Artistic exchange under different royal patrons in 18th-century China and Europe:

A comparison between Augustus II’s Meissen porcelain manufactory and Qianlong’s Imperial Household Department clock workshop.

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Academic Year: 2018-2019
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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

In the 18th century, the global circulation of material culture followed by local transformations and adaptations had become common. With the mobility of people and objects, many foreign luxury artefacts flooded into the courts of both China and Europe. Rulers of various nations eagerly bought and collected foreign goods, and set up royal manufactory to transform them into local handicrafts.

Porcelain was commonly imported from China to Europe. Volker estimated that nearly 300 million pieces were exported from Asia to Europe between the 15th century and 18th century, among which 43 million were imported by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) between the 17th and 18th centuries. Missionaries, merchants and diplomats that came back from China used attractive language to praise Chinese culture and art, especially porcelain, which led to porcelain becoming an indication of status, and for competing, flaunting wealth and displaying taste. With the increasing amount of imported porcelain circulating in European markets, collecting became a popular trend in the European courts. Originating during the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1718), handicraft, such as Chinese porcelain, carried by European ships flooded into Paris. The fascination for Chinese porcelain and silk represents the start of Chinoiserie in France and it later became a decorative style popular among European courts.

Saxony Elector Augustus II (1670-1733) was the most passionate porcelain collector of the early 18th century. Throughout his life, he collected more than 24,000 pieces of Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Moreover, he also discovered the secrets of hard-paste porcelain production, leading to the setting up of the first porcelain manufactory in Meissen, Germany.

At more or less the same time, in China, astronomical instruments, as well as clocks, were just some examples of European material culture being imported. After arrived new

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1 Volker, Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company, 227. As recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima, and other contemporary papers, 1602–1682 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954). Volker’s record was central to an understanding of the VOC porcelain trade in East Asia. See also Odell, Delftware and the Domestication of Chinese Porcelain, 178.

2 Yonan, MichaelE, ed. The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain, 52

3 Johns, Christopher MS. China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context, 82. The earliest appearance of a major chinoiserie interior scheme was in Louis Le Vau’s Trianon de porcelaine of 1670–71 (subsequently destroyed), built for Louis XIV at Versailles.

4 Ströber, Eva, La Maladie de Porcelaine, 9
land, Chinese elites modified clocks to adopt the local social and cultural contexts, thereby creating hybrids with European and Chinese visual elements and chronograph function. Firstly, European mechanical clock was first presented to Guo Yingpin (1520-1586), the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi province, in 1582 by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). In 1601, Western clocks, along with glass prisms, coins, Christian religious paintings, and a small harpsichord, were presented to the Emperor in Beijing by Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit missionary, in order to open the door of China. This started the use of European mechanical clocks as a tribute as part of the Jesuit mission of converting the Chinese to Christianity, and initiated a process of material exchange between China and Europe. All kinds of gifts given to the emperor, whether presented by missionaries, foreign envoys or domestic officials, were called "tributes". Paying tribute means subservience to the Chinese emperor, and the positions of the giver and recipient in power had thus been defined.

In the field of decorative art, the impact of these clocks, known as Euroiserie or Chinese Occidenterie, increased during the Kangxi reign and flourished during the Qianlong period. These two emperors amassed vast collections. Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) started to understand the underlying theories and skills behind clockmaking. As noted by John Bell (1691-1780) in 1721, “the making of clocks and watches was lately introduced, under the protection of the present Emperor; who, at his leisure hours amuses himself with whatever is curious either in art or nature”. Gradually, the Chinese began to understand and master the manufacturing skills of making mechanical clocks. The clock-making workshop, which was set up during his reign, was assigned to the imperial household department during the reign of Qianlong, in the Forbidden City to investigate and manufacture clocks and other automated artefacts. Emperor Qianlong

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6 Pagani, Clockwork and the Jesuit Mission in China, 53.
7 “Euroiserie” is introduced by Jonathan Hay as an alternative of “Europeenerie” during the 1990s. Kristina Kleutghen suggested “Chinese Occidenterie” in an article of 2014, see Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Ding Ning, “Introduction,” in Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West, 5
8 Bell, A Journey from St Petersburg to Pekin, 182.
9 In the late 17th century, the Kangxi Emperor established a number of zuofang (workshops) that manufactured luxury and more utilitarian goods for palace use, operating under the administration of the imperial household in in the Qianqinggong (Palace of Heavenly Purity) complex, one of which was for Western-style clocks. The Office of Self-Sounding Bells (Zimingzhongchu) was mentioned in palace documents which was the predecessor to the Zuozhongchu Office. By the time of Qianlong's rule in 1736, the workshop was well established and remained active until at least 1879 when the last dated inventory of clocks was compiled. See Pagani, Eastern magnificence & European ingenuity: clocks of late imperial China, 36-37, and Volume titled "Zuozhongchu zhongbiao xishu qingce" (Accurate list of the detailed count of clocks of the Office of Clock Manufacture) from the "Yuanmingyuan chengnei zuozhongchu zhongbiaodeng xiang qingce" (Accurate list of the clocks, watches, etc., of the Yuanmingyuan and Inner City Office of Clock
(1711-1799) not only collected many clocks and watches, he also commanded the clockmakers in the Forbidden City (mostly Western missionaries) to make new clocks and transform certain old clocks and watches according to his aesthetic tastes. At the same time, besides manufacturing inside the palace, ministers purchased overseas goods as a tribute for the emperor and mechanical clocks were a key component. In order to imitate European clock models and to repair overseas imperial purchases, many horology workshop centres emerged in the trade port cities such as Guangdong. During the 60-year reign of Emperor Qianlong, the number of imperial clocks and watch collections expanded, and the appearance of clocks and watches reached the high artistic levels. There can be no doubt that the theories and practical skills behind Western clocks were of great interest to emperors. The efforts in producing imperial clocks, especially by the Qianlong Emperor, were the foundation for integrating Chinese cultural practices and European western culture, and as a way of negotiating the differences between them. Zimingzhong (literally: ‘self-sounding bells’) in Qianlong imperial style were one such example of the outcome since they combined the European mechanisms and Chinese imperial styles that appealed to Qianlong. This hybrid production was a material reflection of the cultural exchange during his reign.

1.2 Significance of the research

Through comparatively the history of Chinese porcelain and the Meissen porcelain manufactory under Augustus II, and the history of the development and decline of the Qianlong imperial clock and watch workshop, this research aims to find out how the political ruler of a country influences the development of handicraft manufactory, especially when dealing with goods of exotic origin. It asks, what did these foreign objects, particularly porcelain and mechanical clocks, mean to the rulers on first impression, and how did the rulers eventually regard them once they had been integrated into local manufacturing practice? By analysing the relationship between political power and the patronage of art through the cultural transformation of porcelain and clocks, this thesis also
hopes to identify similarities between parts of the world in the 17th and 18th centuries that are normally seen as entirely different from each other. Against the background of early modern globalization, rulers would selectively accept and transform overseas goods. They tended to take the characteristics of some original products and modify them. They sponsored this industry, because, presumably, these transcultural objects could serve their political purposes. Therefore, whether the ruler chose to develop the artistic or technical aspects was based on considerations of consolidating his own regime. Specifically, Qianlong, the supreme ruler of a vast empire in its prime, and Augustus II, a new king who longed to rule as an absolute monarch, when domesticating overseas goods, whether they had a preference for aesthetics or technology, the overriding principle was that this industry could help the state bring in revenue and stabilize the state. Such transformations are a way of negotiating the differences between European and Chinese culture, rather than a reflection of the subjugation of one by the other. This thesis will argue that the contacts between Europe and China were largely mediated by things rather than people, indicating the importance of foreign material culture in bringing different rulers and their realm closer together.11 By examining the relationship between political authority, art and scientific or technological development, this thesis hopes to identify similarities between parts of the world in the 17th and 18th century that are normally seen as entirely different from each other. Through reflecting on the artefacts that mutually influenced each culture, a panoramic view can be given that shows how foreign cultures blend with local cultures and facilitate the development of different manufactory structures in local cultures.

1.3 Literature review

There are numerous studies on transcultural material in the 1600-1800 period, focusing on the mobility of people and goods and object transformations. In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800* the transcultural objects selected were both Asian and European, and the objects studied included not only works of art but also everyday items, such as round tables and Western glasses in Guangzhou, etc. As a whole, it provides a panoramic historical background and uncovers the multi-layered identities of transcultural objects that had been circulate inside wide geographies.

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11 Smentek."Global Circulations, Local Transformations: Objects and Cultural Encounter in the Eighteenth Century" in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, 45
throughout a long time period. However, the analysis in this book is mostly about visual aesthetics and cultural connotations, and little attention is paid to production processes or techniques. Although many monographs have explored the impacts of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) on contemporary European culture, *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges Between China and the West* explores this encounter from both Eastern and Western perspectives. The book talks about the collections and presentations; the exchanges of knowledge and information between China and the West; the styles and meanings of the techniques and expressions used; and the hybridization of Chinese and European styles. According to Jonathan Hay, not all forms of artefacts are cultural hybrids. For example, the Qing literati paintings were not influenced by European. Their spread had profound impacts because of the operations between the Ming-Qing Chinese elite class, and European travelers such as missionaries, diplomatic envoys and traders. Anna Grasskamp explored the different patterns of collecting and displaying foreign artefacts during the 16th and 17th centuries in China and Europe. In her PhD dissertation *Cultivated curiosities: a comparative study of Chinese artefacts in European kunstkammern and European objects in Chinese elite collections* (2013), the Kunstkammer collections of Chinese porcelains and the Kangxi collections of astronomical instruments were employed as examples in the first two chapters. She contributed a concept in the book that, in early modern collections, either in China or Europe, foreign artefacts and natural objects were appropriated and framed in a certain context. Specifically, Europeans intended to mount porcelain in a fixed precious metal framed and to arrange them systematically by group, while Chinese elites preferred to stage what they possessed, for example the astronomical instrument, individually on a customized platform. Most of the literature focuses on general influences of cultures on artworks but few focused on porcelain and horology only.

For an individual case, Chinese scholars' studies of the imperial society of the Qing dynasty during the Qianlong reign mainly rely on official archives *List of archives in Zaobanchu in the palace of Qing dynasty* [清宫内务府造办处档案总汇] edited and

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13 “Introduction”, 6. see also Hay,
14 “Foreword”, xi
published in 2005. In this set of files, about 5,000 copies of documents were compiled and printed into 55 volumes, which faithfully recorded the names, sources, times, grades, materials, expenses, procedures and the emperor's decree of various court products. As for clocks and watches including the display mode in the palace, the purchasing of clocks and watches. Since these files were the original records formed in the daily activities and were only used by the inner court, it represented a true portrayal of the royal private life. There are less cover-up or pretense and more credibility than official history books. Emperor Qianlong and his era(first published in 1992) by Dai Yi(1926.9- ) focused on the events that happened in Europe and America but did not happen in China at that time, such as the industrial revolution, scientific development, the Enlightenment and so on, and equates the backwardness of China with the failure of Emperor Qianlong to introduce Western things. Although Dai’s view was very one-sided, It has constituted the mainstream tone of Chinese Qing historians for a long time. Chinese scholars evaluate Emperor Qianlong as founder of the vast territory of modern China, but also as the initiator of modern China falling behind the West, while American scholars focus on Qianlong’s special Manchu identity and the nascent environment of globalization. In The last emperors: A social history of Qing imperial institutions (1998), the imperial clockmaking workshop was described in chapter 5: Court servant. The authors believed that from the perspective of the composition of the craftsmen in the imperial household department, the Manchu had always been in the core position in the court, with a diversified development trend with the entry of craftsmen from other ethnicities and from Europe. Emperor Qianlong: Son of heaven, man of the world posits that as a Manchurian ruler, Qianlong Emperor employed a variety of political ideologies to reclaim the orthodoxy of his dynasty and skillfully control the vast and multi-ethnic realm. For example, he practiced the rule mode as Confucian sages when dealing with the Han, the majority population in the empire, and was a devout Buddhist when dealing with the minorities in Mongolia and Tibet. In the newly conquered Tarim region of the western part of the empire, he gave the subjugated tribes enough religious freedom. His tolerant attitude towards multi-ethnic cultures and religious also

16 中國第一歷史檔案館，《清宮內務府造辦處檔案總匯》.
17 Dai Yi. Emperor Qianlong and his era. Zhongguo ren min da xue chu ban she, 434-460.
18 Rawski, Evelyn S. “Palace Servants”, The last emperors: A social history of Qing imperial institutions.160-197
19 Elliott, Mark C. “chapter 4 The dilemma of Manchu success”, “chapter 6 Building the empire” and “chapter 8 Qing China and the world” in Emperor Qianlong: Son of heaven, man of the world.
gave birth to a number of hybrid handicrafts.

When it comes to the relationship between China and foreign countries during the Qianlong reign, Elliott held the idea that in general, Qianlong reign was a period with social stability, economic growth, territorial expansion, strong military power, political confidence and cultural prosperity. The elderly Qianlong believed that his empire was experiencing an unprecedented period of peace with unprecedented wealth and there was no need to understand and learn from the early scientific or industrial civilization that had just emerged in Europe. It was a reasonable response, then, that he haughtily refused the British Lord Macartney mission's request for trade.

In terms of clocks under Qianlong’s reign, there is a lack of literature. This is because the Qing Chinese craftsmen were diminished by the scholarly classes, who compiled the historical documents for the emperors. However, the book *Clocks in the Forbidden City* with rich illustrations has contributed a lot in terms of understanding contemporaneous arts and crafts. Professor Pagani has conducted deep research into the self-sounding clocks in the Jesuit missionary strategy, the enthusiasm for those clocks in Chinese society and the integrations of Sino-European art in her book *Eastern magnificence & European ingenuity: clocks of late imperial China* as well as her article *Clockmaking in China under the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors*. She explores how the emperors were the main collectors of those artefacts because of their passion for new Western art and science. Also she gave a detailed records of Jesuit missionaries who worked as clockmaker in the Qing Palace workshop from the reign of Emperor Shunzhi(1644-1661) to Emperor Jiaqing(1796-1820). These records hold important information about the cultural exchange between China and Europe. However, those studies make little reference to the Chinese archives and neglect to address the role of politics.

*Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen porcelain for European courts ca. 1710-63* by Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen, was published in 2007. It discussed early Meissen porcelain as a diplomacy gift in early 18th century Europe. The volume investigates the development early years of Meissen Porcelain Manufactory and how Saxony court members used precious porcelain as gifts to build up and maintain the diplomatic bond with foreign courts. This book also looks at Meissen's European porcelain trade, from England to

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20 Pagani, *Eastern magnificence & European ingenuity*, 185-187
Russia and explores the cultural atmosphere of the Court in Dresden, diverse market tastes, the wide variety of porcelain objects and their designers and manufacturers.\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Triumph of the Blue Swords, Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie} and the accompanying exhibition at the Japanese Palace in Dresden (May 8–August 29, 2010) celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Meissen porcelain manufactory. Including a series of 13 essays on a range of Meissen-related topics, it provides a sketchily drawn summary of the events that took place in and around Dresden leading up to the establishment of the Meissen factory in 1710 and of the influence it had on porcelain factories throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{23} It covers a long period but does not focus on the Augustus II period.

In 2011, \textit{Der Preis des 'weißen Goldes': Preispolitik und -strategie im Merkantilsystem am Beispiel der Porzellanmanufaktur Meißen 1710 – 1830} by Alessandro Monti, observed early Meissen porcelain from a new commercial prospective. The authors point out that marketing topics such as pricing policy and strategy are not only phenomena of the modern industrial age, but have been a significant factor in manufacturing since the early eighteenth century. The study uses historical documents to examine prevailing pricing and distribution strategies, and the operative influence of the Saxon sovereignty under the porcelain lovers August the Strong and his successors.\textsuperscript{24}

From the above overview, it can be seen that there have been some studies focusing on analysing cultural exchange, including porcelain, clocks and many other objects between Europe and China, on analysing the political roles of foreign art products, and on analysing the manufacturing of porcelain and horology in Europe and China. However, these studies tend to focus on the entire cultural exchange period, lasting for centuries. No study, as far as this author is aware of, focuses on comparing and contrasting cultural exchange in terms of porcelain and horology only, especially in the period of specific emperors (such as Augustus II, Qianlong). The research on Augustus the Strong tends to focus on material culture, specifically, his porcelain collection or artistic development on Meissen porcelain, while few studies on his political life. The research on Qianlong is from the perspective of his political biography and Qing court culture, but few works on his

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, 87-111,275-301
\textsuperscript{23} Pietsch, “Meissen Porcelain: Making a Brilliant Entrance, 1710 to 1763” in Triumph of the Blue Swords, Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie,10-34
\textsuperscript{24} Monti, Der Preis Des 'Weißen Goldes': Preispolitik Und -Strategie Im Merkantilsystem Am Beispiel Der Porzellanmanufaktur Meißen 1710 – 1830, 27-81
imperial clock collection and manufacture. In addition, for each case study the voice from native scholars hold sway. Although the advantage of language enables them to access more primary sources, their perspective can easily be isolated within their own cultural stereotype.

This paper takes the material as the starting point, takes the Asia-Europe cluster as the spatial scope and attempts to provide a new research perspective by exploring the relationship between rulers and foreign artwork transformation.

1.4 Research questions

In this thesis, the main research question is, why and for what purposes did the two supreme rulers, Augustus II and Qianlong, chose to collect overseas goods in large scale, specifically porcelain and mechanical clocks, and even sponsored the royal manufactories to create transcultural objects. In other words, how did Augustus II and Qianlong Emperor act as royal patrons to manipulate foreign artefact in appearance, function and conception so that they can well fit in the local court life and represent the status, power and hierarchy of the two rulers? Sub-questions aid the answering of the main question: Under what circumstances did they first encounter these foreign goods and what were their first impressions? What motivated them to start collecting? What were the ways of acquisition and who were the people involved? Why did they start their own manufacturing and how was the respective craftsmanship system under different rulership? What were the appearances and functions of the transcultural products and how were they displayed? Furthermore, what were the related political ideals? To answer the above research questions, a comparative study of Augustus II’s porcelain collection and Meissen porcelain production, and Emperor Qianlong’s clock collection and the horological development under the Qing dynasty will be conducted.

1.5 Methodology

The theoretical framework of this research is material culture study, which uses the artefacts as a source of information and as a reflection of socio-cultural context. Specifically, porcelain and clocks have been employed as a prism through which to elaborate the influence of exchange between two different cultures in 18th-century Europe.

25 Carson, "Doing history with material culture", 43.
first, the interweaving and restriction of art and other social factors in a specific period form different genre. Based on the synchronic level, Augustus' porcelain collection and Qianlong's clock collection are placed in the eighteenth-century social background: the Chinoiserie in Europe and the multi-ethnic of High Qing China in the same period. Viewing the cultural characteristics of Saxony and Poland and Manchuria China in the context of cultural and artistic exchanges and interactions between China and the West; Augustus II's admiration and imitation of Chinese export porcelain reflects the political metaphor of Chinese porcelain in the pursuit of absolute monarchy in European countries in the 18th century. At the same time, Emperor Qianlong's collection and transformation of western clocks and watches is not only a microcosm of the multi-ethnic culture within the territory, but also a reflection of his attitude towards European countries at the same time. Secondly, guided by the internal hierarchies theory of culture, this study goes from the material on surface to the society and ideology behind it. Specifically, the cultural transformation of porcelain and clocks in foreign countries is the surface layer, grasping the cultural meaning of complicated and changeable artistic phenomena, and making a comprehensive explanation of the final result, namely, the rules gave them new ideas through changing the appearance, the display area and pattern or function. It enables the variability and contingency of cultural phenomena in foreign countries to be objectively examined. Finally, the construction of linear temporality can prevent the development tenses and concepts of meissen porcelain and Qianlong imperial clocks from dissolving in the static analysis of synchronicity. The scope of reference has expanded from the evolution of art to the field of culture. This method is different from the traditional chronicle investigation. It is based on the historical stage of the research object. On the one hand, it traces back and inquiries into the origin of exotic goods entering the court of the other party, its dissemination and the formation of the concept of new culture. On the other hand, it looks forward to and discusses the development trend of porcelain in Saxony court and clocks and watches in Qing court from collection to transformation, and the aesthetic changes of the two rulers on products. This dynamic view of history helps to connect various vague artistic phenomena with the continuous process of cultural history.

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26 Grasskamp and Juneja. EurAsian matters: China, Europe, and the transcultural object, 1600-1800, 4
An inductive research approach is adopted. An inductive research method starts with an analysis and then theories are proposed at the end of the research process. This approach is adopted because it does not apply hypotheses to the questions, rather, it facilitates the generation of more accurate answers to the questions through observations and analysis. In terms of their foreign artefact collections and transformations, this study compares multiple cases concerning Augustus II and Qianlong in terms of court society and self-identity, the domestic and international situation, the ruling systems and commercial environments, the different manufactory craftsmanship and the shifting on artistic style and function. In this way, important conclusions and implications can be generated from a global perspective.

In addition, more questions can be generated and answered through literature research combined with a visual analysis. To be specific, in terms of literature research, past written records are gathered, synthesized and compared to address the main research questions. In terms of visual analysis, materials including photographs of the artefacts and copies of documents have more power for describing and analysing the subjects since they provide first-hand information to the reader.
Chapter 2 Encounter

2.1 Augustus the Strong encountering porcelain

The initial encounter of porcelain by Augustus the Strong could be described as a passive experience, inseparable from the era he lived in, especially in the context of the popularity of Chinoiserie in Europe and under the influence of remarkable monarchs, especially Louis XIV of France and Frederick William I, King of Prussia. Both of them were more powerful rulers than Augustus the Strong back then, had actively collected, displayed and transformed porcelain in different ways to show their absolute political power, as well as their wealth, and artistic taste. Their collection and display of porcelain led to the first encounter of porcelain by Augustus the Strong during his visits to Le Trianon de Porcelaine in France and porcelain rooms in Prussia, which made him believe the possession and display of porcelain may further intensify his political authority.

When he was still a young prince, Augustus II did his Grand Tour, as dictated by aristocratic tradition. He visited Austria, Italy, Spain, and France in 1687. He was especially impressed by a pavilion made of blue and white Delft-style ceramic tiles in France, i.e. Le Trianon de Porcelaine in Versailles.\(^{27}\) Le Trianon de Porcelaine was initially built to satisfy the private needs of Louis XIV, and to provide entertainment for him and his women during short visits, rather than for long-term stays. As shown in Figure 1, there were five pavilions. The Pavillon du Roi, the center pavilion, was used for Louis XIV’s stays. The four smaller pavilions were designed to offer culinary delights for Louis XIV and his women. The pavilions were built in the Chinese style with blue-and-white ceramics, which was the latest popular trend in Louis XIV reign.\(^{28}\) The five pavilions were surrounded by gardens where impressive rare flowers were planted in flowerpots that were painted to resemble porcelain. However, the exterior of the palace was not made of genuine Chinese porcelain because it was unavailable and unsuitable for decorating a palace of this style. Instead, faience tiles produced in Rouen, Saint-Clement, and even in the Netherlands were used.\(^{29}\) These tiles did not last long in the weather of France such that the palace was reconstructed in 1687, being extended to Trianon de Marbre. Despite its failure to withstand the weather in France, it was the first European realization of a porcelain palace.

\(^{29}\) Gothein, *A history of garden art*, 266
It also reflected the deep and direct influence of Chinese porcelain in the court of an absolutist prince long before porcelain cabinets had become widespread in other European countries. The pavilion was created by Louis XIV to provocatively display the French manufacturing skills and to interpret Chinese style, leading the trend of decorative arts in the courts of Europe at that time. The endless efforts of Louis XIV and his architectures in mimicking the texture of porcelain in the entire palace represented the deep fascination towards Chinese porcelain and foreign culture in French society in that era. The large budget spent on collecting, displaying and transforming Chinese porcelain by Louis XIV reflected his supreme wealth and monarchical political power, which shaped Augustus II’s first formal encounter with Chinese porcelain as a symbol of wealth, monarch and power.

Louise Henrietta von Brandenburg (1627-1667) established the first porcelain cabinet in 1663 at Oranienburg in Prussia. Later, her son Frederick III, initially copied the female fashion of small porcelain rooms, incorporated iconographical figures and programs in architectural space, size and meanings in order to enforce his political ideology. If the visit to the porcelain palace in France had enlightened Augustus to believe that he could be a monarch who showed off his wealth and political power in a supreme court that was of his own architectural style as had been done by Louis XIV, then the visit to the porcelain rooms in Prussia further inspired his porcelain palace construction. Augustus II made another important visit to Prussia in 1709. Along with the King of Denmark, the two guests visited Oranienburg, Caputh and Charlottenburg, including the three porcelain rooms, which were created by the Friedrich III and his wife Sophie Charlotte under the influence of prevailing fashion and the popularity of porcelain in the 18th century in royal palaces. The porcelain room in Charlottenburg Palace, constructed around 1706 by Johann Arnold Nering under the commission of Sophie Charlotte, is a great example of porcelain display pattern in Prussia (Fig.2). Objects from all sides were

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30 Bischoff, “Women Collectors and the Rise of the Porcelain Cabinet”, 177. Luise Henriette of Nassau-Orange married to Frederick Wilhelm and became the Electress of Brandenburg. She installed a small porcelain cabinet in her palace at Oranienburg, which was extended it to a memorial by her son Frederick III after her death in 1667. The Great Elector married Princess Dorothea of Holstein-Glücksburg, the second electress and presented her with a small castle, Caputh, (near Potsdam). Dorothea furnished it in luxurious Dutch style and installed a porcelain cabinet as well. When Frederick III came to throne he gave Caputh to his wife Sophie Charlotte. She did not make up it but built a new palace instead, the Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin today. In 1695, she installed a porcelain room inside.
31 Gothein, A history of garden art, 37.
displayed on the walls that were lined with mirrors. Chinese porcelain stood on sculpted *enfilade*, dominating the entire room. Augustus was further impressed by the transformation of Chinese porcelain into a Prussian style: porcelain pieces were incorporated into the building, including the walls, the beams, the cornices, and even the freestanding columns, where iconographical figures were displayed together to help enforce the political dominance of the Prussian King. This innovative transformation of Chinese porcelain in display again inspired Augustus the Strong in his own collection and display in his later life.\(^3^3\)

Framed by both precedent model and other competitors in the same era, porcelain in the 18th century was considered as a symbol of power by elite rulers. There were great political implications for Augustus the Strong to start his porcelain collections. As the younger son of Elector Johann Georg III (1647-1691), Augustus was not supposed to inherit the electorate. However, his elder brother, Johann Georg IV (1668-1694), was infected by smallpox and died without leaving an heir in 1694, and Augustus inherited his position. As a result of this sudden wealth and power, he spent a lot of money on Dresden Castle, which was his major residence. Later on, more castles and palaces were constructed in Dresden by Augustus.\(^3^4\) In 1697, to qualify for the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Augustus had to convert to Roman Catholicism.\(^3^5\) This action alienated millions of Protestants, which negatively influenced the electorate’s stability even though Saxony's religious status was guaranteed. Augustus was ambitious, and wanted to inherit the Polish throne in his family, for which he made endless efforts in Polish politics for the next 35 years. To achieve this goal, Augustus needed to strengthen his new position with the recognition from important figures in the empire. One important strategy was to make his new role highly visible by creating great splendor.\(^3^6\) Considering that Chinese porcelain was a symbol of wealth and power in Europe back then, Augustus the Strong deemed it both essential and plausible for him to collect and display porcelain in public to show off his wealth and power in order to gain political advantages.\(^3^7\)

\(^3^3\) Wittwer, “Liason Fragiles, Exchanges of Gifts between Saxony and Prussia in the Early Eighteenth Century”, 87. As neighbor states within the Holy Roman Empire, Saxony and Brandenburg had interwind relationship. Especially, once both families achieved royal status, Frederik and Augustus needed to justify their new positions in Europe. An important aspect of this was to make their new role visible by creating the greatest splendour, by using iconographical symbols and by the organisation of their courts.

\(^3^4\) Sharp, *Pleasure and Ambition*, 38.

\(^3^5\) Wagner-Rundell, *Common wealth, common good*, 45.

\(^3^6\) Wittwer, *Studies of Hizen Porcelain*, 42.

\(^3^7\) Broomhall and Van Gent."The Gendered Power of Porcelain among Early Modern European Dynasties." In *Gender
As such, in 1717, after Augustus II obtained a small palace along the Elbe River in Dresden, he ordered his architect Pöppelmann to build a special palace for porcelain display, i.e. the *Japanische Palais* (Fig.3).\(^{38}\) According to Augustus II’s initial plan, the *Japanische Palais*, receiving its name from the dream of Augustus II in creating a porcelain palace and from its function of storing East Asian porcelain, was a porcelain palace whose interior was all decorated with Chinese and Meissen porcelain. He planned to decorate all walls with various kinds of porcelain, stacking the porcelain from the bottom to the top based on the shape and size. Large porcelain, like pots and bottles, were put on the floor, while small porcelain, like plates and bowls, were placed at the top, which were largely influenced by the porcelain palaces in other European regions mentioned above. However, the project, especially its internal decoration was not finished, and remained in the design phase after the death of Augustus II. The financial situation after Augustus II also prevented the palace from being finished. Nevertheless, the encounter of porcelain by Augustus the Strong through the public display from more powerful rulers impressed and inspired him to collect and display Chinese porcelain to satisfy his political ambition.

### 2.2 Qianlong Emperor encountering clocks

The encounter of western clocks by Emperor Qianlong was drastically different from that of Augustus the Strong with porcelain. Emperor Qianlong was not the first ruler in Qing era to be introduced to western clocks. Instead, his encounter of clocks occurred in the form of inheritance. His encounter was through the collection and display of clocks of his predecessors, especially his grandfather, Emperor Kangxi.

In ancient Chinese, the concept of Sino–barbarian dichotomy was applied to culturally distinct Chinese and outside ethnic minority.\(^ {39}\) The main body of China is Han nationality, living in the central plains and being the center of Chinese civilization, while the cultures of neighboring countries or regions are relatively backward and are "barbarians". The Chinese emperor is the son of heaven, the Chinese emperor rules over the Chinese dynasty, and the relations between neighboring countries and China are the relations between tribute countries and subordinate countries, and their leaders can only be

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\(^{38}\) Ibid, 42.

\(^{39}\) Pines, Beasts or humans: Pre-imperial origins of the ‘‘Sino-barbarian’’ dichotomy. Mongols, Turks, and others, 70.
called the king at most. The Confucian orthodox concept of all previous dynasties in China
tached great importance to the distinction between Han and barbarians. Only highly
civilized Han people are qualified to become the supreme ruler of a dynasty. However, if
the ethnic minorities enter the Central Plains only through military conquest and do not
learn the cultural traditions and living habits of the Han people, their political power cannot
be recognized by the central government and the surrounding vassal states. Thus, the
dynasties established by the ethnic minorities such as the Manchu, had to rely on Chinese
culture to promote the legitimacy of their rule after their armed invasion. As a dynasty of
conquest, after they swept down from the north in 1644, the Manchu ruler immediately
accepted and embraced Confucianism: fixing the ritual and ceremonial calendars were
considered as one of the most important privileges of emperors. This was closely related
to the traditional norm that Chinese emperors were authorized with the rights to organize
and control not only society, but also the universe, space and the time. As such, the
western instruments and the new calendar systems brought by missionaries were adopted
by Manchu rulers to show to the Han group that they were the legal authority. For example,
the Jesuit missionary Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666) offered a new calendar
and a new way of calculating solar eclipses to the Shunzhi emperor (1644-1661) by using
western timepieces, which turned out to be more accurate than traditional Chinese sundials.
In this way, he gained the trust of the emperor and was appointed as the director of bureau
of astronomy. In this way, a number of missionaries were given appointments within the
Chinese bureaucratic system. Later on, Schall von Bell was promoted to be the sub-director
of the court of sacrificial worship. Along with the elevated status of Johann Adam Schall
von Bell, the privileges for western missionaries increased in Qing court with their safety
and social positions largely guaranteed. As a consequence, clocks, as a representation of
western scientific instrument gradually received more popularity since the reign of Kangxi,
which formed the material foundation for the encounter with clocks in the court by
Emperor Qianlong.

However, the conflict between catholic culture and Chinese Confucianism,
specifically the Rites controversy, formed a turning point. Han Confucian scholars were

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40 Huang, Junjie, and E. Zürcher. *Time and space in Chinese culture.* 57
41 Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820),* 5.
42 Rites Controversy: a major conflict between China and the West during the Kangxi years of the Qing
Dynasty. The two opposing sides of the incident were Emperor Kangxi of the Forbidden City in Beijing and
Pope Clement IX of the Holy See. On the surface, this is a contest between imperial power and religious
power. In fact, it is an extension from the inside to the outside of the Holy See of the controversy between
hostile to foreign culture due to the double shocks from the entrance of missionaries and invasion of Manchu troops. Manchu ruler conquered the Han country by armed force, but were regarded as civilized barbarians. The rulers of ethnic minorities who once ruled China more or less embraced Confucianism to convince the Han people, especially the stubborn Han literati in the court. As such, Emperor Kangxi had chosen to side with Confucianism and to limit the free activities of missionaries. However, even though the Catholic Church was seen as alien, the new calendar originated from the theories and instruments from European missionaries. It was therefore inappropriate for Kangxi to completely banish the missionaries out of China. As such, he ordered that missionaries could still stay in the court but could no longer be the emperor’s tutor. They were given a lowered position as court craftsmen. Under the leadership of Jesuit missionaries, other court servants began to learn how to make scientific instruments. In his late years, Emperor Kangxi valued both functions and appearances of the mechanical timepieces. John Bell, a Scottish traveler and doctor, wrote in 1721 that, "The making of clocks and watches was lately introduced, under the protection of the present Emperor; who, at his leisure hours, amuses himself with whatever is curious either in art or nature." The missionaries used all their skills to make clocks to satisfy the emperor in order to keep themselves in the court safety. This action further promoted the clock around royal members.

During reign of Yongzheng Emperor (1722 – 1735), the use of clocks and watches in the court of Qing dynasty had become common. Clocks and watches even became the dominant timekeeping device due to the increase of the production of clocks and watches in the palace. Clocks were strictly privilege items and mostly used in inner court. They were used in the court where the emperor lived, worked and played, as well as in the concubines' palaces. In a set of twelve paintings depicting beautiful women, known as ‘The Twelve Beauty Paintings’, the western clock appeared twice, indicating its popularity in the palace during the Qing dynasty.

One of these twelve paintings, Chi biao guan ju, a title that can be translated as

Matteo Ricci’s missionary adaptation strategy and the Holy See’s adherence to the fundamentalist line since he entered China. The controversy is essentially a conflict between the Catholic civilization expanding to the east and the Confucian civilization in China.

Mungello, "The First Great Cultural Encounter between China and Europe (ca. 1582-ca. 1793)." 112. During the first cultural encounter between China and Europe, a majority of literati were hostile towards foreign culture. The attitude was largely shaped by the by internal political and cultural changes during the Ming-Qing dynasty transition.

Bell, A Journey from St Petersburg to Pekin, 182.

Guo, The origin and usage of clocks in the Qing Court under Yongzheng's reign, 37.
‘Holding a watch against chrysanthemum’ (Fig.4), depicts a lady sitting beside a desk with a beautiful enamel watch made of copper gilt enamel, surrounded by a white circle, with a minute hand on it and twelve hours in Latin characters on the circumference. The surface of the watch was made of glass. There was another exquisite example of the workmanship of western astronomical instruments on a side table not far away. As one of the twelve beauty images, it represents the luxury and leisure life of the imperial concubine in that era. At the same time, this image series also represented the clothes, hairstyles, and jewelry that were most popular during that period. As such, it can be concluded that western objects, like the watch held by the beauty and the clock on the table, had become a fashion in the palace. In addition, considering that initially the clocks and watches were only possessed by the emperor due to its high prices and difficulty in obtaining them, the possession of them by the imperial concubine indicated that more watches and clocks were available in the palace and that the western objects had gradually become fashionable in the palace that even the imperial concubine who were not supposed to be involved in political issues (like tribute) started to enjoy using them in their daily life.

Another painting in the same series, Nian zhu guan mao, a title that can be translated as “Rubbing beads while watching cats” (Fig.5) also shows that the western clock had become an important object within the palace. Sitting in front of the round window and leaning gently against the table, with one hand idly and elegantly twirling the rosary beads, a lady sits watching two playful cats. The view of this picture is very small, in that only one half of the circular window was used to depict the complex scene. But because the painter referred to the focus perspective method of western painting, the scenery from far and near arranged in an orderly way with expanding the depth of the picture space, drawing viewers more closely into the scene. In particular, a rectangular enamel bell shaped like a delicate wooden pavilion was placed under the window. The clock was delicately made. It was capped with a golden handle, above which was a roof type shape, ornamented with many traditional patterns. There was one pillar on each of the four angles of the clock. There were four decorative enamel flowers panels on the front with a stylobate bottom. In this picture, the western clock and the classic Chinese furniture perfectly blend in this environment. The above two images imply that clocks had been widely collected and displayed in the Qing court before the enthronement of Qianlong that even the concubines could use clocks in their daily life, not to mention clock display in the residential and working palaces of the emperor.
In such a court setting, Emperor Qianlong encountered royal clocks since he was young. In the thirteenth year of Emperor Yongzheng, He inherited the throne and began his 60-year reign. The Qing dynasty entered the prosperous Qianlong period with unprecedented strength, attracting worldwide attention. The stable society and the increasing wealth in the court provided the condition for pursuing luxury life and extreme entertainment in Qianlong period. Clocks were definitely one of the luxuries, considering that they were all hand-made with high prices which prevented ordinary people from affording them. According to missionary records, because of the scarcity of chime clocks, which can play music, its price in Guangzhou was as high as 3000 to 5000 gold pieces while the annual income of prince (the second-highest position after the emperor) was only 10,000 silver pieces. The price was so high that it was jaw-dropping. Even a small watch was worth dozens of silver pieces. The limited number of watches, their high prices, and high quality further motivated Qianlong's desire to possess and collect them. During the Qianlong period, exquisite pocket watches were often kept as part of treasures in special treasure boxes for rare items. The encounter of clocks from the existing large collections of his predecessors and the prosperity in his reign made it possible for Emperor Qianlong to further enlarge clock collections and transform clocks based on his own personal tastes and preferences.

2.3 Comparisons and contrasts in encounters

Based on the above analysis, it can be seen that the encounters of exotic artefacts between Augustus the Strong and Emperor Qianlong were drastically different. For Augustus the Strong, his encounter with Chinese porcelain was through his visit to more powerful rulers outside Saxony, i.e. Louis XIV in France and Prussian King. His journey to the Le Trianon de Porcelaine in Versailles impressed and inspired Augustus the Strong that he admired the political authority and power as Louis XIV, whom was his role model in his entire life. As the younger son of Elector Johann Georg III (1647-1691), Augustus was not supposed to inherit the electorate. Unexpectedly, with the dead of his brother, Augustus the Strong had to inherit his legacy of monarchy. In order to demonstrate his legality that ensure the absolute sovereignty in Saxony state, he modeled himself on Louis

46 Ibid., 23.
XIV in expanding palaces and collecting Chinese porcelain which was considered as a symbol of wealth and political authority to the public of Saxony. Furthermore, to qualify for the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Augustus the Strong converted to Roman Catholicism. To maintain Protestants in Saxony from being weakened by Prussia, he had to compete with Prussia who, by the time of his enthronement, had become a major collector of porcelain. As such, the porcelain collection by Augustus the Strong was motivated not to fall behind.

As for Emperor Qianlong, his encounter of western clocks was mostly influenced and shaped by inheriting clock collections from his predecessors. Clocks were first brought into China as tributes to emperors by European missionaries. Later on, the capability of western clocks in accurately keeping time and in predicting astronomical events greatly helped emperors in the Qing court in strengthening their political authority and autocracy. However, the rites controversy in Kangxi's later years caused a large number of Han people to strongly resist Christian culture. Emperor Kangxi removed the missionary from the core of his rule in order to appease his subjects and prevent his special alien ruler from being challenged again. He practiced the Confucian theory to win the hearts of the people, but that needed to employed the functions of European timepieces. He thus set up a clock office and promoted a new method of timing in the court. The missionaries were no longer the scientific tutors of the emperor, but only the craftsmen of watchmaking workshops. This in turn has promoted the popularity of clocks in the palace. Gradually, clocks had become a common object in the Qing court since reigns of Emperor Kangxi and Yongzheng that even concubines possessed clocks in their private life. By the time of the enthronement of Qianlong, the clock collections blossomed. To the largest extent, the encounter of clocks by Qianlong was a result of inheritance of royal clock collections from his predecessors.

From a broader space-time perspective, the similarities between two rulers can be further excavated. Although the cultural exchanges between the Eurasian clusters in the

47 Forberg, "Copying the World’s Emperor", 376. For the Saxon Elector-King, Augustus II, Louis XIV was his lifelong political model, who succeeded—by the means of his centralist authorities and his clever machinery of representation—to return towards the ideal of the absolute ruler than any of the opposite bold princes in Europe.

48 Mungello, "The First Great Cultural Encounter between China and Europe (ca. 1582-ca. 1793)." 114
18th century were unprecedentedly prosperous due to the movement of people, exotic goods were still scarce and expensive, and only privileged classes had access to them. Exotic goods from different cultural origins circulated within the Eurasian landmass. The artifacts carried by different identities thus gain new meanings throughout the travelling process. For example, east Asian porcelain were imported in large quantities to European court by merchants since early 17th century. In particular, founded in 1664, the French east India company, which dominated the porcelain trade, was an imperial colonial company thus the rich profits behind the porcelain trade meant the financial revenue for the state. Louis XIV, the King of France, thus became a promoter of the porcelain trade. 49Also, as a representative of absolute monarchical power, Louis XIV was also emulated by other contemporaneous power-hungry European monarchs, including the consumption of Chinese porcelain. The virtual value of Chinese porcelain soared because of Europe's royal aristocrats, adding a layer of wealth and status symbol to the actual use value.

The clock was gifted as tributes by the missionaries to the Manchu aristocracy, thus its new meaning was inseparable from Christianity. The collecting trend had started with Louis XIV and Emperor Kangxi. Neither Augustus II nor the Qianlong Emperor was the first person who encountered these items that came from beyond their cultural sphere. These previous rulers respectively chose part of the attribute from porcelain or clocks and put a new layer of meaning to assist their ruling. Therefore, before Augustus II and Qianlong, porcelain and clock were already framed into their own court life. Porcelain was framed to show power to competitors and was displayed in public. Clocks were framed as a symbol of submission from other nation or religions, as a political instrument and finally domesticated as part of a private royal household.

49 Broomhall and Van Gent. "The Gendered Power of Porcelain Among Early Modern European Dynasties." In Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1800, 59. The original purpose of the French east India company established by Louis XIV was to compete with the British and Dutch in the Indian colonies. It was part of the mercantilist plan by jean-baptiste Colbert, the minister of finance. It was only after 1684, many pieces of porcelain were presented by Siam ambassador as diplomatic gifts, Louis XIV believed that a large display of east Asian porcelain represented his global connections.
Chapter 3 Acquisition

Not only Augustus the Strong and Qianlong Emperor encounter experiences of exotic artifacts varied, but their method of acquisition of these foreign artifacts also differed dramatically. This was due to these different encounter experiences, displaying practices and personal political needs and tastes.

3.1 The acquisition of porcelain

As mentioned in Chapter 1, from the late 17th to 18th centuries, the porcelain trade was almost entirely monopolized by the Dutch East India Company, and the bulk of the imported goods were carried to Europe from Guangdong, Fujian, and Nagasaki (Japan). Augustus the Strong obtained the majority of his porcelain through the Dutch East India company from the Leipzig and other popular European Chinese porcelain trade fairs, with a small number exchange with other royal nobles and monarchs. 50 In the late 17th century, millions of Chinese and Japanese porcelains were sold to the Netherlands through the Dutch East India Company. Every time an ocean-going ship arrived in the Netherlands, porcelain buyers from all over Europe would come flocking to the Netherlands. Local European porcelain dealers bought Chinese porcelain from Dutch merchant ships and resold it to Augustus the Strong. The most famous dealer at that time was Madame Anna Elisabeth Bassetouche (died 1730). She bought many combinations of vases which decorated the Porzellansammlung. Later on, she even lived in Dresden and became a porcelain adviser to the emperor. 51 When Augustus the Strong became the king of Poland in 1697, he purchased hundreds of rare pieces of China's multicolored porcelain from the Masuren area of Warsaw to decorate the Zwinger Palace. When Daniel Friedrich I died in 1722, Augustus the Strong acquired most of his porcelain collection, which had been purchased in Amsterdam between 1708 and 1709. His acquisition of porcelain was also evident in his effort in hosting luxury market fairs in Leipzig as a regular court event, for acquiring East Asian porcelain, even after Meissen porcelain was locally manufactured. At the Leipzig fairs, Augustus the Strong purchased luxury goods, including porcelains from

50 Simonis, "How to furnish a Palace. Porcelain acquisitions in the Netherlands for Augustus the Strong, 1716-1718", 5. For example, Stanisław Chomętowski (1673-1728), Voivode of Masuria, he presented 29 pieces of porcelain on April and May 1724. The details of delivers were recorded on Augustus’s porcelain royal inventories.
51 Ibid, 8.
local merchants as well as foreign traders, either used as gifts or enrich his own royal collection in Dresden.

In addition, Augustus the Strong's ministers also played an important role in purchasing for the collection. In order to please the emperor, they spared no expense in buying porcelain from the Dutch and the British. For example, the minister of Saxony, Peter Robert Taparelli, Count of Lagnasco (1659-1735), lived in the Netherlands in 1716, during which time he bought a lot of Chinese and Japanese porcelain for Augustus the Strong. Around July 1716, when he traveled to Amsterdam and the Hague, he was assigned two tasks by the King: exploring the opportunity to purchase warships for the war and investigating the art market to purchase porcelain and other luxury commodities for the decoration of the Japanese Palace.52 Another minister who contributed to Augustus the Strong's collection was the General Field Marshal Jacob Heinrich von Flemming (1667-1728). He made up his mind to send most of the Chinese porcelain he had collected over the years to the emperor.

While porcelain as gifts for royalty met the personal desire of Augustus the Strong, it also helped him to manage the fragile relationship between the Catholic rulers and Protestant rulers. When he was crowned King of Poland, he converted to Catholicism from German Protestants.53 One famous example of royal gift exchange occurred in 1717 when Augustus the Strong still enthusiastically collected porcelain. Augustus was presented with 151 Chinese porcelain vessels with underglaze decorations, which came from the limited number of large objects in the porcelain rooms in Oranienburg and Charlottenburg, collected by Frederick Wilhelm I (1680-1740), the King of Prussia. As a contre cadeau, 600 soldiers were returned by Saxony to Frederick. Later, these soldiers were categorized as dragoons, explaining why those large imperial vases came to be known as the ‘Dragoon vases’ (Fig.6).54

3.2 The acquisition of clocks

In the Qianlong period, on the basis of inheriting and continuing the collection of clocks and watches of Kangxi and Yongzheng, the collection of clocks and watches of the palace was further expanded to reach an unprecedented scale. By combing through the

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52 Ibid, 62.
53 Daybell, Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe,59.
54 Ulrich Pietsch, Porzellangeschenke in augusteischer Zeit, in Japanisches Palais zu Dresden, 43.
relevant secondary literature as well as the above-mentioned Palace household archives, it is possible to track the acquisition and expansion of the watch collection in Qianlong period. Similar to the way in which Augustus the Strong collected porcelain, a combination of gifts, tribute and intentional purchasing by ministers formed the primary modes of clock acquisition for Qianlong.

Similar to the acquisition of his predecessors, emperor Qianlong also assigned ministers to purchase imported clocks for him. In the fifteenth year of Qianlong (1750), Tang Ying (1682-1756) was in charge of the inner court affairs. 55 Tang Ying's banner identity determined that he had the opportunity to be entrusted with an important post by Emperor Qianlong. His work was not limited by civil and military governors. One of the major tasks of Tang Ying was to purchase various rare objects as tributes for emperor Qianlong and his royal families. Especially when he served as superintendent (also known as Hoppos in western language documents) in Guangdong Maritime Customs (1750-1751) and responsible for the royal tribute procurement.56 The budget of tribute purchase was specially allocated from the Office of Manufacture, Zaobanchu, with defined annual quota rather than using government expense.57 Among all the budget a majority of them was used to purchase clocks and other overseas goods by Guangdong Customs. All these tributes were directly sent to the Qing court to entertain Emperor Qianlong. For the purchase of tributes, there were specific standards from the court. However, for the clocks, emperor Qianlong made his own purchase standards. If these standards were not met, ministers had to compensate these expenses by themselves. For instance, in the sixteenth year of Qianlong (1751), emperor Qianlong rejected the expense claim from Tang Ying, ordering

55 Yan, “Study on Tang Ying’s Banner class and status”, 5. Tang Ying, whose ancestral home was in Shenyang, Liaodong, was a Han Chinese. After submitting to the Jin Dynasty, he was transferred to Qing Imperial Household Department and was coated with the Manchu white flag. At the age of 16, he started to work Qing Imperial Household Department. he was initially responsible for the design of drawings, and later became the official Plain White Banner booi manju niru. Because in the Eight Banners system of the Qing Dynasty, the Plain White Banner was one of the three banners directly led by Qing Emperor. Booiaha is Manchurian, meaning family slave of Manchurian nobles.

56 Huang, and Van Dyke. "Hoppo Tang Ying 唐英 (1750–1751) and the Development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs." 225-227. The Guangdong Maritime Customs was established in 1685. The positions were usually of Booiaha, appointed and supervised by the emperor himself. They handled the emperor’s personal affairs.

57 Chen, The Guangdong Maritime Customs and the Thirteen Hongs in the Early Qing, 106. In the early years of Qianlong, he ordered the Guangdong Customs to allocate 55,000 taels of silver from the annual income to the imperial household department for the procurement of tribute. In 1750, when Tang Ying directed the Guangdong Customs, Emperor Qianlong ordered to cut down 25,000 taels of silver in advance, leaving only 30,000 taels for the purchase of tribute.
that he should compensate the expense by himself, because the four tributes of western clocks were largely below his premium standards. All these archives indicated that the acquisition of clocks by emperor Qianlong followed strict standards. His spending on clock acquisition had represented the majority of his spending on tributes. To this degree, his acquisition is also similar to that of Augustus the Strong.

Even though it was similar that both of the elite rulers acquired exotic artefacts through their ministers, what is different for Emperor Qianlong is that he had made the acquisition of western clocks a unique right of the court. In other words, western clocks were not allowed to circulate in free trade and the traders can only make deals with governments. In the twentieth year of Qianlong (1755), a relevant rule was announced targeting the purchase of goods from Europe, in which the trade of rare objects was specially regulated:

“No trades on rare objects, like pearls, coral, gemstones, were allowed without authorization from the emperor because they are royal objects…Local store owners have been manipulating with these rare objects through hiding, price raising, etc. with the notion that these were the needs of the emperor. As such, Guangzhou government has been having difficulty in searching and purchasing these objects for tributes to the court. As such, it is determined that all stores could only purchase common commodities from individuals…all the rare objects can only be purchased by traders.”

“至于珍奇物品，如珍珠、珊瑚、宝石、琥珀等物，皆属御用物品，铺户不得擅自买卖。……至于珍奇物品，虽属于私商个人所有，而不在公司帐项之内，但铺户人等因知其为皇上所需，是以施行种种诡计，如抬高物价，或将其藏匿，或教唆欧洲人走漏上岸等情，以致本衙门届时无法搜购此类珍奇物品进贡朝廷。故本监督决计将此等恶行革除。各店铺只能收购个人之普通货物……凡珍奇物品，只许保商出价收

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58 Liang and Yuan. ed, Yue haiguan zhi [Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs] 180, 196. The tax on watches and clocks were generally higher than other goods. The tariff of a small clock was one tael, five taels for a middle one and ten taels for a large one. However a big clock was valued as high as five hundred taels each. Under the circumstance that the funds for paying were fixed, Tang ying could hardly purchase the huge clocks that met the quality and quantity requirements for Qianlong emperor.
This regulation was in fact a way to ensure that the Qing court possessed the premium right in purchasing rare objects, including western clocks. The forbidding of free trade on clocks had forced ministers to trade even if they were in deficit. This was different from the situation of Augustus the Strong who fostered the trade by personally advocating Leipzig luxury market that he did not merely purchased gold, silver, cloth, porcelain and other luxury goods in large quality, the king himself was the absolute host of this luxury marketplace in face.\textsuperscript{60} From the above, it can be seen that the acquisition of western clocks for Qianlong was not merely a commodity trading but a tool for ministers to maintain good relationships with the emperor. The mechanical clocks in the Qianlong reign thus gain another layer of political meaning beyond their commercial value.

In addition, in contrast to Augustus the Strong, Qianlong used his imperial power to search the houses of officials who were involved with corruption and confiscated their horological properties. The prosperous economy unexpectedly created opportunities for corruption during the Qianlong reign.\textsuperscript{61} The watches obtained through this kind of activities were ordered to be sent to the imperial household department for processing, later becoming part of the imperial collection. These watches represented a big proportion in Qianlong emperor’s horological collection. For example, in the 46\textsuperscript{th} year in the reign of Qianlong emperor (1781), Wang Sui in Hangjiahu, Zhejiang Province, was punished for his corruption and lawlessness. The confiscated property was worth as much as 200,000 silver pieces, among which there were "five chimes, one bell drop, and one watch".\textsuperscript{62} In the same year, when the fortune of Chen Huizu, a governor of Zhejiang and Fujian, was confiscated, as many as 71 clocks were found.\textsuperscript{63} In addition, in the 47\textsuperscript{th} year in the reign of Qianlong emperor (1782), Guotai, the governor of Shandong province, committed suicide due to the discovery of his corruption, which resulted in financial deficit of more than two million silver pieces. His possessions were all confiscated. Among his properties, there was "a watch set with a hanging screen, four clocks and one watch".\textsuperscript{64} It can be seen that the confiscation of clocks from the collections of corrupt officials represented an important

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part of Qianlong’s imperial collection.65

3.3 Discussion

In terms of acquisition approaches, both Augustus II and Qianlong received first several batches of porcelain and western clocks via tributes, after which they ordered their ministers to look for and purchase these items to satisfy their desire towards these foreign products. Namely, a combination of tribute and purchasing by ministers formed the primary modes of exotic artefacts acquisition for both rulers. Furthermore the purchase pattern was also similar: it started from ministers or court advisors who ordered local dealers to trade with foreign traders.

However, there are more differences than similarities in terms of acquisition between the two rulers. For Augustus the Strong, porcelain was a commodity that circulated freely in the global market, including European markets. As such, inter-nation competition for porcelain collection was common among European nations. Each ruler had to spend efforts in acquiring porcelain they needed, through money expanding or military. Augustus the Strong acquired Chinese porcelain by using the state budget expenditure, which induced pressures on his state. As for emperor Qianlong, he completely dominated the trades of clock in China, with a unidirectional commodity flow from clock traders, ministers and finally to the emperor. The nature of clocks as tributes was more obvious than its nature of commodity due to the limited trading and circulation. In other words, a monopoly was formed for clock trading by the Qing court which made it possible to exploit clock traders in China. Furthermore, special budget was allocated for clock purchasing which was separated from the state budget expenditure. Along with the fact that emperor Qianlong used his Booi slaves for purchasing tributes, the acquisition of clocks by Qianlong was more likely a private action and had minimum negative impacts on the economic construction on his dynasty. Due to this drastic difference between Qianlong and Augustus the Strong in acquiring foreign artefacts, it became natural that Qianlong would never think of using royal household to generate economic profits.

Finally, Qianlong also acquired western clocks and watches by confiscating them from corrupt officials by searching their houses using his imperial power while the Augustus II did not seem to do so. This is because the differences in the rulership between

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65 Guo. “Investigation of the Imperial Collection of Timepieces during the Qianlong Reign (1736-1795)” 13.
Saxony state and Qing dynasty. Qing dynasty in China was under feudal imperial power system in which the emperor had ultimate supreme authority, both religious authority and imperial/political authority, that no one could disobey or disrespect the emperor and his orders. It was a highly concentrated central government within which local officials had no essential power and local officials must obey the emperor under all conditions. This enabled Qianlong to confiscate officials’ houses and fortune with a simple imperial edict. In contrast, Europe was under feudal monarchy system in which, even though the emperor had the supreme imperial/political authority, the emperor had no religious authority making the emperor less powerful compared to the Qing dynasty. In addition, the feudal lords assigned by the emperor also had high autonomy, which is different from that of governors in Qing dynasty. 66 As such, the power of the emperor in the monarchy system was restricted by the church and the feudal lords, making it unlikely for Augustus II to confiscate officials’ wealth as his own.

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66 Eisenstadt, *The political systems of empires*, 56.
Chapter 4 Transformation

Inheriting the traditions from their ancestors, Augustus II and Qianlong furthermore developed their artistic taste and technological proficiency. Porcelain represented luxurious oriental artefacts while clocks and watches could be seen to represent luxurious western artefacts as well as newly merged mechanical technology. Both emperors promoted the manufacture industries in their countries. They imported foreign artefacts and converted and embedded them into their own cultural contexts, which generated interesting and meaningful hybrid products.

4.1. Meissen manufactory

4.1.1 Motivation

Ever since the appearance of porcelain in Europe, it instantly became a popular trend among the upper classes. While aristocrats not only collected porcelain but also wanted to master the techniques to produce it. As such, western craftsmen eagerly tested different methods in firing porcelain. At first, Italy and France developed the skills to produce elegant soft-paste porcelain. However, this was not solid enough and broke easily. Even though it looked like Chinese and Japanese porcelain, it was very different in quality. Augustus the Strong was also eager to reveal the porcelain recipe for several reasons. First, porcelain was a luxury foreign commodity, and the financial situation of Saxony could not support the king in continuous purchasing porcelain from East Asia. This was consistent with the porcelain collection trend throughout European court that a large quantity of precious metals flowed out of Europe in exchange for porcelain. As a state within the holy Roman empire, the geography condition of Saxony limited Augustus the Strong to direct maritime trade with east Asia. In order to keep the money of the holy Roman empire from flowing out, the Kings of the states inside chose to build their own porcelain manufactory. Exploring the secrets of porcelain production helped Augustus the Strong to increase his prestige among the monarchs of his time. He was not entirely successful in ruling his state, but his generosity in providing grants for the study of the secrets of porcelain making earned him a reputation as a patron of the arts. The monarch established the first porcelain manufactory in Meissen in Europe. For Augustus the Strong

67 Barber, Artificial soft paste porcelain: France, Italy, Spain and England, 50.
to make a breakthrough in porcelain production represented great glory.

The establishment of the Meissen porcelain factory in 1709 illustrated that Augustus the Strong's porcelain collection was not just evidence of his obsession but also formed part of a deeper idea. Since porcelain entered the European market, its essence of commodities and the characteristics of producing huge economic profits were never discarded. Along with the emphasis on commercial trades in European ideology, producing porcelain of his own naturally emerged, which not only satisfied the emperor’s fascination towards collecting porcelain but also relieved the financial pressure in the economy of Saxony. This helps explain that Meissen porcelains eventually became commercial products for trading and economic strength in Saxony.

### 4.1.2 Organization and procedures

Augustus the strong had long shown great interest in experimental research on porcelain. Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708) was the first to catch his attention. Tschirnhaus studied mathematics and physics at Leiden University and several times went to French porcelain factories to help Saxony develop its technology. His most important contribution to Meissen porcelain was to control the temperature of kiln and melt some ores, such as quartz. However, he mistakenly believed that porcelain was a molten object like glass. At the same time, Augustus himself even though porcelain could be made successfully through alchemy, calling it white gold. Soon Johann Friedric Böttger (1682-1719) joined in, who originally studied with pharmacist Zorn in Berlin and claimed that he could turn stone into gold. The news soon spread throughout the holy Roman empire. For the rulers who believed that porcelain was white gold, detaining Böttger became their choice. Therefore, when the young alchemist escaped from the Prussian court, he first fled to Vittenburg and then to Saxony. He was immediately captured by Augustus the strong and was arrest in Albrechtsburg Castle, Meissen.\(^{68}\)

To protect the secret porcelain recipe, he was forced to stay in the castle for his entire life. Due to the extreme protection, even the workers in the porcelain factory were not allowed to be in contact with the entire manufacturing process to avoid their stealing.

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\(^{68}\) Queiroz, C.M., and Agathopoulos, S. n.d. The Discovery of European Porcelain Technology. 3-5
of the secret recipe. On January 23, 1710, a "Supreme Decree" was launched by Augustus the Strong, he announced the patent that porcelain had been successfully made in Saxony, which had exactly the same quality with the Chinese porcelain.

In addition, Augustus the Strong also ordered a logbook and a garrison of soldiers to protect the castle for porcelain collection. Specifically, forty-two to forty-three soldiers were ordered at the Albrechtsburg gate, nine of whom were on watch during all the time. The logbook recorded many details of visitors and any people who went in and out of the castle, including their names, professions, place of origin, destinations of their trips, activities, along with the entrance and exit time. This logbook helped ensure that each visitor to and out of the castle could be traced to prevent the secret from being stolen.

Apart from the strict control and monitoring on the manufacturing process and visitors to the castle, the Royal Porcelain Manufactory was also a reflection of his policy of valuing commercial enterprise. To further expand the sales and preferences of the porcelain from his factory, Augustus the Strong invited artists to design and paint the images to be produced on porcelain because these artists understood the tastes of the elites in Europe. This can be evidenced from the logbook of the manufactory that some records showed profession of artists. In addition, Augustus the Strong also ordered the production of moulds to create sets of tableware or sculptures. These facilitated the manufacturing in large quantities in a short time. Furthermore, he also produced a trademark of double swords to announce the belonging of the porcelain products to ensure more profits in the trade. It should also be noted that the fact the manufactory was established in Meissen rather than Dresden or Warsaw was a wise choice because there was abundant stock of kaolin clay, which is the key component of porcelain production.

69 Ibid,119
70 Gleeson. The Arcanum, 68
72 Ibid. 5, the logbook showed visitors details, which included: members of the royal family and the court, artists and administrators, clergymen and craftsmen, delivery men and diplomats, merchants and musicians, translators and scribes, doctors and students, wigmakers and woodcutters, hunters and gardeners, miners an actors.
74 D.A. Holdridge, The Fine Ceramics Industry in Germany during the period 1939-1945. 7. The region is abundant in natural resources and mineable raw materials. The land contains inexhaustible amounts of kaolin and different clay types and is rich in numerous metals and oxides used for glaze colorants. In 1708-09, the first Saxon white clay (kaolin) was found in Erzgebirge, see Finlay “Pilgrim Art,” p. 143. This finding was crucial for the success of the manufacture of white porcelain. New deposits were found later at Aue, near Schneeberg, in Saxony, and a mixture of the two clays with calcified alabaster and white silica was found
Augustus the Strong was the first European ruler who discovered the secret of porcelain. This was a great honor and authority for him. As such, he was extremely careful in protecting this trade secret. All these organizations and procedures ensured that Augustus the Strong had kept his porcelain recipe as secret as possible so that his Meissen porcelain manufacture could monopolized the domestic porcelain manufacturing and consumer market in Europe, which in turn contributed to the economy profit and political reputation of Saxony state.

4.2 Imperial clock workshop

4.2.1. Motivation

The imperial clock workshop was initially set up by emperor Kangxi in 1689, first named as Zimingzhongchu under the inner court royal household department. In the late Kangxi reign, the imperial clock workshop crafted quite mature pieces, that already went beyond the European horological production levels. In the forty-seventh year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1708), the governor of Jiangxi province, Lang Tingji (1663-1715) included a mechanical watch when he paid tribute annually to Kangxi (he didn't specify the origin of the watch in his memorial to the emperor and only named it as western daily clock). Kangxi emperor commented in red brush: ‘Recently, the works made by imperial palace workshop are much better than western clocks and watches. There is no need to pay tribute in the future’ (Fig.7).

It indeed promoted the revolution of chronograph since Kangxi reign, as mentioned above, Emperor Kangxi had established the great chiming clock in Jiaotaidian, the Hall of Union (Fig.8) for promoting new chronometry to combine with the new calendar. It made mechanical clocks that eventually became the standard timepieces in the Forbidden City. Thus, a large number of clocks needed maintenance and repair. As recorded by Shen Chu, the Minister of Defense in Qianlong period:

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particularly successful, see Raffo Pietro, “The Development of European Porcelain” 84, and Queiroz, and Agathopoulos, “The Discovery of European Porcelain Technology.”

75 One of the three palaces in the inner court of the forbidden city, located in between the Palace of Heavenly Purity and the Palace of Earthly Tranquility. Its name symbolized the intersection of heaven and earth. During the Qing dynasty, it was the place to store the Imperial ceremonial tools, such as the 25 Imperial Seals, timing devices and so on. It was also the place for emperors to prepare before the national rituals.
There is a huge clock in the Hall of Union. This has become the time standards in the palace. There are three halls with one water clock in the east hall, which has been abandoned for long. There is a tall clock in the west hall. Keys are used to adjust the time accuracy every month, resulting in no compromise in accuracy over decades. The clock makes big sounds that can reach Qianqing Gate.

交泰殿大钟，宫中咸以为准。殿三问。东间设刻漏一座，几满须日运水贮角斗，今久不用。西问钟一座，高大如之摄梯而上，启钥上弦，一月后再启之，积数十年无少差号声远，直达乾清门外。文襄每闻午正钟，必呼同值曰：“表可上弦矣”。

This clearly indicated that clocks had already become the standard timing pieces in the Palace in Qianlong’s period and that the copper clepsydra from previous dynasty had finally been replaced. For Emperor Qianlong, clock is a royal inheritance as well as daily necessities. To satisfy the palace's demand as well as to advanced mechanical technology, Emperor Qianlong continued the traditions.

The personal interest in art and handicraft was another reason he became a patron not only for clockmaking, but for the whole imperial household department. But his focus seems to have changed slightly from that of his predecessors. He did not pay as much attention to the scientific nature of clocks as his father did; instead he gradually turned towards the ingenious entertainment function these clocks provided. The use of western horological instruments basically became a kind of royal style as the adornment of the environment. This may be confirmed in emperor Qianlong's poem "Ode to the chiming clock" (Fig.9). The first four lines showed more interest in the bells and whistles of western clocks than in the precise timing the instrument provided. In his poem, Emperor Qianlong made a special remark: clocks that played western music on time were more unique. His curiosity about western clocks and watches was evident on the page. For him, the huge royal collection with high quality was an indicator heyday of his realm. He had been continuously trying to reinvent himself as the top emperor in the history. As such, he

76 沈初, 西清笔记, 2.
needed to display his political power, military power and intellectual strength to the public while collecting all kinds of precious items was apparently one way for him to display his ambition.

4.2.2. Organization and procedures

To satisfy the motivations in collecting and transforming clocks to his personal tastes, the Office of Clock Manufacture, Zuozhongchu, had been set up under the Office of Manufacture, Zaobanchu, of the Imperial Household Department, whose predecessor was Zimingzhongchu, Office of Self-Sounding Bells. By the time of Qianlong, the clock manufacture had become a special sector for manipulating clocks for the emperor, reaching its peak. There were more than one hundred craftsmen there, including Booi slaves (The head of Imperial household department, who served as the connection between the emperor and the craftsmen), missionaries (who had been downgraded to senior craftsmen), and craftsmen from eight banners.

The most important task of craftsmen in Zuozhongchu was to satisfy the needs of the Qing court in terms of clocks and mechanical instruments following the wishes of the emperor. The entire transformation procedure was recorded as follows: the transformation was initiated either by the wishes and requests of emperor Qianlong or by the request from ministers based on current clock models. Then craftsmen designed the blueprint of clocks based on these requests. With the approval of the blueprints, craftsmen started the manufacture. The concerns and interferences on the clock manufacture from Qianlong Emperor were endless and multi-faceted, so that he would not even ignore any specific details in the crafting. All details must be revised and approved by him, ranging from the appearance to the materials. Because of this intense interference and control from the emperor, the manufacture of one clock could easily take years. From this, it is apparent that the manufacture of clocks was merely for satisfying the personal interests of the court rather than for output in large quantities.

Furthermore, the manufacture of clocks by Zuozhongchu was not isolated with other workshops in the court. The entire manufacturing process required collaboration with multiple workshops and even craftsmen of other ethnicities. For instance, the large wooden building clock was the representative style of Qianlong's imperial clock, to achieve the best artistic effect, the manufacture of the exterior of clocks often required inputs from
other craftsmen. A clock may integrate multiple decorations, such as metal engraving, wooden engraving, enamel, cutting and mounting of jades. Each step, like molding, engraving, mounting, painting, required collaboration from multiple top craftsmen to ultimately produce individual clocks of great variation.

4.3 Discussion

From the above explanation, it is obvious that Augustus the Strong and Qianlong Emperor held dramatically different attitudes towards the transformation of foreign commodities even though the motivations for transformation both originated from their fascination for these artifacts. On the one hand, the obsessive attraction to porcelain of Augustus the Strong motivated him to explore the manufacturing secrets of porcelain. Valuing commercial trade amongst European countries and desiring to improve economic conditions by no longer importing porcelain, Augustus the Strong ultimately built a Meissen porcelain manufacturing plant that satisfied the supply of porcelain to royal families and the supply to other European cities for commercial trading, as a source of financial income. In addition, as the first European emperor who discovered the secret of porcelain production, this greatly helped Augustus the Strong improve his political authority among other European rulers, not to mention the relief of financial pressure and the improvement of the economy by way of the porcelain trade.

On the other hand, Qianlong regarded clocks as property of his royal household or personal collection rather than commodities for public trade., which was evident by the fact that Zuozhongchu, inside the imperial household department, only satisfied the needs of royal families. It was strictly forbidden for imperial handicrafts to be taken out of the palace and circulated in the commodity markets. In addition, there was another underlying political meaning in the manufacturing of clocks in the court. The Qianlong emperor saw himself as the only sovereign to unify all ethics of the empire and all the vassal states that, he could possess all the precious treasures in the world. When the tributes entered the inner court, they became part of the emperor's personal collection or imperial palace supplies. Qianlong emperor wanted every tributary area to be like his personal items, under his absolute control. In 1761, the court painter Giuseppe Castiglione's drawing of Wan guo lai chao tu (All Nations paying tribute to Court) reflected Qianlong’s ambition. The picture depicts the presence of vassals and foreign envoys from the Qianlong period, carrying various rare tributes at the beginning of the New Year, gathered outside the Taihe Gate to
see the Emperor Qianlong. The envoys to the tributes were from the Far Western countries (Holland, English, France), the surrounding countries (Japan, North Korea, Annan) and tributes (Tibets, etc), who carried a wide range of gifts such as ivory, steed, giant silk vases embedded in the elephant's back, and precious swords, and clock (Fig. 10). But the painting was actually a fictional scene at the behest of Emperor Qianlong in order to promote the national power of the Qing Dynasty. In reality, although the clock was originally gifted as a tribute by Jesuit missionaries, it was also the carrier of Christian civilization. After the Emperor Kangxi and Yongzheng two reigns had not been fully tamed, this leading to Qianlong’s strong desire in manufacturing clocks himself.

The process of making clocks reflects, to a certain extent, the Qianlong emperor's ruling strategy for this pluralistic empire: first of all, the clock is exclusively for the ruling group, so it must be manufactured in the inner court. The Manchu emperor was still at the top of the power system, and his Booi servants needed to accurately understand the emperor's meaning and lead the entire project. Missionaries are senior craftsmen who master the core mechanical technology. They serve the emperor with a skill, but they have little right to speak because they are foreigners. This is essentially like the Emperor Qianlong would use Han ministers to manage the Han people in the southern part of the empire, but rarely allowed these Han ministers to get involved in the core organization of the Manchu ruling group, the Inner Military Office. In addition, most of the craftsmen of the Inner Court Office were banner men, and a few craftsmen were ethnic minorities from the empire's frontiers, such as Tibet, Mongolia, or Huijiang. Emperor Qianlong's policies towards these minority areas were relatively modest. They were included in the royal family through marriage, or they were controlled by their religious leaders, so that they were also included in the Manchu ruling elite group. Therefore, these ethnic minorities are more qualified to work in the inner court than the Hans.
Chapter 5 Hybridization and localization

5.1 Localization: Meissen porcelain and the public display of ambition

5.1.1 From *Chinoiserie* to Baroque: red dragon tableware and blue onion pattern

The early Meissen porcelain made two important contributions to the history of European porcelain: First, Johann Friedrich Böttger made porcelain known as white gold in Europe for the first time in 1708, which led to the Meissen porcelain production. Second, after arriving at the Meissen porcelain factory in 1720, Johann Gregorius Harold was the first to use overglaze technology in the process of European porcelain production by painting the color and pattern after the bodies had first been glazed. Painting Chinese figures on early Meissen porcelain was part of its pursuit of Chinoiserie-style in the early 1720s. This style flourished in the production of Meissen porcelain from 1720 to 1733. 77

In the early period, Meissen porcelain borrowed the style of *Chinoiserie* ornament that was popular in Europe at that time. According to the archival record, from 1720, under the initiative of Johann Gregorius Harold, Meissen porcelain painters began to imitate *Chinoiserie* ornament painting, producing wares with distinctive oriental characteristics.

Harold’s advocacy of *Chinoiserie* ornament on Meissen porcelain was inseparable from Augustus the Strong’s patronage of the porcelain factory. The vast collection of East Asian porcelain in the *Japanisches Palais* provided the design blueprint for Augustus the Strong for his own porcelain products. Starting from the 1720s, workers and designers of the Meissen porcelain manufactory were required to start thinking about how to add the European ornament pattern on Chinese hard-paste porcelain, resulting in the extensive production of sumptuous and decorative tableware to satisfy the needs of the Dresden court.

One example was the appropriation and reproduction of the Chinese porcelain dragon pattern by Augustus the Strong on his own Meissen products. Cora Würmell claimed that Augustus the Strong noticed the relationship between the dragon design and the Chinese emperor. One inventory entry conveyed this awareness clearly: “79. 2 very

77 Maureen “Meissen Porcelain for Sophie Dorothea of Prussia and the exchange of visit between Kings of Poland and Prusian in 1728”, 154.
fine round slop bowls, on the outside of which the Chinese Emperor’s dragon crest and symbols are painted in green on a yellow ground, 3 in. deep and 6 in. in diam”. One of these bowls has a yellow ground with green-enamel. There were double circles around a Kangxi six-character mark. Even though partly damaged, it has survived (Fig.11). A similar pattern was found in the Meissen red dragon and phoenix tableware (Fig.12), which was an example of imitating and appropriating Chinese style into Meissen porcelain. It was not an easy process to imitate the Chinese dragon and phoenix in Meissen porcelain and cost workers and designers in the Meissen porcelain plant a great deal of effort. Eventually in the 1720s, Meissen porcelain started to manufacture colored porcelain with Chinese images, which excited Augustus the Strong. His fascination for the Chinese style of Meissen porcelain partly reflected his admiration and yearn for the imperial power system of China in which the emperor had ultimate supreme authority.

Even though the red dragon pattern in Meissen porcelain reflected the effort of imitating Chinese porcelain styles, it did not fully follow the Chinese dragon style. The red dragon pattern in Meissen porcelain also integrated aspects of western innovation, reflecting what we might call “the hybridization” of Chinese and western culture. As shown in Fig.12, the tail of the phoenix and the fin of the dragon both appear in zigzag shape. It also differs from the Chinese red dragon style in that there are only three claws in the paw of the red dragon in Meissen porcelain. However, there are usually five claws in red dragon paw in Chinese porcelain, indicating imperial power. These differences reflect the addition of decorative elements into the Chinese red dragon style.

Harold was involved in decorative painting of porcelain in 1726 at the Meissen manufactory. As the pioneer of porcelain decoration who imitated and transformed the Chinese dragon, Harold was probably the first to introduce the red dragon pattern. The red dragon was common in the imperial decoration of Chinese porcelain, showing nobility and glory. The monochrome of the red dragon pattern was popular among European courts. Between 1728 and 1730, Augustus the Strong used tableware with the red dragon

78 Würmell, A Microcosm of early globalization, 67.
79 Pietsch, “From the ‘Yellow Lion’ to the ‘Blue Band’ Famous Eighteenth Century Dinner Services” in Triumph of the Blue Swords, 96, 276. Augustus was probably aware that the dragon was the symbolized the emperor of China, because when Chinese porcelain was delivered to the royal collection in 1722 the inventory of the Dutch Palace described the acquisitions as two ‘rinsing bowls clearly bearing the mark of the emperor of China, painted with dragons and figures.’
81 Weisberg, A Taste for Porcelain, 25.
82 Hayes, The Chinese Dragon, 29.
pattern as the banquet porcelain, which was why the red dragon pattern of Meissen was called the ‘red court dragon’ in Europe.

The blue onion pattern is another example of transformation and recreation. There are two major views on the origin of this pattern. One opinion holds that this pattern was an independent activity in the Meissen Porcelain factory. The second opinion suggests that the blue onion pattern in Meissen Porcelain imitated a blue-and-white porcelain plate with blue-and-white pattern from the Kangxi period of China, which was misinterpreted by European painters. They misread the fruit in the original plate as an onion, which was more common to Europeans. One of the most direct examples of this is the Kangxi blue-and-white porcelain in the Dresden museum (Fig.13). The painting of the Kangxi blue-and-white porcelain was much less delicate than that of the Meissen porcelain (Fig.14). The blue onion pattern is featured in three parts. On the plate edge, there are four sets of a peach shape with leaves and an onion shape with leaves. The peach shapes are on the outer edge while the onion shapes are on the inner edge. There is a single flower between each unit. There are four diamond leaves with the peach shape, three of which are on the left and one on the right. There is a group of round leaves on the right of the onion shape. In the middle, there is a wavy circle connecting the edge and the center. In the center of the plate, there are daisies and bamboos, stretched out to form an S shape. Differences between the two patterns are rather obvious. The flower structure in the middle ring, for example, of the Kangxi blue-and-white porcelain was less clear and accurate than that in Meissen porcelain. The details of plants and flowers on the edge of the plate are depicted in much more detail in the Meissen porcelain with delicate representations of small branches and leaves, which resonate with the image in the center of the plate. These details were largely omitted in the Kangxi blue-and-white porcelain. The lack of details and accuracy indicated that the blue onion pattern may be inherited from Chinese porcelain with delicate improvements by Meissen painters. In my opinion, it is more likely that the blue onion pattern of Kangxi forms the source for the decorative pattern on Meissen Porcelain.

No matter which theory is true for the appearance of “blue onion” pattern in Meissen porcelain, it showed the hybridization of foreign culture with local culture. If it was adopted from Kangxi Period, then the designers and Augustus integrated local culture into the original blue pattern. The so-called ‘onions’ are not real onions, but are most likely variation of the peaches and pomegranates modeled on the original Chinese

pattern. Designers in Meissen imitated the “three-fruit variant” that was originally from the 1700s during Kangxi period. Because Europeans were not familiar with these fruits, they wrongly considered them as onions, which was a common vegetable in Europe, and continued to produce and vary the “blue onion” with simpler elements and patterns in the late 18th century for large quantity and easy manufacture.\(^{84}\) If it was an independent initiative of Meissen factory, it further showed that European painters integrated elements of their own culture, where onions were commonly found, into foreign porcelain artworks, creating a new design that turned them from foreign to local works.

However, the turning point for localization of Chinese porcelain was during the 1730 when Augustus the Strong planned to extend Holland Palace to Japanische Palais. This is also the time when Meissen porcelain copies triumphed over East Asian porcelain in international fairs. Since 1730, Meissen porcelain stepped into the period of producing large Baroque style porcelain sculpture from merely producing dining tableware, indicating its successful localization after only 20 years of foundation of Meissen manufactory.\(^{85}\) For instance, as shown in Fig.15, a porcelain vulture was ordered to be made by Augustus the Strong. This is to complement his collection of live animals at the Moritzburg and at the Zwinger, both of which nearby Dresden. These three animal collections were about to reveal the special cultural and artistic tastes, the power as reflected by the live animals, and the scientific knowledge of Augustus the Strong. This project is estimated to produce nearly 6000 animals and birds to be displayed in the extended Japanische Palais.\(^{86}\) As the first to produce porcelain sculptures in large size in the world, Augustus the Strong clearly demonstrated the localization of porcelain products, along with his political and economic power.

5.1.2 Displaying ambition in public space

Meissen porcelain was used by Augustus the Strong in the public domain: diplomatic events, luxury trade fairs, or to decorate his own palace, all with the purpose of demonstrating his ambitions for power and status.

In an international environment, Meissen porcelain functioned to represent national

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\(^{84}\) Sandon, *Meissen Porcelain*, 173.

\(^{85}\) Weber, “Copying and Competition: Meissen Porcelain and the Saxon Triumph over the Emperor of China.”, 338

\(^{86}\) Wittwer, *A Royal Menagerie: Meissen Porcelain Animals*
identity to kings in other European countries and to display and trade in Leipzig Fair. Meissen porcelain had become a prestige national industry that has become synonymous with Augustus the Strong. It has been used as diplomatic gifts, symbolizing national identity. As shown in Fig.16, the three pilgrim flasks with metal covers were presented to the king of Denmark in 1710. All the three porcelain flasks were brown color with golden bottom holders. However, each of them was engraved with different theme and ornament. For instance, the first flask is decorated with gilding while the second was not. The material itself was not precious. However, the rarity of the Meissen porcelain and the artistry they represent make them luxurious and valuable objects. These porcelain flasks were treasured by the king, and they are still preserved in Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen. This shows that Meissen porcelain had become a national brand that could be used as a diplomatic gift, indicating the attitudes of Augustus the Strong towards understanding the manufacturing mechanisms behind Chinese porcelain. In addition, Meissen porcelain started to be displayed in Leipzig fairs from 1710, indicating the shift towards commercial value and trade from merely satisfying the royal needs. As evidenced from Fig.17, Meissen porcelain had been displayed in large quantities in the Leipzig fairs with many elites and foreign traders crowding around for admiration and purchase. Even though the names of foreign merchants were not documented in detail, their presence in Leipzig fairs for trading luxury items, including Meissen porcelain, was clear.

Back to his domesticate environment, in 1717, after Augustus II obtained a small palace along the Elbe River in Dresden from the minister. Since then, the ambitious ruler made up his mind to completely transform the Palace into a Saxony porcelain garden (Fig.18 and Fig.19). He ordered his architect Pöppelmann to build a special palace for porcelain display, also known as the Japanische Palais (Fig.3) The blueprint for the Japanisches Palais, which now is kept in Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, frames the brilliant designs of Augustus the Strong.

According to Augustus II’s initial plan, the palace receiving its name from the dream of Augustus II in creating a porcelain palace and from its function of storing Japanese porcelain, was a porcelain palace whose interior was all decorated with Chinese and Meissen porcelain. He planned to decorate all walls with various kinds of porcelain, stacking the porcelain from the bottom to the top based on the shape and size. Large

87 Cassidy-Geiger, Fragile Diplomacy (note 8), 177.
88 Cassidy-Geiger, Luxury Markets and Marketing Luxuries, 444-445
porcelain, like pots and bottles, were put on the floor, while small porcelain, like plates and bowls, were placed at the top. This display method reflected his amazement over the porcelain rooms in Prussia. His visit to the porcelain display of Louis XIV somehow influenced his own style of porcelain display, but the peak era of Louis XIV in France had passed. By this time, Prussia was the major competitor for him. Augustus the Strong had to be competitive in every detail, including the display of porcelain. As such, he improved the display of porcelain, not only limited to the display patterns by size and shape but also the entire porcelain display principle. This made the porcelain display more systematic rather than tedious piling up as decoration.

The palace comprised porcelain from China and Meissen porcelain which started in 1710. He had a systematic conception of the collection of porcelain. Upon entrance, there was an open yard. All patios were supported by squat Asian portraits who wore jackboots. On the ground floor, the 18 rooms were planned to be equipped with Chinese porcelain, which were arranged according to colors and categories. The walls were decorated with splendid Chinese fabrics: silk with Chinese characters or dragon patterns, and gold wallpaper with exquisite pagodas. He hoped that the rooms he decorated would keep anyone who came to the area enthralled by the Chinese changing themes. Each hall was dominated by one color. For example, the hall with Chinese white as its theme is dominated by white porcelain of Dehua while the hall with Chinese green as its theme is dominated by porcelain painted with green pattern. These rooms were arranged next to each other, presenting the layout in the blueprint.

The bright first floor was left for products from his own royal Meissen porcelain manufactory. This plan was probably because the Meissen copies of Japanese Kakiemon porcelain received an unexpected success in Pairs fair around 1730. Augustus the Strong thus believed his native porcelain eventually surpassed foreign products and was able to highlight the royal taste. In the following years, Meissen porcelain manufactory continuously produced life-size animal sculptures. They were put in the corridor along with life-size believers, bishops and altars in the chapel. At the end of the corridor was a white porcelain throne the organ was also made of porcelain.

Augustus the Strong's design intention for the display of porcelain reflected his ambition in a visual way: Meissen's porcelain was as delicate as Far East porcelain; This

89 Ibid., 42.
90 Menzhausen, Early Meissen Porcelain in Dresden, 12.
can be evidenced in the Zenith painting of Elbe Gallery in the Japanisches Palais. In a painting proposed for the Japanese Palace by Zacharius Longuelune (1669-1748), although never executed, in the middle was the incarnations of Saxony and Japan, in front of the Minerva goddess arguing the merits of the various porcelain factories: the personification of taste, invention, imitation, painting and sculpture. In the painting, Minerva was selecting porcelain presented by Saxony and Asia and presenting the crown of victory to Saxony while artisans from China and Japan, looking jealous, shipped goods back to east Asia.\footnote{Wittwer, Studies of Hizen Porcelain, 43.} This painting reflected that European hard-paste ware from Meissen represented the new aesthetic, reflected the ceramic triumph of Saxon porcelain.

Except to decorate his palace with porcelain, Japanisches Palais was a place where important ceremonies were held, displaying the ruler's political and economic power as well as his wealth and taste. Augustus the Strong preferred to treat guests in the Japanisches Palais while showing them his porcelain collection. As early as 1728, the first full series of dining tableware for the banquet of the King had been produced, among which tableware decorated with red dragon and gold lion were the most prominent. These two patterns had become the models of the custom-made porcelain by courtiers and nobles. It was also the place where Augustus the Strong's son, later Augustus III (1696-1763), married the daughter of the late king Joseph I of Habsburg.\footnote{Salmon, He Modern Gazetteer, 3.} On the evening of October 10, 1719, Augustus the Strong celebrated the “Saturnusfest” by feasting the nobles of the royal court and setting off fireworks in the gardens of Japanisches Palais. As shown in Fig.20, inside the palace, nobles sat along the two dining tables in the huge and tall hall in the Japanisches Palais. There was another long dining table offered seating to the incoming nobles. On the tables, the glassy porcelains were displayed and used by nobles for dining. It can be imagined that these porcelains made clear and pleasant sounds, accompanied by the laughter of the nobles. Outside the palace, fireworks burst from the sky and lit up the nearby Elbe River at night (Fig.21). The light from fireworks illuminated the frames of the Japanisches Palais, showing its giant central palace and the huge surrounding gardens to impress viewers. These two figures reflected the economic power of Augustus the Strong. Namely, Augustus the Strong used them to show off his wealth and his unique tastes to the nobles: only the rich can acquire so many pieces of porcelain from China and used them to decorate the entire palace; only those with advanced ideas
would adopt foreign culture. These also indicated the political power of Augustus the Strong that the palace served as a gorgeous place to house a large number of nobles for entertainment and political purposes. That might be the true meaning of Augustus the Strong’s blueprint. What could be more satisfying to him than this moment? Through the collection of bronze engravings in Dresden, we seem to see, on the glorious night, Augustus the Strong’s face with a satisfied smile.

In the international circulation, the Meissen Porcelain reflected the advanced technology in Augustus’ realm, which was used to show off Augustus II’s economic power to court aristocrat of his period. The construction of Japanisches Palais enabled the aristocracy and royal families of the same period to appreciate at the vast collection of East Asian porcelain and to witness the art nouveau produced by Meissen at the same time. The king seemed to have identified China, Japan, and India with pomp and circumstance. His preference for East Asian goods was partly due to the foreign charm of luxuries such as silk, lacquer, and porcelain. But the deeper reason was that they also symbolically embodied the autocratic centralization represented by the eastern world. That aspect suggests Augustus the Strong’s desire for power.93 The blueprint of the Japanische Palais, especially its interior display, may be largely framed by the porcelain palaces in other powerful rules mentioned above.

5.2 Hybridization: Qianlong Imperial clocks, Ceremonial Paraphernalia and the Miniature Empire

5.2.1 Qianlong imperial style: visual hybrid of multi-ethnic elements

The production technology of the imperial clock workshop during the Qianlong period was well developed. In fact, the mechanical devices on clocks that mimic nature were so exaggerated that even Jean-Mathieu de Ventavon-, who was called into the palace for clock making from France, commented that “What the emperor wants is ingenious machines rather than clocks”.94 The extra mechanical parts that demonstrated the ingenious appearance sometimes would override the main function of clocks.

One representative work of the imperial clock is the large imperial-style floor clock with distinct Qing court characteristics. The imperial clock was mainly made of precious

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93 Kingery, “Ceramic materials science in society”, 5.
94 Dehergne& Geng. Zai Hua yesu hui shi liezhuan ji shumu bian [Fa Han fanyi], 963.
wood, like Padauk wood, Koryo wood, and rosewood. The modeling was mainly based on architectural form and the interior of real palace. These large floor clocks usually decorated in the palace, serving as an ornament. For example, the one named as Zimingzhong, the great clock in The Hall of Union, which was built by the royal clock workshop during the Qianlong reign (Fig. 8). Its height was over 5 meters, separated into three levels. It was shaped like a traditional palace in Qing dynasty. The dial was on the second level, about one meter in diameter, which was similar to a modern clock. Besides, the clock was carved with gold as decoration.

As mentioned above, by the middle and late period of Qianlong, the Qing Dynasty had become a multi-ethnic empire. The hybridization of integrated multiple cultures and religious was another character of imperial clocks. Fig. 22 is one such example that integrates local Chinese culture, the Tibetan Buddhism culture and British culture. On top of this pavilion style clock that is made of gold-plated brass is a small clock made in Britain. Other parts of the clock represent Chinese and Buddhist culture. The base is a Sumeru throne, which is the pedestal of Buddha. The middle part contains a prayer wheel and offerings for Buddha. Since Emperor Qianlong was a Buddhist, the Buddhist elements in the clock represent the ethnic group of Manchus and even Tibetan. The British clock on the top represents the European culture. These elements together exactly reflect the multi-cultural integration in clocks.

Among the clocks and watches renovated during the Qianlong period, the most famous is a copper-plated writing figure clock (Fig. 23). Timothy Williamson was a clockmaker active from 1769 to 1788, he made pieces for the Emperor of China, including musical automata and musical clocks with automata. In the thirty-fifth year of the reign of emperor Qianlong (1770), he presented Qianlong with an automaton which could write the eight Chinese character automatically. a Chinese in European dress sits at a table, dips a brush-pen in ink and writes the Chinese characters Ba fang xiang hua, jiu tu lai wang 八方向化，九土来王 (lit. ‘From all directions they come to be converted, and all lands pay tribute to the ruler’). The words reflected the ambition of Emperor Qianlong in conquering extended regions and the ideology of Celestial Empire that all others shall pay obeisance and send gifts to show their respect and obedience. The figure's head swings as it writes. When the automaton has finished writing, the paper can then be removed from its holder. 95

95 Baillie, G.H. Clocks and Watches. 344
The clock is a copper-plated four-level pavilion with the writer on the bottom floor. The top of the circular pavilion, two people holding a cylinder in the dance, when start the mechanical device, two people spun away from the distance and the cylinder unfolded to reveal the banner, with four Chinese characters wan shou wu jiang 万寿无疆 (four characters expressing the meaning: longevity) on it. The second layer is the dial of the clock, the third layer has a bell ringer, strike the bell bowl every 3 6 9 12 o’clock and play music. The fiftieth year of Qianlong(1750), Jean-Mathieu de Ventavon modified the clock according to Qianlong's order, so that the figure could write in three languages: Han, Manchu and Mongolian.\(^{96}\) These were the three official languages during Qing dynasty and together with the European-dressed figures, Emperor Qianlong indicated his sovereign power to his domestic and arrogant superiority to European countries.

### 5.2.2 Ceremonial Paraphernalia and miniature empire

Clocks were privilege item for the conqueror elites. Most of the clocks produced from imperial workshop, were used in the inner court, imperial gardens and royal villa. The places above are the private domain of the Manchu royal family and the Eight Banner patrician families, excluding the Han, which was the real power center of the Qing empire. For Qing emperors, performing large-scale ceremonies in public domain served as political propaganda to the multi-ethnic populace.\(^ {97}\) During the Qianlong period, there were five main ethnic groups in the empire: Manchurian, Mongolian, Mandarin, Tibetan and hui. The Qianlong Emperor, facing the conquered peoples, Han and non-Han, would perform corresponding cultural rituals to each group.

Facing the Han Chinese, the most numerous ethnic in the empire realm, in 1759, Emperor Qianlong appointed a commission to formulate the regulations for ceremonial items for the dynasty. The resulting work, *Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Qing Dynasty* 皇朝礼器图示 was published in 1766.\(^ {98}\) Included in this work were an imperial-style clock. (Fig. 23). The clock was announced as an official timepiece in the Forbidden City, representing the time standard of other clocks in the palace ever since its establishment. This is a delicate ruling over Han group because

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\(^{96}\) Fang, H. Zhongxi jiaotong shi. 761


\(^{98}\) 允禄, 皇朝礼器图示, 25.
the tradition of Ceremonial Paraphernalia was originated from Confucianism. Practicing this tradition helped Qing emperors of Man banner legalizing its ruling in China. Furthermore, the towing clock in the illustration was placed in the Hall of Union. It was located in the center of inner court and between the Emperor and Queen’s palace (Fig.25), representing the unify of heaven and earth and thus the clock inside represent the time standard in the universe. Traditionally, Han-Chinese believed in the ideology of the interaction between man and heaven and as mentioned on chapter 2, Chinese emperors were authorized with the privilege to organize the universal and to control time. Emperor Qianlong hoped to convince and control Han-Chinese through imitating their predecessors’ behaviors by placing a clock in the Hall of Union.

The installation of clocks on saddles further implied the importance of clocks as a timing instrument in ritual ceremonies. Manchuria is a nation based on horseback, Imperial hunting was an annual ceremony, of which the daily schedules, accompany personnel, hunting tools, and the arrangements of the imperial palaces for short stays adhered to strict regulations. Saddles were thus an important object with decorations of classical Qing treasures. For example, Qianlong Emperor's green shark skin saddle has clocks embedded in it (Fig.26). The front and rear saddle bridge decks are decorated with green shark skin inlaid with copper nail flowers, with red and yellow stone inlaid around, and the saddle bridge edges are decorated with copper enamel inlaid with golden flower patterns. A white enamel watch with a diameter of 9cm is inlaid in the middle, and colored stone is inlaid around the edge of the watch, making it exquisite. The saddle was covered with felt. The stirrup is plated with copper and the top is carved with dragon and connected with belt. Saddle with bridle to lift horse chest, inlaid with copper and gold-plated ornaments, inlaid with enamel, stone, etc. The clocks on saddles served their function of time keeping, which guided the hunting schedule for Emperor Qianlong. It has been recorded that Emperor Qianlong often finished his hunting by noon when clock on his saddle struck twelve.99 It was not only an ethnic cultural tradition for Manchus but also a grand military drill at the Inner Asian border of the empire. The ceremony serves the political purpose of enhancing kinship with Mongolians, who was partly included into the ruler elites, the military purposes of training the Banner troops, threatening as well as showing a well-principled empire to other ethnic monitories in the inner Asian border(Fig.27).100 Considering the

99 陆耀,《切问斋集》, 1799
100 Dunnell, Ruth W., Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Foret, and James A. Millward. New Qing Imperial History:
important roles of this hunting ritual, it is reasonable that accurate timing pieces were needed to ensure that the entire ritual can be held in great order. In other words, an integral and organized empire ritual helps Qing and its emperors in shaping the political authority to its inner Asian border minorities and tributes.

Different from Augustus the Strong, there were no European-style palaces that were intentionally built for storing and displaying clocks and watches in the Qing dynasty. Instead, all the watches and clocks were stored and displayed in already existing palaces in the inner court of the Forbidden City, and the Summer Palace in Chengde. According to an incomplete statistic for the year 1756 included in the Household Archive, the number of clocks and watches displayed at that time reached 272 pieces, distributed around the Forbidden City, Yongan Temple in Beihai, Jing Mountain, Yonghe Lamasery, Summer Palace, Yuanmingyuan, etc:

There were 42 pieces in the Forbidden City, nine pieces in Xiyuan Jiantai (the entertainment place of emperors and concubines), three pieces in Yongan Temple in Beihai, one in Jingshan, three in Yonghe Lamasery, 90 in Yuanmingyuan, 49 in Changchunyuan (one garden in Yuanmingyuan), 21 in Qingyiyuan (an entertainment garden located to the west of Yuanmingyuan), 6 in Jingmingyuan (an entertainment garden on Yuquan Hills in Beijing), 27 in Jingyiyuan (a garden on the Fragrant Hills), 3 in temporary imperial palace, and 18 in Summer Palace.

紫禁城内各宫殿四十二件、西苑碱台等处九件、北海永安寺内三件、景山一件、雍和宫内三件、圆明园内各处九十件、长春园内各处四十九件、清漪园内各处二十一件、静明园内各处六件、静宜园内各处二十七件、盘山行宫内三件、热河避暑山庄内各处十八件.

It can be seen that the clocks and watches were widely distributed in currently existing palaces. Unlike Han-Chinese emperors, Manchu emperors kept their ethnic tradition of seasonal migration. They migrated between different temporary imperial palaces and royal gardens near the capital. Manchu emperors even brought the core

The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde, 66-86

101 中国第一历史档案馆,《清宫内务府造办处档案总汇》第22册,315-318.
102 Rawski described the tradition that as other ethnic minority ruler, Manchus emperors established multi-capital and imperial villa outside Beijing. in chapter 1 the court society, “The Last Emperors”.18-23
departments of the court into these temporal imperial palaces and royal gardens to make it convenient for them to deal with political issues. The spaces mentioned in the above text, were either inner court of imperial palaces or royal gardens, which are the core of the royal family of Manchu. As such, temporal imperial palaces and royal gardens are also the core imperial palaces of Manchu emperors. The appearance and display of clocks in these places further demonstrate that clocks had become a strict royal product.

The display of small pocket watches was even more private, generally concentrated into a special watch box made of carved lacquer or Padauk wood. Due to the large number of small watches stored in the palace, some watch boxes contained dozens of small watches. For example, according to the woodwork department records in the 47th year of Qianlong (1782), the Qianlong emperor ordered the clock department to select 100 watches. For this reason, a pair of carved dragons Padauk watch boxes was specially made, known as the Baishijian 盧什件 miniature curio cabinet (literally: a treasure box with a hundred pieces of precious objects). And judging from the archives, there were more than one such watch box.103 One cabinet had 3 layers and 6 drawers. A total of 1235 pieces of antiques were successively packed into this cabinet, among which 37 were clocks and watches (Fig. 28).104

To sum up, whether judging from the appearance, function and display sites or the owner's social status and ethnical identity, it can be explained that the Qianlong imperial clock and watch were privileged objects limited to the ethnic minorities conquerors.

5.3 Discussion

For Qianlong, the material and visual manipulation of appearance and the hybridization of multi-ethical elements suggested that clocks should be seen as a miniature empire rather than as functional timepieces. Clocks, which Qianlong Emperor inherited from his respectful grandfather, was a privileged daily object as well as a ceremonial item during imperial ritual. They were royal property not for commercial use. The establishment of a clock in the Hall of Union to set a unified time standard to coordinate court activities, should, according to the ideology from the pre-Ming Dynasty, be established by Han Chinese. In their view, without the without the ideologically-shaped view of the importance

103 清内务府 活计档第45册, 498.
104 清内务府 活计档第47册, 149-180.
of time-keeping, an orderly and stable system of rule would be difficult to achieve. Specifically, important rituals were first allocated to specific days by the Imperial Astronomical Institute. During the rituals, hours were recorded and reported. Due to the deep-rooted ideology the shaped the Sino-barbarians dichotomy in the Chinese realm, the contradiction between Confucian literati and minority rulers continued for about 150 years from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty to the Qianlong reign, and the literary inquisition was the Manchu emperor's main measure to crack down the political power of the Han literati and to suppress public voice which doubting his orthodoxy. Simply under the Qianlong reign, there were 68 cases and such cruel behavior runs counter to the virtue of the emperor in the minds of the Han people. In order to downplay his minority identity, the Emperor Qianlong used Confucianism to formulate ceremonies rules and publish them, in conjunction with traditional Han rituals held in public. This series of measures could be regarded as a political performance, the purpose was to make Han people thoroughly surrender on an ideological level. However, the Imperial Hunt example shows the other side of Qianlong rather than a Confucianism virtuous emperor. When facing other non-Han ethnic people that inhabited the region around the Inner Asian border, Qianlong identified himself as Khan of Khan. The Manchu and other ethnic groups in Inner Asia, such as Mongolia, have a tradition of nomadic hunting, and therefore both advocate military rule. However, royal hunting is not limited to military deterrence. A strict and orderly army represents a higher level of civilization, and the timekeeping function of clocks can help the Emperor Qianlong achieve this purpose.

For Augustus II, porcelain represented as both political aspiration and financial gains. Meissen porcelain created variations in red dragon and chrysanthemum originate from Chinese porcelain by focusing more on imitation of oriental color and style and the modification of the shape of utensils, rather than understanding cultural metaphors behind graphics. This resulted in red dragon with three claws, “blue onion” pattern, and metal holders of European styles. On the other hand, clocks made by Zaozhongchu in the Forbidden City under the order of Qianlong integrated multi-ethic styles into the mechanical clocks. The fascination of emperors on these foreign artworks greatly fostered a process from imitation to transformation and the functions of these hybrids gradually

105 Peng-Yoke, H. O. "The astronomical bureau in Ming China." 144
106 Wong, Kam C. "Black's Theory on the Behavior of Law Revisited IV: the Behavior of Qing Law" 328, 337
107 Rawski, The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions. 200
shifted from mere display to a showing off of power and wealth to ordinary daily necessities. Namely, Meissen porcelain was adapted to European living styles that the factory produced porcelain for alcohol drinking and afternoon tea. Clocks served as complementary timing device to ensure the accuracy of calendar system, which symbolized the sovereign authority of Chinese emperors.

In terms of display, one major difference is the location. The Forbidden City was divided as the inner court and the outer court, which was drastically different from the structure of the European palaces. European palaces integrate private space and workplace together, which explains why porcelain was displayed in public space. On the contrary, due to the separation of the public and the private space in the Forbidden City, clocks were often displayed in the inner court which is more private. Augustus II demanded his architects to design a special place, i.e. the Japanisches Palais in Dresden, where the entire blueprint was to create a site specifically for the storing and display his collection of porcelain. This is probably because Augustus II had a strong fascination for architecture and for displaying his collections based on categories. On the contrary, Qianlong preferred to store and display his clocks and watches in the currently existing inner court palaces or royal palace, such as the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, Yuanmingyuan, etc. The clocks and watches were mixed with other court decorations and integrated with the private life of the emperor, the empress, and his concubine. The huge collection of clocks in the inner court of Emperor Qianlong implies his political authority. Because of the absolute privilege of Manchu emperors, they were able to gather various kinds of precious and rare treasure worldwide, including clocks. Such treasure can only be kept in the inner court to entertain the superior royal family members. On the contrary, the Japanisches Palais and the Meissen manufactory imply that, as the Elector Saxony and King of Poland, Augustus the Strong possessed abundant financial resources, advanced commerce and therefore premium competency, which helped him strengthening his absolute monarchy. To demonstrate his financial and political power and to guarantee his throne, Augustus the Strong must display his collection in public.
Chapter 6 Conclusion: Domesticating objects into local political metaphor

Cultural exchange between Europe and Asia flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries and among the many involved countries, China and most of the countries in western Europe participated in this big socio-cultural movement. However, this kind of communication is mostly caused by the circulation of commodities, and seldom by direct communication between people from two cultural areas. Therefore, these artifacts are used as windows to understand the historical environment, social customs, religious beliefs, etc. of the place of origin of the objects. Exotic goods were rare and expensive, and were sought after by elites in both China and Europe at that time. They displayed their financial resources and taste and emphasized their social status by purchasing and collecting a large number of these foreign goods. Among the various luxurious commodities that circulated between these countries, Chinese porcelain and European mechanical clocks and watches were chosen as the focal point of this thesis; what they have in common is that they were not only collected by the supreme rulers of China and European countries in large quantities, but also further derived from the new land the royal sponsored manufactories that independently produced and transformed these foreign goods. The localized transformation of foreign goods generated a new visual art style in their respective regions. These transformed products are characterized by their cultural hybridization and appropriation.

Two representative cases were selected for comparative analysis based on the characteristic mentioned above: 1. Augustus II the Strong, the elector of Saxony and King of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, with his porcelain collection and the Meissen porcelain manufactory founded under his patronage. 2. Emperor Qianlong of Qing dynasty, China with his clock collection as well as the imperial clockmaking workshop during his reign. Following the route from encounter, acquisition to transformation and displayed. Coincidentally, the two monarchs and the ruled territory, as well as the exotic artifact they collected and transformed, are all fit in a specific pattern: firstly, they belong to three different countries (or regions). Secondly, geographically, the monarchs and the ruled region are adjacent and belong to the same cultural region, namely, there must be some universal values between their own culture and the culture of the ruled region. However, from a microscopic point of view, there are conflicts in details between the two nationalities.
Neighboring geographical locations provide convenient conditions for frequent exchanges between the two societies. Physical contacts help each other to construct a relatively complete, detailed and true image of the other for various aspects of each other's society, such as political system, religious beliefs, ethnic customs, etc. However, the disadvantage is that a complete image will deepen the understanding of the contradictions and differences between the two cultures. It is easy to separate our nation from other nations. Foreign conquerors can also realize that any contradiction will become a potential safety hazard to shake the regime. Then he had this kind of demand: to selectively use the culture of the conquered area, and seize every opportunity to cater to the culture of the other nation and build a public image favorable to himself. Doing so can blur the differences between the two cultures and make oneself accepted as self. On the one hand, it can effectively appease some stubborn opposition forces in the political system, and it can also publicize the legitimacy and authority of the supreme ruler to the conquered people. Specifically, for Augustus II, he comes from Saxony and is adjacent to Poland, where he was later crowned king. Therefore, he clearly knows the contradiction between the two regions: religion and monarchy. Therefore, he converted to Catholicism and bribed the nobles in Poland's system of choosing the king with a large amount of money, and finally obtained the Polish throne legally. Emperor Qianlong is a Manchu whose ancestors came from the northeast frontier of China and established a new dynasty by conquering the Han nationality by force. After the dynasty became stable, Emperor Qianlong showed the conquered people the image of a Confucian holy king recognized by each other by practicing some Chinese emperor's etiquette norms.

Political propaganda through artistic sponsorship was the way Augustus II and Emperor Qianlong jointly chose. This was a wise choice because artificial products can express ambition more subtly through visual symbols than words. However, why did they all choose foreign goods from further afield? Peter Buerk pointed out when talking about culture and artifacts. He indicated that ideas, information, artefacts and practices are not simply adopted but on the contrary, they are adapted to their new cultural environment. “They are first decontextualized and then recontextualized, domesticated or ‘localized’. In a word, they are ‘translated’. First, they will be de-contextualized, then re-contextualized, naturalized and localized. Although unprecedented cultural exchanges have been established between Europe and China in the 18th century, such exchanges are

108 Burke, "Translating knowledge, translating cultures." In Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit, 69
mostly completed by the circulation of goods and a small amount of written records, and are completed by businessmen, missionaries or nobles shuttling between Europe and Asia. Under such a background, the images of the two societies towards each other are symbolic, fragmentary and easily transformed. Porcelain was originally brought into the European continent by VOC merchant ships and is a luxury commodity. Anthropologists identified that luxury goods have a high degree of linkage of their consumption to body, person, and personality”. In the early 17th and 18th centuries, European royal families defined their rich financial resources by collecting and displaying imported East Asian porcelain. By Louis XIV's time, he had a large collection of East Asian porcelain and other works of art, not only for the purpose of showing off his wealth, but also because he had a preliminary understanding of the social situation in China at that time in his writings. Out of admiration for the supreme power of the Chinese emperor, he displayed porcelain and other East Asian arts in open palaces. For Augustus II, porcelain had double characteristics: wealth and absolute kingship. The former can be used to curry favor with Polish aristocrats, while the latter is his political pursuit-to establish absolute kingship in Saxony and Poland and to continue through hereditary transmission. Augustus II's collection and manufacture of porcelain is not only to increase the actual fiscal revenue of the country, people in Saxony and Poland demonstrate their sufficient ruling ability, but also to imitate Louis XIV, the political model.

However, clocks and watches that entered the court in the early Qing Dynasty were not a commodity, but a tribute that missionaries dedicated to the emperor. At this time, the clock and the Christian culture behind it and the multi-ethnic culture behind the Qing emperor were separated from the upper and lower levels of power from the beginning. They learned about the European culture of the same period not only through symbolic materials-clocks and watches, but also through exotic people in their country of origin-missionaries. Clocks have dual characteristics: precise timing function and Christian culture. The former was tamed ideologically by Manchu rulers by revising the calendar and setting a time. However, the latter constantly conflicts with the ideology of Han nationality and stirs up conflicts between Manchu rulers and ruled nationalities. Therefore, starting with Emperor Qianlong, clocks and watches were removed from their original Christian meaning and appeared in the palace as a functional and decorative royal article.

Missionaries were demoted to watchmakers, so that both exotic people and exotic articles could be freely controlled by the emperor. When Emperor Qianlong finished the public ceremony, facing the highly civilized Han people, he set up a palace-style tower clock with great fanfare and played a refined Chinese emperor. On the other hand, he hid clocks and watches in the saddle in the face of the equally martial border ethnic minorities, which actually showed a highly ordered army to frighten the border ethnic minorities and tribes.

In conclusion, the two rulers' acceptance, collection and transformation of objects from foreign countries all reflect Burke's so-called "cultural translation". When porcelain or clocks were finally domesticated into royal life, they could be freely controlled and become a tool for them to publicize their political authority.
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Figure 13(left) Kangxi blue-and-white plate with chrysanthemum pattern, 1700s, Dresden, H. 4.0 cm, D. 14.0 cm, D. foot 6.1 cm, Porzellan sammlung, SKD, online collection, inv. no. PO7247.
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Figure.27 Guiseppe Castiglione. Portrait of the Emperor Troating for Deer. 1741. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk; 267.5 x 319 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing
Figure 28 Carved red sandalwood dragon square box Bai baishi jian (44 pieces of treasures; Length 30.5 cm, Width 30.3 cm, Height 16.5 cm), now in the collection of the Palace museum, Beijing. Inv. no.
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Figure 7 荆蒲 1984-1985, p. 1118

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Figure 16 Cassidy-Geiger, 2015, Abb. 1.

Figure 17 Cassidy-Geiger, 2015, Abb. 2.
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