Constantinople:

Mehmed II	1451-1481	Mustafa II	1695-1703
Bayezid II	1481-1512	Ahmed III	1703-1730
Selim I	1512-1520	Mahmud I	1730-1754
Süleyman I	1520-1566	Osman III	1754-1757
Selim II	1566-1574	Mustafa III	1757-1774
Murad III	1574-1595	Abdül Hamid I	1774-1789
Mehmed III	1595-1603	Selim III	1789-1803
Ahmed I	1603-1617	Mustafa IV	1807-1808
Mustafa I	1617-1618	Mahmud II	1808-1839
	1622-1623	Abdül Mecid I	1839-1861
Osman II	1618-1622	Abdül Aziz	1861-1876
Murad IV	1623-1640	Murad V	1876
Ibrahim I	1640-1649	Abdül Hamid II	1876-1909
Mehmed IV	1649-1687	Mehmed V	1909-1915
Süleyman II	1687-1691	Mehmed VI	1915-1922
Ahmed II	1691-1695		

# THE TOPKAPU SARAYI COLLECTION

## HISTORY

Notes on the history of the collection appear in the text of Zimmermann's catalogue, in a paper by Sir Percival David, and in the Guide to the Museum;<sup>8</sup> but as these publications are rather limited in circulation this information is not generally available. Furthermore, continuing research in the Sarayı Museum has brought to light new information; and for these reasons it seems worth while to set forth a fresh account of the background of the collection together with a brief outline of its scope.

At the outset it may be well to relate briefly the history of the Palace itself and to correct a common misconception. Western writers customarily and erroneously refer to the Topkapu Sarayı or Topkapu Palace as the Old Seraglio, whereas in fact it is the New. Shortly after conquering Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II built a palace on the ground formerly occupied by the Forum of Theodosius, an area now including Bayezid Square and the site of the University of Istanbul. Completed in 1454, this was known as the Old Palace, Eski Sarayı. Some years later, choosing one of the most beautiful spots in the world, the eminence overlooking the point of land which thrusts northward between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara where the Bosphorus flows into the latter body of water, he began a second palace on the site of the ancient Acropolis of Byzantium. This was first called the New Palace, Yeni Sarayı. It was only after another four centuries that it received its present name of Topkapu Sarayı, Cannon Gate Palace; and this change came about in the following way. In Byzantine times the church of St. Barbara stood near this point of land and near it was the gate of the same name, also called the East Gate. This structure

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<sup>8</sup> This brief historical sketch has been compiled largely from these three sources, 56, 12, and 22, and from notes supplied by the museum staff in Istanbul.

was flanked by two great marble towers where those pioneer artillerymen, the Turks, later mounted cannon, thus giving it the name Cannon Gate. Nearby in 1709 Ahmed III built a wooden pavilion, which was enlarged by his successors on several occasions until by 1748 it had grown into a large palace surrounded by beautiful gardens, and this was known as the Cannon Gate Palace, Topkapu Sarayı. In 1817, the year the palace was completely renovated for the last time by Mahmud II, the Cannon Gate itself was demolished, but the palace remained and was used as summer quarters by the court in the time of Abdül Mecid (1839–1861), while the New Palace on top of the headland behind it was occupied only in winter. On the 11th of August, 1863, fire broke out in the harem and spread beyond control until the great palace by the sea was completely destroyed. At that time the name was transferred to the New Palace on the hilltop; and when the Government of the Turkish Republic converted it into a museum in 1924, they further perpetuated it in designating that organization the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi.

The basic source material on the collection lies in the Archives of the Palace among the inventories, and little time will be wasted by starting at the beginning. Archive No. 1 is the inventory of 891/1486,<sup>8a</sup> and this may well be the first one made as well as the earliest still in existence, for the construction of the New Palace by Mehmed II was completed about 1467. There is no reference to Chinese porcelain in this initial document; but it makes its appearance less than a decade later in the second which is dated 901/1495. The entry in this Archive, No. 2, is brief and reads as follows:

- 1 bowl
- 1 decanter
- 1 decanter
- 1 ewer
- 1 wine jug

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<sup>8a</sup> Material dated in Islamic style is cited by the Hijra year followed by an oblique line and then the corresponding Christian year. All other dates mentioned are A.D.

So the record shows five pieces in the imperial Ottoman collection as early as the end of the fifteenth century.

Archive No. 3 is the inventory taken in 907/1501 and lists 11 pieces:

Fağfur ewers—2 pieces  
 Fağfur decanter—1 piece  
 Fağfur decanter—1 piece  
 Bowls—5 pieces  
 Plates—2 pieces

The Turkish terminology in the subject of Chinese porcelain is fairly limited and not always clear. *Fağfur* means the emperor of China, and from this is derived the word *fağfurî*, which is used to designate Chinese porcelains in general.<sup>sb</sup> Another general term is *çini*, which means China or Chinese, and is also used for porcelain; this comes from the Persian, and the well-known example is the famous *Çini-hane*, the porcelain room in the mosque of Shaikh Safi built by Shāh 'Abbās the Great at Ardebil. The term *hatāyi* was also used for "Chinese" in many cases and thus sometimes for porcelain. It seems to derive from *Khitai*, the name used for China by the Turks of Central Asia and the one which early western writers corrupted to "Cathay." Referring to decoration it designates the lotus flower brought to Anatolia from Central Asia and now is used generally for flowers with large leaves. *Martabānî* is the word for celadon wares not only in Turkey and elsewhere in the Near East, but also among early western writers on the porcelain trade who no doubt adopted it from the vocabulary they heard on their travels. In Europe it is used also to describe certain large, heavy, brown-glazed storage jars found all through southeast Asia which are variously dated from T'ang to Ming times. The origin of the term may be traced to the port of Martaban in Burma whence many wares of both Chinese and Siamese manufacture were shipped to India, Africa, and the Near East in early times.<sup>9</sup> One or another of

<sup>sb</sup> This word appears to have an Iranian origin in common with the Russian word for porcelain, ФАРФОР.

<sup>9</sup> 11. As Collis points out, Martaban was used as a port only intermittently, and after 1400 the Mergui-Tenasserim route across the peninsula was the more regu-

these terms is used in all the inventories referring to porcelain, with *fağfurî* occurring most frequently. This situation shows the impossibility of determining the exact nature of any individual piece. Some color adjectives are used, and sometimes pieces are described as "decorated," but this seems to refer indiscriminately to blue-and-white and to wares decorated with enamel colors over the glaze.

Archive No. 4 is dated 10 Şaban 910, which corresponds to 10 January 1505 in the Christian Era, and is described as an inventory of the Palace Treasury.<sup>10</sup> The general description of the contents includes objects of gold and silver, textiles and gowns, weapons, copper vessels, rugs and tapestries, coins, mirrors, candlesticks and various decorative objects, plain European curtains, decorated European curtains, gauzes, fans, porcelain (*fağfurî*) vessels, carved wooden plates, Iznik pitchers, Konya earthenware cups, and brass bowls. The specific entries of interest here may be translated as follows:

- 2 pieces, decorated porcelain (*çini*) drinking vessels.
- 1 piece, porcelain (*fağfurî*) bottle in a case.
- 1 piece, shallow Chinese porcelain (*çini fağfurî*) bowl in a case.
- 2 pieces, porcelain (*fağfurî*) ewers.
- 1 piece, shallow white porcelain (*fağfurî*) bowl in a case.
- 1 piece, big white porcelain (*fağfurî*) dish.
- 2 pieces, decorated porcelain (*fağfurî*) saucers.
- 7 pieces, small porcelain (*fağfurî*) plates in a case.
- 3 pieces, small white porcelain (*fağfurî*) saucers.
- 1 piece, porcelain (*fağfurî*) dish in a case.

These 21 pieces show a steady increase in the porcelain collection; and the nature of the other objects housed with them in the Treasury sheds a somewhat curious light on the esteem

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lar. Native dialect pronunciations of these latter names were also corruptible into something resembling the sound "Martaban"; and it is probable that after that time the term was generally and loosely used for all wares of the type that came out of the East.

<sup>10</sup> Tahsin Öz very kindly supplied me with a copy of his recent publication of this inventory (21), and parts of it are translated here. Information from the same inventory was published by Sir Percival David (12) who gave the date as 1504; no doubt he was not given full reference to the month and day which carry the conversion over into the next Christian year.

in which they were held. "Objects of gold and silver" would certainly be expected as would such foreign rarities as "European curtains"; but humble native products like "Iznik pitchers, Konya earthenware cups and brass bowls" tend to dull the lustre where one might expect to find an authentic record of oriental splendor. The answer to this may lie in the field of semantics, for there can hardly be any doubt that the question revolves around the interpretation of the word "treasury" as used in Turkey in the sixteenth century and in the West today. As to the meaning of "cases," two different words occur in the Turkish text, but there seems to be no reason to translate them differently; and as there are none of these cases surviving today, it is impossible to say exactly what was meant.

Almost a decade later comes the next document, the first and only one to throw any light on the source of the porcelain. Dated 920/1514, it is a record of the booty brought back by Selim I (nicknamed "The Grim") from his successful campaign against Shāh Ismā'il of Persia; and no less than 62 pieces are enumerated:

35 small and large pieces of Chinese ware.

10 large plates, 2 white, 4 of different colors, and 4 olive colored.

17 small plates, 4 white and 13 of different colors.

While the famous *Çini-hane* built by Shāh 'Abbās at Ardebil was not dedicated for almost another century, it is abundantly clear that the wonderful and mysterious porcelain from distant China had already been treasured for a long time in many a noble household on the Iranian plateau; and these 62 pieces from the Hesht Behesht Palace of Shāh Ismā'il in Tabriz must have been among the choicest examples. White wares, olive wares, and wares of different colors are mentioned. The first and the second are clearly identifiable, for the white wares and the celadons are to be seen among the remains of the Ardebil collection as well as in Istanbul today; but "different colors" may well mean blue-and-white, or at least include it, for it is not otherwise distinguished, and enameled wares of this date though present in the collection are not numerous.

After this time porcelain appears less often in the inven-

ories, and indeed it seems not to be mentioned at all in these documents for 150 years. But the sixteenth century witnessed the greatest splendor of the Ottoman Empire, and there is reason to suppose that porcelain continued to find its way to the capital in ever-increasing quantities. In 1516–17, two years after the success at Tabriz, Selim subdued Egypt, taking Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo in the course of a few months. General accounts of these campaigns speak only of the rich booty that fell into the hands of the Turk; but if details are given at all, close scrutiny of the sources might well be rewarding, for it will be remembered that 40 pieces of Chinese celadon were sent from Egypt to Damascus as early as A.D. 1170, and Arab traders had been busily supplying the whole Arab world with Chinese goods since the seventh century.

It was also during the reign of Selim I (1512–1520) that a certain Muslim merchant, recently returned with his fellow travelers from a journey to China where he had obtained permission to live for a time in Peking, settled in Istanbul and wrote the story of his travels. Recording his experiences and observations in China under the title *Khitai Nameh*, he completed this work in 20 chapters in 922/1516, and to it he modestly subscribed his name in a final note telling us that he was called Sayyid 'Ali Ekber and that he had received, obviously as a result of his travels, the surname *Khitai*.<sup>11</sup> It is reported that he brought back with him two porcelain bowls decorated with Arabic script as gift to the Sultan from the Chinese Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 whose reign name was Cheng-te 正德 (1506–1521).<sup>12</sup> Such wares do not surprise us today; and the existence of these porcelains and also of a certain number of Ming bronzes with Arabic inscriptions has

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<sup>11</sup> Three chapters of this extremely interesting work were translated into French by Charles Schefer (45) as long ago as 1883, but it seems to have been ignored for over half a century thereafter. In the 1930's, Prof. Paul Kahle made it the subject of a special study (27) in which he informs us that he has completed a full translation. This translation appears not to have been published, although it is drawn upon in the course of three other papers by the same author (25, 26, 28).

<sup>12</sup> This information was given me verbally in Istanbul, and I have not been able to trace the document in which it is recorded.

long since drawn attention to the fact that Islam was a widespread influence in China in Ming times. The narrative of the Sayyid 'Ali Ekber not only confirms this but is in fact one of the primary sources on the subject. His firsthand account of the official life in China in his day and of the great power wielded over many phases of court life and taste by the ambitious Muslim eunuchs goes far toward explaining the high quality of some of the Cheng-te blue-and-white of this type.<sup>13</sup>

Selim was succeeded on the throne by his son Süleyman I, whom the Turks call "the Lawgiver" but who is better known in the West as "the Magnificent." This splendid sovereign surrounded himself with the finest of everything, and there can be little doubt that Chinese porcelain was among the gifts received by his court.<sup>13a</sup> As a matter of fact it is known that

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<sup>13</sup> It is difficult to pass over this text without alluding to 'Ali Ekber's astonishing statement that the emperor of the Cheng-te period was himself a convert to Islam (45, p. 64). In spite of the fact that this emperor is known to have been a capricious and unstable young man (he was 15 years old when he came to the throne and died at 31), it seems unlikely that, in view of the almost impermeable network of convention within which a Chinese sovereign lived his daily life, such a major spiritual event could have taken place. The other main possibility is that, because of this very network of Confucian tradition and officialdom by which he was surrounded, the fact of his conversion, if fact it was, would never have been allowed to become public news or part of the official records. No such event is mentioned in the Annals of the period (*Ming-shih* 明史, 16), and it is hard to believe that subsequent historians would have allowed it to remain hidden away in the Veritable Record (*Ming-shih-lu* 明實錄). This and other texts should be examined further. Balancing these alternatives I should like to keep the question open, although I am inclined to agree with Laufer (32, p. 135) and Kahle (27, p. 101) in doubting the veracity of the Sayyid 'Ali Ekber on this point. In those days every Muslim traveler to the East was expected to write an account of his experiences; and it stands to reason that the more evidence he could present of the spread of Islam among the infidels the greater would be his sovereign's pleasure and the greater his own rewards. There is plenty of evidence that Muslims enjoyed positions of special favor at the Cheng-te court (cf. 39, *passim*) and no doubt the Sayyid found among them some of his most useful informants. His natural zeal, stimulated by what he must have seen and heard under these circumstances in Peking, may well have lent wings to his pen and carried his narrative at times beyond the bounds of strictest fact.

<sup>13a</sup> It should also be remembered that during his long reign Süleyman launched no less than three great military expeditions against Persia, in 1534, 1548, and 1553; and on the first two occasions his forces occupied Tabriz, once for more than a year. While we still lack specific records, there can hardly be any doubt that additional porcelains fell into Turkish hands and made their way to Constantinople as a result of these campaigns.

Süleyman used porcelain on his table for this was recorded by an Italian traveler who included the following passages in his account of his visit to the Ottoman capital:<sup>14</sup> "Each of the cooks in the private kitchen has his oven where he cooks the food with a coal fire at the side so it will not taste of smoke, and each one fills a porcelain plate, and gives it to the food taster." Again, "When the meal time of the Grand Turk approaches, the young men from the private kitchen prepare two settings in a basket with the bread of the Sultan, and many silver vessels filled with Turkish beverages, that is to say juleps, pounded sugars and other liquids mixed with mastic . . . and many small dishes of porcelain with more condiments made of mint, violets and other herbs, and fruits made of sugar in their way; and they take all these things to the room where the King wants to eat and hand all the things to the eunuchs and leave them in their custody. Then the head food taster with staff in hand goes to the kitchen where his tasters are all ready to carry the food. Each one holds a large porcelain plate with a silver cover to be filled with food; and each one carries a large wooden spoon with which he makes the cooks serve everything. Then with the head taster they come to the room where the Sultan eats. There the Grand Turk sits down on the carpet with his legs crossed and three young men spread a long tablecloth on the floor, and they place another thin one over the knees of the Sultan."

To house this tableware, the architect Sinan built for his master a *çini-hane*, a china house, as part of the palace kitchens; and much porcelain was stored there as well as in the Confectionary Department of the Imperial Commissariat. In 1574 under Selim's successor, Murad III, fire swept the kitchens and a large quantity of the porcelain was destroyed.<sup>15</sup> The extent of the damage is impossible to determine in numerical terms; but the records say the lost wares were replaced,

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<sup>14</sup> 36, pp. 98, 132.

<sup>15</sup> *Tārīkh Atā*, vol. 1, p. 43. Also 22, p. 31. *Tārīkh Atā* and the references in notes 16 and 18 below are not listed in the bibliography, as they were taken down from conversations in Istanbul and I have no further information as to edition, date, etc.

and one can only assume that a large part of the sixteenth-century wares came into the collection at this time. On the other hand, the presence in the Sarayı today of a great many fine early pieces must mean that the destruction was by no means total.

In spite of the apparently common use of porcelain in some quarters of the palace, which these notices would suggest, seventeenth-century documents continue to indicate that it was still a highly esteemed commodity. A history dealing with the period 1600 to 1650, for instance, mentions the fact that the Treasury contained a box in which were two small cups of *fağfurī*;<sup>16</sup> and an inventory of 1092/1681 lists a large collection stored partly in the kitchen and partly in the Treasury.<sup>17</sup> Still another historical account, dated 1102/1690, relates that an Uzbek Ambassador from the Crimean Khan brought presents to Süleyman II, among them two bowls of Chinese porcelain.<sup>18</sup> These are but samples of many minor entries of the kind which give no more detail than this or, at most, use such phrases as "two white bowls" or "a yellow bowl." The account of these records may be brought to a close with two eighteenth-century referēces which have more than casual interest. Under the date of 1145/1732<sup>19</sup> it is reported that 128 pieces of Chinese porcelain were transferred from the palace of Ümmü Gülsün in Istanbul and placed in the Treasury of the Sarayı; and the list includes such items as:

- 28 yellow cups
- 14 *fağfurī* cups
- 2 cups decorated with precious stones
- 7 *fağfurī* saucers

As the century drew to a close a huge inventory was completed covering the years 1176–1207/1762–1792, and this is now Archive No. 2175 in the Palace Catalogue. It reveals that during those years the Palace contained some 10,000 pieces

<sup>16</sup> *Seyahat Name* (Voyages d'Evliya Çelebi), vol. 1, p. 228.

<sup>17</sup> 12, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Silāhar Tārikhi*, vol. 2, p. 562.

<sup>19</sup> Verbal information supplied in Istanbul, for which I have no documentary reference.

of porcelain, thus providing a general terminal date for the formation of the collection. This great list is again sadly lacking in details, and all we are told is that the wares are large, medium, or small, or decorated with flowers, animal motifs, or other forms.

In the time of Abdül Mecid (1839–1861) all the porcelains from various rooms and buildings in the Palace were brought together in the Treasure Room. The first attempt to exhibit them was made when a small group was placed on show in the exhibition hall of the Treasury under Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) just before the Revolution of April 1909. In 1910, the then director of the Museums of Istanbul, Bey Halil Edhem, invited Prof. Ernst Zimmermann, director of the porcelain collection of the Johanneum in Dresden, to make a survey of all the porcelains in the Treasure Room as well as those pieces which had been removed by Adbul Hamid to be used as decorations after he had built the Yıldız Kiosk and which, after his overthrow and exile (April 26, 1909), had been placed in the Museum of Antiquities. Circumstances prevented Zimmermann from completing his work at that time. After the Balkan war of 1912 the porcelains were placed in two large rooms, and a special commission was appointed to make a provisional installation in the quarters reserved for the Seferli, Palace attendants who waited on the Sultan during military expeditions. Following the first World War, Halil Bey, who was then director of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, invited Zimmermann, in 1925 and again in 1927, to carry on his work; when the classification was completed, the installation was undertaken as shown on plates 1 and 2 of his catalogue.

During World War II the contents of the museum were removed for safekeeping, and when they were brought back it was decided to plan a new installation. After a careful survey of the collection to weed out a great many of the duplications, an exhibition of the finest and most representatives pieces was assembled under the direction of Tahsin Bey. As a result about one-half of the porcelain is stored in the Palace cellars,

while the rest is newly installed in its ancient location, the former imperial kitchens bordering the southeast side of the Second Court.

#### SCOPE

The complete ceramic collection of some 10,000 pieces embraces a good many types of wares, although it by no means provides a comprehensive survey of the field. Approximately 8,000 of them are of Chinese origin, and some are Japanese. Turkish porcelains made in Istanbul and in the nearby Yıldız Palace are installed in adjoining galleries as are those from Italy, Portugal, and Russia; these latter as well as wares made in Delft, Meissen, Sèvres, and Vienna came to the Sublime Porte as gifts from European monarchs mostly in the nineteenth century.

The Chinese wares fall readily into three principal groups: (a) the celadons, (b) the Ming wares of other types, and (c) the Ch'ing wares. The celadons number some 1,300 pieces of which certain ones may be Sung, as for example some bowls of fairly thin potting and some deep bowls of lotus type which lack the mechanical finesse of the later wares. As has been noted above,<sup>20</sup> there are historical grounds for assuming that some of these date from Sung times, though a look at the collection or at Zimmermann's illustrations makes it quite clear that the large majority of the wares are products of the Yüan and Ming Dynasties. These are mostly large heavily potted vases and dishes, many of them pieces of great beauty. A number of vases are of the large full-bodied shape with tall neck and trumpet-shaped mouth represented by the famous piece in the David Collection dated in accordance with A. D. 1327, and no doubt many of these may also be assigned to the fourteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Some of them have floral designs in relief executed by cutting away the surrounding surface of the vase, and others have similar decoration which appears to have been applied to the surface.<sup>22</sup> It was noted that the bases of both

<sup>20</sup> Cf. p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> 15, pl. 51; and 56, pls. 3, 4; 3 is also 34, No. 1370.

<sup>22</sup> It has been suggested that the decoration in which the surface has been cut away leaving the floral scrolls in relief, as on the David vase, is earlier (i.e.,

types were similarly made. The vases appear to have been thrown without bottoms, and when they were ready for firing a thick saucer just a bit larger than the base aperture must have been glazed and set inside the base so that the two were solidly fused together in firing, a technique often found in large celadon vases of this group. Among the large dishes and bowls the two standard types of base are present: one has the actual foot rim completely glazed over while the flat base within has a large ring of unglazed biscuit sometimes as much as an inch wide, usually, though not always, turned quite reddish brown in the firing; the other type has an unglazed foot rim, and the base, which is completely glazed over, has a recessed area in the center. Some of these are decorated with patterns molded in relief and reserved in dark iron-red biscuit against the celadon green. These patterns include flowers and fish and dragons among clouds, and the latter have biscuit rosettes spaced at even intervals around the rim.<sup>23</sup> Others have similar motifs molded in relief under the glaze. Many designs are found in the standard underglaze techniques of incising and carving; and a number of them duplicate the form and decoration of the blue-and-white wares of the fifteenth century, which tends to suggest an early Ming date.<sup>24</sup> One or two plates have cut in the glaze of the base the Turkish name *Silahdar* 'Ali Paşa, thus recording the name of a nineteenth-century general who once owned the celadons and may have given them to his sovereign as presents; or possibly they came to the Palace from his estate or in some other way.<sup>25</sup>

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Yüan), and that all those examples where the relief decoration has been applied to the surface of the vase are Ming. The evidence of the handful of pieces put forward thus far does not seem to be sufficient grounds for such a broad generalization.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. 56, pl. 19, and compare this rim treatment with that of the blue-and-white dish shown on pl. 14a of this paper.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. especially 56, pls. 10-14, which have their blue-and-white counterparts in the Ardebil Collection. The celadon ewer shown on Zimmermann's pl. 6 also has its close counterpart in early fifteenth-century blue-and-white.

<sup>25</sup> These pieces are mentioned not because of any intrinsic merit of their own but because, as will be seen in the catalogue of the Ardebil Collection, many pieces have names cut in the paste or glaze, and this nineteenth-century general may provide a known example of a procedure that has a long history and that could only be guessed at in the earlier instances.

The second group, which is given the general heading "Ming wares of other types," numbers some 2,600 pieces and is beyond any doubt the most interesting of all. Within this lot blue-and-white is by far the most numerous. Those wares which are assignable to the fourteenth century form the subject of this study and will be discussed in detail below. Both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are well represented, not only by many familiar types found in European and American collections but also by a number of types apparently not known in the West. Of these latter there are some which can probably be assigned to well-known groups of which they represent only minor variations in form or in the nature of the design, as, for example, the beautiful flask with the dancing Mongols in a landscape, and that with the carnations (*Dianthus chinensis*, Chinese *shih-chu-hua* 石竹花), which place a severe strain on the credulity when seen in photographic reproductions<sup>26</sup> but which dispel all doubts when examined in the hand. They are certainly not much later than the first half of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, there are a good many wares which do not so readily respond to classification and which raise important questions.

A striking characteristic of blue-and-white in the Near East is that genuine *nien-hao* of the early Ming reigns are missing. Hung-wu and Yung-lo *nien-hao* are rare at best, and most examples are not above suspicion anyway, and so it is hardly surprising not to find them here. While it was not possible to make a piece-by-piece survey of the whole collection, it can be said as a generality that marks earlier than Chia-ching are rare. Hsüan-te marks were seen only on a few late sixteenth-century pieces, and one good Cheng-te mark was found on a typical bowl with Arabic inscriptions.<sup>27</sup> The Chia-ching wares are numerous and include some 70 with *nien-hao* marks, while the end of the sixteenth century is represented by the standard types of Wan-li pieces, though they are not especially numerous and only a few of them carry the *nien-hao* mark. Among these

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. 56, pls. 36, 37; and 34, Nos. 1496, 1505.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 56, pl. 52b.

late Ming blue-and-white wares are a few outstandingly fine pieces<sup>28</sup> as well as a good group of the closely decorated plates of thin, brittle porcelain that came to Europe in great quantities early in the seventeenth century and were called Kraak Porselein by the Dutch. Also noteworthy, before ending this brief account of the scope of the blue-and-white group, were some 15 or more of the very crudely decorated vases of *kuan* 罐 shape with four small loop handles on the shoulders, a type known to have been exported to the Philippines.<sup>29</sup> All these have adhering to the foot the very coarse gravel which characterizes the big heavy shallow bowls with widely flaring sides which are commonly called Swatow ware.<sup>30</sup>

The Ming wares other than celadon and blue-and-white include a number of plain white pieces of various periods beginning with the early fifteenth century. Some of these are perfectly plain, some are decorated by incised designs under the glaze, and some have underglaze slip patterns; but most unusual are the plain pieces which have had Arabic texts cut into the glaze in small script all over the surface thus giving a sort of lacy effect to the whole bowl.<sup>31</sup> Among the colored wares are a number of yellow plates and bowls with marks of Hung-chih and Cheng-te as might be expected; and a small number of wares are decorated with enamel colors, among them a fine bowl of yellow, green, and aubergine with a Ch'eng-hua mark.<sup>32</sup> There is a typical group of the Swatow porcelains referred to above with the notable addition of some dishes of similar shape and make covered with a thick coffee-brown glaze

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. 56, pls. 60, 61a. This information on the frequency of marks on the late Ming wares is taken from Zimmermann. There was not time to make a close study of all the later wares, but a cursory survey of this part of the collection seemed to confirm his statements as to quantities of wares and occurrence of marks.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 1, *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 43, p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Hobson, 16, pl. 5a, who illustrates a white bowl with incised patterns and incised mark 大明宣德年造. A good selection of these white wares may be seen in the case shown in the foreground of Zimmermann's plate 2. The big bowls on top are of a shape usually associated with the beginning of the fifteenth century as are the ewers and some of the other wares in the same case.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Hobson, 16, pl. 7.

on which are designs in white slip with touches of blue; these have very stylized floral designs in the curved sides and dragons flying among cloud scrolls in the center. Most spectacular are those porcelains which have been embellished with gold and set with precious stones. Some 200 in number, they include plates, bowls, and cups of small size in plain white, blue-and-white, decorated with overglaze enamel colors, and even in celadon. Where the encrustation of gold and jewels was done is still a matter of much uncertainty, but the porcelains themselves are mostly sixteenth-century types, and it seems likely that the work must have been about contemporary.<sup>33</sup>

The porcelains of the Ch'ing Dynasty are most numerous of all, and the three great reigns of K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung are well represented though by no means comprehensively. Blue-and-white appears in quantity with some pieces of unusual interest in that they are close imitations if not exact copies of well-known forms and decorations of early Ming. Among the enameled wares, the *famille verte* and the *famille rose* pieces are abundant, and there are a number of curious designs not generally to be found in western collections. Conspicuous by their absence are the great monochrome wares so highly esteemed in the west which either have not appealed to the Turkish taste or must not have been sent abroad by the Chinese until after the close of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, there are certain wares which must have been supplied to the order of the Porte and which are not owned elsewhere. Some small blue-and-white bowls are further ornamented with Turkish inscriptions in dark blue enamel over the

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<sup>33</sup> Almost nothing seems to be known about this work. Iran and India have been mentioned, and the museum staff say that some of it was done in Turkey itself, but no real data appear ready to hand. If it was done in Iran it seems curious that no pieces are there, but in the Ardebil Collection, in the Chihil Sutun at Isfahan, in the Āstān Qods Museum in Mashhad, and among the later porcelains in the Gulistan Palace, I saw none. (A pair of white Yung-lo type bowls from Ardebil have plain gold bands around the rims, but they were crudely done and are not the kind of work under discussion here.) The Indian theory is of great interest and warrants further investigation. A beautiful plain white bowl of the Hung-chih period in the Chihil Sutun has cut into the glaze the words *Shāh Jahān Shāh Akbar*, and this might be considered a lead.

glaze. A dinner service is decorated with large areas of dark blue, leaving white medallions in the center and bands at the edges; the blue areas are solidly covered with stars and crescents in gold, the foot and cover rims have bands of flowers in enamel colors, and the other white areas are filled with quotations from the Koran in Arabic script.<sup>34</sup>

This brief summary will give some idea of the scope of this vast collection, which still holds surprises for the student of porcelain and which may also prove to hold the answers to some of the many unsolved problems surrounding the history of its manufacture and its importance as an article of trade. There is work there for many hands for years to come; and the purpose of the present study is to investigate a small but tantalizing corner of the field, to call attention to a hitherto little-known group of blue-and-white, and to try to assign it to its proper place in the history of Chinese porcelain.

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. 56, pl. 80.

## THE EARLY BLUE-AND-WHITE WARES

As familiarity with the porcelains of the Ming Dynasty increases, certain qualities of form and texture begin to assert themselves, and certain methods of handling and combining the elements of design that make up the painter's vocabulary begin to show consistency so that old friends are easily and quickly recognized. While it must be added that this situation is far from foolproof and that now and then a later copy or even a plain fake may elude the keenest eye, on the whole it becomes fairly easy to say at a glance that such and such a bowl or vase is fifteenth century or sixteenth century as the case may be. In the same way a general distinction within a century is possible, and the practiced eye will proceed from such categories as early or late in a century to the task of placing the pieces of any given group within their several periods. This is a more ticklish matter, and the numerous gaps in our knowledge of provincial kilns and of the origin of many types of export wares mean that "period uncertain" is still a sizable category; but among the imperial wares and others of high quality a fair percentage of accuracy may now be expected. It is this indefinable sense that is alerted by an examination of the early blue-and-white in the Topkapu Sarayı; and here, in addition to the many pieces which fall readily into the places prepared for them by wide acquaintance with similar material in Europe and America, is a group of wares which does not fit in at all. The standard fifteenth-century categories have no place for it; and it is even more out of place among the sixteenth-century wares or those of any later period. Yet within itself the group is notably consistent.

Quite apart from the designs that will be discussed below in detail are the physical characteristics which set these porcelains apart as a unit and which might well distinguish them clearly even if they were undecorated. On the whole they are large and heavily potted but with an unmistakable boldness

of spirit which marks them off sharply from the equally large and heavy wares of the sixteenth century. While neatly finished in detail, they are never delicate or refined or, one is tempted to say, sophisticated. None of the bases is glazed, and the paste there revealed tends to be somewhat less smooth to the touch than is that of the finest early fifteenth-century pieces; yet it yields nothing at all in absolute purity of whiteness to the supremely perfect wares of Yung-lo and Hsüan-te. Also noticeable are slight partings of the surface here and there, small cracks which have perhaps opened when the body shrank in cooling or drying; and these are found on both glazed and unglazed surfaces.<sup>35</sup> A reddish tinge of the biscuit base calls attention to the ferruginous nature of the clay and considerable variation in tone is noticeable; and in some cases it seems to have been partially removed by abrasion.<sup>36</sup> The treatment of the foot rims also varies, but whether high or low they are always strongly conceived and very skilfully executed. It is

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<sup>35</sup> Such cracks may be seen on pls. 37a and 38b. The whole question of the texture of porcelain surfaces seems to have been insufficiently studied in view of the importance which has sometimes been attached to it as a guide to attribution. In practice, of course, the only part of a vessel that can be examined in this respect is the foot rim or the unglazed base when there is one, and the apparent degree of fineness or coarseness at these points depends greatly upon the way in which the potter finished his work. A reliable view of the true texture of a paste can be found only in a clean fracture, which means that, barring accident, no fine piece may ever be judged as to body. As a simple experiment will reveal, the attempt to gain access to a fresh sample of the paste by means of a notch filed in a foot rim or a shallow hole drilled in a base defeats its own end. The action of the file and the drill is to polish the surfaces to which they are applied, thus distorting the original structure beyond recognition. This method is of greater use to gain a view of the original color of a paste which has an iron-red surface or has otherwise become discolored by either natural or artificial means, but even then care must be taken to see that the discoloration imparted by the metal of the tool is not misleading.

<sup>36</sup> Either the extent to which the clay was purified varied greatly or else the iron content of the soil showed considerable local differences. Some dishes seem naturally reddish while others look as if they had had some ferruginous dressing wiped over the base to enhance this effect before firing. On still other bases the iron has not reddened the surface but appears in the form of black specks on a white or buff-white paste. In the fifteenth century it was not uncommon practice on unglazed bases to rub off part or all of the reddish color with an abrasive of some sort; and it may be that this was already done on some of these earlier wares.

characteristic of the dishes to have a clear-cut angle between the surface of the bottom and the inner slope of the rim as may be seen on plates 16 and 17; but in some examples this angle changes to a curve (cf. pl. 38b), and apparently both forms were in fairly general use at the time.<sup>37</sup> The foot rims of the bowls are high, thick, and sturdy and in some cases seem to have been made separately and added after the bowls were thrown. The vases show greater diversity. Generally the foot rim is low and broad, but the quality varies greatly; sometimes it is well and cleanly cut with sharp edges, sometimes rounded, and sometimes so very low and roughly cut as to be hardly recognizable as a proper foot rim.

Even more striking than the potting and the tactile qualities of these wares is the way in which the blue was used. As a glance at the illustrations will show, there is a group of pieces in which all or part of the design is executed by painting the background in solid blue and leaving the patterns reserved in white, a technique that has made these some of the most spectacular of all blue-and-white porcelains and one that apparently was used only rarely in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ming reigns.<sup>38</sup> Aside from this group, in the normal blue-on-white decoration, the blue appears in larger masses as though the cobalt had been applied with a broader, freer brush, more boldly handled; and the result is a richer, more painterly style than is found in the customary porcelain decoration in this medium. In tone, the blue shows a normal amount of variation between individual pieces with sometimes a grayish area, and here and there some blackish specks where the amount of the cobalt was excessive. On the whole, however, and possibly because it was applied in larger masses with a sort of wash-like technique, the blue seems much stronger and more vivid than the blues of the early fifteenth century. It must be acknowledged that this whole question is a difficult one and

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<sup>37</sup> There is no evidence that this factor has any bearing on the date of an individual piece.

<sup>38</sup> Exceptions are two bowls which were in the Philadelphia show (cf. 33, Nos. 53 and 108). The former, a Hsüan-te piece, is now No. 51.4 in the Freer Gallery of Art.

that it is often given more weight than it can carry as a clue to attribution. The practicing potter warns of the pitfalls of this habit and speaks of the wide variety of results that may come from a single firing of pots all decorated with the same batch of cobalt oxide. Atmospheric conditions, he says, unevenness of the heat, direction and speed of the circulation of the air, and the consequent movement of the smoke away from some pieces and toward others can all interfere in varying degrees with the potter's best-laid plans. Yet good though they may be, these reasons do not justify us in abandoning consideration of the blue altogether. Many an accident of the kiln has survived, and for the most part these are obvious to the eye; and everyone can recall an instance where the blue is not what might have been expected but where the evidence of other qualities is so overwhelming that an attribution can safely be ventured without consideration of this factor as though the piece were in fact not blue-and-white at all, but only white. Accidents aside, the examination of hundreds of pieces of Ming blue-and-white cannot but leave the impression that certain tones and shades of blue tend to be typical of certain periods. This knowledge must be employed, for the problems are such that no bit of evidence may be discarded until it is entirely certain that it can be of no help whatever. It is in this spirit then that the blue of this special group of wares is introduced as a factor for consideration.

The matter of forms is worthy of mention because in this particular group the range is somewhat limited; and certain familiar types have not been observed at all while some of those that will be described are not generally found in later periods. More than half the recorded pieces are large deep plates or dishes with almost horizontal rims extending out from the top of the deeply curved sides. They run about 16 to 18 inches in diameter and 3 inches more or less in depth. The horizontal rims are almost evenly divided between those with plain and those with foliate edges, and in the latter case there are examples where the extreme outer edge is raised in slight relief. Next most common are the vases, with the *mei-p'ing*

梅瓶 and *kuan* 罐 forms appearing in about equal numbers; and at least one variant form was noted combining the body of a *mei-p'ing* with the wide mouth and vertical lip of a *kuan* (pl. 26). Certain curious bottle-type vases are rectangular in section with rounded shoulders on which are four loop handles (one is shown on pl. 25); and perhaps the most beautiful of all are the three huge double-gourd vases about 2 feet high (pls. 33-35). These display an elegance of form and proportion and a freedom and skill in even the most crowded parts of the painted design that was evidently the despair of the potters who fashioned and decorated their dumpy and stiffly painted descendants in the sixteenth century. The group also includes bowls; and in addition to the usual form with flaring rim there are a few with rims turned slightly inward and others that also have a concave bevel about three-eighths to half an inch wide on the outer edge of the lip thus enhancing this unusual effect. All are fairly large in size with diameters running from 11 to 14 inches and about 5 to 7 inches deep. The feet are fairly high, very strongly designed and well made.<sup>39</sup> Large though these bowls are when compared to the general run of fifteenth-century blue-and-white, they do not compare in size to a well-known group of bowls generally called Yung-lo, the thinly potted ones some 16 inches in diameter with high sides and low feet which have a number of characteristics to suggest that they may even date somewhat earlier than the reign traditionally assigned to them by the Chinese (cf. 33, Nos. 14-16). Altogether missing are the stem cups and ewers and bottles of various kinds that are to appear in abundance about 1400.

It must be stressed that the foregoing general descriptions apply to the particular porcelains under discussion in this paper, those found in the Ottoman Collection in Istanbul, supported by those in the Ardebil Collection, and a handful of others. These are not the only blue-and-white wares of the fourteenth century. It would be a patent absurdity to assume

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<sup>39</sup> One of the most remarkable pieces in the whole group is the bowl in Oxford with its inturning rim and foot so high it really forms a stem with horizontal flutings and flaring base. Cf. 4.

the existence of a period when nothing but large and heavy ware was made. Smaller and more delicate wares of the same times are certainly to be found, and it will be seen that the present analysis of the heavy wares tends to support previous suppositions as to what they are like. Reference is made to them, where applicable, in the next chapter on the painter's repertory. The fact that these lighter wares were not found in the two great Near Eastern collections must, until further facts are in hand, be regarded as accidental. Perhaps they were considered too fragile to be shipped in the first place; or, what is more likely, they were transported successfully but were too delicate to survive the centuries since that time.<sup>40</sup> Such hypotheses must serve until the facts are brought to light. Scattered examples of these smaller and lighter fourteenth-century wares have been published,<sup>41</sup> enough to indicate that while the design repertory to be discussed below probably included most of the major elements in use in this medium at the time, certain parts of it were obviously better suited to the large, heavy plates and vases found in the Near East; and those elements which were used elsewhere may have undergone certain modifications to fit them to the more delicate porcelains in smaller shapes.

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<sup>40</sup> The absence of stem cups applies not only to the fourteenth-century but to the fifteenth-century wares as well. The supposition that they were shipped but have not survived seems to be supported by the evidence of Timurid miniatures which show small bowls and stem cups being carried on trays. Cf. 3, especially pls. 8b and 10b.

<sup>41</sup> Nos. 1 through 12 in the Philadelphia catalogue (33) illustrate the types with the exception of No. 10, on which see note 42 below. For a fuller list, see Appendix I.

## THE PAINTER'S REPERTORY

In the published writings on blue-and-white frequent mention is made of the subject matter of the underglaze blue decoration, and reference to rocks, waves, bamboo, lotus, dragon, phoenix, etc., are often encountered. Yet a closer examination of these works reveals that such remarks are always somewhat casual. It appears, in short, that no attempt has been made to compile a concise and detailed list of the fauna and flora and other natural and fantastic forms that make up the painter's repertory. In spite of this, even a cursory survey of Ming and Ch'ing porcelains will reveal that certain elements seem to be characteristic of certain periods and that the appearance or disappearance of one or another may be suggestive in the matter of determining an attribution. A good many of the basic elements persist throughout, of course, and waves and rocks, the lotus, the phoenix, and the dragon are among those found in every period when blue-and-white was made. On the other hand, in these wares a careful examination of the style in which they are drawn, the way in which they are placed on certain vessels, and the combinations in which they are found is often very revealing. As any student of blue-and-white knows, this matter of style is most precarious; and like the physical qualities and the tones of blue mentioned above, it must be used with great caution and treated with the utmost respect. Still, it cannot be neglected; and there is reason to believe that in the early wares it carries more weight than it does later on when a growing familiarity with the medium brings sophistication and superficial facility in its wake, when mass production brought on by increased demand tends to paralyze the hand that holds the brush and turns the artist into a mere decorator.

The homogeneous nature of the small body of porcelains under discussion here has suggested this as an opportunity to attempt such a list of elements in an effort to provide the means

for a more orderly investigation of these and other wares than has been possible heretofore. A preliminary study of the motifs appearing on these 80-odd pieces<sup>42</sup> indicates that if the results are taken as suggestive rather than definitive, the effort will not be altogether unrewarding. It would be absurd to contend that the work of artists and craftsmen like the Chinese potters can be subjected to scientific analysis and the results set forth in statistical form with graphs and charts, for it must always be remembered that the ultimate object of the investigation is a human being and not a machine. With these considerations in mind, each element that appears in the decorative repertory of this group has been listed; and for convenience three subdivisions have been made into the categories of FLORA, FAUNA, and MISCELLANEOUS.

Before coming to a detailed discussion of each of these, some interesting general indications may be set forth. Using the list of elements as a check it was observed that even though the corpus of vessels examined is much the smallest of the three groups,<sup>43</sup> the scope of the decoration seems to have been richer in the fourteenth than it was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and a larger number of the elements are identifiable than is the case in the principal Ming reigns when stylization has increased. Among the things that set these early wares apart is the treatment of the round central areas of the large plates. Here they are either crowded all over with a conglomeration of elements making a rather helter-skelter, disorderly effect with neither orientation nor composition, or else, as in the case of the plates decorated with white designs reserved on a blue ground, the area tends to be more geometrically arranged into concentric zones of varying numbers with the individual zones in turn handled in different ways. In contrast to this, the centers of the large fifteenth-century plates are likely to be decorated with single sprays of flowers or fruit (33, Nos. 20, 37, 54), with single bouquets (33, No. 39), or with a well-composed landscape (34, No. 1489); and

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Introduction, p. 4, and Appendix I.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. note 4, p. 2, above.

where flowers are used in groups, they are more formally disposed amid scrolling vines and leaves with a more or less orderly arrangement (33, Nos. 38, 40). In these latter types, and particularly on the inner surfaces of bowls, the fifteenth-century painter often used a single continuous scroll on which as many as four distinct flowers are all growing together with or without appropriate leaves for each one. Where a floral scroll ornaments the deep curve below the rim of a plate, that scroll is inclined to be spindly, with the emphasis on the vine itself and the blossoms (33, Nos. 38, 39), in contrast to the more lush and massive wreathlike scrolls of this early group; and in the fifteenth-century dishes this part of the design is frequently broken up into separate units such as individual blossoms, separate flower sprays, or evenly spaced growing plants (33, Nos. 37, 40, 54). This decoration by means of rows of isolated units is further enhanced in some cases by the fact that the curved part of the plate has been molded into relief sections to accommodate the separate elements employed. In this early group of blue-and-white, human figures rarely play a part in the design; none was noted in the Ardebil Collection and none in the Topkapu Sarayı. The only exceptions seem to be those on a *mei-p'ing* in Boston (33, No. 27) and a *kuan* illustrated by *Kushi* (31, pls. 22, 23).<sup>44</sup> In the fifteenth century they begin to appear more often (33, Nos. 52, 67); and as a further very broad generality it may be observed that pheasants and ducks which are common on early wares become scarcer in the fifteenth century, while beautifully drawn small birds, so far unknown in the early group, begin to be seen on a number of pieces sometime after 1400. A more detailed discussion of the three main categories may now be undertaken.

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<sup>44</sup> I am still uncertain about the date of the Nelson Gallery *mei-p'ing* which was called fourteenth century in the Philadelphia Exhibition (33, No. 10). The main landscape and figure band is well drawn, but the waves and rocks at the shoulder and base do not fit into the present group and seem closer in spirit to fifteenth-century types. It appears to belong with such pieces as 31, pls. 30-33, 34-36, 37-40, 41-42. The writer has three fragments of a small bottle-shaped vase belonging to this group, and one of them shows a human foot and part of the leg in the legginglike garment characteristic of the nomadic peoples.

## FLORA

Not only does this part of the repertory outnumber both the others, but it also provides the richest and in some ways the most naturalistic part of the decoration. In adapting a natural form to the uses of symbolism and decoration, the Chinese, like any other people, sooner or later subjected that form to certain modifications appropriate to the medium in which they were working and to the purposes the design ultimately was to serve. This search for a formula, a standardized and simplified yet readily recognizable way of representing a familiar form, resulted in a stylization that is often the despair of those who seek an accurate name for the original prototype today. Many of the plants which the student of porcelain takes for granted and quite readily calls by name are more than troublesome to the botanist when he is pressed for an exact identification. It was, therefore, an agreeable surprise to find that, contrary to expectations based on previous experience with the wares of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the flora of this early group of blue-and-whites permitted a relatively high proportion of probable identifications. Someone has said that he who seeks the identification of a flower will come up with as many answers as he finds botanists, and it is not to be hoped that the proposals which follow will by any means satisfy every botanist who reads them. It is believed, however, that the very favorable circumstance of the collaboration of a Chinese scholar in that field makes the present suggestions of more than ordinary interest. For invaluable help in finding solutions to some of these problems, for pertinent bibliographical references, and for great patience in answering such tiresome questions as only a layman can ask of a trained scientist, the writer wishes to acknowledge a special debt to Dr. Li Hui-lin 李惠林, professor in the Department of Botany in the National Taiwan University, who at the time this is written is carrying on research on the flora of Formosa in the botanical collections of the Smithsonian Institution. The Latin and Chinese names in the following list represent but a small part of his interested contribution to this study.

In the following lists the attempt is made, wherever possible, to provide reference for comparative purposes to cases where the same motif appears on a generally accepted fifteenth-century or later piece. To isolate and clarify certain of the elements, drawings have been made of details from the photographs, and these are shown on the lettered plates at the end of this section. Reference to plate numbers makes it possible to find where each element occurs in the pieces illustrated here. The symbolism of the plants and other objects described below is a special subject of study in itself and is outside the scope of the present discussion.

BAMBOO. Pls. A, 1; C, 4. The Chinese distinguish some 60 varieties of this plant, which is covered by the generic term *chu* 竹, and it is not possible to tell which is intended in any particular case on blue-and-white. In general the tree bamboos are *Phyllostachis* sp., and the small shrublike bamboos are *Bambusa* sp.; both are found on a number of these pieces. Used on other presumably early wares outside the present group, the bamboo is by no means limited to this period in ceramic decoration, but in later renderings the drawing is apt to be handled in a different way. In early examples the leaves are characteristically executed with a single brush stroke, whereas later on the shape is indicated by two fine lines converging to the leaf tip with wash between (e.g., **33**, Nos. 28, 74.) [Pls. 3, 7a & b, 14a & b, 20, 21, 23, 34, 37, 38.]

BANANA. Pl. A, 4. *Musa basjoo* Sieb.; Chinese, *pa-chiao* 芭蕉. This plant is included in the crowded compositions which fill the centers of some of the large plates and is usually associated with rocks, bamboo, melons, morning-glories, etc. The species shown here bears no fruit but is the likely choice because it grows in the Yangtse Valley and thus was the one familiar to residents of the Kiangsi porcelain-manufacturing region. The larger fruiting bananas like *Musa paradisiaca* L. and *Musa sapientum* Kuntze are tropical and flourish only in southern China. **33**, No. 29, shows what may be one of the rare fifteenth-century versions of this plant. [Pls. 3, 7b, 14a & b, 20, 37.]

BLACKBERRY LILY. Pl. B, 5. *Belamcanda chinensis* DC.; Chinese, *she-kan* 射干. A 6-petaled, star-shaped blossom found here usually in association with the crapemyrtle. **33**, No. 37, is a fifteenth-century example. [Pls. 7a, 10b, 19, 23, 25. (Possibly pls. 14a, 15 ?)]

CAMELLIA. *Camellia japonica* L.; Chinese, *shan-ch'a* 山茶. Not a certain identification, but this may be the flower in the upper left panel of the illustration on plate 27.

CHRYSANTHEMUM. Pl. A, 2. *Chrysanthemum indicum* L. (*C. japonicum* Thunb.); Chinese, *chü* 菊. The blossoms are accompanied by the heavily serrated leaves typical of several varieties of this flower. Sometimes they are shown in a continuous scrolling vine, sometimes as separate sprays. They are found in both the customary blue-and-white and in white reserved on a blue ground; and they also appear on other early blue-and-white outside this immediate group (e.g., 33, Nos. 1, 6, 9, 13) and on early fifteenth-century pieces (33, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25). This flower does not seem to be used as a major element in blue-and-white decoration to any great extent after the early part of the fifteenth century. [Pls. 9, 10a, 11, 12, 20, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 39a & b.]

COXCOMB. *Celosia cristata* L.; Chinese, *chi-kuan* 鷄冠. Apparently not commonly used for porcelain decoration, but here found on plate 33 at the lower right of the center panel.

CRAPEMYRTLE. Pl. B, 5. *Lagerstroemia indica* L.; Chinese, *tzü-wei* 紫薇. Most frequently occurring as a border pattern on the early wares, this scrolling vine shows the leaves, buds, and flowers of the plant and also indicates a series of 6-petaled star-shaped blossoms which have nothing to do with the crapemyrtle but are probably the blackberry lily. This combination also appears as filling for cloud-collar frames. It is rarely found on wares of early fifteenth-century type, and there it seems already to have undergone certain changes in the representation. (Cf. 33, Nos. 21, 37, 45, 46; 56, pl. 40; 50, No. 54.) [Pls. 7a, 10b, 19, 23, 25.]

DAY LILY. *Hosta* sp.; Chinese, *hsüan-ts'ao* 萱草. This is only a tentative possibility for the large monocotyledonous plant growing under the *ch'i-lin* on plate 7a. A similar form is shown above the small frog on the vase on plate 33 and also to the right of the cricket on one side of that on plate 34.

DUCKWEED. Pl. C, 1. *Spirodela polyrhiza* Schleid.; Chinese, *ping* 萍. This small aquatic plant is included in the compositions surrounding fish and is distinguishable by its three petals. [Pls. 8, 32.]

EELGRASS. Pl. C, 1. *Vallisneria spiralis* L.; Chinese, *k'u-t's'ao* 苦草. Aquatic grasses of this variety are almost always shown with fish and are very gracefully drawn to suggest the languid movement imparted to them by the gentle action of the water. The curious tufts at the heel joints of some of the contemporary dragons (pls. 25, 26, 36) are done in a very similar spirit. Later examples of the eelgrass in aquatic scenes are rendered in an altogether different and less attractive way (e.g., 33, Nos. 106, 114; 7, frontispiece and pls. 19, 20). [Pls. 8, 32.]

FERN. *Filicales* sp.; Chinese, *chüeh* 蕨. The tall bladelike leaves often found standing erect around the necks of bottles and vases are generally loosely described as "plantain leaves," but some botanists, while unwilling to attempt precise identification because of the formal and general nature of the representation, feel they are more likely to be intended as ferns. Only three occurrences are noted in the present group, though it is not uncommon on early blue-and-white (e.g., 33, Nos. 2, 9, 18, 21, 22, 26). An imperfectly identified plant that appears to be growing out of the sides of the banana plant on plate 7b shows some similarity to the fertile elements of certain ferns, but this is highly tentative. Note also the resemblance of these forms to some of the fifteenth-century distortions of the spiky leaves (cf. p. 37, below). [Pls. 36, 39a & b.]

FUNGUS. *Fomes japonicus* Fr.; Chinese, *ling-chih* 靈芝 or *tzü-chih* 紫芝. Later on and in a more stylized form this fungus becomes one of the common elements of design in porcelain as well as in other media such as textiles, lacquer, etc. One occurrence is noted here, by the corner of the fence in the central scene on plate 14a. A fifteenth-century example may be seen in 31, pl. 7.

GOURD. *Lagenaria leucantha* Rusby; Chinese, *hu-lu* 葫蘆. This common plant is used for purely decorative purposes; designs are burned on the dried shells and the hard, hollow skin is also used for the manufacture of cricket cages. The fruit itself is not edible and serves no purpose. It is not often used in decoration of blue-and-white, but the fruit, leaves, and tendrils are clearly recognizable above the praying mantis and moth on plate 34.

GRAPE. Pl. C, 3. *Vitis vinifera* L.; Chinese, *p'u-t'ao* 葡萄. This fruit is represented with proper leaves and tendrils growing most frequently in the crowded centers of big plates where it is associated with

melons, morning-glories, and banana plants. Grapes are also prominent in the decoration of blue-and-white plates of the early fifteenth century (e.g., 33, Nos. 37, 41), but in that period they are shown in larger bunches which, with their vines, leaves, and tendrils, constitute the whole design of the area they occupy. [Pls. 3, 14a & b, 23, 33, 37, 38.]

LOTUS. Pls. A, 5; C, 2. *Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn.; Chinese, *lien* 蓮. This familiar aquatic plant not only occurs in Chinese decoration of every period from at least as early as Han but may be found all over the Far East. For the purpose of the present study two uses of it may be noticed as distinctive. Most striking and most common is the scroll, made up of lotus blossoms associated with very curious leaves, which occurs both inside and outside the deep curve between the rim and the bottom of many of the large plates. The blossom itself is quite normal, and it is the leaf that catches the eye. Botanically speaking it not only has no relation to the lotus but apparently does not exist at all. The lower end of the leaf is curled back into two heavy irregular lobes, and above these, sharp spikes stick out on either side before the main blade begins its undulating taper to its tip. Variations occur especially in the number of spikes protruding at the sides of the leaf; often there are two on each side, sometimes one on each side, or two and one or other combinations, and sometimes even none at all. The whole thing may be long and slim or broad and more abrupt in its taper. None of these forms is to be found drawn in the same way on the blue-and-white of other periods. There can be little doubt, however, that it is the prototype of most of the leaves used for lotus scrolls in this medium all through the Ming Dynasty; whatever happens to the spikes and to the tip, the heavy backward-curling lobes remain characteristic, though in some instances they have become so unbalanced as hardly to be recognizable at first glance. Sometimes nothing but the two lobes remains, and then again one of the lobes gives birth to the tip all by itself producing a totally lopsided effect. Both of these developments may be seen on 33, No. 33. An unusual and very interesting occurrence of some of these modifications on the same plate where the classic prototype still prevails may be seen on plate 7b to the right of the phoenix head, and the same shapes are found on the unidentifiable plants growing out of the sides of the banana at the bottom of the composition. Another curious modification is seen in the center of the bowl on plate 18, and in the alternate cloud-collar points on plate 38a. A number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples are chosen for comparison (e.g., 33, Nos. 36, 45, 56, 62, 64, 68, 78, 88, 101, 104, 112, 117, and such late copies as 151 and

153). [Pls. 3-6, 7b, 8, 13, 14a, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37a & b, 38b, 40, and on the outside of every dish.]

The other form of the lotus which can definitely be associated with this period is that shown growing in a pond with other aquatic plants and sometimes with ducks or cranes. In this case the leaf is a true lotus leaf growing at the top of its tall stem, and the representation is fairly realistic. Fifteenth-century versions of this type exist (e.g., 7, frontispiece, 19, 20, 24a; 31, pl. 75) but in these examples the lotus is used in association with dragons and in one case fish; and the impression conveyed is no longer that of a plant-filled pond dominating the whole area of the composition so there is no cause for confusion. 33, Nos. 106, 114, are sixteenth-century examples. [Pls. 4, 5, 11, 20, 27.]

MORNING-GLORY. Pl. A, 1. *Calystegia japonica* Choisy; Chinese, *hsüan-hua* 旋花 or colloquially, *la-pa-hua* 喇叭花. These are found in the crowded compositions that fill the centers of large plates together with grapes, melons, and bamboo. The *Calystegia* has a pink or a blue flower and is native to China; another blue-flower morning-glory is *Ipomoea purpurea* Lam., which is a native of Central and South America and not found in China before about the sixteenth century. The variety used on these porcelains has a leaf which does not fit in with any of the usual varieties (*Calystegia*, *Ipomoea*, or *Convolvulus*) and must be a pure invention on the part of the painter. The only later occurrence of this flower on blue-and-white seems to be on the curious jars with cube-like bodies on high flaring feet and topped by cylindrical necks with annular handles; these are traditionally called Hsüan-te and some are so marked, but they may well be sixteenth century (e.g., 33, Nos. 120, 121).<sup>45</sup> [Pls. 3, 7a & b, 14a & b, 37, 38.]

PEACH. *Prunus persica* L.; Chinese, *t'ao* 桃. Commonly found on porcelains of the fifteenth century and thereafter; this fruit appears on one of the vases in the present group, T.K.S. 1471, but is not shown on the side illustrated on plate 33.

PEONY. Pl. A, 6. *Paeonia suffruticosa* Andr.; Chinese, *mu-tan* 牡丹. The large full blossoms are used in conjunction with recognizable peony leaves, and in some instances the typical bud is also introduced. It is used both in the conventional blue-on-white or in white reserved on a blue ground as a sort of wreath filling the curved inner sides of dishes and bowls; and painted with more detail on a larger scale it often

<sup>45</sup> Cf. 42, pp. 4-5.

occupies the main decorative band around the bodies of large vases. Other uses will also be noted. The motif continues as a major factor in decoration into the early decades of the fifteenth century (e.g., 33, Nos. 14–16, 19–22) but seems to have been abandoned to a great extent by about 1450. [Pls. 7a, 9, 10a & b, 12, 14b, 18, 26, 28–31, 33, 35, 36, 39b, 40.]

PINE. *Pinus* sp.; Chinese, *sung* 松. The general term that can be given this familiar tree. It is not feasible to attempt further more specific identification. Of frequent occurrence in the decoration of Ming porcelain, it appears here as one of “the three friends”—the pine, the prunus, and the bamboo on plate 21. Fifteenth-century examples may be seen on 33, Nos. 28, 74.

POMEGRANATE. *Punica granatum* L.; Chinese, *an-shih-liu* 安石榴. Occurs on one of the vases in this group and is also used on some of the standard fifteenth-century wares (e.g., 33, Nos. 54, 56, 61). [Pl. 33.]

PRUNUS. *Prunus mume* Sieb. & Zucc.; Chinese, *mei-hua* 梅花. A plant very commonly used in decoration of all kinds throughout the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties is found in this group in one of its familiar manifestations as one of “the three friends”—the pine, the prunus, and the bamboo. [Pl. 21.]

ROHDEA JAPONICA Roth; Chinese, *wan-nien-ch'ing* 萬年青. A possible identification of the small monocotyledonous plant growing on a rock under the *ch'i-lin* on plate 7a. The plant does not seem to have a common western name.

WATERCHESTNUT. Pl. C, 1. *Eleocharis tuberosa* Roem. & Schult.; Chinese, *p'o-ch'i* 荸薺. This is found in the aquatic scenes looking like a group of two or three balloons tied to a single balloon by tendril-like strings. The waterchestnut continues to be used in aquatic compositions through the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth (e.g., 7, frontispiece, and pls. 19, 29a; 33, Nos. 114, 115). [Pls. 4, 8, 32.]

WATERFERN. Pl. C, 1. *Marsilia quadrifolia* L.; Chinese, *p'in* 蘋. It is found in the aquatic groups and is always distinguishable by its four small petals. A sixteenth-century version is shown on 33, 115. [Pls. 8, 32.]

WATERMELON. Pl. A, 3. *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad.; Chinese, *hsi-kua* 西瓜. This fruit usually forms part of the group of plants filling the

centers of some of the large plates together with morning-glory, grape, bamboo, etc. In the fifteenth century it appears occasionally as the main decoration of plates (50, No. 217) and is also found on bowls ascribed to Ch'eng-hua (51, No. 83; 15, pl. 134). [Pls. 3, 7a & b, 14b, 23, 33, 37, 38.]

### FAUNA

As indicated above, this list is much shorter than that of the flora, and there is a lesser degree of precision in the identification of species. While it is often perfectly clear that a given bird is, for example, a crane, a pheasant, or a duck, close examination of the details executed by the painter tends to obscure the problem of classification rather than to shed further light upon it. Thus, as an example, while it is customary to refer to pairs of ducks used in decoration as mandarin ducks, *Aix galericulata* L., Chinese *yuan-yang* 鸳鸯 or *hsi-ch'ih* 稀翅, the ducks painted on these blue-and-white wares cannot be so identified by any stretch of the imagination; and this situation exists pretty much throughout. Also included among the fauna are the three fabulous creatures of Chinese lore, the *ch'i-lin*, the dragon, and the phoenix, for surely they were as real to the painters who worked on these porcelains as any of the other beasts, birds, and fish they drew.

CH'I-LIN. 麒麟. This fabulous creature is depicted in such a variety of ways that it would be fruitless to attempt to classify them here or to apply any of the definitions or descriptions supplied in Chinese literature. On fourteenth-century blue-and-white it appears mainly in two forms: one is a sort of leonine beast with small scales and horns,<sup>46</sup> and the other is a more agile animal with a graceful body of generally cervine aspect covered with large blue scales with white edges. It has a horse's mane and tail, and horns on its head.<sup>47</sup> Both types are usually accompanied by conventional flames. [Pl. 7a.]

<sup>46</sup> This leonine type is not found among the wares illustrated in this volume but occurs on contemporary pieces in the Ardebil Collection, e.g., 29.403, 29.475, 29.523, and 29.552. The two latter vases illustrate reversals of the above descriptions; i.e., the leonine type has large dark scales and the cervine type has small white scales. Another example is on the vase in Siam but is not shown in the view on plate 40.

<sup>47</sup> The only other one of this type noted is that on the plate in the Museum of Eastern Art in Oxford (4 and 20). See also footnote 46 above; it is noteworthy

CRANE. Chinese, *hao* 鶴. These large, white water birds of the family Gruidae are shown wading among lotus plants in the ponds. After this early appearance they seem to vanish from the repertory until the later part of the sixteenth century, when they are even more common standing or walking in the lotuses or soaring overhead, their outlines stylized into a formula which represents them with great simplicity and charm (56, pls. 46, 55). [Pl. 11.]

DRAGON. Chinese, *lung* 龍. This fabulous beast is used for its symbolic and decorative value all through the history of Chinese art and in every kind of medium. Those found on fourteenth-century blue-and-white are of two general types. The powerfully drawn 4-clawed creatures flying through the sky above a sea of serpentine waves on the vases on plates 26 and 36 have deeply serrated dorsal fins looking like the teeth of a lumberjack's old-fashioned crosscut saw. The body scales are large and boldly drawn in blue with white edges; and the narrow even band of white ventral scales is rendered with great precision. Also to be noted are the gracefully flowing tufts which spring from the big leg joints and are drawn with the same calligraphic quality which characterizes the eelgrass in the aquatic scenes on plates 8 and 32. The claws are long, thin, curving, and sharp-pointed. The other typical dragon of this period might simply be called an albino relative of the one just described, the principal difference being that its scales are white outlined in blue, and are much smaller. Otherwise it is much the same in spirit, and the fact that those on the *kuan* on plate 30 have four claws and those on the vases on plates 25 and 39a have only three, appears to have no significance whatsoever.<sup>48</sup> It is not yet known to what extent "dragon-style" may be relied upon as a guide to chronology; but for the present it need only be pointed out that the two varieties noted here have a very strong family resemblance further enhanced, it should be added, by the slim tapering snouts of all six.<sup>49</sup> Close examination makes it clear that these are all very different beasts indeed from the standard blunt-nosed, pop-eyed, though no less animated, dragons of the fifteenth century, as seen, for

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that these two distinctive types of scales are the same two found on typical dragons of the period.

<sup>48</sup> See also the splendid dragon on the Metropolitan Museum *kuan* (cf. 33, No. 47), which has three claws and those on the pair of Kansas City *mei-p'ing* (cf. 33, Nos. 48-49), which have five; all three of these are Hsüan-te pieces.

<sup>49</sup> Other members of this group are the dragons on the partly damaged, but no less magnificent *kuan* in the collection of Richard B. Hobart of Cambridge, Mass. (33, No. 13); that on a fine bottle (18, fig. 300) and certain hastily sketched dragons on early stem cups must also be included (33, Nos. 4-8).

example, on 33, Nos. 18, 43, 47, 48, 49, 65, 72, and 75. [Pls. 13, 25, 26, 30, 36, 39a.]

DUCK. Chinese, *ya* 鴨. Found in the representations of lotus ponds even more frequently than the cranes, the ducks also seem to defy precise ornithological identification although clearly recognizable as members of the family Anatidae. One of the ducks illustrated here might possibly be meant as a smew (*Mergellus albellus* L., Chinese *wu-p'i*, 巫鳥鴨), but in both cases what seems to be its mate is actually of a quite different and unidentifiable species. They are by no means limited to this early group, but on the other hand they do not seem to be common on blue-and-white in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and the method of representation on these and the early wares of other groups is both distinctive and characteristic. [Pls. 4, 20, 27, 39b.]

FISHES. Single large fish drawn in a setting of aquatic plants and used as the central decoration of big dishes are occasionally found in this group, and similar fish are also drawn on vases of the *kuan* type. While exact varieties cannot be identified, there is sufficient realism to permit the naming of species. The one shown on plate 8 is a sea perch, *Siniperca* sp., family Serranidae, Chinese *lu* 鱸, and that on plate 32 is a carp, family Cyprinidae, Chinese *li* 鯉. Later versions of this kind of decoration may be seen on another unpublished dish in the same collection (T.K.S. No. 1395) and on 54, pl. 7, 2. In spite of the fact that these are obviously based on such original prototypes as those illustrated here, the handling of the details and the quality of the drawing are so different as to allow little room for confusion; and the use of large fish in enamel colors on Chia-ching wares is another matter altogether. [Pls. 8, 32.]

HORSES. Without caparison or riders, plain white horses are shown on backgrounds of waves and seem to be confined to the early wares. The Chinese call them *hai-ma* 海馬 though they have no relation to seahorses, as they are known in the West; nor are they seals as the modern scientific meaning of the Chinese term might seem to imply. Typical examples of this motif are shown on plates 29 and 30.

INSECTS. While certain insects such as moths, butterflies, and dragonflies, as well as other smaller types, are often found on the delicate enameled porcelains of the eighteenth century, they seem to be rare on blue-and-white and almost nonexistent on the early wares. Of the small handful of exceptions to this generality, two are the splendid double-

gourd vases in the Topkapu Sarayı (pls. 33, 34). On the former a praying mantis, *Tenodera* sp., Chinese *t'ang-lang* 螳螂, is shown among grape vines, and on the latter another moves along with a moth in its clutches; in another panel of the same vase is a cricket, *Gryllus* sp., Chinese *hsi-hsi* 蟋蟀. A third vase of the same type shows, on the side that has been photographed, another insect that is probably a member of the katydid family.<sup>50</sup> [Pls. 33, 34.]

PEACOCK. Though this bird, *Pavo cristatus* L., Chinese *k'ung-chiao* 孔雀, does not appear on any of the pieces illustrated here, it is found in the Ardebil Collection, and a well-known example in England is on the vase formerly in the Oscar Raphael Collection (51, No. 90).<sup>50a</sup>

PHEASANT. It seems impossible to identify the exact species of any member of the family Phasianidae, Chinese *chih-k'ò* 雉科, intended in these early representations on blue-and-white. While the general type of pheasants is often found in Chinese decoration and the legendary and purely imaginary phoenix is no doubt based in part upon the concept of an oversized and overelaborate pheasant, it is doubtful whether an ornithologist would be willing to supply a precise name for any of the birds found in the present group. [Pls. 14a, 33.]

PHOENIX. Chinese, *feng-huang* 鳳凰. Like the *ch'i-lin* and the dragon, this legendary creature has been used for decorative purposes as well as for its symbolic import in many media over a long period of time. So many variations in detail have been observed that it is not yet clear just how far we may go in relying on phoenix-style as a clue to attribution; but certain similarities between the birds shown on the present group of wares may be pointed out. Those with bifurcated tails ending in two opposing curves, as seen on plates 6, 10, and 11, have feathers that, when they are indicated at all, look like the small white scales found on one group of dragons. Those with a single tail which bursts into elaborate

<sup>50</sup> Cf. 31, 19. The vase is 66.6 cm. (26½ inches) high and is in the collection of Mr. Inoue Shoshichi 井上庄七; as far as can be seen from the rather poorly reproduced photograph it looks like an exceptionally fine piece.

<sup>50a</sup> The classic reference to peacocks and peonies on blue-and-white jars of *kuan* shape in the Chia-ching period is well known (cf. *T'ao-shuo* 陶說, ch. 6, and Bushell, *Chinese pottery and porcelain*, Oxford, 1910, p. 145). While the design is found on certain coarse exports wares which may well date from the sixteenth century (cf. 31, pl. 64, and there are others in the University of Michigan Philippine Collection), I know of no good-quality examples definitely assignable to the Chia-ching or in fact to any other Ming period.

reverse curves of either foliate or flamelike forms, as seen on plates 7b and 40, have large blue scales with white edges like those on the other set of dragons. Still another type has a tail of three long streamers, each with one heavily serrated edge, like that on plate 36. The realistic birdlike tail seen on plate 33 appears to be an exception among phoenixes. For comparison with these, some fifteenth-century types may be seen on 33, Nos. 52, 70, and 77; and the typical sixteenth-century phoenix is shown on 33, Nos. 107 and 56, pl. 41. [Pls. 6, 7b, 10a & b, 11, 33, 36, 40.]

### MISCELLANEOUS

This heading will serve to cover those elements of design not properly included in the two categories defined above. Various inanimate natural forms as well as certain kinds of abstract patterns which are characteristic of this group of wares are here set forth to conclude the list.

AUSPICIOUS OBJECTS. Pl. C, 7, 8. In a sense it can be said that every flower, plant, bird, animal, fish, or other form used in the decoration of a Chinese porcelain has associated with it the symbolism of an auspicious object. The meaning of all these elements to the Chinese was complex and far-reaching to the degree to which the beholding individual was an educated or a superstitious person, and this symbolism need not be elaborated here. For the present purpose it is necessary only to call attention to the main listed categories, particularly the Eight Precious Things, *pa-pao* 八寶, the Eight Lucky Symbols of Buddhism, *pa-chi-hsiang* 八吉祥, the symbols of the Eight Immortals, *pa-hsien* 八仙, and the like. Objects of this kind are often used in porcelain and textile decoration in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. On the present group of blue-and-white they are found on a number of occasions, always framed by the typical lotus panels; and in every instance the group includes a curious flamelike object with a spiral at the bottom center. This latter, which is no recognized auspicious object may occur once in the series as on plate 38; or it may appear in alternate panels all the way around the circle, as on plates 9, 15, and 18. The only point that need be made here is that in none of the cases that has come under observation does a correct set of eight seem to have been used. The number of objects represented on any one plate ranges from 6 to 26, including the odd flames, and on the only one where exactly eight are found (pl. 38) the set is a curious mixture of symbols from more than one category; on other examples the standard symbols are mixed with odd flowers and plants in

such a way as to suggest that the cobalt painters who did these wares were not bound by a rigid symbolic code of any kind.<sup>51</sup> [Pls. 9, 15, 18, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40.]

CLASSIC SCROLL. Pl. C, 9–11. It is uncertain where the form first appears, but it occurs with growing frequency until, in the classic blue-and-white reigns of Yung-lo and Hsüan-te, it becomes commonplace, and for that reason it seems appropriate to designate it by the name used here. While it continues to be seen throughout the fifteenth century, it tends to become crowded and stereotyped by Hung-chih (33, No. 75) and to change its form abruptly about 1500; from Cheng-te onward it is either solid and heavily mechanical or else coarse and clumsy, but in neither case does it retain the calligraphic fluidity of its heyday.<sup>52</sup> What seems to be a modification of this scroll is sometimes converted to use as a ground pattern on these early wares, and in those instances it is painted with a heavier line. [Pls. 15,\* 21, 22, 27,\* 28–31, 39a & b, 40.]

CLOUD COLLAR. Pl. B, 3, 4. This device, found on vessels of several shapes and usually used as a frame for other motifs, is the one frequently referred to as the “lambrequin” or “ju-i pattern” or “ju-i lappet” or “ogival panel.” A striking and often very elegant part of the design, its origin and symbolism have been discussed recently at some length, and it has received its proper identification as a cloud collar.<sup>53</sup> It will be so designated herein whether used as a proper 4-pointed collar on the shoulders of a vessel as on plates 27, 29, 39a & b, or whether, as often happens, the number of points is changed as on Pl. 30 or single points are used individually in other ways. [Pls. 9, 12, 15, 18, 25, 27, 29, 30, 34, 38a, 39a & b.]

DIAPER. Pl. B, 6. The most usual border on dishes with plain rims is a simple diaper pattern based on the diamond form which shows little variation. It also appears on vessels of other shapes, and modifications are found in such forms as the stylization of Chinese “cash,” etc.;

<sup>51</sup> This count has been made from photographs, and it has not been feasible to enumerate accurately the objects shown on vases of which only one side could be examined.

<sup>52</sup> An odd instance of the heavy, and presumably late, version of this form occurs along with two typical classic examples on 33, No. 13, a vase which on all other grounds is certainly early. Such an apparent anachronism underscores the danger of generalization.

\* As ground pattern.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. 9.

but too much stress need not be laid on the variant forms. It should only be noted that it seems to occur very little in the fifteenth century<sup>54</sup> when a similar function on the rims of bowls, etc. is filled by the "key pattern" as on 33, Nos. 17, 21, 30, 45, 46, 55, 56, etc. [Pls. 3-6, 7b, 8, 26, 30, 33, 34, 39b, 40.]

LOTUS PANELS. Pl. C, 5-8. These panels, among the commonest elements of ceramic decoration, certainly from Sung times on and found in many variants of the same basic form, are widely described in the literature of the subject as "false gadroons" or, more loosely, "gadoons." They are, of course, not gadroons, and as "false gadroons" is an artificial term at best and one having nothing to do with Chinese designs it is high time it was dropped from the terminology. As should be evident to all, this form, which occurs around the bases of many a vase and bowl and is found either upright, pendent, or used in other ways on other parts of porcelains of many shapes, is neither more nor less than a modification of that ancient and widespread Far Eastern motif, the lotus petal.<sup>55</sup> Let us therefore abandon this antiquated affectation "false gadroons" forthwith and call these panels by a proper and meaningful name—"lotus-petal panels" or, for the sake of brevity, "lotus panels." The stylization takes so many forms that it would not be profitable to try to classify them; and at the present time it would seem premature to attempt any chronological arrangement of the variations observed. One example will serve: the extremes appear to range from the rather realistic petals around the base of the big Hsüan-te *kuan* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (33, No. 47) to such fanciful versions as those on the exactly contemporary *mei-p'ing* in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City (33, Nos. 48, 49). When used as frames, which they most often are on the wares under discussion, the panels surround a wide variety of devices usually in keeping with the general spirit of the rest of the vessel. On plate C, 5, and plate 22, for example, it is a simple outline based on the leaf forms in the main band of decoration; and plate C, 6, and plate 21 show how easily this changes into an abstract scroll, a description that can probably be used more frequently than any other. Two other common devices in this position are the formalized flame symbols seen on plate C, 7, and in the two rows of panels on the upper half of the vase on plate 34 or in the central circle

<sup>54</sup> 33, No. 50, is an exception to this.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 9, p. 6, note 30. The symbolism of this form around the bases of bowls and vases is probably distantly related to that which calls for lotus thrones under Buddhist images.

of the dish on plate 9; and on this and a number of other pieces various groups of auspicious objects and flower sprays are framed in lotus panels as may be observed in an examination of the illustrations. [Pls. 9, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28–34, 36, 38, 39a & b, 40.]

**ROCKS.** Pl. C, 4. These are found in a number of compositions. Sometimes a fairly well-arranged garden is indicated (pl. 14a); and in other cases the rocks may be only one of a number of space fillers forced in at any angle with respect to the surrounding foliage and fruits (pls. 3, 37a). In general they appear to be representations of the famous *T'ai-hu* rocks so greatly favored for garden ornaments,<sup>56</sup> though these are not shown to be so intricate or so elaborately perforated. Fifteenth-century examples may be seen on 33, Nos. 22, 29, 67, and 74, and the differences are evident. [Pls. 3, 7a & b, 14a & b, 20, 23, 37.]

**WAVES.** Pl. B, 1–4. The representation of water in various forms is fairly common throughout the history of blue-and-white decoration, and waves are found in all the main Ming reigns. Three particular types of waves, however, seem to be limited to this early group, and they are designated and described as follows:

**CONCENTRIC WAVES.** Pl. B, 4. This curious design is used as a solid ground pattern that looks like concentric disks arranged to overlap so that about the top one-third segment of each is visible. It is found on occasional pieces outside this immediate group (e.g., 33, Nos. 2, 3) but has not been noticed on any wares which might be assignable to the fifteenth century.<sup>57</sup> [Pls. 15, 29, 30.]

**SCALLOPED WAVES.** Pl. B, 3. Like the concentric waves, these are used as ground pattern and space filler, but they seem to be rather rare and have not been noted outside this group. [Pls. 10b, 15.]

**SERPENTINE WAVES.** Pl. B, 1, 2. Once seen, waves of this type can hardly be confused with any others; and to distinguish them this name

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 48, pp. 19–27.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. 33, Nos. 1, 3, the left and center bottles on page 21. A typographical error has reversed the numbers 1 and 3 on that page. A sixteenth-century wave of this type is shown in Hobson, *The wares of the Ming Dynasty*, plate 33, figure 2; and I seem to recall having seen a Ch'ien-lung vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York on which the concentric wave is drawn in rose enamel.

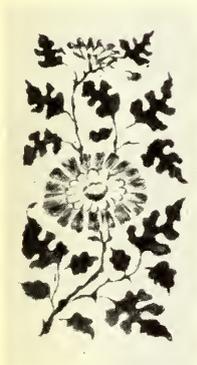
has been adopted because of the peculiarly lively, almost snakelike way they leap out from the main body of water. Breaking either to the right or to the left, they are drawn with a single heavy dark stroke of the brush in a vigorous calligraphic style, while the spray around them is indicated by fine feathery strokes, very lightly executed. On some vessels, where space permits, they rise high into the air before breaking, and when crowded into a narrower band they start their horizontal movement at once and spring forward with the energy of a striking serpent. This wave, one of the most characteristic features of this repertory, will be seen again and again and clearly has no relation at all to the insipid seas of the fifteenth century and later (e.g., 33, Nos. 38, 39, 41, 55, 58, 73, 76, 80).<sup>58</sup> [Pls. 9, 10a, 11, 12, 14a & b, 15, 18, 25, 26, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40.]

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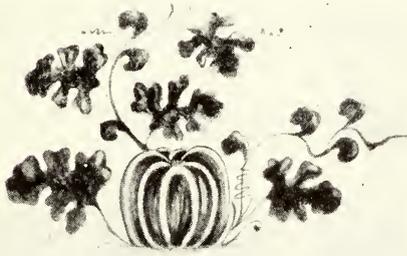
<sup>58</sup> The only noted exception to this is the weak, broken-down version of the serpentine wave which may be seen both inside and outside the border of 33, No. 20, a piece probably dating from soon before or after A.D. 1400.



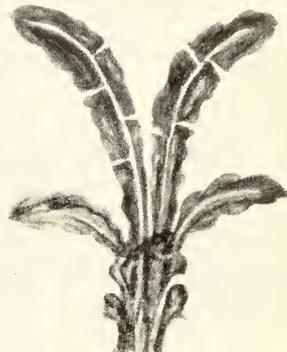
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2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



1.



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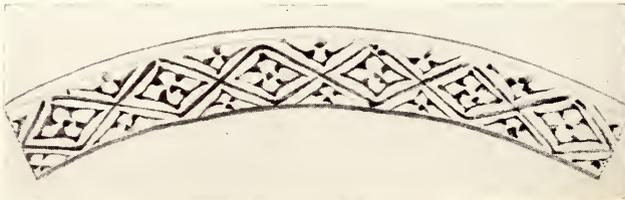
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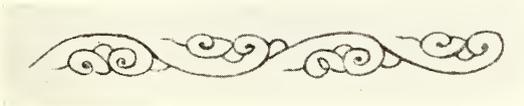
7.



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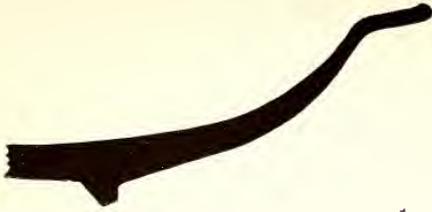
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10.



11.

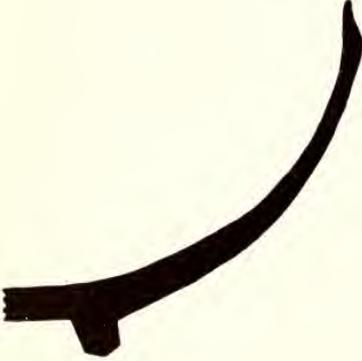


1.

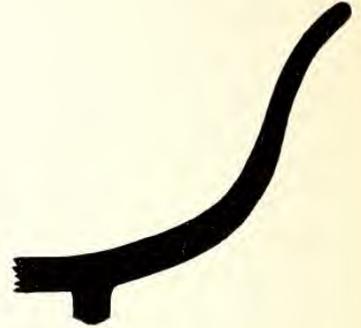
2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES A-D

### PLATE A

1. Morning-glory and bamboo.
2. Chrysanthemum.
3. Watermelon.
4. Banana and rock.
5. Lotus scroll with spiky leaves.
6. Peony scroll.

### PLATE B

1. Serpentine waves, upright.
2. Serpentine waves, flat.
3. Cloud-collar point with scalloped waves.
4. Cloud-collar point with concentric waves and blossoms.
5. Crapemyrtle and blackberry-lily border.
6. Diaper border.

### PLATE C

1. Eelgrass, waterchestnut, waterfern, and duckweed.
2. Lotus plant.
3. Grape.
4. Rock and bamboo.
5. Lotus panel with leaf form.
6. Lotus panel with abstract leaf form.
7. Lotus panel with flame.
8. Lotus panel with lotus blossom and silver ingots.
- 9, 10, 11. Classic scroll, three versions.

### PLATE D

1. Typical profile of large dish.
- 2, 3. Profiles showing range of variations on foot rims of large dishes.
- 4, 5. Typical profiles of bowls.
6. View of base of one of the David vases of 1351 (see pl. 36).  
(Special photograph, courtesy of Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.)

## THE ARGUMENT

A close examination of the illustrations with reference to all the elements of design analyzed in the above repertory provides a compelling demonstration of the uniform nature of this group of wares. Adding to this study the comparisons with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pieces suggested in the notes and with the even larger number of similar examples from the principal Ming reigns that are generally known,<sup>59</sup> the reader is bound to be impressed with the impossibility of assigning them to any of the recognized Ming groups. This, then, is the heart of the argument.

Thus isolated as a group drawn together internally by an abundance of common characteristics and bound externally by a marked uncongeniality with all the well-established categories of blue-and-white, these porcelains include in their midst those unique documents, the David vases of 1351. Under the circumstances it can hardly be considered throwing caution to the winds to state the inevitable conclusion: these wares may, with a high degree of probability, be assigned to the fourteenth century, and the decorative repertory that distinguishes them may be regarded in a general way as the fourteenth-century blue-and-white style. That they are not the only fourteenth-century blue-and-whites has been mentioned before; and the style cannot be considered definitive or exclusive at the present time.<sup>60</sup> An examination of the contemporary wares cited in the

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<sup>59</sup> See note 4, p. 2, above.

<sup>60</sup> It seems almost superfluous to add that the designation of a "fourteenth-century style" does not imply strict limitations at either end of the period. What may be considered fifteenth-century elements, because they are most often used in that century, certainly appear before 1400; and we may expect some of the typically fourteenth-century elements to appear after that year. When, in the course of time, we learn something about the style of the thirteenth century, the same will be true for the beginning of our period. The extent of this overlapping can be measured accurately only when many dated examples are known, and that may never be the case in the study of Chinese porcelain. The fact that it exists does not invalidate the use of terms like "fourteenth-century style" for general reference.

checklist will reveal occasional new items that could be added to the repertory, and no doubt further discoveries will supply still more; but in view of the present state of our studies in the middle of the twentieth century, with the Turkish and Persian collections now known, it seems unlikely that new and different material will turn up in quantities sufficient to require a major revision of this conclusion.

Before bringing this study to a close, one more important question demands consideration. What is the probable chronological range of the "fourteenth-century group"? The David vases stand squarely in the middle of the century; where do they stand in the group to which they form the key? Enticing though it might be, any attempt to fix a concise relative dating as among the 80-odd pieces under consideration would be altogether premature. For all their skill, Chinese potters did not work with machinelike uniformity; and to seize upon normal inconsistencies in the quality of the drawing or of any other details and try to convert them into instruments for the establishment of an internal chronology would yield no profitable result. It is quite possible that these pieces represent a considerable lapse of time, perhaps they really cover the fourteenth century, or even more; but until further documents shed additional light on the problem, we can do no more than guess. One thing, however, seems certain; the confident mastery displayed in the decoration of the David vases speaks neither of tentative experiment nor of impending decadence but rather of an art in its fullest flower; and there is every reason to believe that these vases stand not only in the middle of a century but in the middle of a style. Further study and new facts will almost certainly make it possible to place the rest of these wares with greater accuracy into the halves or perhaps even the quarters of the century.

The earlier ones, if there be such, will be the more difficult to pick out because our knowledge of wares with painted decoration in earlier periods is not of such a nature as to permit a detailed analysis of this kind.<sup>61</sup> At the other end of the

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<sup>61</sup> The obvious place to look is among the Tz'ü-chou and the Ting wares where certain suggestive parallels in design details may be found. Compare, for

century there is more to work with; and the comparisons already made between these wares and those of the Yung-lo (1403-1425) and Hsüan-te (1426-1435) periods almost force the conclusion that a noticeable break in style occurred about 1400.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, so few, if indeed any, wares may be placed with confidence in the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398) that it would be fruitless at the present time to try to discuss these wares in terms of whether they are Yüan or Ming. So until the arrival of new evidence it is deemed inadvisable to attempt to subdivide them further; and, for the present, emphasis is laid on calling attention to a striking over-all family resemblance which, in spite of minor variations in technique and execution, holds these porcelains together as a unified group quite different from any other blue-and-white known to have been made in China.

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example, the leaves on five pieces illustrated by Koyama (29, pls. 15, 28, 30, 36, 48), which closely approach the form of the spiky leaves even though none of them actually has the spikes. It can be seen from these how the spikes may have developed on the blue-and-white when the decorator was given greater freedom by the more fluid nature of his medium. But the connection here is somewhat remote; and the fact that these Sung Dynasty wares were presumably made some 400 to 500 miles from the Kiangsi porcelain area and in such a different spirit makes any relationship of detail that might be pointed out seem rather nebulous and coincidental. One would hesitate to use it as solid evidence just now.

<sup>62</sup> Brankston's pioneer study of early Ming blue-and-white (7) took the Yung-lo period as the starting point; and I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the distinction he attempted to draw between those wares and the products of the Hsüan-te period is extremely tenuous and by no means satisfying. Beyond certain rather vague statements about the style of the drawing, the quality of the blue, and other details that may in many cases be accidental, it boils down pretty much to the fact that a piece of this ware which has no Hsüan-te mark is, for that reason, Yung-lo. This view is still generally shared, and, it must be admitted, quite dogmatically held, by the Chinese. To the western student it is only frustrating; and while it may be serviceable as a general guide, I prefer, in the case of unmarked pieces, to think in terms of an "early fifteenth-century style" which includes the two reigns. Certainly there is a much greater break in style sometime before Yung-lo and another sometime after Hsüan-te than anything that can be pointed to in the year 1425.

## DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PIECES AS ILLUSTRATED

As no attempt is made to fix a relative chronology within this group, the pieces are arranged arbitrarily according to form. Plates 3 to 35 illustrate the wares in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, which form the basis of this study; and the numbers preceded by the letters T.K.S. are those of the museum catalogue. In actual practice all Chinese and Japanese objects in the collections are catalogued under the classifying number 15 written above the number of the object, but that has been omitted here as unnecessary. One of the David vases and five other related pieces are shown on plates 36 to 40, and in each case the owner is identified in full.

### PLATE 1

General view of the porcelain installation in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, looking south in the former Palace kitchens; European porcelains in the foreground, Chinese in the back.

### PLATE 2

Close view of part of the Chinese porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi. From the left: enameled Swatow wares, celadons, early blue-and-white.

### PLATE 3

Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; banana, rocks, watermelons, grapes, bamboo, and morning-glories in center.

T.K.S. 1418

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

### PLATE 4

Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; waterchestnut; lotus pond with two ducks in center.

T.K.S. 1428

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

## PLATE 5

Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; lotus pond in center.

T.K.S. 1429

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.)

## PLATE 6

Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; two phoenixes flying amid lotus scrolls with spiky leaves.

T.K.S. 1466

D.  $17\frac{7}{8}$  in. (45.5 cm.)

## PLATE 7

*a.* Dish with plain rim; border of crapemyrtle and blackberry lily; peony wreath in cavetto; in the center a *ch'i-lin* of cervine type leaps through a landscape with rocks, bamboos, watermelon, morning-glories, and two monocotyledonous plants, which may be day lily at the right and *Rohdea japonica* at the left.

T.K.S. 1420

D.  $18\frac{1}{2}$  in. (46.5 cm.)

*b.* Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; in center is a phoenix with elaborate multifoliate tail flying through a landscape with banana, rocks, watermelon, bamboo, morning-glories, ferns, and lotus scrolls.

T.K.S. 1419

D.  $17\frac{7}{8}$  in. (45.5 cm.)

## PLATE 8

Dish with plain rim; diaper border; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto; in the center is a large fish, probably a sea perch of the family Serranidae, surrounded by eelgrass, waterchestnuts, water-ferns, and duckweed.

T.K.S. 1416

D.  $18\frac{1}{2}$  in. (47 cm.)

## PLATE 9

Dish with foliate rim and decoration of all but the border executed by reserving the design in white against a blue ground; border of

serpentine waves breaking to the right; peony wreath in cavetto; concentric zones in the center begin with a band of 18 lotus panels framing auspicious objects; within this ring on a ground of serpentine waves is a cloud-collar pattern with each point framing a chrysanthemum spray; in the center a circle of six lotus panels framing flame symbols and surrounding a single chrysanthemum blossom.

T.K.S. 1383

D.  $17\frac{7}{8}$  in. (45.5 cm.)

## PLATE 10

*a.* Dish with foliate rim and decoration of all but the rim executed by reserving the design in white on a blue ground; border of serpentine waves breaking to the right and white outer edge raised in relief; peony wreath in cavetto; in center two phoenixes flying among chrysanthemum scrolls around a circle framing a single lotus plant.

T.K.S. 1434

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

*b.* Dish with foliate rim and part of the decoration executed by reserving the design in white on a blue ground; border of crapemyrtle and blackberry lily; peony wreath in cavetto; in center an outer ring of crudely drawn scalloped waves surrounds a design of two phoenixes flying amid cloud scrolls also executed in rather mediocre drawing.

T.K.S. 1467

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

## PLATE 11

Dish with foliate rim and decoration of all but the border executed by reserving the design in white on a blue ground; border of serpentine waves breaking to the left; in the cavetto four phoenixes fly among chrysanthemum scrolls; the center shows a lotus pond with four cranes. For outside see plate 17. The white areas of most of the inside of this dish have a cloudy look in the illustration, and this is caused by many minute blue specks as though the surface had accidentally been spattered with cobalt before it was glazed.

T.K.S. 1387

D.  $17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 cm.)

## PLATE 12

Dish with foliate rim and the decoration of all but the border executed in such a way that the design is reserved in white on a blue ground; border of serpentine waves breaking to the left; peony wreath in the cavetto; the center has a ground of serpentine waves breaking to the right into which extend four cloud-collar points framing very delicately drawn lotus plants each in a different stage of development; bisecting the quadrants so formed is a large cruciform arrangement of four cloud-collar points framing a central area of chrysanthemum scrolls.

T.K.S. 1382

D.  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46 cm.)

## PLATE 13

Dish with foliate rim; border of undetermined design (cloud forms? fungus?) with outer edge raised in relief; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in the cavetto; in the center are white clouds on a blue ground amid which writhes a large 3-clawed dragon with small white scales.

T.K.S. 1417

D.  $18\frac{3}{4}$  in. (47.5 cm.)

## PLATE 14

*a.* Dish with foliate rim of which the white outer edge is raised in slight relief; border of serpentine waves breaking to the left and spaced by white blackberry-lily blossoms in slight relief; lotus wreath with spiky leaves in cavetto is raised in relief in white slip against a blue ground; in the center is a garden scene with a section of ornamental fence on which is painted a serpentine wave; on the corner post of this fence sits a pheasant which turns its heads to watch another similar bird; in the garden are rocks, banana, bamboo, fungus, watermelon, morning-glories and grapes.

T.K.S. 1481

D.  $16\frac{1}{8}$  in. (41 cm.)

*b.* Dish with foliate rim of which the white outer edge is raised in slight relief; border of serpentine waves breaking to the left; peony wreath in cavetto raised in white slip against a ground of blue comb lines; in the center are rocks, banana, bamboo, watermelon, morning-glories, and grapes.

T.K.S. 1465

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

## PLATE 15

Dish with foliate rim; border of serpentine waves breaking to the left; cavetto and center area has a ground pattern related to the classic scroll but used in a different way; into this from the rim extend six cloud-collar points framing alternately scalloped waves and concentric waves, and on each of the three latter are three white blossoms; centered in this field are six lotus panels framing auspicious objects reserved in white on a blue ground all surrounding a small hexafoil with cross hatching and cloud forms. For outside see plate 16.

T.K.S. 1480

D.  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46 cm.)

## PLATE 16

Back of dish on plate 15. This and plate 17 show typical outside treatment of all the above dishes. Attention is called to the strong, sharply cut foot rim and the scattered specks of black in the paste.

T.K.S. 1480

## PLATE 17

Back of dish on plate 11.

T.K.S. 1387

## PLATE 18

Bowl with upright foliate rim; inside are a peony wreath in white on blue, a band of serpentine waves breaking to the right, and a band of 26 lotus panels framing auspicious objects in white on blue all surrounding a central circle in which are four flattened cloud-collar points framing a single lotus blossom amid scrolling leaves in white on blue.

T.K.S. 1422

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.)

## PLATE 19

Profile of same bowl; decorated from top to bottom with a band of lotus blossoms amid scrolling leaves in white on blue, a band of crape-myrtle with blackberry-lily blossoms, a lotus wreath with spiky leaves, and a row of lotus panels framing stylized leaf forms.

T.K.S. 1422

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.)

## PLATE 20

Bowl with beveled rim; inside are a band of chrysanthemum scrolls and a wide plain band surrounding a central aquatic garden which has an ornamental fence, rocks, bamboo, bananas, and a lotus pond with two ducks.

T.K.S. 1379

D.  $13\frac{3}{8}$  in. (34 cm.)

## PLATE 21

Outside of same bowl. Below the beveled rim is a wide band with pine, prunus, and bamboo, the three cold-weather friends, and rocks; a band of classic scroll lies above a row of lotus panels framing stylized leaves.

T.K.S. 1379

D.  $13\frac{3}{8}$  in. (34 cm.)

## PLATE 22

Bowl with beveled rim; the inside is like that illustrated on plate 20 but lacking the fence; outside is a classic scroll on the bevel of the lip, a lotus wreath with spiky leaves and a row of lotus panels framing leaf forms. Both this and the preceding illustration afford good views of the bold, strongly made foot rims that characterize these early bowls.

T.K.S. 1377

D.  $12\frac{5}{8}$  in. (32 cm.)

## PLATE 23

Bowl with plain flaring rim; inside is a border of crapemyrtle and blackberry-lily blossoms and a plain band which encircles a central area with rock, watermelons and blossoming vines, bamboos, and grapes.

T.K.S. 1376

D.  $11\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm.)

## PLATE 24

Outside of same bowl showing the lotus wreath with spiky leaves and row of lotus panels framing stylized leaf forms.

T.K.S. 1376

D.  $11\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm.)

## PLATE 25

Vase of rectangular shape; the neck and four loop handles on the shoulders are missing, and the former is replaced by a metal tube; on the flat side is a cloud collar showing two half points and one full point all framing crapemyrtle scrolls with blackberry-lily blossoms; a 3-clawed dragon with small white scales writhes amid flames and clouds above a sea of high serpentine waves; on the side is a spray of lotus blossoms with spiky leaves. The base has a low, broad foot rim roughly cut, and there are careless splashes of glaze on the reddish-buff surface of the paste.<sup>63</sup>

T.K.S. 1391

H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (39 cm.)

## PLATE 26

Vase of *mei-p'ing* 梅瓶 form but with a wide mouth; diaper pattern on rim and serpentine waves on neck above a plain ring in slight relief; on upper shoulder a row of pendent lotus panels framing auspicious objects and below this a band of peony scroll; the main design is a powerfully drawn 4-clawed dragon with large blue scales flying to the right amid flames and clouds over a sea of serpentine waves. The base has a low, broad rim and shows spiral wheel marks, black specks of iron, and careless splashes of glaze on the paste. Compare the drawing of this dragon with that on the David vase (pl. 36).

T.K.S. 1366

H. 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

## PLATE 27

Octagonal vase of *mei-p'ing* shape; the all-over ground pattern is related to the classic scroll of which a band encircles the shoulder; pendent

<sup>63</sup> The similar vase in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection) was published at the time of the Chinese Exhibition in Burlington House by Leigh Ashton and Basil Gray (*Chinese art*, 2d ed., p. 296, No. 105, London, 1936). At that time the authors noted that certain details are similar to those on the David vase of 1351; and they also mentioned a related piece in the Ardebil Collection. A close comparison with the one on plate 25 will reveal slight differences in the handling of the decoration of the two vases; on the Eumorfopoulos piece the drawing of the dragon is a bit stiffer and more formal, and the waves are not in the true serpentine style. Before one yields to the temptation of considering the London vase later on these grounds, however, it must be pointed out that the paste and the generally careless treatment of the base are the same; and even if there should prove to be a difference in time between the two it seems likely that both will still fall within the fourteenth-century group.

from this is a 4-pointed cloud collar of which the points frame floral sprays (a camellia and a chrysanthemum are visible); centrally placed are four ogival medallions each made of two cloud-collar points framing various scenes, of which a lotus pond with two ducks is illustrated; four more cloud-collar points stand up around the base of the vase framing lotus sprays with spiky leaves. The bottom is missing from this vase showing that the inside is round and that the vessel was constructed in three horizontal sections; these have been roughly luted together with slip which has splashed carelessly around the joints on the inside.<sup>64</sup>

T.K.S. 1398

H.  $16\frac{1}{2}$  in. (42 cm.)

## PLATE 28

Vase of *mei-p'ing* shape; pendent lotus panels around the shoulder frame auspicious objects, and below this is a lotus wreath with spiky leaves; the main band is a peony scroll drawn in large scale; a band of classic scroll lies above what looks like the tips of pendent lotus panels; at the base is a row of lotus panels framing pendent leaf and flame forms. The foot has a wide low rim and the paste shows a reddish surface.

T.K.S. 1370

H.  $16\frac{3}{4}$  in. (42.5 cm.)

## PLATE 29

Vase of *mei-p'ing* shape; a classic scroll around the shoulder lies above a cloud collar the four points of which frame white horses on grounds of concentric waves; between these points are four lotus sprays each with one blossom and three highly stylized leaves; the main design is a large peony scroll; a band of classic scroll lies above what looks like the tips of pendent lotus panels; at the base lotus panels frame pendent leaf forms and lotus blossoms. The base is unusually heavy with low, broad, sharply cut base rim, and the paste shows black specks of iron.

T.K.S. 1425

H.  $17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 cm.)

<sup>64</sup> This careless treatment of the joints is found on some of the shards recovered from Kharakhoto by the Sven Hedin Expeditions and on some fragments of similar type acquired by the writer in Peking in 1946. All these are fourteenth century. See Appendix I.

## PLATE 30

Vase of *kuan* 罐 shape; a diaper pattern is at the lip and small crowded chrysanthemum scrolls cover the neck; on upper shoulder between two raised horizontal rings are two 4-clawed dragons with small white scales flying to the left amid clouds; below this hang six cloud-collar points each framing a white horse on a sea of concentric waves, and on opposite sides of the vase are two horizontally pierced monster masks in relief with details drawn in blue; the main design is a large peony scroll; below this are a band of classic scroll, a row of tips of pendent lotus panels and a row of panels framing stylized leaf forms. The base has a low, broad rim, sharply cut on the inner edge; there are splashes of glaze on the surface. Inside the vessel traces of iron red show at the edges of the glaze.

T.K.S. 3027

H.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.)

## PLATE 31

Vase of *kuan* shape; a band of classic scroll at the lip and serpentine waves breaking to the right on the neck; on the upper shoulder a row of pendent lotus panels framing auspicious objects and below this a lotus wreath with spiky leaves divided into two sections by horizontally pierced animal heads in relief; the main design is a large peony scroll; next comes a second band of classic scroll, and around the base is a row of lotus panels framing stylized leaf forms. The foot rim is low and broad, and the coarse paste shows occasional black specks of iron but no sign of red.

T.K.S. 1413

H. 16 in. (40.5 cm.)

## PLATE 32

Vase of *kuan* shape; around the neck are serpentine waves breaking to the right; the main decoration is in three sections, each showing a large fish among waterchestnuts, duckweed, and waterferns, framed by gracefully painted clumps of eelgrass; the three fishes, though drawn with slight differences in detail, are all members of the family Cyprinidae, Chinese *li* 鯉, which includes the carp. Below this is a row of lotus panels framing stylized leaves, and the base has a low broad rim.<sup>65</sup>

T.K.S. 1411

H. 11 in. (28 cm.)

<sup>65</sup> A *kuan* of similar type, lacking only the row of lotus panels at the bottom,

## PLATE 33

Octagonal vase of double-gourd shape, Chinese *hu-lu* 葫蘆; at the top and waist are two varieties of diaper pattern; the upper and lower borders of each section have lotus panels pendent from above and standing at the bottom, the uppermost ones frame auspicious objects and the rest frame highly stylized leaf forms and lotus blossoms; the top section has eight panels of fruits and flowers with pomegranate, peony, and watermelon showing in the illustration; and in the lower section fauna have been added to the flora of each group, at the left are pheasants among chrysanthemum scrolls, in the center a praying mantis perches among the grapes above a small monocotyledonous plant and a frog at the left with a coxcomb standing at the right, and in the right-hand section is a phoenix among peonies.<sup>66</sup> The foot rim of this vase is broad and fairly well cut and the central recess inside the rim is round rather than octagonal; the surface of the paste is slightly brownish red and has occasional black iron specks adhering.

T.K.S. 1471

H. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (60 cm.)

## PLATE 34

Octagonal vase of double-gourd shape; at the top and waist are two varieties of diaper pattern, and the upper and lower borders of each section have panels pendent from the top and standing at the bottom. The two uppermost frame flame symbols, those at the top of the lower section frame lotus blossoms and auspicious objects, and those at the base have lotus blossoms with three spiky leaves each; the top section has eight panels showing flowers among scrolling leaves; on the lower section are four large ogival medallions made up of addorsed cloud-collar points framing four different groups of fauna and flora; in the illustration is a praying mantis carrying a moth with a gourd vine above;<sup>67</sup> between the tops of these frames are four chysanthemum sprays, and below are four stylized sprays which

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was in the Imperial Household Museum in Tōkyō (cf. Ozaki Junshō 尾崎洵盛, *Myōdai no Tōji* 明代の陶磁, pt. 1, pl. 3, in *Tōki kōza* 陶器講座, vol. 1, Tōkyō, 1935). In the caption on the plate, the piece is described as Chia-ching, but I find no reference in the text to explain or support this attribution.

<sup>66</sup> The pheasants and chrysanthemums and the phoenix and peonies are each repeated in this bottom series of panels; at the top all eight seem to be different.

<sup>67</sup> Another panel includes a frog and a lizard.

may possibly represent fungus with scrolling leaves; the base of this vessel is the same as that of the vessel on plate 33.

T.K.S. 1473

H.  $23\frac{5}{8}$  in. (60 cm.)

PLATE 35

Vase of double-gourd shape; the entire decoration is of large peony scrolls; the base has a wide foot rim, rounded at the edges and no trace of iron. The cover is Turkish silverwork of the eighteenth century; the lower part of it is fixed to the porcelain, and the top screws on with a very finely cut thread.

T.K.S. 1453

H. 28 in. (71 cm.) with cover

PLATE 36

Vase with tall neck and annular handles; chrysanthemum scroll at lip and band of upright fern fronds on upper part of neck with a gap on one side to make room for the dedicatory inscription which dates the vase in accordance with 1351; also on this band are the upper parts of the two elephant-head handles in relief; on lower part of neck phoenixes fly among cloud scrolls; below this on a rounded horizontal band is a lotus wreath with spiky leaves; the main design is a single 4-clawed dragon with large blue scales flying to the right among flames and cloud scrolls over a sea of serpentine waves; between two more horizontal bands in relief is a second and narrower row of the same waves; a band of peony scrolls comes next above a row of pendent lotus panels framing auspicious objects. The base of this vase is deep and hollow with the biscuit browned by exposure or by the fire (cf. pl. D, 6). (2 views.)

Collection of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, University of London.

H. 25 in. (63.5 cm.)

PLATE 37

a. Dish with foliate rim, white outer edge raised in slight relief; a border of serpentine waves breaking to the left; in the cavetto is a lotus wreath in white slip in slight relief against a blue ground; the center design includes rocks, banana, bamboo, watermelon, morning-glories, and grapes.

Collection of the British Museum, gift of Robert C. Bruce, Esq.

D.  $16\frac{1}{4}$  in. (41.5 cm.)

- b.* Back of the same dish; the lotus wreath with spiky leaves, the cutting of the foot rim, the unevenness of the iron red, and the black specks of iron on the surface of the paste are all characteristic.

## PLATE 38

- a.* Dish with a foliate rim; border of serpentine waves breaking to the right; cavetto and bottom of dish covered with a sea of serpentine waves into which six cloud-collar points intrude from the rim toward the center; three of these frame lotus blossoms with scrolling leaves reserved in white on a blue ground; the other three frame morning-glories, grapes, and watermelons, respectively, and each has a spray of bamboo leaves; in the center are eight lotus panels in white on blue framing auspicious objects.

Collection of Warren E. Cox and Associates, New York.

D.  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. (44.5 cm.)

- b.* Back of same dish; the lotus wreath with spiky leaves is characteristic; the orange-red of the surface of the paste is unusually even in tone and glossy in texture. Note openings in the surface of the clay which are characteristic of many of these wares.

## PLATE 39

- a.* Vase of *mei-p'ing* shape with cover; the cover has a classic scroll on top and pendent fern fronds (?) on the sides; high on the shoulder is a band of classic scroll, and below it hangs a cloud collar the four points of which frame densely drawn floral scrolls; below another band of classic scroll is the main design of a 3-clawed dragon with small white scales flying to the left among flames and clouds; what looks like the tips of a row of pendent lotus panels lies above a row of similar erect panels framing stylized leaf forms.

Collection of Mrs. Alfred Clark.

H.  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. (44.5 cm.)

- b.* Vase of *mei-p'ing* shape with cover; the cover and shoulder are decorated as in the above vase save that flying ducks are added to the floral patterns in the cloud-collar points; between a band of classic scroll and another of cash-shaped diaper pattern, both sketchily drawn with fine lines, is the main pattern, a large peony scroll; at the base is a row of lotus panels framing very lightly drawn stylized

leaves. The base has a low, broad, roughly cut rim and slightly reddish surface with scattered iron specks. The whole vase is more nearly buff than white in tone, and the glaze shows some accidental crackle.

Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

H.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.)

#### PLATE 40

Vase of *kuan* shape; diaper pattern at the rim and serpentine waves breaking to the right on the neck; below a horizontal ring in rounded relief is a second band of diaper pattern, and on the shoulder a phoenix and a *ch'i-lin* among lotus scrolls with spiky leaves; elaborately drawn pendent lotus panels frame auspicious objects above the main design which is of large-scale peony scrolls; a band of classic scroll lies above a row of lotus panels framing stylized leaf forms and lotus blossoms.

In Wat Mahāthāt, Lamphun, Thailand.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> There is no record of the height of this vase, but two similar examples in the Ardebil Collection (29.522 and 29.523) are  $16\frac{1}{2}$  and  $19\frac{7}{8}$  inches, respectively.

## APPENDIX I

### CHECKLIST

For reference in the further study of the questions surrounding this group of wares, there is appended here a list of additional fourteenth-century pieces known to the writer either at first hand or through publications or photographs. Published pieces are identified by place of publication, and the location of unpublished pieces is given. The risk of attempting attributions without having handled the pieces is fully understood; and for that reason some of the examples listed here must be regarded as tentative. On the other hand, such an indication might call attention to certain pieces so they may be studied further, and it was felt that it was better to raise the possibility where it seems reasonable, than to ignore it altogether. Those pieces marked with \* are the large heavy wares discussed in this volume; and those marked with † have been handled personally by the writer. Among the many published pieces of blue-and-white which are still uncertain as to date, there may well be others that will eventually prove to be datable in the fourteenth century; but the present list is limited to those types which are clearly linked to the group defined in the present study.

#### DISHES—27

- 19 in the Ardebil Collection. \* †
- 3 in 37, figs. 7, 8, and 19. \*
- 2 in the Museum of Eastern Art, Oxford (20). \* †
- 1 in the Glasgow Art Gallery (photograph). \*
- 1 in 47, pt. 2, pl. 2, fig. 3. \*
- 1 in 4, fig. 11. \*

#### BOWLS—5

- 2 in the Ardebil Collection. \* †
- 1 in 37, fig. 40.
- 2 in the University of Michigan Philippine Collection. †

## MEI-P'ING—8

- 4 in the Ardebil Collection. \* †
- 1 in 2, No. 11. \*
- 1 in 33, No. 27. \* †
- 2 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (photographs). \*

## KUAN—13

- 3 in the Ardebil Collection. \* †
- 2 in 37, fig. 39, left and right.
- 2 in 15, pls. 110, 119. \*
- 2 in 19, figs. 86†, 89\*.
- 1 in 31, pls. 22–23. \*
- 1 in 33, No. 13. \* †
- 1 in 51, No. 90. \*
- 1 in 47, pt. 2, pl. 1, fig. 2. \* †

## BOTTLES—6

- 3 in 33, Nos. 1–3. †
- 1 in 18, fig. 300.
- 1 in 31, pl. 27.
- 1 in TOCS 24, pl. 9a (this is a pair to 33, No. 1). †

## VASES WITH HANDLES—4

- 3 in 18, figs. 293, 294, 298.
- 1 in TOCS, 1924–25, pl. 3.

## DOUBLE GOURDS—3

- 1 in the Ardebil Collection (lower half only). \* †
- 1 in 31, pl. 19.
- 1 in the University of Michigan Philippine Collection. †

## STEM CUPS—6

- 5 in 33, Nos. 4–8. †.
- 1 in TOCS 18, pl. 7d. †

## MISCELLANEOUS FORMS—10

- 3 in 33, No. 9 (small vases on stands). †
- 1 in 37, fig. 45 (small vase on stand).
- 1 in 37, fig. 36 (small jar with silver neck).
- 1 in 33, fig. 11 (small saucer with *an-hua* 暗花 and blue-and-white).

1 in the Museum of Eastern Art, Oxford (4), (a "stem-bowl").

\* †

2 in the Ardebil Collection (bottles with rectangular bases). \* †

1 in 17, No. D42 (bottle with rectangular base). \* †

#### SHARDS

Fragments of blue-and-white of this type have been picked up in many parts of the East, and some of them have been published, e.g., Burlington Magazine, Sept. 1932, fig. 1; TOCS, 1926-27, pl. 5, and TOCS, 1933-34, pl. 27, Nos. 11, 12; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pls. 51, 57. A number of museums have shards from Fostat (Old Cairo); and other sites which have yielded similar material include Aden, Aidhab on the Red Sea, and Kharaohoto in Inner Mongolia. In 1945-46 the writer acquired a small group of related material in Peking.

The pieces listed above come to a total of 82, of which 53 are the large heavy wares defined in this study; and it seems likely that the number of shards is somewhere near 100. It is hoped that the present attempt to identify and place this group of blue-and-white will result in further interest and in the bringing to light of additional material from other sources.

## APPENDIX II

### LOCALE

If it seems odd to find a study of blue-and-white porcelain with no mention of the place where it was made, the explanation is that, as far as the present group of wares is concerned, nothing is known.

Falling back on speculation, our thoughts turn at once to Ching-te Chen 景德鎮, which in the fourteenth century already had over 600 years of ceramic history behind it and which was even then on the threshold of its greatest age as the site of the imperial porcelain factories of Ming and Manchu China. The history of that famous town has been well studied, and while the story of its development in Ming times is related in the local histories in some detail, information on the Yüan Dynasty is meager. The principal contemporary source is the *T'ao-chi-lueh* 陶記略 by Chiang Ch'i 蔣祁, which appeared in the 1322 edition of the *Annals of Fou-liang* 浮梁縣志, and has been included in subsequent editions. Bushell studied it over half a century ago and translated the most important parts in his *Oriental ceramic art* (text ed.), pp. 178-183, New York, 1899. The discussion covers a number of aspects of the manufacture and the regulations under which it was carried on, and various types of vessels are listed; but it is not clear whether these large blue-and-white wares are included or not. Other Chinese sources are similarly unsatisfactory for our purpose as they discuss mainly the thinly potted, small wares, particularly that well-known Yüan specialty, *shu-fu* 樞府.

Two possible explanations for this lack of references should be noted: In the first place, the official records were to a great extent concerned with the problems of supplying ceramic wares to the court; and, handsome as they are, these great blue-and-white pieces of the fourteenth century were probably not for imperial use.<sup>69</sup> Secondly, the Yüan was a dynasty of conquest;

<sup>69</sup> This supposition is based on the fact that no specific mention of the ware has thus far been noticed in the Chinese texts; and no examples appear to have been

and what work was done, was done as we would say today "under the occupation." It would not be surprising if the Chinese records should pass over the period with a minimum of detail.

There can be little doubt, however, that these wares were made in the porcelain-producing area of northeastern Kiangsi. How large that area may prove to be cannot yet accurately be foretold; but this hard, beautifully white paste can hardly have originated at any great distance from the geological formations which provided the kaolin and petuntse for Ching-te Chen in the centuries that were to follow. Traditional Chinese preoccupation with the imperial factories has tended to focus the attention of Western students in the same direction to such an extent that little is yet known of other pottery centers nearby.<sup>70</sup>

One final reference must be made to the documents in the case, the vases dated in accordance with 1351. The inscription mentions the names of three places: the *hsiang* (village) of Shun-ch'eng, in the *hsien* (district) of Yü-shan, in the *lu* (circuit) of Hsin-chou 信州路玉山縣順城鄉; and this is given as the residence of the man, Chang Wen-chin 張文進, who made the offering of these vases and an incense burner. Nothing is said about where the three pieces were made. As Hobson has

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preserved in the Palace Museum. One would, of course, have to make a careful search to determine this point for sure; but it seems certain that had this been an imperial ware in Yüan times, the Chinese would have noted that fact in their studies of the subject in recent decades if not earlier. It will be seen from the list in Appendix I that no piece from anywhere in China has yet come to my attention though no doubt there must be some there. We can only assume that blue-and-white did not appeal to the Mongol taste and that most of the ware made at this early date was for export.

<sup>70</sup> During the summer of 1951 I had the opportunity of studying a group of some 320 fragments of pottery and porcelain collected by the late Rudolph Hommel. Most of these came from the Poyang Lake area of Kiangsi, and the sources farthest from there were Lung-ch'üan and Ta-yao in Chekiang. The presence of pieces of seggars, fire-clay pads, and wasters indicated that there were a good many pottery-making towns in that region which have not been generally noticed, and some of these were villages in the vicinity of Ching-te Chen too small to be mentioned by name in the atlases that are usually available. Other sites were found on the west side of the lake where nothing seems to have been mentioned hitherto. This is no cause for surprise, but it is noted here as a reminder that whole sections of China must have been busy with pottery in unnumbered towns whose names never reached the standard works on ceramics.

pointed out, Hsin-chou was called Kuang-hsin 廣信 in his time (18, p. 163) and is situated only some 70 miles southeast of Ching-te Chen, so the possibility that Mr. Chang could have ordered his porcelains at the well-known source is not ruled out. The former Hsin-chou, or Kuang-hsin is now called Shang-jao 上饒 (or was in 1934 when V. K. Ting's *Atlas* was published), and the local histories make no mention of pottery manufacture at that place (30, 46), while the brief notes on the subject at the neighboring towns of Yü-shan 玉山 and I-yang 弋陽 (55, 23) are so general as to be inconclusive. For the time being progress on this question seems temporarily at a standstill. No piece or fragment of this type of blue-and-white appears to have been recovered from a known manufacturing site in China; and the literary sources give us no help.

### APPENDIX III

#### ZIMMERMANN'S ATTRIBUTIONS

The 80 plates of Zimmermann's catalogue (56) still provide the most complete pictorial survey of the Topkapu Sarayı Collection at our disposal and no doubt will do so for some time to come. While this is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the many interesting points raised by his text, one thing may be mentioned as having particular bearing on this study. After deploring the fact that the great Ottoman Collection lacked a single example of the blue-and-white wares of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially those of the Hsüan-te and Ch'eng-hua periods which the Chinese praised so highly, he went on to give an admiring description of a group which included those very wares (56, p. 17) and pointed out that some of them showed a curious similarity to certain pieces which the Chinese said had been found in a Sung tomb, and also to a vase boasting a Yüan Dynasty date which could hardly be doubted (!). He referred, of course, to one of the vases of 1351. Dismissing the similarity as superficial, however, he said they were so different in body, glaze, shade of blue, and make that they could not possibly belong to the same time (56, p. 18). It was here that Zimmermann's eye failed him; and indeed one might be tempted to hesitate in the face of his dogmatic assertion were it not for the fact that the very group he was discussing included examples of what are now recognizable as at least four distinct types: those of the fourteenth, the early fifteenth, the late fifteenth, and the early sixteenth centuries. All these he lumped indiscriminately together and placed in the first half of the sixteenth century where they stand today in his catalogue.

Skipping over the celadons, which constitute a separate problem, the following list gives my revised attributions for those of the illustrated pieces which require them:

## ZIMMERMANN (56)

<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Revised attribution and comment</i>	
22	14th century	(our pl. 43)
23	14th century	(our pl. 33)
24	14th century	(our pl. 35)
25	15th century	(late; probably Ch'eng-hua)
26	14th century	(our pl. 27)
27	14th century	(our pl. 29)
28	15th century	(early)
29	15th century	(early)
30	14th century	(our pl. 7a)
31	14th century	(our pl. 7b)
32	14th century	(our pl. 3)
33	? near 1400 ? <sup>71</sup>	
34	14th century	(our pls. 18 and 19)
35 (both pieces)	15th century	(early)
36	15th century	(early or middle ?)
37	15th century	(early or middle ?)
38	15th century	(early)
39	14th century	(our pl. 32)
40	15th century	(early)

The pieces illustrated on plates 41 to 80 seem to be properly attributed in the legends with the single exception of the white bowl shown at the top of plate 65, which is a well-known early fifteenth-century type.

<sup>71</sup> The rim and the cavetto of this dish are designed in the fourteenth-century manner, and the original drawing was not of bad quality; but the final result is badly garbled because the blue seems to have run with the glaze during firing. The serpentine waves are awkwardly drawn, and the peony scrolls in the center have the more orderly arrangement we expect to find in the early fifteenth century.

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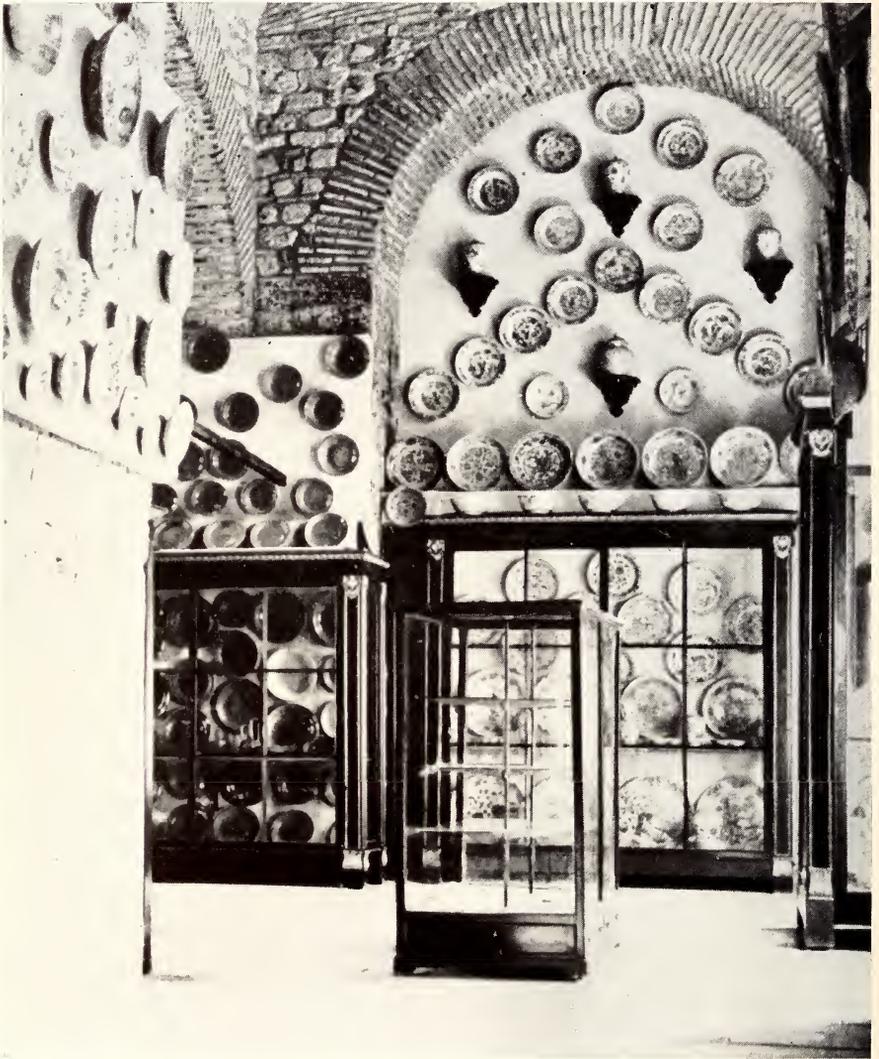
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PLATES





Topkapu Sarayı. General view of the porcelain collections.



Topkapu Sarayı. View of part of the Ming porcelains.



T.K.S. 1418.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



T.K.S. 1428.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



T.K.S. 1429.

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.).



T.K.S. 1466.

D.  $17\frac{3}{8}$  in. (45.5 cm.).



a. T.K.S. 1420.

D.  $18\frac{1}{4}$  in. (46.5 cm.).



b. T.K.S. 1419.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45.5 cm.).



T.K.S. 1416.

D.  $18\frac{1}{2}$  in. (47 cm.).



T.K.S. 1383.

D.  $17\frac{7}{8}$  in. (45.5 cm.).



a. T.K.S. 1434.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



b. T.K.S. 1467.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



T.K.S. 1387.

D.  $17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 cm.).



T.K.S. 1382.

D.  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46 cm.).



T.K.S. 1417.

D.  $18\frac{3}{4}$  in. (47.5 cm.).



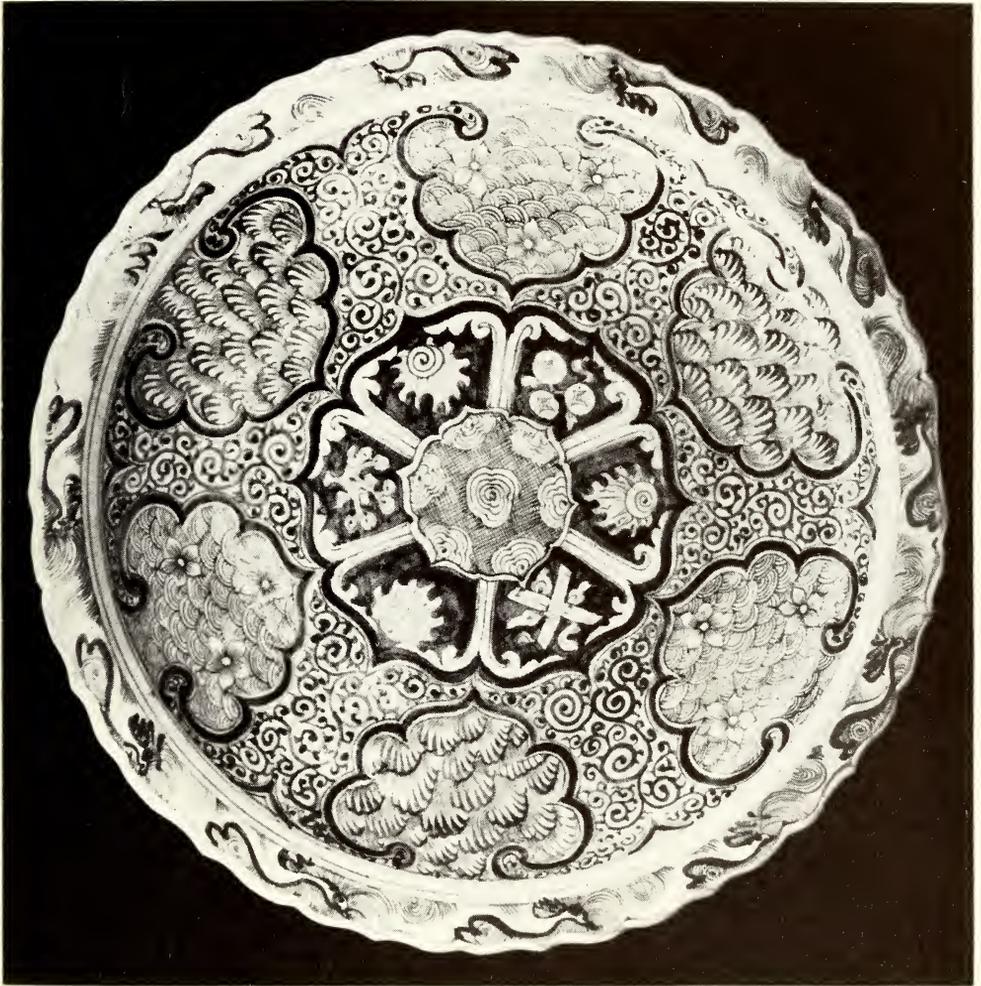
*a.* T.K.S. 1481.

D.  $16\frac{1}{8}$  in. (41 cm.).



*b.* T.K.S. 1465.

D.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



T.K.S. 1480.

D.  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46 cm.).



T.K.S. 1480 (base). (See pl. 15.)

D.  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (46 cm.).



T.K.S. 1387 (base). (See pl. 11.)

D.  $17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 cm.).



T.K.S. 1422 (inside).

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.).



T.K.S. 1422 (side view).

D.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.).



T.K.S. 1379 (inside).

D.  $13\frac{3}{8}$  in. (34 cm.).



T.K.S. 1379 (side view).

D.  $13\frac{3}{8}$  in. (34 cm.).



T.K.S. 1377.

D. 12½ in. (32 cm.).



T.K.S. 1376 (inside).

D.  $11\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm.).



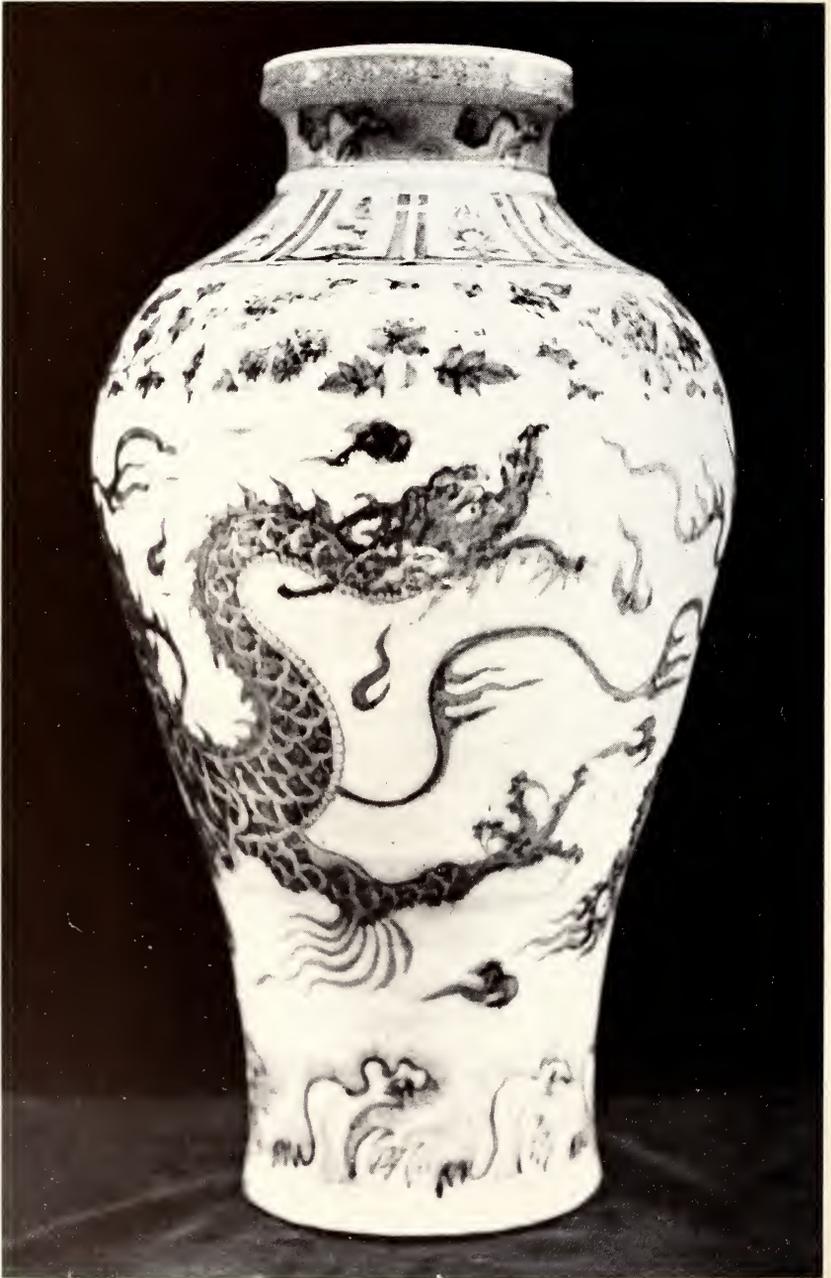
T.K.S. 1376 (side view).

D.  $11\frac{1}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm.).



T.K.S. 1391.

H.  $13\frac{3}{8}$  in. (39 cm.).



T.K.S. 1366.

H.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45 cm.).



T.K.S. 1398.

H. 16½ in. (42 cm.).



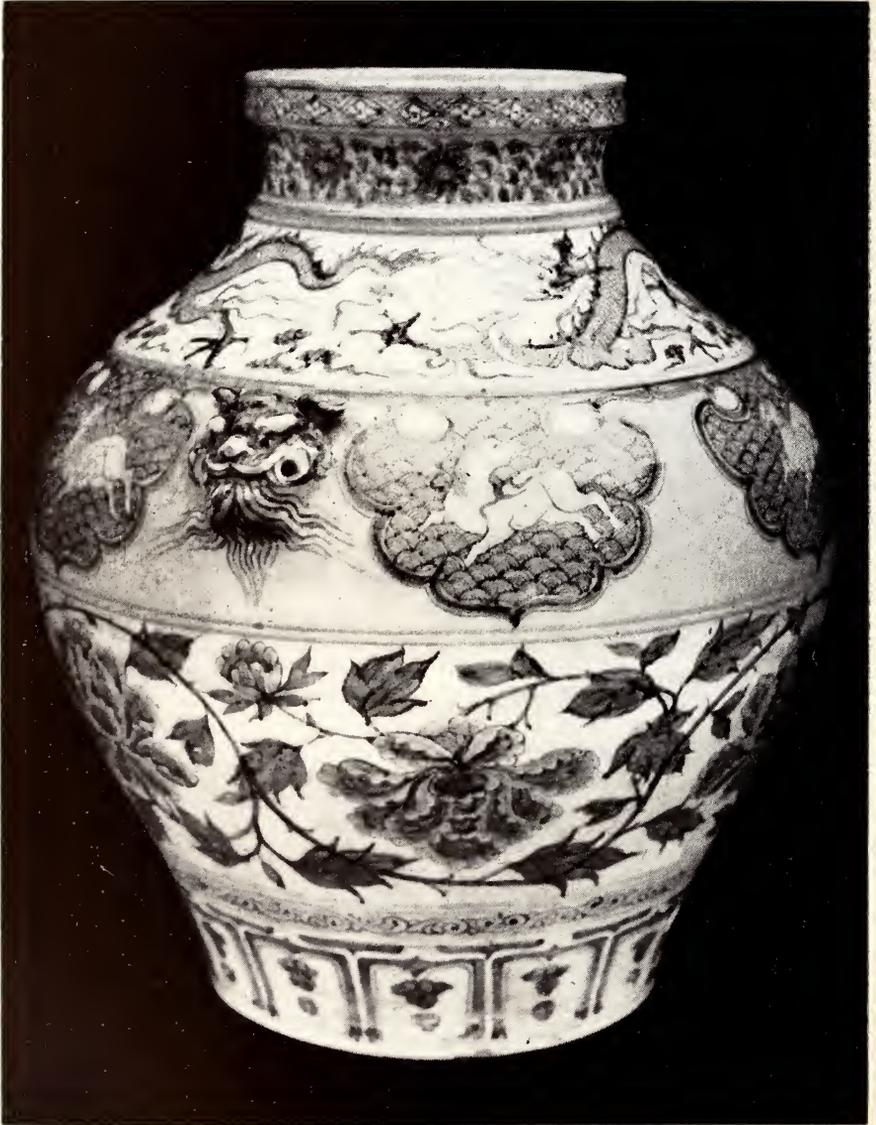
T.K.S. 1370.

H.  $16\frac{3}{4}$  in. (42.5 cm.).



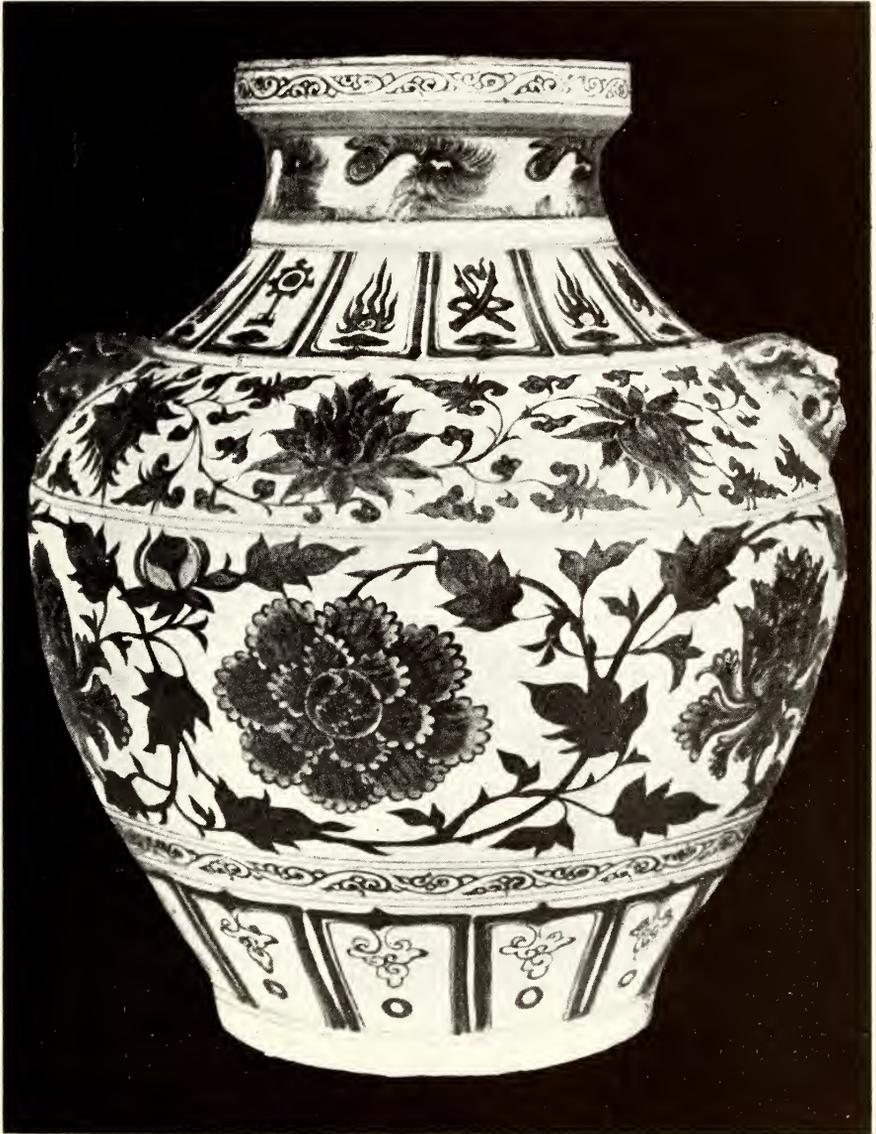
T.K.S. 1425.

H.  $17\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 cm.).



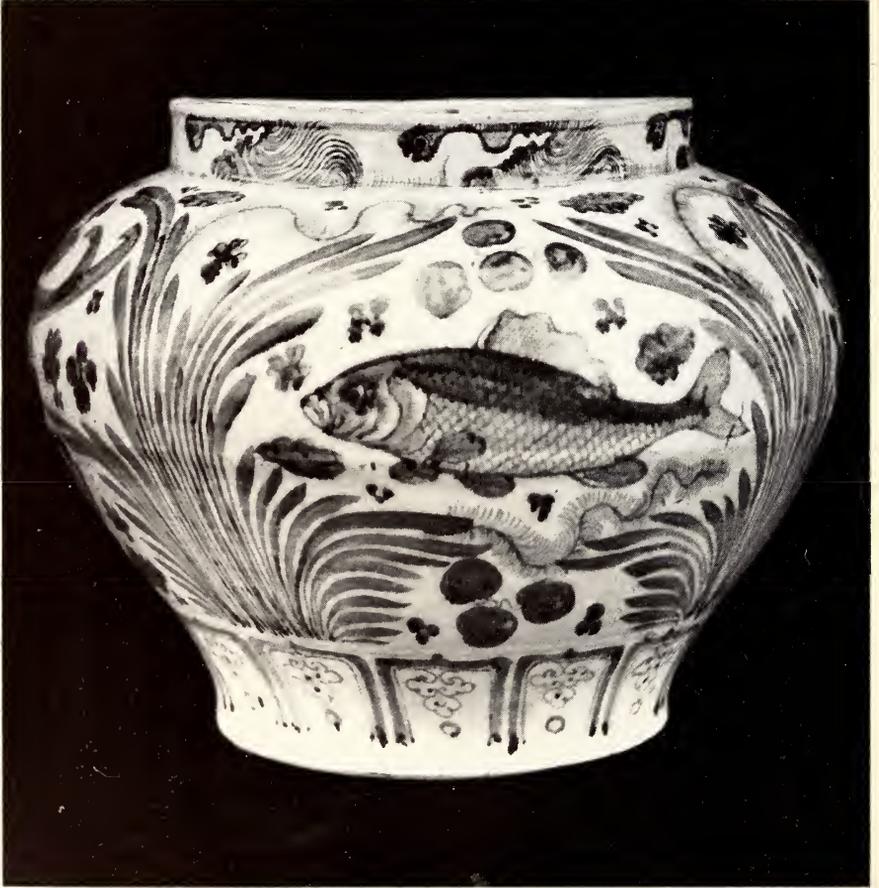
T.K.S. 3027.

H.  $15\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm.).



T.K.S. 1413.

H. 16 in. (40.5 cm.).



T.K.S. 1411.

H. 11 in. (28 cm.).



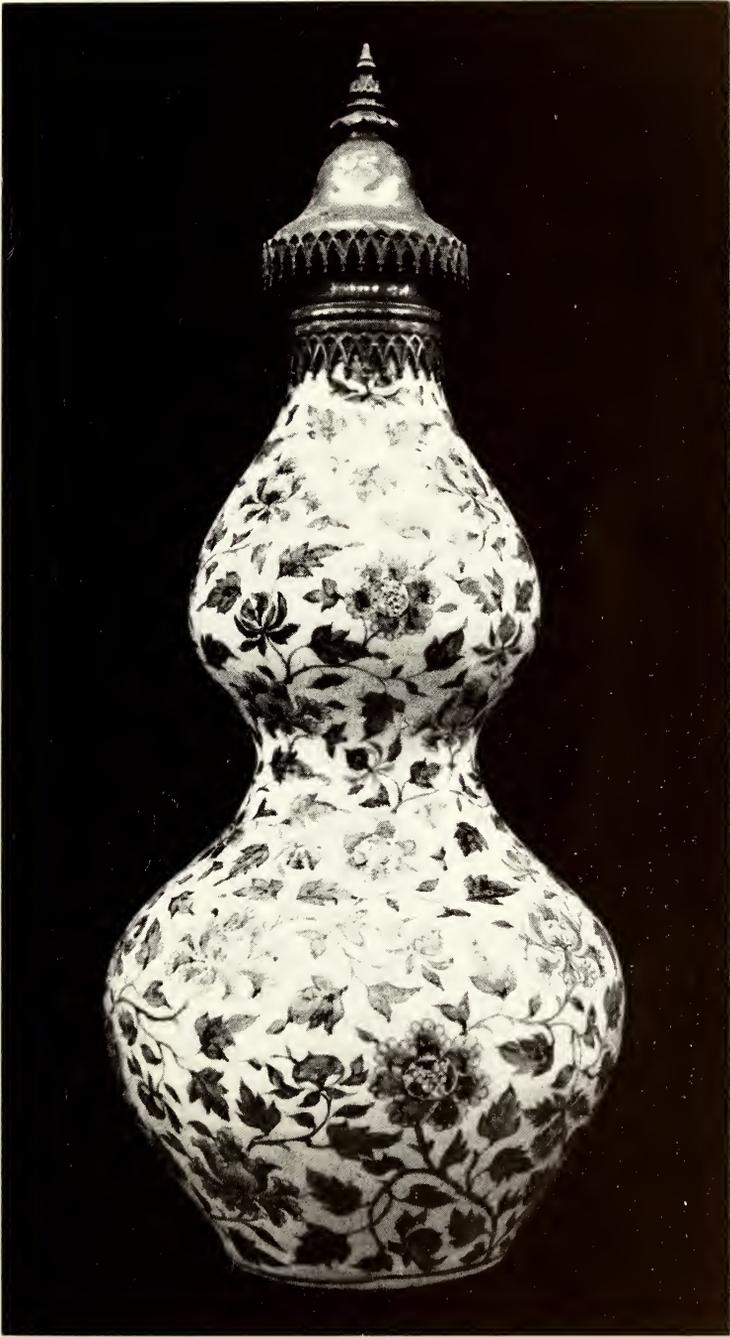
T.K.S. 1471.

H. 23 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (60 cm.).



T.K.S. 1473.

H.  $23\frac{5}{8}$  in. (60 cm.).



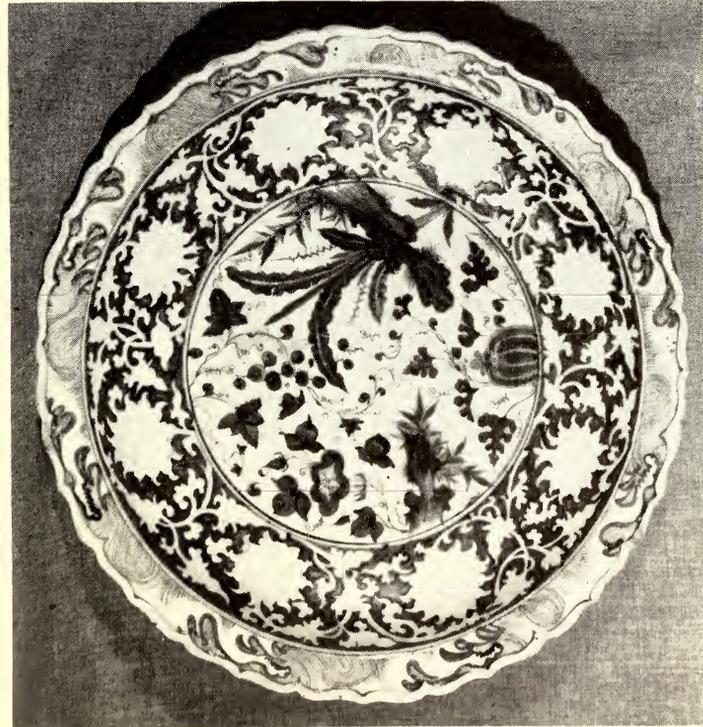
T.K.S. 1453.

H. 28 in. (71 cm.) with cover.

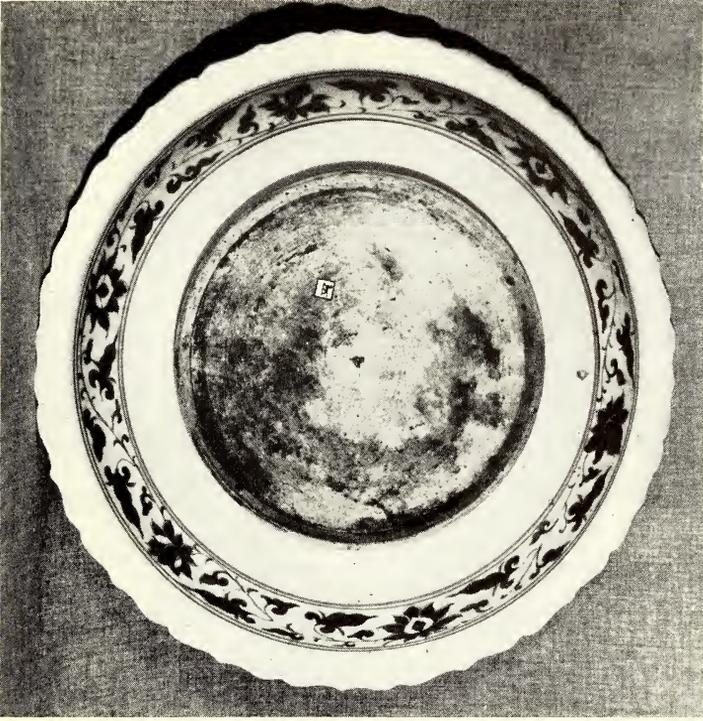


Two views of one of the David vases dated in correspondence with A.D. 1351.  
H. 25 in. (63.5 cm.).

Courtesy of the University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.



*a*



*b*

Two views of the plate in the British Museum, gift of Robert C. Bruce, Esq. D. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (41.5 cm.).  
Courtesy of the British Museum.



*a*

Two views of a plate.



*b*

D.  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. (44.5 cm.).

Courtesy of Warren E. Cox and Associates.



*a (left) :*

Covered mei-p'ing.  
H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm.).

Courtesy of  
Mrs. Alfred Clark.



*b (right) :*

Covered mei-p'ing.  
H. 17¾ in. (45 cm.).

Courtesy of the Metro-  
politan Museum  
of Art.



*Kuan* in the Wat Mahāthāt, Lamphun, Thailand. Height probably about 18 in. (45-46 cm.). Photograph courtesy of Schuyler V. R. Cammann.

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