Augustus II the Strong's Porcelain Collection at the Japanisches Palais zu Dresden: A Visual Demonstration of Power and Splendor

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September 2018

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Arts

Abstract

In this thesis, I examine Augustus II the Strong's porcelain collection in the Japanisches Palais, an 18th-century Dresden palace that housed porcelains collected from China and Japan together with works made in his own Meissen manufactory. I argue that the ruler intended to create a social and ceremonial space in the chinoiserie style palace, where he used a systematic arrangement of the porcelains to demonstrate his kingly power as the new ruler of Saxony and Poland. I claim that such arrangement, through which porcelains were organized according to their colors and styles, provided Augustus II's guests with a designated ceremonial experience that played a significant role in the demonstration of the King's political and financial prowess. By applying Gérard de Lairesse's color theory and Samuel Wittwer's theory of "the phenomenon of sheen" to my analysis of the arrangement, I examine the ceremonial functions of such experience. In doing so, I explore the three unique features of porcelain's materiality—two-layeredness, translucency and sheen. To conclude, I argue that the secrecy of the technology of porcelain's production was the key factor that enabled Augustus II's demonstration of power.

À travers cette thèse, j'examine la collection de porcelaines d'Auguste II « le Fort » au Palais Japonais, un palais à Dresde du 18ème siècle qui abritait des porcelaines provenant de Chine, du Japon et de sa propre manufacture à Meissen. J'argumente que le souverain avait l'intention de créer un espace social et cérémonial dans le palais de style « chinoiserie », où il utilisa un arrangement systématique des porcelaines afin de démontrer son pouvoir royal en tant que nouveau souverain de Saxe et de Pologne. Je soutiens qu'un tel arrangement—arrangement à travers lequel les porcelaines étaient organisées selon leurs couleurs et leurs styles— offrait aux

invités d'Auguste II une expérience cérémoniale conçue dans le but de démontrer les prouesses politiques et financières du roi. En appliquant la théorie des couleurs de Gérard de Lairesse et la théorie de Samuel Wittwer sur le «phénomène de la brillance» à mon analyse, j'analyse cette hypothese. De ce fait, j'explore les trois caractéristiques uniques de la matérialité de la porcelaine—la double épaisseur, la translucidité et la brillance. En conclusion, je soutiens que le secret de la technologie de la production de la porcelaine était le facteur clé qui a permis la démonstration du pouvoir d'Auguste II.

Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere and infinite gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Angela Vanhaelen for her continuous support throughout my study at McGill University. I thank her for her knowledge, motivation, encouragement and patience. Her guidance helped me not only in the preparation of my thesis but also in learning the professionalism and enthusiasm towards research. I could not have imagined having a better supervisor and mentor. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Chriscinda Henry for her support of my research and for the inspiration of my thesis topic. Thirdly, I would like to thank Dr. Jeehee Hong, Prof. Charmaine Nelson, who gave me insightful comments on my research methodologies as well as their recognition of my research. Besides, I would also like to thank the Department of Art History and Communication Studies for providing me with the best program I could have ever asked for. Last but not least, I would like to express my greatest gratitude and love to my parents for their love and support, most importantly their trust in me. Without them I would not have accomplished my work.

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"Don't you realize that orange trees are just like porcelain, that anyone smitten with either will never be satisfied and will always want more?"

-Augustus II the Strong[1]

I. Introduction

Since the 14th century, rulers across Europe, mesmerized by the exquisite and mysterious beauty of translucent artifacts from East Asia, sought to acquire porcelain wares. An especially important collection was amassed by the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus I, better known as Augustus II the Strong. In 1709, the King's court alchemist Johann Friedrich Böttger discovered the secret of porcelain production, which had been closely guarded by the Chinese. By 1727, the Elector had collected over 20,000 pieces of Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Augustus II exhibited this collection in the unique and extravagant Japanisches Palais (originally called the Holländisches Palais).[2] The palace also included works of porcelains produced in the ruler's own manufactory—Meissen Manufactory—where potters and painters reproduced Chinese and Japanese porcelain wares based on its material quality and East Asian-themed patterns.

The two-floor palace specifically built to display the King's impressive porcelain collection was first designed in 1715 and then expanded in 1729. It contained 35 rooms, which

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1. Frederick Augustus I to Count Flemming, May 26, 1726, in *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, ed. Friedrich Reichel (Dresden: Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1998), 127.

2. Ulrich Pietsch, and Eva Ströber, "Introduction," in *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 9.

were organized mostly according to the style and color of the porcelains.[3] The technology of porcelain production provided the artifact's materiality with three unique features including two-layeredness, translucency and sheen. Therefore, my thesis argues that such organization, where porcelain's materiality played a significant role in creating and enhancing guests' ceremonial experience, systematically constructed a social and ceremonial space in the Japanisches Palais to showcase Augustus II's financial and political power. Taking its point of departure from this argument, my thesis focuses on the case study of room X, a space that displayed a collection of kraak porcelain. This type of blue and white Chinese export porcelain was produced in the Ming Dynasty under the rule of Emperor Wanli (1573 to1620) and exerted the most influence on the European porcelain production including that of Meissen.

To conduct the case study, I will first introduce the historical background of Augustus II's reign and the cultural significance of chinoiserie. I argue that the King needed to use the Japanisches Palais to demonstrate his political and financial power and legitimize himself as the new ruler of Saxony and Poland. Second, I will apply Alfred Gell's theory of technology of enchantment to the visual analytical comparisons between Chinese and Meissen porcelains. In doing so, I intend to demonstrate that it is because of the secrecy of the technology of producing East Asian porcelain that Augustus II's collection was able to reinforce his status as a ruler. Third, I will showcase different construction plans of the palace in order to analyze how room arrangements would display kingly power. To conclude, I will employ Gérard de Lairesse's color theory and Samuel Wittwer's theory of "the phenomenon of sheen" to my analysis of room

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3. Desiree Baur, "Die Ausstattung des Japanischen Palais ab 1727 – Konzeptionen für das Erdgeschoss und das Piano Nobile," in *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 200.

X and its significance in the palace's room arrangement. This explains my hypothesis of guests' ceremonial experience within such space and how such experience could have contributed to the demonstration of Augustus II's political and financial prowess.

II. The China in Japanisches Palais zu Dresden

A. History of the Palace

1. Decision to Build The Porcelain Palace

The historical background of Saxony and Augustus II's accession as the new ruler of Saxony and Poland are important for the understanding of his intentions in building the Japanisches Palais. Before the porcelain palace was built in Dresden, there were not really any buildings or sites specifically designed for collections of arts; at least, not in a systematic or representative fashion.[4] In 1578, the former ruler of Dresden, Christian I (1560-1591) had his designer Gabriel Kaltemarck initiate a draft for the construction of a chamber known as Kunstkammer. This chamber containing a few exhibition rooms was located on the third floor of the ruler's residence, and all the artworks were displayed randomly within the limited space. It is noteworthy that the collection was open to visitors. For instance, according to the "visit record (Besucherbuch)" for 1684, there were 88 visits in that year.[5] This tradition of making the collection accessible to the public continued in the later Japanisches Palais.

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4. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court culture in Dresden: from Renaissance to Baroque* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 195-196.

5. Ströber, "Chinesisches Porzellan in der Dresdner Kunstkammer," in *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 21.

As noted by Ströber, before the reign of Augustus II, there were no buildings in Dresden designated to serve the single function of displaying a collection.[6] The new ruler changed this tradition as soon as he started his reign by ordering the construction of a number of major building projects at the same time, the scale of which the city had never seen. These architectural projects included two renowned churches—the Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady) and the Katholische Hofkirsche (Dresden Cathedral)—as well as the famous palace Zwinger. They of course, included one of the most important baroque buildings in the region—the Japanisches Palais zu Dresden.[7] In his description of Augustus II's character, the Cabinet Minister, Count Flemming expressed how eager the King was to prove himself by carrying out these ambitious construction projects. However, he was not able to complete them due to this factor: "Besides the military as well as the secular gallantry, architecture is his greatest pleasure…The craving for having everyone's approval makes him change the plan all the time, so that he starts many projects, but cannot accomplish them."[8]

The building was first called the Holländisches Palais, in homage to the Netherlands for its "establishments of (the trade of) porcelain and lacquer ware."[9] In 1715, Augustus II appointed

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6. Ströber, "Chinesisches Porzellan," 21.

7. Stefan Hertzig, "Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann und das Japanische Palais in Dresden," in *Bücherwelten - Raumwelten Zirkulation von Wissen und Macht im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Elisabeth Tiller (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 274- 275.

8. Samuel Wittwer, *Die Galerie der Meissener Tiere: Die Menagerie Augusts des Starken für das Japanische Palais in Dresden* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag München, 2004), 33. "Nächst der Galanterie bereitet ihm die Baukunst, und zwar die militärische wie profane, am meisten Vergnügen…Die Sucht, den Beifall aller für sich zu haben, lässt ihn häufig den Plan ändern, sodass er vielerlei anfängt, aber nicht vollendet." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

9. Hertzig, "Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann," 275. "Einrichtung mit Porzellan und Lackwaren." Early research suggests that the palace was originally built for Augustus II's Cabinet Minister, Count Flemming and sold to the king in 1717. And the reason for having "Dutch" in the name was believed to refer that the building was rented to the Dutch envoy, Harsolde von Craneborg, for one year. However, new evidences support the explanation listed in the main text of the paper. For more information about the

Count Flemming to handle the project, as the King was occupied with the other on-going construction projects. In 1717, Augustus II immersed himself in the construction of the palace after he decided to use it for the wedding of his son, the Crown Prince Fredrich Augustus II to the Archduchess of Habsburg, Maria Josepha in 1719.[10] The ruler later expanded the original construction plan and changed its name to the Japanisches Palais zu Dresden around 1719.[11] Cassidy-Geiger points out that the new name indicates a shift of emphasis "from Holland to the Orient."[12] The baroque palace was first built in 1715 on the Altstadt bank of the Elbe and expanded between 1729 and 1733. After the King's death, his son, the new King of Poland Augustus III the Strong, reduced the scale of the project, and had it completed between 1738 and 1744. This was because the funding was needed for other more important projects. The Japanisches Palais was then substantially destroyed during the Seven Years' War (der Siebenjährige Krieg 1756-1763). Between 1782 and 1786, the building was reconstructed by the German architects, Christian Friedrich Exner and Gottlob August Hölzer on the Neustadt bank of the river. However, the Asian style palace suffered more damage towards the end of the World War II in 1945 and its final reconstruction was finished in 1987.[13]

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debate, please refer to Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanisches Palais Collections and Their Impact at Meissen," in *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar: 16, 17, 18, 19, June 1995* (London: Park Lane Hotel, 1995) for more information about the name of the Holländisches Palais, please refer to Elisabeth Schwarm, "Die Sammlung im Holländischen Palais," in *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 87-88.

10. Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanisches Palais," 15.
11. Schwarm, "Die Sammlung," 88.
12. Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanisches Palais," 16.
13. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen*. Stadt Dresden. (Dresden: C.C. Meinhold & Söhne, 1901), 594-600; Georg Dehio, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005), 119–120.

Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, the court architect of Augustus II, was in charge of the first two construction plans of the porcelain palace. It is certain that the King entrusted Pöppelmann with the important and complicated tasks, as he was also the chief executor of the ruler's other major projects including the Zwinger (1710-1728) and Schloss Pillnitz (Castle Pillnitz 1720-1724). The latter was believed to be inspired by the Chinese emperor's palace in Beijing.[14] The architect was known for his capacity of designing and carrying out projects that were deemed diverse and unusual.[15] Meike Beyer and Anja Schwitzgebel argue that the master embodies the "production horizons and spatial fantasies" of the baroque architecture. The books he left recording these projects were thought to "paradigmatically index an explicit baroque circulation of knowledge and power."[16] According to the inventories of his heritage, he not only had systematically studied books regarding European architecture and art but also researched East Asian traditions.[17] In addition, like Augustus II, he was very interested in having his personal collection of porcelains. According to the same documents, he had an extensive number of porcelain wares "decorated with blue, golden and red flowers."[18]

2. The Inspiration of Chinoiserie

Pietsch and Ströber argue that one of the main reasons why Augustus II emphasized the cultural and artistic aspects of the palace's construction was to follow the traditions of other

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14. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 11.

15. Meike Beyer and Anja Schwitzgebel, "Produktionshorizonte und Raumfantasien;" "Der Nachlass Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmanns," in *Bücherwelten - Raumwelten Zirkulation von Wissen und Macht im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Elisabeth Tiller (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 32.

16. Beyer and Schwitzgebel, "Der Nachlass Matthäus," 29. "…indizieren auf paradigmatische Weise eine explizit baroke Zirkulation von Wissen und Macht."

17. Ibid., 50-53.

18. Ibid., 38-39. "…mit blauen, goldenen oder roten Blumen verziert war."

European royal courts.[19] This intention was strengthened after the new Elector of Saxony finished his grand tour to countries such as Austria, France, Hungary, Italy, and Spain in 1689. On this tour, he visited Louis XIV's Versailles palaces and his Trianon de Porcelaine, which was built between 1670 and 1672 for the Sun King's mistress, Francoise Athenais, also known as Madame de Montespan. Augustus II was astonished by the French King's extravagance and the palaces' splendor and consequently introduced "the French style of court ceremonies and intense focus on arts" to the reconstruction of Dresden.[20] Bischoff notes that this particular tradition of porcelain rooms was developed in the Netherlands. It was mostly the female members of the House of Orange-Nassau who were known for showcasing their collected porcelains. Examples can be found in the chambers of Huis ten Bosch Palace, which was finished in 1647.[21]

Augustus II and Pöppelmann were not the only ones to pay homage to East Asian art and culture. In fact, the design of the Japanisches Palais to display the mysterious beauty of Chinese and Japanese art and culture follows from the 17th-century European fascination with Asia. This century was the first time in European history when the majority of ruling families took great interest in Asia, China in particular. European literature portraying the imagined East Asia in works such as Heinrich Anselm von Zigler and Kliphausen's *Die Asiatische Banise, oder Das blutige doch mutiges Pegu (The Asian Banise, or the Bloody Though Bold Pegu)* and Erasmus Franciscis' *Ost- und Westindischer wie auch Sinesicher Lust- und Staatsgarten (East- and West*

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19. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 10.

20. Ibid., 9. "…die Einführung des französischen Hofzeremoniells und die intensive Förderung der Künste."

21. Cordula Bischoff, "Chinoiserie am sächsischen Hof: Mainstream oder Avantgarde?" in *Bücherwelten - Raumwelten Zirkulation von Wissen und Macht im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Elisabeth Tiller (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 307-308. "…vor allem durch die weiblichen Mitglieder des Hauses Oranien."

Indian and Chinese Pleasure and National Gardens), became increasingly popular among the elites. Augustus II's court library (der Königlichen Bibliothek) was said to contain "nearly all the 16th- to 18th-centuries' famous travel writings about China and Japan," and most of them were purchased during the Elector's reign.[22]

In addition to imaginative accounts of the Celestial Empire, Europeans also began to have a relatively solid ground for its conception of China thanks to the Jesuit missionaries that were sent to China in the 16th century. The exchange of letters between these missionaries and scholars like Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz enabled the German polymath to have a closer and more accurate understanding of the far-off empire. In his influential work *Novissima Sinica*, Leibniz draws upon ideas gathered from *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, a Latin translation of Confucius' work, and discusses the merits of Confucian China.[23] Leibniz points out the difference between the Chinese and European ideologies as well as the reasons for the divergence between the two cultures' societal and economic status.[24] Scholars such as Pietsch, Ströber and Mungello argue that the European scholar's understandings of Confucian China set the mode for characterizing this empire as an "ideal land for the European Enlightenment."[25] Therefore, in the 17th century Europe, chinoiserie was not only a mystification of East Asia, but

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22. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 11. "…nahezu alle bekannten Reiseschreibungen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, die China und Japan betreffen."

23. Ibid., 11.

24. For more information about Leibniz *Novissima Sinica* and its influence in the 17th century Europe, please refer to David E. Mungello, "Leibniz's interpretation of Neo-Confucianism," *Philosophy East and West*, 21(1971): 3-22; John Parker, *Windows into China: the Jesuits and their Books, 1580-1730* (Boston: Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston, 1978); John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Feng Lan, *Ezra Pound and Confucianism: Remaking Humanism in the Face of Modernity* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2014)

25. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 12.

also a source of inspiration. Chinoiserie allowed European elites to express their artistic and political ideas through a multi-cultural lens.

3. The Situation after The Thirty Years' War

Even though chinoiserie was espoused as a means to demonstrate political ideas, many European rulers would not spend an enormous amount of resources, money and time on building an East Asian inspired palace like the Japanisches Palais. Aside from Europe's fascination with Asia, the political status of Augustus II also played a significant role. The Thirty Years' War (1618 to 1648) originated from the conflicts between the Catholic and Protestant states in the declining Holy Roman Empire. It later developed into series of wars between Central European powers including France, the Netherlands and Austria. The duration and intensity of the war caused massive destruction and casualties, which made it one of the most severe religious wars in European history. The war significantly changed the order of powers in Europe. In contrast to the devastation of the German and Italian states, Bourbon France came to hold a dominant position in Europe, as did the Netherlands due to its thriving economy.

The German state of Saxony suffered tremendously from the war. After the treaties were signed, the state, which was then under the reign of Johann Georgs III (1680 to1691), desperately sought to reconstruct its economic, political and social status in Europe. This goal was only partially achieved by the end of the 17th century. The ruler deployed architects, artists, artisans, musicians and theatrical performers to the court to (re-) enforce the reconstruction.[26] After the sudden death of his brother Johann Georgs IV, Friedrich Augustus I, who was then 24 years old

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26. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 9.

and crowned as the Elector of Saxony Augustus II the Strong, pushed the development of these projects to a higher level, the results of which stand till today.[27]

To make Augustus II more eager to claim his status and imperial dignity as the new ruler of Dresden after the new order of powers was set in Europe, he converted to Roman Catholicism. Considering the fact that Saxony had fought against hostile Catholic powers such as France during the war, this religious and political move may have seemed dubious and risky. However, Augustus II's conversion indeed brought series of major opportunities for the new elector and his land. The primary and most important outcome was his accession as the new King of Poland despite an intense competition with candidates from other powerful countries.[28]

The purpose of building the Japanisches Palais as a demonstration of Augustus II's political and economic status as the new Elector of Saxony and King of Poland involved several factors. First, Augustus II's accession as Elector and King required that he make political and economic progress. Second, his conversion to Catholicism caused some negative reactions from both his people in Saxony and from other Protestant powers such as Brandenburg. Even worse, in 1706, Karl XII of Sweden defeated Augustus II's armies and marched into Saxony to force him to abandon his allegiance to Russia. Not until 1709 was he able to regain his deprived military power as King of Poland, which he retained until his death.[29] Third, the young ruler had to pay off "five million thalers to settle the back-pay of the Polish army," and this payment lasted for at least another ten years until the Northern War was over.[30] Fourth, Augustus II was

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27. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 10.
28. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 195-202. For more information about Augustus III of Poland, please also refer to Watanabe-O'Kelly's book.
29. Ibid., 197-199.
30. Ibid., 199.

considered a great ruler as he managed to rule over two territories that from many aspects were very divergent. However, to achieve this, he had had to constantly travel between two places and at the same time, maintain the order of them both. This too put pressure on the King to demonstrate a strong political and economic status.[31]

To connect these concerns with the construction of a palace housing an extensive amount of East Asian porcelain, Pietsch and Ströber argue that the image of Asian emperors, the Chinese and Indian ones in particular, provided an effective symbol of power and authority.[32] Pietsch and Ströber believe that the creation of "these mythological and allegorical productions," was a means to "represent their power and legitimation of sovereignty."[33] Starting from 1700, people started to hold an ever-increasing enthusiasm about "the mythical [yet] actual rulers of the East" all over Europe, and portrayals of them became very popular among European rulers.[34] Artworks such as the engravings attached to travel books about Asia and porcelain figurines portraying a scene at an Asian court, more or less follow a similar pattern (Figure 1): East Asian emperors being accompanied by canopies and umbrellas; servants showing their submission to the power by "gestures of prostration or kneeling;" appearances of rare plants like palm trees and "unusual animals such as elephants and peacocks," and most importantly, Chinese dragons. These patterns can be found on many of the Meissen porcelains (Figure 2 and 2.1). Pietsch and Ströber argue that all these depictions were references to the power of East Asian rulers, as they were thought

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31. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 199-200.
32. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 11.
33. Ibid., 11. "…diesen mythologischen und allegorischen Inszenierungen," "ihrer Macht zur Repräsentation und Herrschaftslegitimation."
34. Ibid., 11. "…die mythischen und realen Herrscher des Orients."

by the Europeans to be "the symbolic portrayal of the absolutist rule."[35] Therefore, for Augustus II, there was no more extravagant way of demonstrating power in such fashion than the one of building and owning a chinoiserie palace filled with thousands of porcelains, both made in East Asia and by his own manufactory. It reminded foreign visitors walking in the exhibition rooms of what a wealthy, powerful and legitimate ruler he was.

B. Porcelains in the Palace

1. The Trade of Porcelain

1.1. Porcelain Trade between the East and the West

By showcasing the historical and sociocultural background of the palace's construction, Section A explained the reasons why Augustus II would build a chinoiserie porcelain palace. By discussing the production of Meissen porcelain, Section B will shed light on the reasons for porcelain's high value in Europe. It will thus illustrate why it was that porcelain was showcased in the palace instead of other chinoiserie artifacts such as lacquer or silk.

The porcelain trade between East Asia and Europe is key to understanding the monetary, sociocultural, and political values of porcelain. Even before the Dresden ruler Christian I had received a precious Chinese porcelain collection from the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand de Medici in 1590, he had already obtained a large number of ornate Oriental weapons and other artistic treasures from Ferdinand's brother, the Tuscan Grand Duke Francesco I de Medici, as a gift for his accession to the Elector of Saxony in 1587.[36] However, it was Ferdinand who brought

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35. Pietsch and Ströber, "Introduction," 11. "…den Gesten des Kniefalls oder sich auf den Boden Werfens," "ungewöhnliche Tiere wie Elefanten und Pfauen," "die symbolische Darstellung absolutistischer Herrschaft."

36. Dirk Syndram, Moritz Wölk and Martina Minning, *Giambologna in Dresden: Die Geschenke der Medici* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006), 6.

the first Chinese porcelains to Dresden, which later inspired the rulers of this land to eventually discover the arcanum of the treasure of the East Asia.

Prior to the 16th century, these exotic treasures were transported mainly along the well-known Silk Road, a network of trade routes connecting Eurasian regions and enabling multiple economic, political and cultural interactions between the West and the East. The discovery of the marine route also known as the marine Silk Road by the Portuguese traveler Vasco da Gama in 1499 helped to further develop the trading network, especially for the transportation of fragile items such as ceramics.[37] Even though the porcelain trade between China and Europe had started as early as the late 13th century, it was not until the Portuguese merchants began regular business with the Jingdezhen kilns in the 16th century that Europe began to import Chinese porcelains in greater numbers. The trade was interrupted due to the fall of the Ming Dynasty in 1644, but it was soon resumed by the Qing Emperor Kangxi during his reign. With the foundation of the Dutch East Indian Company or VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) in the first quarter of the 17th century, the Dutch became the major trader of the East Asian goods between the East and the West.[38]

1.2. Kraak Porcelain and Artistic Exchange between East and West

Even though the VOC was starting to import a huge amount of porcelain to Europe, these East Asian artifacts were still taken as luxuries "suggestive of wealth" in most European regions

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37. Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen and Mimi G. Gates, *Porcelain Stories: from China to Europe* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2000), 24.

38. Julie Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 123.

with the exception of Holland.[39] Although Chinese porcelains such as blanc de chine and Yixing stoneware were accepted in Europe at this time, most export porcelain was blue and white, especially prior to the Qing Dynasty. These particular export porcelains, known as kraak, were predominantly produced in Jingdezhen and other private kilns in Fujian province. Both locations are close to China's major harbor city Canton (now Guangzhou), one of the few places in China where Chinese potters were allowed to trade with foreign merchants. Starting from the mid 16th century, during Emperor Jiajing's reign (1521-1567), potters in Jingdezhen started to take regular orders from European traders; first from the Portuguese and Spanish, then the Dutch and eventually other European countries and their colonies.

The trade routes between the East and the West significantly helped to develop the European customization of Chinese porcelain, which suggests both cultural and artistic exchange between East Asia and Europe. Because of the regular orders of the Western traders and their change of tastes as well as desire for kraak, the Chinese potters started to receive and respond to European artistic and cultural influences. This response is represented in the export porcelains that can still be found in current museum collections worldwide. For instance, on a kraak tray made during the Kangxi's reign, (figure 3) there are several tulip-like flowers surrounding a central chrysanthemum. Although each flower was elaborately connected with leaf work, it is easy to spot that the potters were not familiar with the motifs, as many of the details are not well presented. On another Kangxi tray (figure 4), the organization of the pattern is much more complex. The layout is divided into several layers, each one of them interlocked with leaf work

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39. Lili Fang, *Chinese Ceramics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133; Teresa Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer: China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500-1644* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2016), 267-271.

contains a specific type of flower: one carnation in the middle, then several chrysanthemums as a surrounding circle; the tulips were put on the border of the bottom surface, whereas more tulip-like flowers are connected to the rim border of the tray. On the blue and white porcelain produced during the Ming emperor Chongzhen's reign (figure 5), one can also see the combination of motifs of tulip-like flowers and 'Chinese persons' conducting daily activities. In the center is depicted an official-like man talking to his kneeling servant. From far behind these two, there are a few partly appearing mountains, a typical motif in Chinese painting. To surround this image, the potters used a circle of chrysanthemums and leaf work. On the outer circle of the porcelain, they depicted four images, three of them show two fishermen communicating with their feet immersed in water and one of them represents two literati-like men in discussion with each other. In between each storytelling image, the potters inserted one depiction of interlocked tulip and chrysanthemums to separate different pictures.

Both motifs from Europe and East Asia are interwoven in the patterns of kraak porcelains. In Augustus II's collection, there are many kraak porcelains with similar motifs that represent the influence from the Dutch or indicate the major purchasing location of his collections. For example, a Wanli kraak tray currently housed in Porzellansammlung Dresden, is decorated with three masks appearing similar to grotesque Antwerp prints (Figure 6). These almost identical masks on the side of the tray are facing three centered and entangled Chinese imageries—a closed handscroll, a hulu (or calabash) and a ruyi (a decorative scepter taking the literal meaning of 'as [you] wish') representing respectively Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist ideas. Teresa also notes that in addition to the motifs derived from European decorative media such as "panels, medallions and borders," some of the early kraak porcelains feature grotesque motifs that were already "disseminated throughout Europe…by drawings and prints" and used

"in secular and in religious contexts."(Figure 7)[40] For instance, she finds a high-degree of resemblance between the grotesque masks found in some kraak bowls and the "prints published in Antwerp in the 1550s."[41] (Figure 8 and 9)

2. Armorial Porcelain and the Demonstration of Power

The combination of East Asian and European motifs in customized kraak porcelain made them fairly rare, especially in the case of armorial porcelain. This type of kraak porcelain was greatly sought after by members of the European nobility. This was due to the fact that the royalty and aristocracy could show off their power and wealth by adding special elements such as coats of arms on kraak porcelain. To do so, potters or painters either used over-glazing to paint over these imported artifacts in Europe or customized the under-glazed pattern of their choice in China. A large blue and white dish carrying the coat of arms of Wittelsbach in the center was likely ordered for Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria and later Prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire (Figure 10). On this kraak dish, in addition to the Order of the Golden Fleece mantling around the coat of arms, on the rim border, the painter added a couple of Chinese symbols including closed handscrolls, hulu and kuishan (referring to a fan in the shape of a plantain leaf) representing different Chinese religious ideas. Teresa argues that this armorial kraak, possibly having other replicas, was "made through dynastic relations with the Habsburgs."[42] She believes that the kraak bearing his arms during his reign was influenced by

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40. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 265; 283.
41. Ibid., 265.
42. Both the Austrian and Spanish branches of Habsburgs have a long history of ordering and collecting Asian porcelains. Many members of this House such as Mariana of Austria, Queen of Spain had the *maladie de porcelaine* and decorated their palaces with numerous Oriental goods. For more information about Habsburgs' influence on the circulation of Asian porcelains please refer to Michael E. Yonan, "Igneous Architecture: Porcelain, Natural Philosophy, and the Rococo Cabinet Chinois" in *The*

the political power of his father, William V. This particular power was believed to be reflected through a set of diplomatic gifts from Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino: 272-piece Urbino majolica depicted with "grotesques and the arms of Bavaria."[43]

Coats of family arms and armorial symbols were a popular motif among European royals and nobles, but not among Dutch merchants. Teresa noted that in addition to a higher price, armorial kraak also has a much better quality compared to the previous productions: "the body is thinner, moulded with more precisely articulated profiles, and has a more carefully controlled cobalt-blue decoration."[44] The Portuguese Almeida or Melo family was one of the earliest to order an armorial kraak made during Wanli's reign as a dedication to Dom João de Almeida. The centered coat of arms was surrounded by European style scrolling vines, whereas different floral motifs were depicted on the rim of the plate (Figure 11).[45] Given the new Elector of Saxony's status among the German rulers, it is very likely that Augustus II during his grand tour had seen this particular armorial kraak or similar ones that were ordered for other royal or noble families.

Therefore, because of the unique political and sociocultural value of armorial porcelain, it is no surprise that Augustus II had owned a set. According to Claus Boltz's transcription of the inventory "Japanisches Palais-Inventar 1770 und Turmzimmer-Inventar 1769," there is one set of armorial kraak porcelains ordered for the King of Poland that had survived (Figure 12). The five large size garniture consisting of three jars and two beaker vases were sent from Holland to the palace in between 1727 and 1731. To meet Augustus II's requirements, Dutch painters used the

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Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain (London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

43. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 275.
44. Ibid., 271.
45. Ibid., 272.

then popular Kakiemon style, the technique of over-glaze decoration to paint the customized patterns on the white Chinese porcelains carved with scrolling vines (Figure 13).[46] Upon the vines fully covering the (porcelain) body are Japanese style avian and floral patterns of mainly four colors: blue, black, gold and red. The same colors were used to depict the ruler's arms of Saxony and Poland or the AR monogram (Augustus Rex mark) that are placed in the center of each piece. For example, the lidded jars, each of which has an individual colored porcelain rooster on the top, were enameled with the King's coat of arms in the middle. A crown in red and gold is depicted above the two symmetrically placed coats of arms of Poland (left) and Saxony (right), which symbolizes the ruler's absolute and equal reign over both territories.[47] Below a blue ribbon connecting the arms suspended the Order of the White Eagle (Orden des Weissen Adlers). This symbol representing the highest order of Poland, was instituted by Augustus II in 1705 and endowed to only eight of his closest supporters. The fusion of Japanese elements and the large size Chinese porcelains enameled with his royal symbols and achievements prominently showcased his political status as a European ruler. However, according to the existent documents and collections of 18th-century Meissen porcelain, the King did not produce any armorial porcelain with his own coat of arms.

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46. For more information regarding the European take on the over-decoration of porcelains, please refer to Helen Espir, *European Decoration On Oriental Porcelain 1700-1830* (London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2005).

47. According to Helen Espir's description, "the shield on the right, of Saxony, includes the black and gold bars with blue-green bend of Saxony," the gold carbuncle on red of Cleve, the red lion on black and white of the Duchy of Berg, and the black lion on gold of the Duchy of Julich. In the centre are the crossed swords of the Arch Marshall Elector…" Espir, *European Decoration*, 69.

3. The Discovery of Europe's First Porcelain

3.1 The Arcanum of The Blue and White Porcelains

It is fairly surprising that Augustus II did not have armorial porcelain produced for himself, especially considering that this type of porcelain was deemed a symbol of political and financial power. Therefore, why would the King choose to have European over-glazed armorial porcelain instead of having his own manufactory produce it? Was it because the Meissen manufactory did not have a comparable technology of production to the Chinese? To address this question, I will use visual analytical comparisons between Meissen and kraak porcelain.

First, an account of how Europe discovered the technology of porcelain production gives a sense of its difficulty and indicates how Meissen's technology was comparable to the Chinese method. Blue and white porcelain, or in Chinese as "青花瓷" (literally meaning blue flower porcelains), refers to a type of white porcelain with blue patterns. The production of these porcelains started in Tang Dynasty and matured in Yuan Dynasty and early Ming Dynasty after Jingdezhen manufactories discovered the method of mixing china stone and kaolin as raw materials to refine the production. Potters utilized cobalt oxide acquired from the Middle East as the pigment to depict designated themes and glaze the ceramic body afterwards before putting it into a kiln. The high temperature is what makes the under-glaze appear blue. This technology is also known as under-glazing, which makes its product thin with a hard sheen that allows light to transmit through its opacity at the same time. However, this technology was kept a secret by China until the 18th century, which was one of the biggest reasons for porcelain's rarity and high price in Europe.

Before Meissen's success, European families had made several attempts to reproduce Chinese porcelain. Since the late 13th century, Western countries, like the rest of the world, had

built manufactories to reproduce Chinese porcelains. It is documented that the earliest European reproduction was produced by the English factory at the Fonthill Abbey around 1300. In the late 16th century, the Medici family also began to build their own porcelain manufactories in Florence. Francesco de Medici assigned the best potters in Italy to imitate Chinese blue and white porcelain but could not produce anything near its quality.[48] This was because they assumed "porcelain was a kind of glass, made with similar ingredients."[49] In the second quarter of the 16th century, the civil war in late Ming China and the eventual collapse of the Ming Empire greatly impeded the European import of Chinese porcelains.[50] Therefore, to meet the high demand for porcelains in Europe, the Dutch began to set up factories in Delft to produce reproductions.[51] Later in the 17th century in France, several dealers and potters including Claude Révérend, and Louis Poterat, who had close or direct connection with the court, also contributed to the development of European porcelain. By the time Pierre Chicaneau's family took over the porcelain business in France, they had figured out a type of soft-paste porcelain counterfeit closer to the original, which was mostly produced in shapes of European silverwares.[52] However, none of these European manufactories were able to reproduce East Asian porcelain. The European technique of tin-glazing, or applying tin-based glaze to a ceramic body, so it appears glossy and opaque, did not produce ceramics with a translucent quality and hard sheen.[53]

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48. Chen, Emerson and Gates, *Porcelain Stories*, 24-27.

49. Coutts Howard, *The Art of Ceramics: European Ceramic Design 1500-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 85.

50. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 122-123.

51. Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 140-141.

52. Coutts. *The Art of Ceramics*, 85

53. Catherine Hess, *The Arts of Fire: Islamic Influences on Glass and Ceramics of the Italian Renaissance* (Los Angeles : J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), 18; 48.

3.2 Meissen's Discovery of the Secret Technology

These failed experiments in the production of true porcelain provided a technological basis for the German discovery of the arcanum. In 1701, Johann Friedrich Böttger, an alchemist who was known for his ability to 'transmute' gold, fled to Saxony from the Prussian court. After learning of his valuable skills, Augustus II refused to return him to his former patron Friedrich I and held the alchemist in prison while forcing him to produce gold. Outraged by Böttger's incompetence in the transmutation of gold, the King locked him up in a castle in Meissen with the scientist and mathematician Count Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus who had studied the soft-paste porcelain production in France and Holland. Here, the alchemist worked as Tschirnhaus' assistant and learned from his knowledge of French porcelain production. Under extreme pressure, in 1709, Böttger finally reported to Augustus II about his success in producing "a good white porcelain with a very fine glaze," and in the following year the Meissen manufactory was established.[54]

Under the King's order, potters and painters at the Meissen manufactory copied countless Chinese porcelains in order to mature and refine their techniques. The following analyses will illustrate how close the porcelains of Meissen production were to the Chinese precedents. In cases of blue and white porcelains, the Meissen manufactory would imitate the East Asian molds not only in shapes but also in patterns and motifs. For instance, two vases displayed currently in Porzellansammlungen Dresden (Figure 14 and 15) provide an illustrative juxtaposition of Meissen's attempt and success in reproducing the Chinese porcelain. The first blue and white porcelain: a tubular vase shape with a cylindrical neck was a popular type of ceramic produced in

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54. Chen, Emerson and Gates, *Porcelain Stories*, 26-28.

Jingdezhen during Kangxi reign, approximately between 1700 and 1720. The neck of the vase is decorated with a simple floral motif that surrounds it with one branch, whereas the bulbous baluster-like lower body is covered with peonies and foliage. Vivid depiction of birds embellishes the whole image and brings a sense of liveliness. To compare, as one can see from the vase designed by the Meissen manufactory around 1723/24, the German manufactory was already capable of replicating the typical shape of the Kangxi vase. Similar to the Kangxi vase, this one also draws upon the floral and avian motifs, which intersperse both the neck and the lower body of the porcelain with daisies and foliage. What is different is that the Meissen tubular vase has a more complex setting, as it includes more types of flowers and plants such as chrysanthemums and wintersweets. In addition, the German potter replaced the ordinary sparrows with phoenixes, a stronger representation of the Chinese culture.

A second comparison further demonstrates Meissen's capacity as a porcelain manufactory. The medium-size (51 cm height) flute vase (Figure 16) was produced in Kangxi period. Like tubular vases, this type of porcelain was also fashionable in the Qing Dynasty. For this particular piece, two well-dressed ladies are portrayed standing and facing each other, their poses echoed by two birds hovering above. The figure on the right side is under a typical Chinese canopy, which indicates her nobility. While enjoying the peonies in the middle, each of them has pinched a twig and put it near their faces to have a closer sensuous appreciation of the flowers. The convex part in the middle is painted with typical patterns that serve to divide different sections of the porcelain, whereas the lower body of the vase shows more types of flowers. Although the Meissen vase (Figure 17) designed by Johann Ehrenfried Stadler around 1730 has a smaller size (32 cm height), the German porcelain is a good replica of the unique shape of the Chinese flute vase. In terms of the pattern, it is more similar and comparable to the Chinese

wucai (polychrome) porcelain produced also during Kangxi's reign (Figure 18). Even though Stadler limited the colors to only blue and white, he managed to skillfully represent the floral, stony and avian motifs used in the polychrome porcelain. The details of the depicted bird, foliage, stones and flowers are brilliantly showcased through the under-glazed painting. Noticeably, the sheen of the Meissen porcelain is no less than the Chinese ones.

Through the comparisons, it is clear that in many technical and artistic aspects, the Germans had already achieved a fairly equal level to the Chinese porcelain production. That is to say, the King's manufactory was able to replicate East Asian porcelains in a very comparable fashion. As to armorial porcelain, Augustus II's potters and painters were more than capable of reproducing noble coats of arms on the Meissen porcelains. This capability is shown in many of his diplomatic gifts to other European royals. For instance, painter Christian Friedrich Herold and Bonaventura Gottlieb Häuer designed and depicted the images on each Meissen porcelain piece of the coffee, tea and chocolate service set (Figure 19) presumably customized for Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain around 1728. In addition to the gilded handles and inner sides, each piece is also depicted with the coat of arms of the Queen's family. Moreover, on either the lid, inner bottom or the body of these porcelains, the painters portrayed different chinoiserie images, which feature the aforementioned typical elements of this style including motifs such as the emperor surrounded by servants, canopies, palm trees, tropical flowers, etc. Observing the details of each depiction and the gilded porcelains themselves, it is fair to

comment that Meissen potters and painters at that time had a decent technique that was comparable to the original Japanese kinrande porcelain.[55]

4. Augustus II's Demonstration of Power

Given the Meissen manufactory's new capability for porcelain production, one might think Augustus II would put his coat of arms on as many of his Meissen porcelains as possible. In addition, he would display them in the porcelain palace so that the visitors would be constantly reminded of his power. However, there is no record of existent armorial porcelain produced in Meissen bearing his royal coat of arms. Understanding the possible reasons for this omission will shed light on how Augustus II's idea of power was displayed through porcelain.

I propose two explanations. First, Augustus II was not satisfied with the contemporary production technique and did not want it to be used to enamel his proud coat of arms as the ruler of two territories. Based on two facts, this explanation is plausible. First, as mentioned earlier, Augustus II ordered five pieces of large-size armorial porcelain for the Japanisches Palais, which means that the King was aware of how these exotic ceramics with arms could demonstrate the prowess and political status of the owner. This is especially true considering that during his reign he sent out several Meissen armorial porcelain objects as diplomatic gifts to noble and influential families and rulers including the Contarini family, the Grimani family, the King of Sardina, etc., which are similar to the gift to Elizabeth Farnese: gilded white porcelain in chinoiserie style. Second, in the year of Augustus II's death in 1733, several porcelain wares bearing the coats of arms of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony and Duke of Lithuania were produced and

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55. For more information regarding the Meissen armorial porcelain sent as diplomatic gifts to the other European royal or noble families, please refer to Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Princes and Porcelain on the Grand Tour of Italy," in *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts*, ed. Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (New York: Yale University Press, 2008), 209-253.

dedicated to his son and successor, Augustus III of Poland, at his coronation. According to the 1779 inventory, the service consisted of 72 vessels of various shapes such as bowls, tureens and plates. Each piece like the plate (Figure 20) is centered with a richly decorated coat of arms demonstrating the new King's unique status. In addition to the golden lush foliage and strapwork covering the edge of these white porcelains, scattered chinoiserie flowers and leaf work surround the elaborate and detailed coat of arms, which shows a typical Meissen fusion of Western and Eastern motifs. Compared to the armorial objects produced previously, it is clear that this service set is much more refined in terms of both the quality of the porcelain body and the painting. Therefore, based on these two points, one can assume that the King was waiting for the technique to be perfectly improved before enlisting it for his own armorial use; however, he passed away before this was accomplished.

A second explanation could be that the King did not think it was necessary to produce his own armorial porcelain, as he was the owner of the first European manufactory of true porcelain, and accordingly had his symbols marked on each piece produced in Meissen. These marks were initially created as a forgery-proof system as a result of the theft of the porcelain arcanum.[56] Before 1720, most of the Meissen produced porcelains were enameled with the AR (Augustus Rex) monogram on the bottom. Since 1722 (and still today), the King replaced the monogram with the famous symbol of 'crossed swords.' This motif, proposed by the manufactory inspector Johann Melchior Steinbrück, was adopted directly from Augustus II's coat of arms. It represents the King's position as the Arch-Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire.[57]

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56. Margrit Bauer, *Deutsches Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts: Geschirr und Ziergerät* (Frankfurt am Main: Museum für Kunsthandwerk, 1983), 18; 235.

57. Ibid., 18; 235.

This explanation seems plausible, as the 'crossed swords' representing Augustus' status was used to identify every porcelain ware produced in his manufactory. When these Meissen ceramics circulated among European royals and elites, their markings were a constant reminder of Augustus II's powerful status and especially his success in the centuries-long quest to discover the secret of true porcelain production, which I will discuss next. Clearly, Augustus II thought very highly of his coat of arms, the symbol of his status as the ruler of Poland and Saxony; moreover, the King found in porcelain the perfect means to represent his unshakable political, economic and sociocultural status, which had been faced with constant challenges.

5. The Enchantment of Blue and White Porcelain

The secret technology of Chinese blue and white porcelain made it a rarity that was greatly sought after by European rulers, including Augustus II. In this section, I will consider how Alfred Gell's theory of 'the enchantment of technology' adds to our understanding of how the mysteries of kraak porcelain production could provoke the so-called maladie de porcelain. In his article "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," Gell proposes that "beautifully made" art objects constitute a "technical system" that serves "the reproduction of human societies".[58] The author posits that "a certainly achieved level of excellence" of the objects enables art objects to have a "magical power" over spectators.[59] Gell comments on Georg Simmel's theory of resistance, arguing that the mystery of how art is made—namely the technology—provides resistance to the beholder's attempt to apprehend it. The spectator's difficulty in understanding the object's "coming-into-being," provokes a desire

58. Alfred Gell, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," in *Anthropology Art and Aesthetics*, ed. Anthony Shelton and Jeremy Coote (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 43.

59. Ibid., 44.

for it.[60] Gell notes that the object's resistance forces spectators to coin a "creative agency" between themselves, the object, and the artist. The artist is also the one who transcends the conception of the object's technology.[61] Hence, the dynamic between the spectator's frustrated attempt to understand and access how the art object was made and the resistance put up by the mystery of the object's technology provoked a continuous and ever-growing desire for the art object.

I would argue that Gell's theory could be effectively applied to analysis of the widespread fascination with Chinese porcelains. It is noteworthy that the secrets of Chinese technology did exert a powerful enchantment on those who desired these porcelains. Before the discovery of the secret, Chinese porcelains were in high demand in Europe. By amassing these enigmatic objects, collectors created an invisible agency that transcended their limited knowledge of the mysterious aesthetics of East Asia allowing them to access the beauty of these ceramics. The continued existence of this technological secret served as a resistance that on the one hand kept people involved and, on the other hand, pushed them away from fully understanding porcelain's particular qualities. This tension between desire and frustration fueled much experimentation and the eventual discovery of the technology. Therefore, as the first European ruler who controlled this secret technology, Augustus II possessed a unique power over other rulers. In addition to signifying his superior position in this particular scientific field, the discovery of the technology also allowed the King to use Meissen porcelain wares as diplomatic gifts or commodities. This feature boosted both his political and economic status. The sociocultural significance of kraak and Meissen porcelain, I have argued, is derived from the

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60. Alfred Gell, "The Technology," 49.
61. Ibid., 51-52.

enchantment of its technology, and this was the main reason for it being showcased at the Japanisches Palais.

III. Theorizing Room X

A. The Splendor of the Porcelain Palace

1. The Design Plan for the Holländisches Palais

Through the construction of the palace, where his porcelain collection played the most significant role, Augustus II aimed to legitimize his political position as the new ruler of Saxony and Poland in the new political order of Europe. To theorize this observation, section III will delve into the case study of Room X of the Japanisches Palais's Bel Étage by discussing Samuel Wittwer's analyses of the ceremonial functions of the palace and the King's porcelain collection. In addition, I will apply Wittwer's theory of the phenomenon of sheen to my previous observations regarding how Gell's theory of 'the enchantment of technology' applies to this case study.

To start, I will discuss how Augustus II and the architect Pöppelmann executed the idea of demonstrating power in the conceptual construction of the Japanisches Palais. This discussion will prepare an empirical base for the theorization of the ceremonial space within the palace and Room X. The porcelain palace's construction went through several plans devised by different designers and rulers. Pöppelmann designed the first two plans, which were (partially) executed while Augustus II was alive. The then named Holländisches Palais, based on the first plan, served to provide the King with "recreation and divertissement" as well as "relaxation and

distraction".[62] With the help of the engravers Johann August Corvinus and Moritz Bodenehr, the palace was built in what would have been recognized as a modern style with a mansard roof and an avant-corps. Thanks to Christian Friedrich Bötius' copy of Pöppelmann's plan for the Holländisches Palais*'* exterior facilities, one can recreate the image of its splendor (Figure 21). As shown, the gates with statues of two putti riding sphinxes on top are connected with lattices decorated with stone vases. They stretched all the way to the cavalier houses on both sides, which were designed to "lead the guest to the palace." Through these lattices, one could have a good glance of the spacious garden and the grandiose corps de logis in the center. [63] In spite of its relatively small scale, the compact construction of such sharp and modern design soon became an attraction of the city of Dresden in contrast to its other mainly medieval and renaissance buildings.[64] This use of architectural style was one of the first steps Augustus II took to define himself as an innovative ruler.

The French style had a great impact on German architectural design of interior decoration and room arrangement. This was especially the case for the design of palaces. This influence extended to a specific focus on guests' ceremonial experience at the German palaces. Elisabeth Schwarm points out that many German court architects including Pöppelmann, were influenced by the French architecture theorist Augustin-Charles d'Aviler (1653-1701). D'Aviler believed that "floor plans and room arrangements reflect architects' design style of a palace."[65] In the Holländisches Palais, Pöppelmann followed the French theorist's emphasis on how each space

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62. Schwarm, "Die Sammlung," 83. "Recreation und Divertissement;" "Erholung und Zerstreuung."

63. Ibid., 84. "…den hohen Gast zum königlichen Palais geleiten."

64. Ibid., 83. "Grundriss und Raumfolge spiegeln die Auseinandersetzung des Architekten mit einem Entwurf…eines…Stadtpalais."

65. Ibid., 87.

should be harmoniously arranged and connected by enfilade on the Bel Étage of a palace. The goal of this particular design is to ensure that each space is easily accessible through a certain sequence. Such an arrangement meant that guests would have to follow a designed routine during their visit to the palace.

The German scholar of European architecture Désirée Baur has created reconstruction drawings of the Japanisches Palais's original arrangements. These drawings indicate that the rooms were arranged according to the color, style and texture of the displayed porcelain. In the first design plan, there are ten rooms on both the ground floor and the Bel Étage of the palace respectively and each one of them is aligned by an enfilade, which is in keeping with d'Aviler's preferred design. This means that the rooms are formally aligned with each other (Figure 22 and 23). Since Augustus II joined the palace's construction project in 1717 and started to expand the scale of the renovation, more Asian art objects were introduced. Based on the *Inventarium Über Das Palais zu Alt-Dresden. Anno. 1721 (Inventory of the Palace of Alt-Dresden—referring to the Holländisches Palais—in 1721)*, these drawings also showcase the decoration plan for each space.[66] For instance, on the ground floor, in the room marked as "no. 4," "Indian blue and white porcelains (B. -W. ind. Porz—abbreviated for Blau und Weiss indianische Porzellan)" along with "Indian black and gold lacquer wares (Ind. schwarz und gold Lack—abbreviated for Indianische schwarze und goldene Lackwaren)" were displayed against the painted Indian gold

66. "Inventarium Über Das Palais zu Alt-Dresden Anno.1721" in *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 102-111. Abbreviated in this paper as *Inventory 1721*.

wallpaper.[67] In the room marked as "no.9," there was a display of gold and green lacquer ware and white porcelains that were made in Saxony.

The French courtier and interior designer Raymond Leplat, who worked with Pöppelmann on the Taschenbergpalais (Taschenberg Palace) between 1718 and 1720, provided a detailed image of the interior of the Holländisches Palais. In his drawing *Coupe et Profil du Palais royal, ou de Hollande* (Figure 24), while recording the grandiose wedding of the Crown Prince Fredrich Augustus II and Princess Maria Joseph, the designer depicted the interior decorations of 10 palace rooms (5 rooms on each of the two floors). With the marrying couple and members of the royal families seated in the center of the picture, each room was filled with guests, with servants and performers surrounding an enormous buffet table. Via Leplat's lens, one can easily observe and investigate the arrangement and setting of each room. For example, the second room on the lower left side of the picture (Figure 25) shows that a large number of porcelains were put on the shelves attached very closely to the wall. The depicted wall of this

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67. It is uncertain why the *Inventory 1721* called the lacquer wares and blue and white porcelain as "indianische." Although India indeed had began to produce porcelains during the time of the European import, the majority of the blue and white porcelains remained in Dresden today, the amount of which is thought to be very close to the one owned by Augustus II then, are Chinese made. It is believed that the VOC imported porcelains and lacquer wares mostly from China and Japan, whereas India offered the Dutch company predominantly satin and atlas fabric. In addition, to describe an object that is made by the Indian, one would use "Indianer" instead of "indianische" in German. Therefore, as many of the blue and white porcelains and lacquer wares remained are painted with flowers of "Indian" motifs, which were popular among the Chinese and Japanese artisans. I argue that the "indianische" used in the inventory refers to the pattern of these artifacts instead of the origin of production. This argument is supported by Christina Gschiel, Günther Sterba and Samuel Wittwer, who argue that "indianische" or specifically "Indianische Blumen (Indian flowers)" were used in 18th century especially in Meissen to differentiate from "Deutsch[e] Blumen" in ceramics decorations due to the limited knowledge of the Eastern culture. The former refers to exotic Asian flowers such as peonies etc., whereas the latter refers to free and natural looking European flowers. Therefore, I believe that "indianisch" refers to exotic and Asian in this inventory. For more information about the terms, please refer to Christina Gschiel, Ulrike Nimeth, and Leonhard Weidinger, *Schneidern und Sammeln: Die Wiener Familie Rothberger* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2010); Günther Sterba, *Meissener Tafelgeschirr: Geschichte, Herstellung, Dekor des berühmten Gebrauchsporzellans* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1989), 134; Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 35.

room can be divided into four sections and each section has different levels of porcelains arranged from the bottom to the very top of the wall. These porcelains are of different shapes and sizes. Most of them are vases: the big ones are in the middle of a setting, whereas the smaller ones are on the side; some are bowls and plates, which are put in the center of the upper position of each section.

The arrangement of porcelains in each room is a good indication of what kind of ceremonial experience Augustus II aimed to provide to his guests. The arrangements were designed to showcase his porcelain collection to the fullest, so that every guest of his ceremony could see the extravagance and thus his wealth and ingenuity. Schwarm has noted that the settings of porcelains in the Japanisches Palais's wall designs have rather "arbitrary arrangements." It seems that the walls were designed to be as fully decorated with porcelains as possible.[68] These arrangements resemble the ones designed by the French architect Daniel Marot for "a Dutch palace" (Figure 26), which also focuses on displaying its porcelain collection to the fullest.[69] Cassidy-Geiger also comments on the similarities between the Dresden palace's porcelain arrangements and those of other European palaces. She points out that in addition to the influence of Marot, one of Augustus II's porcelain rooms "shows clearly the influence of the Porzellankammer of Charlotteburg."[70] According to Martin Engelbrecht's copy of Eosander von Göthe's design drawing (Figure 27), one can see how the porcelain arrangements of the Charlottenburg Palace (Schloss Charlottenburg) had achieved the idea of "fullness" (Figure 28):

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68. Schwarm, "Die Sammlung," 115. "…raffinierten Arrangements…"

69. Ibid., 114-115. "…niederländische Palais…." Although Schwarm does not specify the name of the Dutch palace, according to the time, Marot was most likely working on the Palace of Het Loo. For more information about the French architect's designs, please refer to Daniel Marot and Peter Jessen, *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot in 264 Lichtdrucken Nachgebildet* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1892).

70. Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanisches Palais," 16.

vases and plates of different shapes and sizes are the core of the decoration, as they delineate and define each section's space on the wall; porcelain figurines help to complete the structure and theme of each section; vases of bigger sizes are also the main elements of each section and of the room, as they seem to function as the bases to enable each section and consequently for the walls of the room to appear to be 'full.'

On the wedding day of Augustus Freidrich II and Maria Josepha, a grandiose firework show was played as a celebration at the then Holländisches Palais. According to Johann August Corvinus's copy of Pöppelmann's visual record of this event, the fireworks ignited the whole sky above the palace (Figure 29).[71] The reflections in the Elbe River and in the palace's multiple large-size windows enhanced the spectacular aspect. Such spectacle not only impressed the guests but also reminded them of Augustus II's success in city construction and management as an innovative new ruler capable of harnessing the latest technologies in support of his reign. This feature was no doubt an inspiration for the King's new plan for the palace.

2. The Design Plan for the Japanisches Palais

The evidence assessed above accords well with the argument that in the construction and arrangements of his own porcelain palace, Augustus II drew on the experience of other European porcelain chambers, mainly looking to French precedents. But clearly, to the King, the first design plan was not enough to fulfill his ambition for this project, which was to adequately demonstrate that he was the legitimate ruler of the two powerful lands of Saxony and Poland.

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71. For more information about the culture of firework in Early Modern Europe, please refer to Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art: The Representation of Fireworks in Early Modern Europe* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997).

Augustus II advocated that the palace should incorporate many more chinoiserie elements and emphasize even more the guests' ceremonial experience. This led to the second design plan.

As someone who indulged himself in festivals and festivities, Augustus II started to officially plan for the expansion of the Holländisches Palais into the Japanisches Palais in 1722 and broke ground for the project in 1727. According to Baur, the expanded palace quadrupled the size of the original.[72] Samuel Witter states that the idea of expanding the Holländisches Palais might have been proposed by the King's advisor, the imperial count Christoph von Wackerbarth. He suggested in a letter to Augustus II to rebuild the Pillnitz Palace as the "Saxon Versailles" and build a "porcelain palace" that responded to Louis IV's Trianon de Porcelaine, but with Meissen porcelain as the decoration of the facades.[73] Although the reconstruction project of Pillnitz fell through, Augustus II kept the idea of constructing a porcelain palace dedicated to his Meissen porcelains. A key difference was that the expanded Holländisches Palais would house the King's collections of both Meissen and East Asian porcelains.[74]

The second expansion of the Holländisches Palais, which like the first one was planned by Pöppelmann under Augustus II's instructions, covered both the interior and exterior spaces of the palace.[75] A key factor, as Wittwer points out, is that the second construction plan was "decided from the beginning to house Augustus' asiatica collection, in which the porcelains have

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72. Baur, "Die Ausstattung," 200.
73. Wittwer, D*ie Galerie*, 33-34. "sächsischem Versailles;" "Porzellanschloss."
74. Ibid., 35-36.
75. The names of the Holländisches Palais and the Japanisches Palais by the point of the second expansion were used interchangeably in different documents at that time.

the most important role in terms of both quantity and value."[76] According to Corvinus' depiction of the bird's-eye view of the palace, one can see that the original palace has been expanded to a different scale. In addition to the expansion done to the corps de logis and cavalier houses, the palace also added and expanded several gardens, which are decorated with statues and fountains. The gate is changed to connect with the Elbe, where guests or visitors could access the palace with their individual boats.

Regarding the addition to the corps de logis, it is noticeable that its once purely 17th-century European architecture had been embellished with chinoiserie elements. As argued in Section I, by practicing chinoiserie, the King not only showcased his interpretation of Europe's fascination with the East Asia but also expressed his own artistic or political ideas. Instead of using classical-style Atlas statues on the patio such as the ones in Zwinger, Pöppelmann chose Chinese-style Atlas figures (Figure 30 and Figure 31). These smiling bearded gods dressed in chinoiserie costumes with their chests and bellies exposed are using their arms to hold up the palace with a particular ease and calmness. Moreover, in addition to the King's AR-monogram (Augustus Rex) and the Germanic imperial eagle (Reichsadler), the rooftop (Figure 32) is also painted with the sort of chinoiserie foliage and flowers that often appears on Meissen porcelain. An important element of the changes to the corps de logis is that these valuable East Asian porcelains were now visible and could be seen from the outside of the building.[77]

Compared to the subtle addition of Asian and exotic elements to the exterior of the palace, the interior design has more evident and detailed renderings of the chinoiserie style. With

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76. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 35. "…von Beginn an zur Aufnahme der Asiatika-Sammlungen Augusts des Starken bestimmt, wobei das Porzellan quantitative und auch von seiner Bedeutung her die wichtige Rolle spielte."

77. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 35.

an increasing number of porcelains added to Augustus II's collection over the years, Pöppelmann designed more display rooms. Instead of the 20 rooms suggested in the first plan, the designer added 11 to the ground floor (Figure 33) and 4 to the upper floor (Figure 34). What did not change is that each room continued to showcase a specific type of porcelain, mainly arranged by color combinations. For instance, according to the room plan drafts made around 1727 (Figure 35 and 36), room number 4 of the upper floor was used only for dark blue porcelains whereas room number 7 of the ground floor displayed the collections of grey and golden porcelains (graue und goldene Porzellan).

Comparing the old room design (Figure 25) to the new one (Figure 37), it shows that the new rooms' porcelain arrangement is much more complex and dense. It allowed the concept of the "fullness" of porcelain settings in the first plan to achieve an even larger scale. Replacing the four sections of display, such as the one depicted at the Crown Prince's wedding (Figure 25), each of the new ones has at least twice as many sections. Moreover, each section's new arrangement allowed more porcelain to be displayed. For instance, a detailed depiction of one of room number 7's walls (Figure 37) reveals a fraction of how complicated these arrangements were. According to the depiction, one side of the wall was divided into three large sections, each of which contained three major sections and several small ones. Taking one large section as an example, one can see that different kinds of porcelains including vases, bowls and plates of different sizes and shapes are respectively placed in a centered oval-shaped space and two complementary spaces below. Each space has a centerpiece installation of the aforementioned porcelains, while several smaller-size vessels create a frame for it. The whole wall was mostly covered by porcelain wares except for two intentionally designed blank spaces, which are likely used to showcase the Asian wallpaper. As dense as these arrangements may look, they all follow

the rule of creating a symmetrical and harmonious style in the room. To accomplish this, each piece of porcelain was meticulously selected in term of the sizes and shapes needed for each arrangement. In the next section, I will conduct a case study of room number 10 of the upper floor, which houses kraak porcelain and a few Meissen substitutes to have a closer look at the intentions and rationales behind these arrangements.

In conclusion, this section has discussed how the decision to build a porcelain palace was predominantly based on both the political position of Augustus II and the sociocultural and artistic trends of early 18th-century European courts. Augustus' accession as the new Elector of Saxony and King of Poland provoked a series of challenges to his throne and to his capacities as a ruler. Thus the decision to construct the Japanisches Palais can be understood as part of the King's response to these criticisms, together with the execution of larger building projects, which included the reconstruction of Dresden and the construction of several other grandiose buildings.

B. Theorizing Room X

1. The Wealth and Politics of Porcelain Chambers in Europe

As I have argued thus far, by showcasing the beauty and rarity of his impressive porcelain collection at the Japanisches Palais, Augustus II was able to highlight and thus legitimize the grandeur of his reign. To explore this in more depth, I will now turn to current scholars' arguments about the political meaning of Augustus II's porcelain chambers and then introduce the concept of the phenomenon of sheen as it applies to the analysis of room X.

Cordula Bischoff argues that the politics of the porcelain chamber relies heavily on the European tradition of its construction. She points out that "the symbolic representation value of

porcelain is closely connected with its real commercial value."[78] Therefore, she claims that rulers such as Augustus II used his porcelain chambers as a means of "competition (Konkurrenz)," attempting to surpass other existing chambers in terms of collection, design, and innovation.[79] For instance, she thinks that the reason why the King of Poland arranged the Japanisches Palais's rooms according to the colors of the porcelains is that blue and white porcelains were too commonly used in the other royal porcelain chambers such as the ones in Brandenburg or Prussia.[80] Thus, by displaying these rarer luxury ceramics in the palace, Augustus II attempted to prove his superiority. This argument seems particularly convincing considering that some of these states, such as Brandenburg, were still holding the grudge against Augustus II's conversion to Catholicism.[81] Moreover, Bischoff mentions that because mercantilist states put much effort in producing "luxury goods with unique selling points," the porcelain chambers in the Japanisches Palais served as a "propaganda tool" for the Meissen porcelain factory. Many of these products were used as diplomatic gifts, with the aim of cultivating widespread consumption of these goods.[82]

Another observation made by Bischoff suggests that festivities were great occasions for Augustus II to show off his porcelain collections. According to the scholar, the King often invited his royal and noble guests to the Japanisches Palais for events such as banquets, where he

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78. Cordula Bischoff, "Die Bedeutung des Japanischen Palais: Die Porzellansammlungspolitik der Sächsischen Kurfürst-Könige." In *Die königliche Porzellansammlung Augusts des Starken im Japanischen Palais zu Dresden*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Cordula Bischoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2014), 290. "…der symbolische Repräsentationswert des Porzellans war eng verknüpft mit seinen realen Handelswert."

79. Bischoff, "Die Bedeutung," 298.

80. Ibid., 290-291.

81. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 197-199.

82. Ibid., 297. "Luxuswaren mit Alleinstellungsmerkmalen;" "Propagandainstrument;" "diplomatische Geschenke."

awed them with the display of his collections, and then gifted them with a "complete porcelain service."[83] Bischoff believes that Augustus II was the only royal host at that time who could afford to provide such lavish gifts at "official state ceremonies."[84] It is known that under the King's reign, Dresden was a "gaily festive, serene city," as it often held several extravagant festivities "of dazzling beauty."[85] As Augustus II had to travel to Poland, especially during the first half of his reign, the ruler was not able to hold grand festivities or festivals in Dresden as often as he wanted. However, the ones he did hold all were of grandiose scale and "all lasted about a month."[86] For example, the aforementioned wedding of the Crown Prince in 1719, which is considered "the most magnificent festivity of August II's reign," invited "a total of 1257 foreign and non-local guests, including 11 princes, 87 counts, 55 barons and 356 other aristocrats."[87] In ceremonies such as this, the Japanisches Palais and Augustus II's collections of East Asian and Meissen porcelain had extensive social and political exposure. Marx argues that Dresden of the early 18th century presented "a peculiar blending of the ceremonial and the boisterous, of the ruler's dignity and amusements for the populace, of fantastic masquerades and political-personal allusion, a conspicuous display of wealth with mercantile aims."[88] His argument is aligned with Bischoff's, which suggests that the porcelains and festivities were means of demonstrating Augustus II's power as well as boosting the state's economy.

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83. Bischoff, "Die Bedeutung," 297. "…komplette Porzellan-Service;" "offiziellen Staatszeremoniell."

84. Bischoff, "Die Bedeutung," 297.

85. Harald Marx, "Court Festivities in Dresden under Augustus the Strong," in *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting (*New York City: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 131.

86. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 232.

87. Ibid., 234-235.

88. Marx, "Court Festivities," 132.

Both Bischoff's and Marx's observations accord with my argument in the previous section that Augustus II's demonstration of power greatly depended on guests' ceremonial experience. Wittwer argues that the Japanisches Palais was purely designed for "particularly prestigious occasions," which mostly refer to ceremonies.[89] Desiree Baur agrees with this idea and argues that Pöppelmann's second construction plan demonstrates that the palace is purposely designed to have a "ceremonial route," especially on the upper floor, or Bel Étage.[90] Wittwer proposes that the baroque court was not only an important space to "practice functional and political power" but also was a space for the "symbolic representation of power".[91] He further explains that ceremonies regulated guests' actions and sensory experience.[92] Therefore, he believes that every component, from the exterior to the interior space, from the guests to the host, from decorations to art objects, from costumes to behaviors, existing in the ceremonial space were designed to have a symbolic impact on "the perception and self-perception of the courtly men."[93] Wittwer focuses on courtly men because of the "strong hierarchization" within both the court and the ceremonial space, which was "representative of a level of order." For male courtiers, the ceremony and the space manifested abstract concepts such as the King's power and made clear their place and role in the social structure.[94]

Wittwer proposed that the room arrangements of the upper floor of the Japanisches Palais, where guests may meet with the King, were based on the practice of power display. This

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89. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 164. "…besonders repräsentativen Anlässen."
90. Baur, "Die Ausstattung," 207. "Zeremonialweg."
91. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 154. "…der Raum der praktischen, politischen Machtausübung;" "symbolischer Repräsentation von Macht."
92. Ibid., 164. "…das Zeremoniell regelte Mechanismen und den Spiegelraum von Handlungen und legte zugleich die Art und Weise ihrer Sichtbarmachung bzw. sinnlichen Erlebbarkeit fest."
93. Ibid., 154. "…die Wahrnehmung und Selbstsicht des höfischen Menschen."
94. Ibid., 155. "eine starke Hierarchisierung;" "Vertreter einer Ordnungsstufe;" "bildhaften Symbolisierung."

display was achieved through the symbolization of visual components within the ceremonial space.[95] He points out that guests or visitors of the porcelain palace could not freely visit each room on the upper floor due to the absence of a "central structure" and had to go through the rooms in a strictly set order or sequence. This design controlled their movements and reminded them of their place in a fairly rigid social hierarchy.

2. The Color Sequence of the Porcelains and Power Display

According to Pöppelmann's design plans of the Japanisches Palais, the rooms were arranged according to the colors of the displayed porcelains. In this section I will explore how the sequence of porcelain colors could have influenced guests' ceremonial experience. Wittwer believes that the room arrangement based on the colors reflects the mechanism of the ceremonial space of the Japanisches Palais.[96] He argues that the colors represented in the palace, namely red, green, yellow, blue, purple do not belong to the "usual baroque allegory." The usual allegory tended to utilize the colors of brown-yellow, white, blue and red, which symbolize the four elements: earth, water, air and fire respectively.[97] Therefore, he applied the color theories of the contemporary Dutch art theorist and painter Gérard de Lairesse, as laid out in his *Het Groot Schilderboek* (1707). De Lairesse argues that all colors "have their senses/meanings and special qualities."[98] Specifically, he suggests that "the Yellow stands for glamour and glory, the Red for

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95. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 156-157.
96. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 157-158. "Zentralbau."
97. Ibid., 157. "üblicher barocker Allegorie."
98. Ibid., 157. "…Diese erstbenannten Couleuren haben auch ihre Sinn-Bedeutungen und besondere Eigenschaften."

power or love, the Blue for divinity, the Purple for authority or superior power, the Blue-light Red for subservience, the Green for servitude/subservience."[99]

Applying de Lairesse's color theory and Baur's observations about the room arrangement, I will now turn to Pöppelmann's design (Figure 34). Following the description of the architect's plan, I will hypothesize guests' experience of visiting and moving through the upper floor of the Japanisches Palais during a ceremony. The guests would firstly encounter the King's collection of large-sized Japanese vases. Although the plan does not specify colors, it is most likely, according to the surviving collection, that these kinrande porcelains were predominately painted with gold, red and green. That is to say, the guests would start their visit by immediately being overwhelmed by these Japanese porcelains' size and delicate patterns. Before they could make sense of this overwhelming sensation, a new sense of subservience or servitude represented by the green Chinese porcelains (celadon)[100] would be forced upon them, reminding them of their lower status in the presence of the King. Following the fixed route leading to either the King's throne or the end of the tour, based on their political status, the guests would then experience the sense of pure power or love (in this case, most likely the former). Finally, after encountering the great divinity, the guests, if granted permission, would sense the feeling of light and purity presented by the white Indian porcelain namely blanc de chine. This would prepare their meeting with Augustus II at the end of the long gallery, the room with the throne. Whether guests actually experienced the space and the collection in this way is,

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99. Gérard de Lairesse, *Het Groot Schilderboek,* in Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 157. "Das Gelbe vor den Glanz und die Glorie, das Rothe vor die Gewalt oder die Liebe, das Balue vor die Göttlichkeit, das Purpur-rothe vor die Autorität oder obere Gewalt, das Blaulicht-rothe vor die Unterthänigkeit, das Grüne vor die Dienstbarkeit."

100. Baur, "Die Ausstattung," 208.

of course, an open question, but the arrangement of the colors suggests that was the intended aim of this ceremonial space.

3. The Phenomenon of Sheen

3.1. Samuel Wittwer's Theory of the Phenomenon of Sheen

The final room before the guests would finish their tour on the upper floor of the Japanisches Palais was room X, where the King displayed his grand collection of kraak porcelains.[101] As indicated by its name, blue and white porcelains contain two colors. How then should we interpret its meaning in the ceremonial space? Should we apply the same color theory as in the previous analysis and simply combine the symbolisms of two different colors, or come up with another explanation? To start, it is important to consider the fact that the visit to room X would occur after the meeting with the King, thus after the apogee and the grand finale of their ceremonial experience, was accomplished. Wittwer offers a solution to this problem via the

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101. There has been divided opinions regarding the term "krack (= kraak)" used in the construction plans and inventories of Japanisches Palais. Some scholars such as Espir believe that "krack" means "old Indian" porcelains referring to the origin, whereas some such as Baur point out the possibility of its being kakiemon porcelains. However, I argue that the "krack porcelain" in the 1727 construction plan refers to blue and white porcelain. First, the term "krack" as mentioned by Cora Würmel did refer to "old Indian" porcelains by Augustus II in the early stage of the construction design, however, it was corrected to "alt-indianisch (old Indian)" in 1727, the time of the actual construction of the porcelain palace. Second, according to the record, 37% of the Japanisches Palais'collection is of blue and white porcelains, but nowhere in the plan is the term "blue and white porcelain" mentioned, whereas the other porcelains have been clearly marked by their colors. Third, according to Baur, Augustus II's collection of blue and white porcelains were designed to be put in the King's summer palace Pillnitz, however, the plan was put on hold in 1727, which, again, was the time of the construction of the Japanisches Palais. Thus, these blue and white porcelains intended for Pillnitz were probably rescheduled for the Japanisches Palais. Therefore, it is very likely that "krack porcelain," a term already used and widely acknowledged during this time period, does refer to blue and white porcelain. This argument will thus be taken as legitimate over the other possibilities in this article. For more information regarding the disputes, please refer to Espir, *European Decoration*, 53; Cora Würmel, "A Microcosm of Early Globalization: The East Asian Porcelain in the Collection of August the Strong." *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, no 49 (December 2016): 60; Baur, "Die Ausstattung," 207.

theory of "the phenomenon of sheen (das Phänomen der Glanz)."[102] Instead of discussing the colors of the porcelains, the theory focuses on their reflective qualities.

Above, in applying Gell's theory of the 'enchantment of technology', I claimed that the reason for Chinese porcelain's popularity before the 18th century was mainly because the technology of porcelain production had been kept a secret.[103] Secrecy caused the rarity and high value of East Asian porcelain, and consequently limited its functions to the purely decorative. However, this was not the case anymore after Augustus II's Meissen potter Johann Friedrich Böttger discovered the 'arcanum' in 1709 (announced in 1710). Thanks to the European manufactories, as previously discussed, porcelain including Meissen's and Delft's became increasingly accessible. Even though it was no longer as rare, porcelain still had very limited functions, mainly as interior decoration and tableware. In the year of the discovery, Böttger stated that there were three things that aroused people's desire for an object: "firstly the beauty, then the rarity and thirdly the usability that are connected to the former two."[104] Since porcelain

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102. For more information about light reflection effect practiced in the 17th and 18th century European palaces, please refer to: Rainer H. Schmid, "Licht und Glanz an Kirchenausstatungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Altbayern und Schwaben," in *Lacke des Barock und Rokoko, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege*, ed. Katharina Walch and Johann Koller (Munich: Edition Lipp, 1997), 11-20; Bettina Köhler. "'All White and Gold and Mirrors' Lichträume oder: vom Licht in der Wand zum Licht im Raum," *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz = Art + architecture en Suisse = Arte + architettura in Svizzera*, no. 51 (2000): 43-51; Claudia Schnitzer. "Königreiche, Wirtschaften, Baürnhochzeiten, Zeremonieeltragende und –unter-wandernde Spielforme Höfischer Maskerade," in *Zeremoniell als Höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas Rahn (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1995), 280-331. Claudia Schnitzer and Petra Hölscher, *Eine Gute Figur Machen: Kostüm und Fest am Dresdener Hof* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst Dresden, 2000); Werner Loibl. "Ideen im Spiegel: Die Spiegelkabinette in den fränkischen Schönborn-Schlössern," in *Die Grafen von Schönborn: Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene*, edited by Gerhard Bott (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 1989), 80-90.

103. Wittwer shares a similar opinion that the secrecy of porcelain's production technology was one of the main reasons for its popularity in Early Modern Europe. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 160.

104. Johann Friedrich Böttger. Quoted in Samuel Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 160. "Als erstlich die Schönheit, zum andern die Rarität und drittens die beyden verknüpfte Nutzbarkeit."

no longer possessed the 'virtues' of rarity and usability, we can deduce that the reason why it was still widely sought after was because of its beauty. To Wittwer, porcelain's beauty lay in its "specific aesthetic material qualities"—in particular, the "phenomenon of sheen."[105]

Wittwer argues that the "relative darkness of a room" unequivocally showcases the owner's "social status."[106] According to his observation, in late 17th-century and early 18th-century Europe, shining objects such as glass, mirror, enamel, pearls, polished or cut stone or glazed ceramics were often used in interior decoration. The scholar argues that shining objects work as "light multipliers" amplifying the brightness emitted by costly candles during the nighttime socializing of aristocratic society.[107] Wittwer claims that, "the phenomenon of sheen is a highly complex phenomenon that shapes human perception. It was and is the topic of scientific, theological and philosophical disputes."[108] He further explains that, "sheen is visually identifiably as the light reflections reflect on the material surfaces. It is the most intensive, concentrated luminosity without color effect."[109] As the material of an object differs, the "qualities of sheen" naturally have different results: it "shines, shimmers, [or] sparkles etc."[110] Therefore, the difference in the reflective effects of the materials exerts influence on how beholders perceive the characteristics of the objects. For instance, the stronger the sheen, the harder the material appears. Although the beholder has knowledge or/and tactile memory of the

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105. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 160. "…spezifischen ästhetischen Qualitäten des Materials;" "Phänomen Glanz."

106. Ibid., 161. "…relativen Dunkelheit eines Raumes;" "soziale Stand."

107. Ibid., 161-162. "Lichtmultiplikator;"

108. Ibid., 160. "Das Phänomen Glanz ist eine höchst komplexe Erscheinung, die die menschliche Wahrnehmung prägt. Sie war und ist Thema von naturwissenschatlichen, theologischen und philosophischen Auseinandersetzungen."

109. Ibid., 160. "Glanz ist visuell feststellbar als Spiegelung von Lichtreflexen auf materiellen Oberflächen. Er ist intensivste, konzentrierte Helligkeit ohne Farbwirkung."

110. Ibid., 160. "Qualitäten von Glanz;" "glänzt, schimmet, funkelt etc."

known objects' texture, he/she is able to "separate the effect and experience of a fact from each other." Wittwer points out that this is particularly true in the case of the phenomenon of the sheen of porcelain.[111] He argues that as twilight approaches, an object's "color values and object contours" disappear in the "semi-darkness."[112] However, due to their intense reflective quality, objects such as porcelain and mirrors remain as objects per se, until the candles run out. This once again proves that porcelain played a significant role in affecting guests' ceremonial experience at the Japanisches Palais.

3.2. Three Features Of Porcelain's Materiality

Taking the theory of phenomenon of sheen in porcelain a step further, Wittwer takes blanc de chine as an example to introduce three more detailed features, namely "two-layeredness (Zweischichtigkei)," "mirror effect (Spiegelwirkung)" and "luminosity (Lichthaltigkeit)."[113] However, since the focus of my thesis is on blue and white porcelain, I will alter and apply Wittwer's model to my analysis accordingly. First, two-layeredness refers to porcelain's opaque body and the transparent glaze allows viewers' sight to penetrate the clear glaze layer and look at the blue-pigmented patterns. However, only under light will they be able to fully appreciate its beauty, as only in this way can the glaze bring sheen to the blue pigments and allow them to radiate through the outer layer. Second, a mirror effect happens on the glaze layer of blue and white porcelain. Nevertheless, the second layer, namely the porcelain body, weakens such effect. Although the transparent glaze might have a similar sheen as metals, the white opaque layer

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111. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 160. "Wirkung und Erfahrung in bezug auf einen Sachverhalt voneinander zu trennen."

112. Ibid., 161. "Farbwerte und Objektkonturen;" "Halbdunekl."

113. Ibid., 161-162.

underneath prevents the beholders from seeing a complete, if any, mirror image on the surface. Rather, it forces them to focus on the blue patterns or depictions on the body with a significantly blurred reflection that can capture the movement around. The incomplete mirror effect of porcelain leads to its third feature—luminosity. As light penetrates porcelain's transparent glaze, the opaque layer exerts the most influence on the effect of reflection. That is to say, although the light's reflection and light itself cannot pass through the opaque layer, the second layer's whiteness does enhance the effect of light, which makes porcelain a "seemingly radiant object."[114] To sum up all three features, its two-layeredness enables blue and white porcelain to create different phenomena of sheen to the ceremonial space and guests. Under the light, it first reflects the movements that take place within the space. Second, through its own "material reality," porcelain provides the viewer a complex imagery of its blue pigments and the blurred mirroring of the interior space.[115] Third, porcelain's sheen allows it to amplify the light of candles to prolong the time of ceremonial activities and consequently the guests' ceremonial experience. In sum, the three features resulting from porcelain's materiality created a "phenomenon of sheen" which allowed the extravagant display of porcelain at the Japanisches Palais to exert a strong influence on guests' ceremonial experience.

4. The Pictorial Symbolization of Room X

To apply color theory and the theory of the phenomenon of sheen to the analysis of room X, I will first go through selected kraak porcelains in this room and their decorative organization within the space. This will provide an insight into what guests would encounter as part of their ceremonial visit. According to Pöppelmann's design plan of room X (Figure 38), one can see

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114. Wittwer, *Die Galerie*, 162.
115. Ibid., 162.

that the collection of blue and white porcelains were organized according to a similar concept as the one of room VII mentioned earlier. The wall with six windows was divided into eleven small sections. If dividing the section into two halves, the organization of its right and left sides appeared to be symmetrical, which followed the general rule of creating a harmonious atmosphere in the room. Like room VII, each section of room X had its own setting consisting of porcelain vessels of different shapes and sizes. For instance, in Figure 38, a picture of four selected sections of the wall, the section in the top position of the column featured vases, basins and plates surrounding a chinoiserie figure that shared resemblance with the Atlas figures mentioned earlier (Figure 31). The bottom section had flute vases, cups, jars and tureens surrounding a large-size lidded vase (Deckelvase). The sections vertically set in between the small and large windows have a similar setting. The one on the left was mostly of jars whereas the one on the right was of vases. Except for the section intentionally left blank for the display of the texture of the Asian wallpapers, the rest of the wall was fully decorated with as much porcelain as possible. Again similar to room VII, each of these sections' arrangements looks extremely dense but symmetrical, which is an indication of Augustus II's extravagance, wealth, and orderly reign.

Noteworthy, thanks to the surviving design plan and kraak porcelain collection at the Porzellansammlung Dresden, one can easily identify some of the kraak porcelains in the plan. From top to bottom, seven items are marked numerically in the picture (figure 39). In addition to types of porcelain such as the plates (marked ②), the flute vases (marked ④), the tubular vases (marked ⑧) that have been discussed in chapter II, there are also fish basins (marked ①), lidded

vases (marked ③), cups (marked ⑤) and narrow neck vases (marked ⑦).[116] In addition, within each section, there are different candelabras (marked ⑥) that provide the room with sufficient light sources during the ceremonies. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the porcelain arrangements in room X share a close resemblance with the settings of candelabras or chandeliers (figure 44). It seems as if each porcelain piece was placed in similar positions to the candles in a chandelier-like frame. This observation corresponds to the previous argument that porcelain was used in 18th-century palaces as a light amplifier.

To apply the theories of color and phenomenon of sheen to room X, we could start with the guests' state of mind after their visit to the King's room. To proceed to the meeting, they would be prepared by (forcefully) experiencing a sequence of sensations presented by the themed colors of each porcelain cabinet including servitude, grand power, great divinity as well as light and purity. During the meeting, which was the climax of the ceremonial experience, the guests would once again experience these sensations, not through the colors of the porcelains, but rather through the authoritative and glorious presence of the ruler. After the meeting, gathering their mixed emotions, the guests stepped into room X. In this room filled with blue and white porcelains, their complicated impressions would be brought to another level. The blue patterns and pictures under the radiating glaze of these ceramics were placed to capture their attention by presenting a combined imagery of foreign motifs and a blurred mirroring of their facial expression and bodily movements resulting from astonishment and mesmerization. Finally, the guests would ideally exit with a sense of the King's grandiose power, wealth and authority.

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116. For details of the survived porcelains mentioned here, please refer to figure 40 for type ①, 41 for type ③, figure 42 for type ⑤ and figure 43 for type ⑦.

Conclusion

To conclude, this thesis has explored how Augustus II the Strong as the ruler of Saxony and Poland exploited porcelain's unique characteristics to the fullest for his political and economic purposes. I argued that the new political order of Europe and Augustus II's new accession as Elector of Saxony and King of Poland required the ruler to prove his legitimacy. The then widely practiced and recognized chinoiserie style in art as well as East Asian philosophies and ideologies espoused at European courts provided Augustus II with opportunities to explore and execute his conception of this genre and consequently demonstrate his legitimate power as the new ruler of two strong territories. In addition, by applying Alfred Gell's theory of technology of enchantment, I claimed that the technology of porcelain production, which furnished porcelain with the unique materiality, was the reason for Europe's fascination with the artifact. Therefore, I argued that owning the technology also helped Augustus II's display of kingly power. By collecting East Asian porcelain and producing Meissen porcelain after the discovery of the arcanum, the King showcased his financial and scientific power. In addition, he also created economic opportunities to increase the trade of Meissen porcelain with the other European powerhouses. By hosting ceremonies in his Japanisches Palais, where specific features of the materiality of blue and white porcelain played a significant role in affecting guests' ceremonial experience, Augustus II further strengthened the aims of his reign.

In short, blue and white porcelain functioned as a medium that allowed the mixing of forms, motifs and techniques derived from diverse cultural centers to be reinvented as an exclusive imagery. While his passion for displaying porcelain in a ceremonial setting served a

historically specific purpose, the legacy and preservation of these collections grants important insights into the sociocultural significance of European and kraak porcelain.

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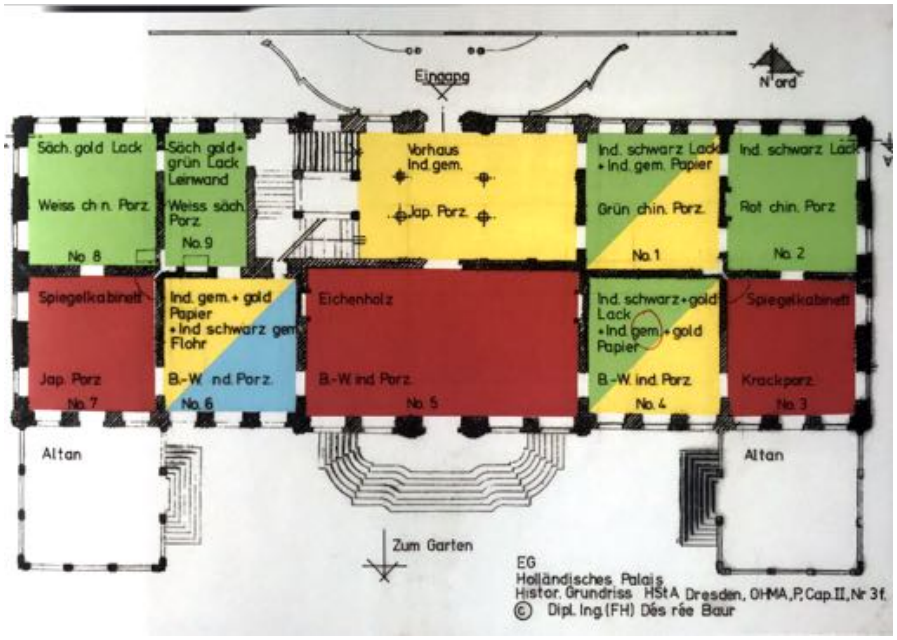

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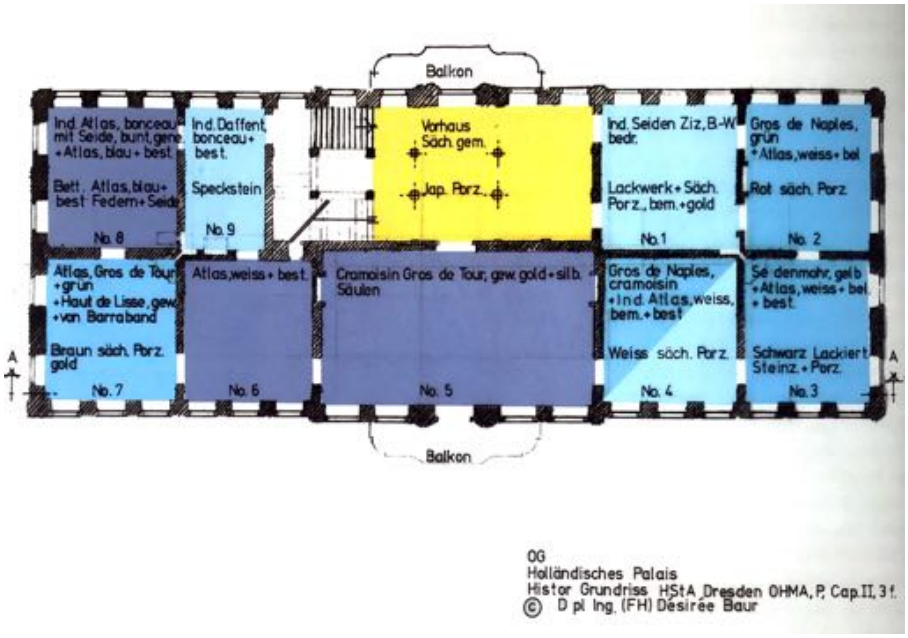

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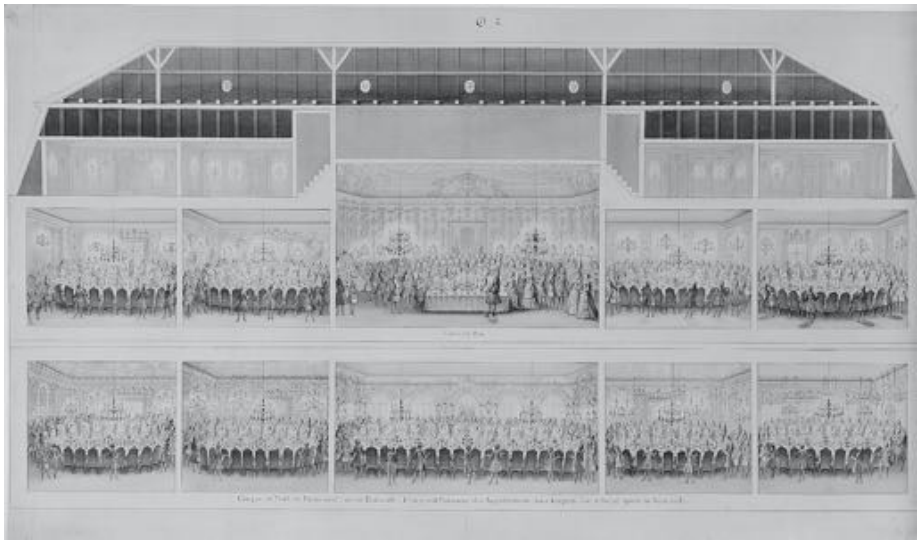

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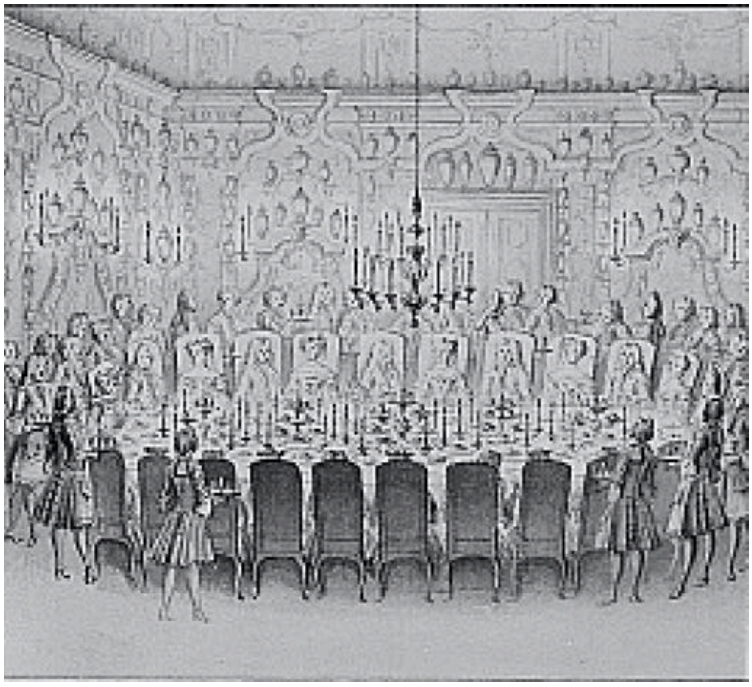

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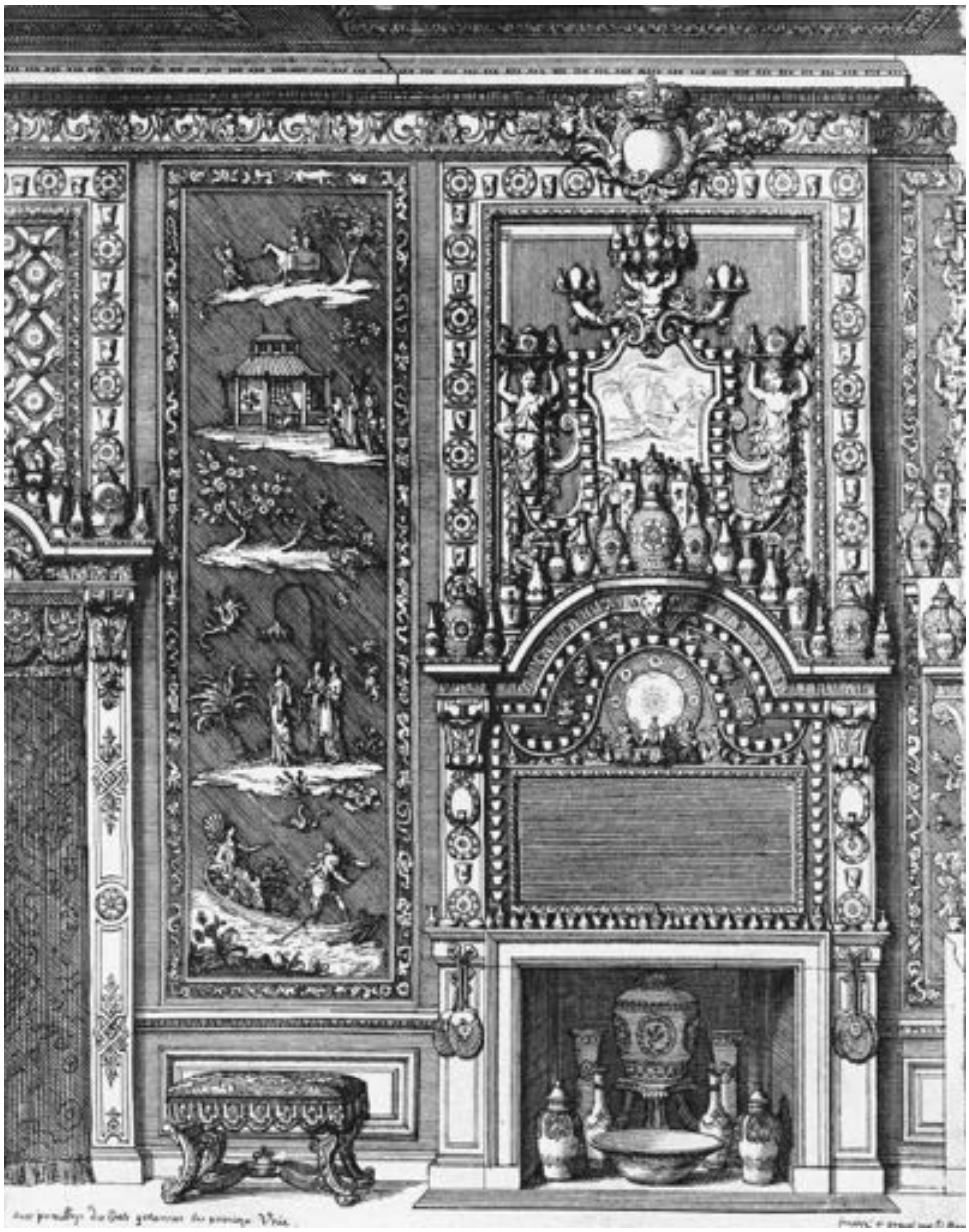

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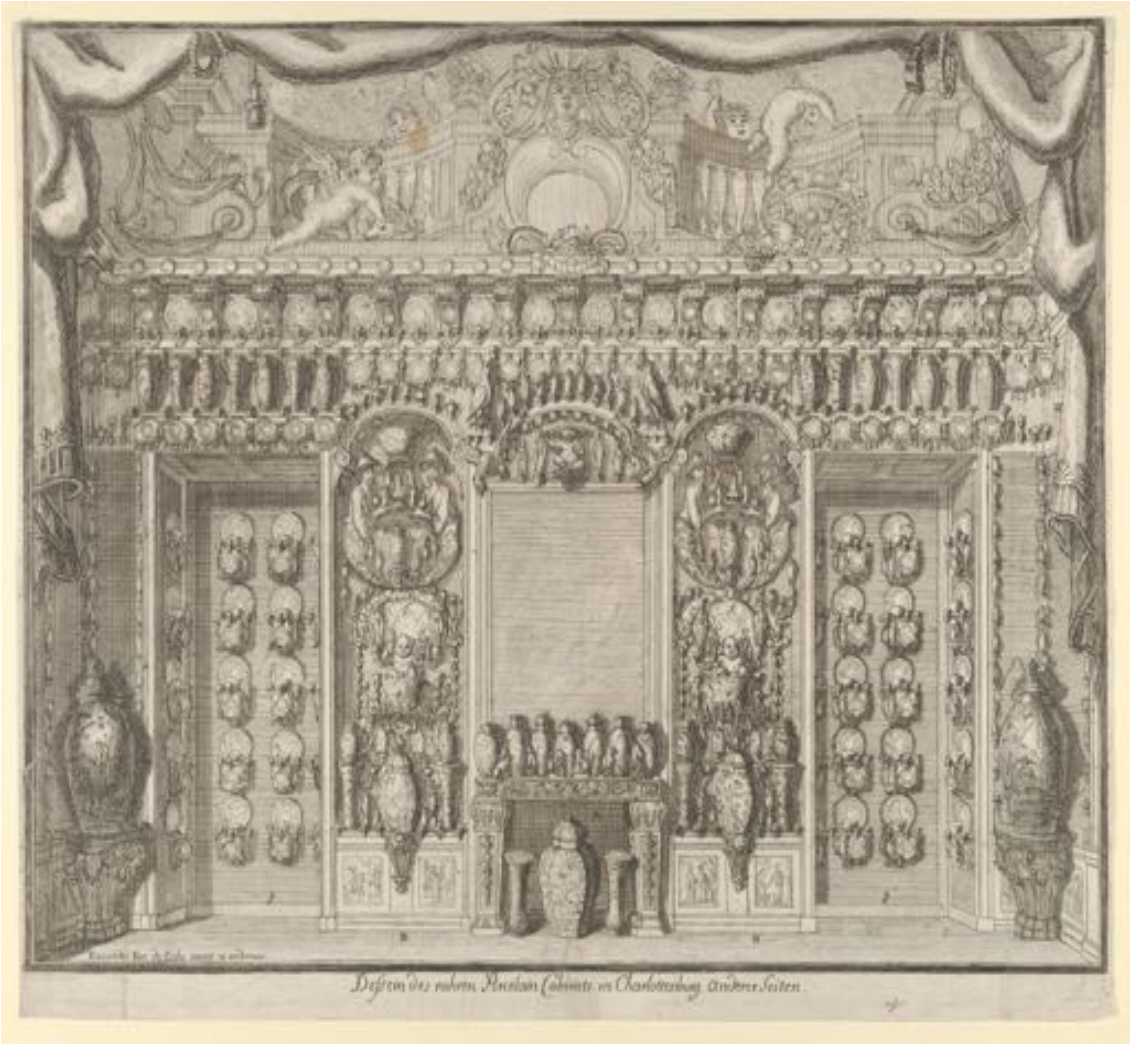

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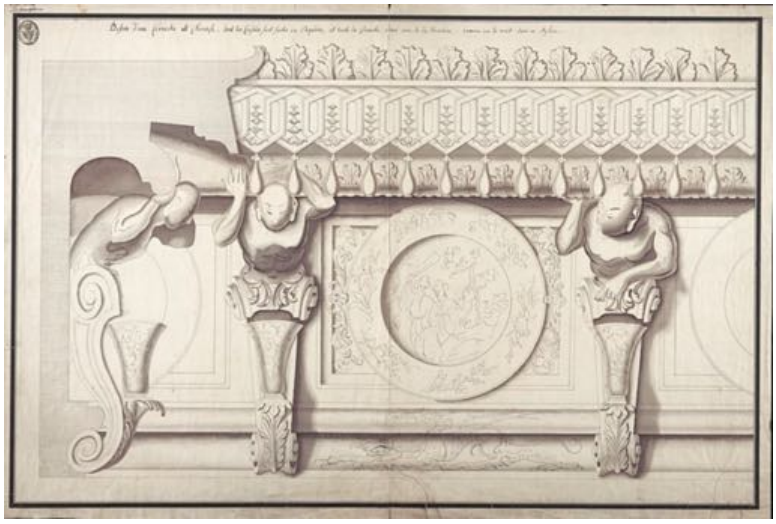

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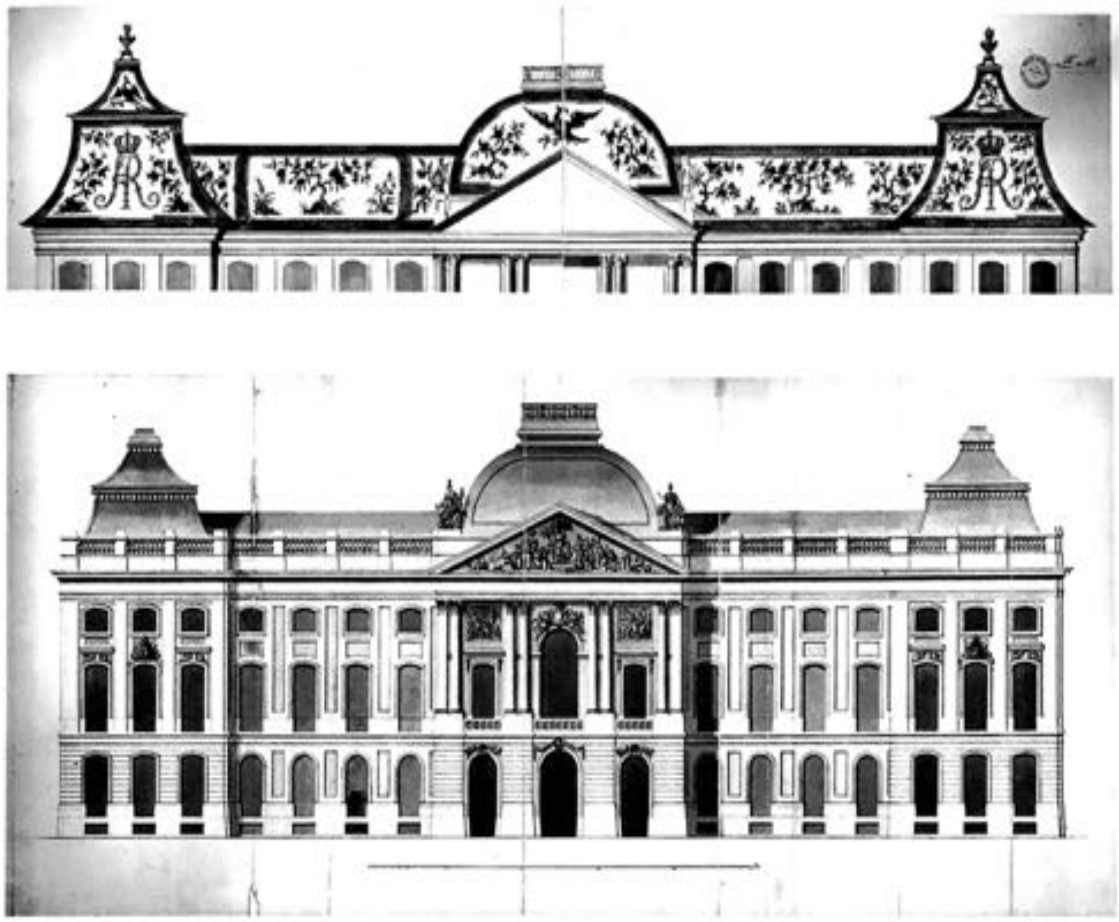

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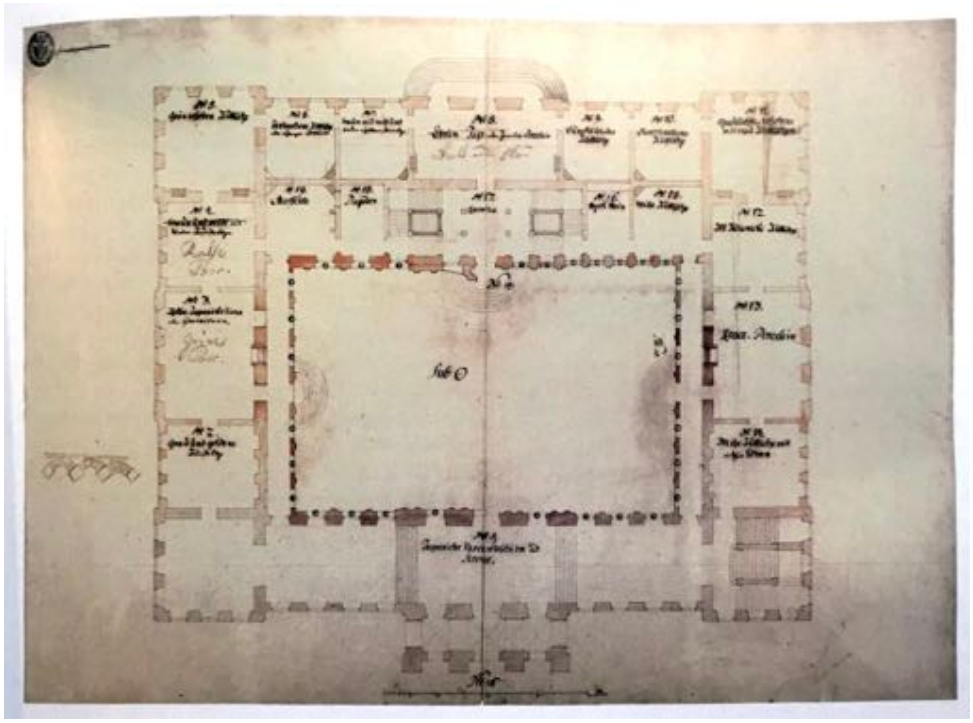

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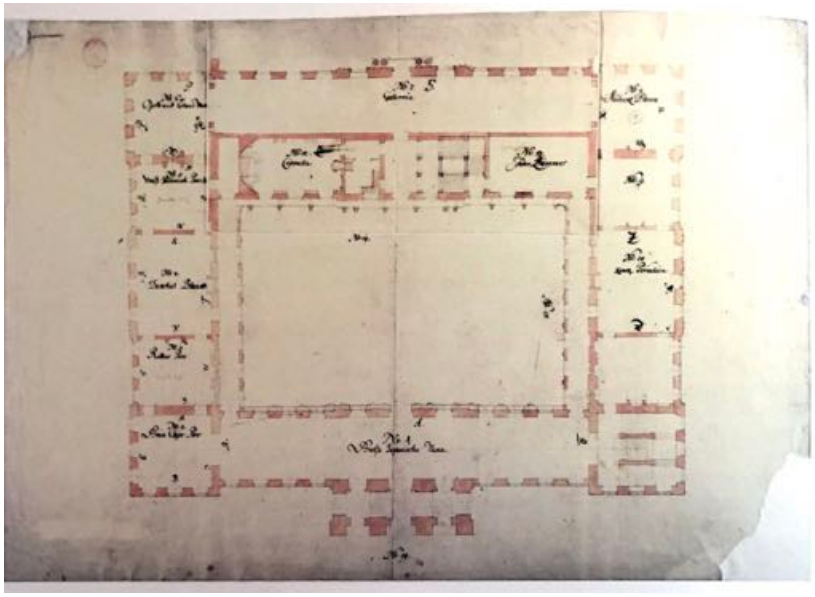

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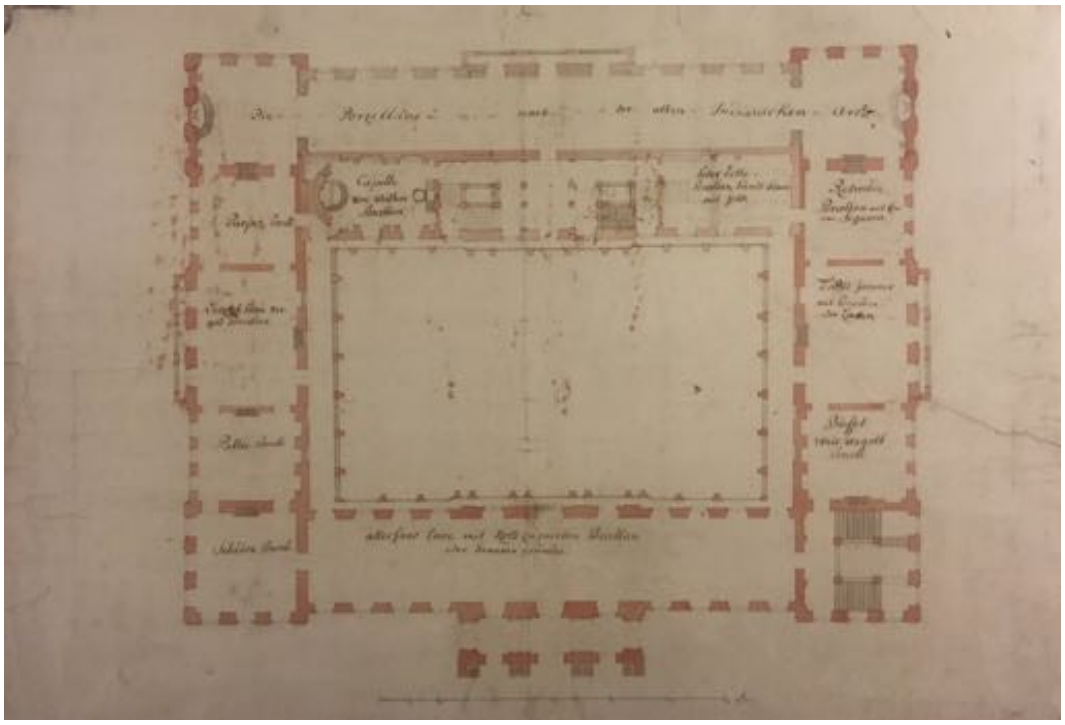

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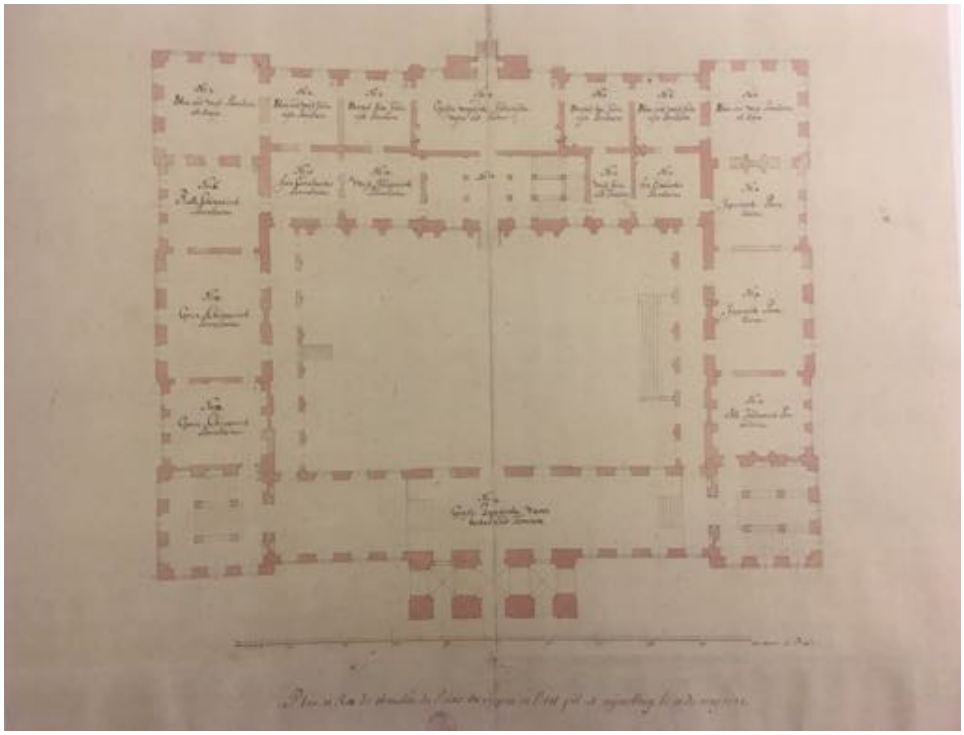

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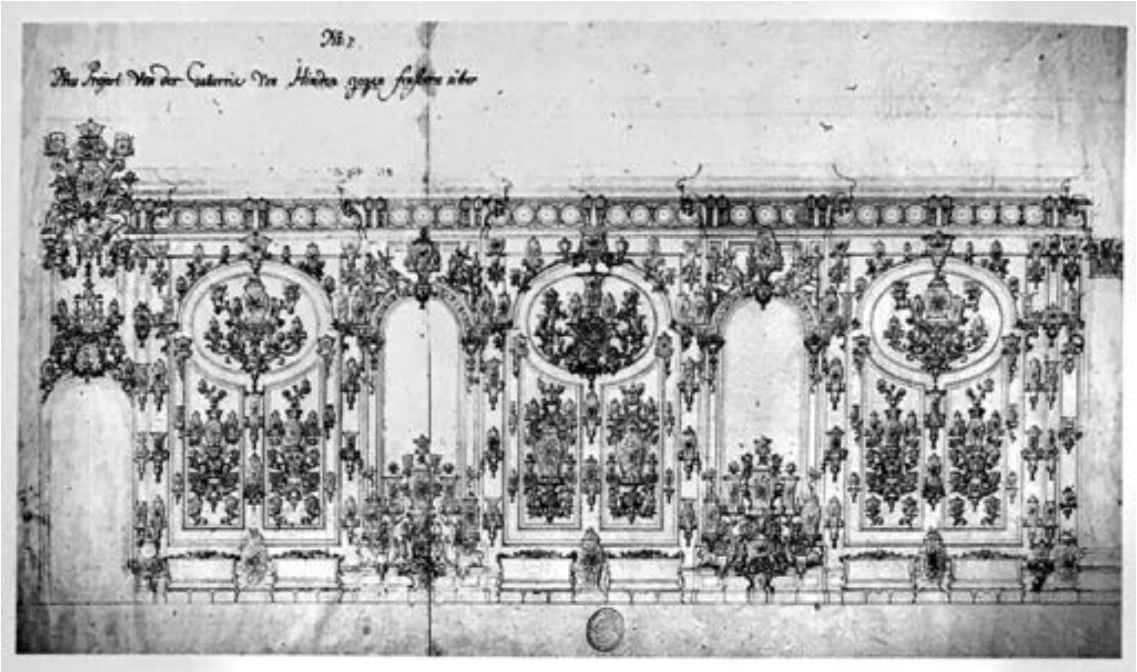

Figure 37. Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, *Neu Project Von der Gallerie*, chalcography, 1730, Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv.

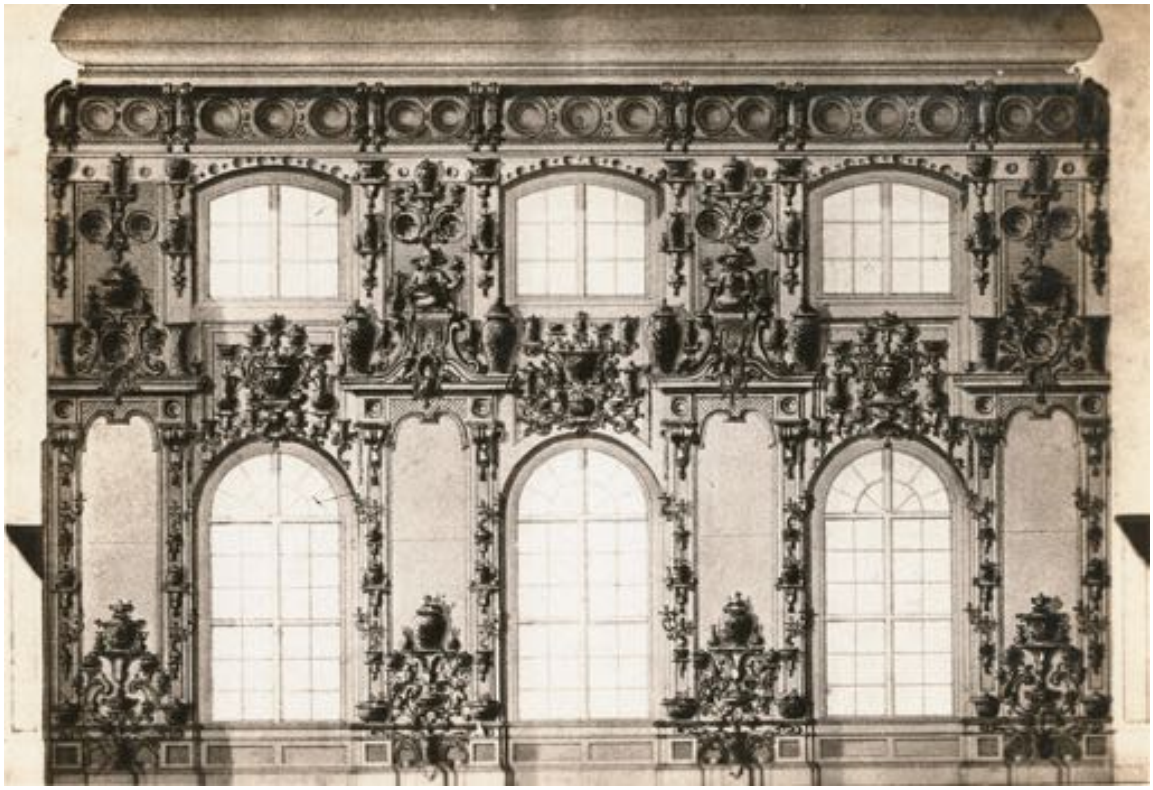

Figure 38. Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, *Ansicht Raum No.10*, chalcography, 1729, Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv.

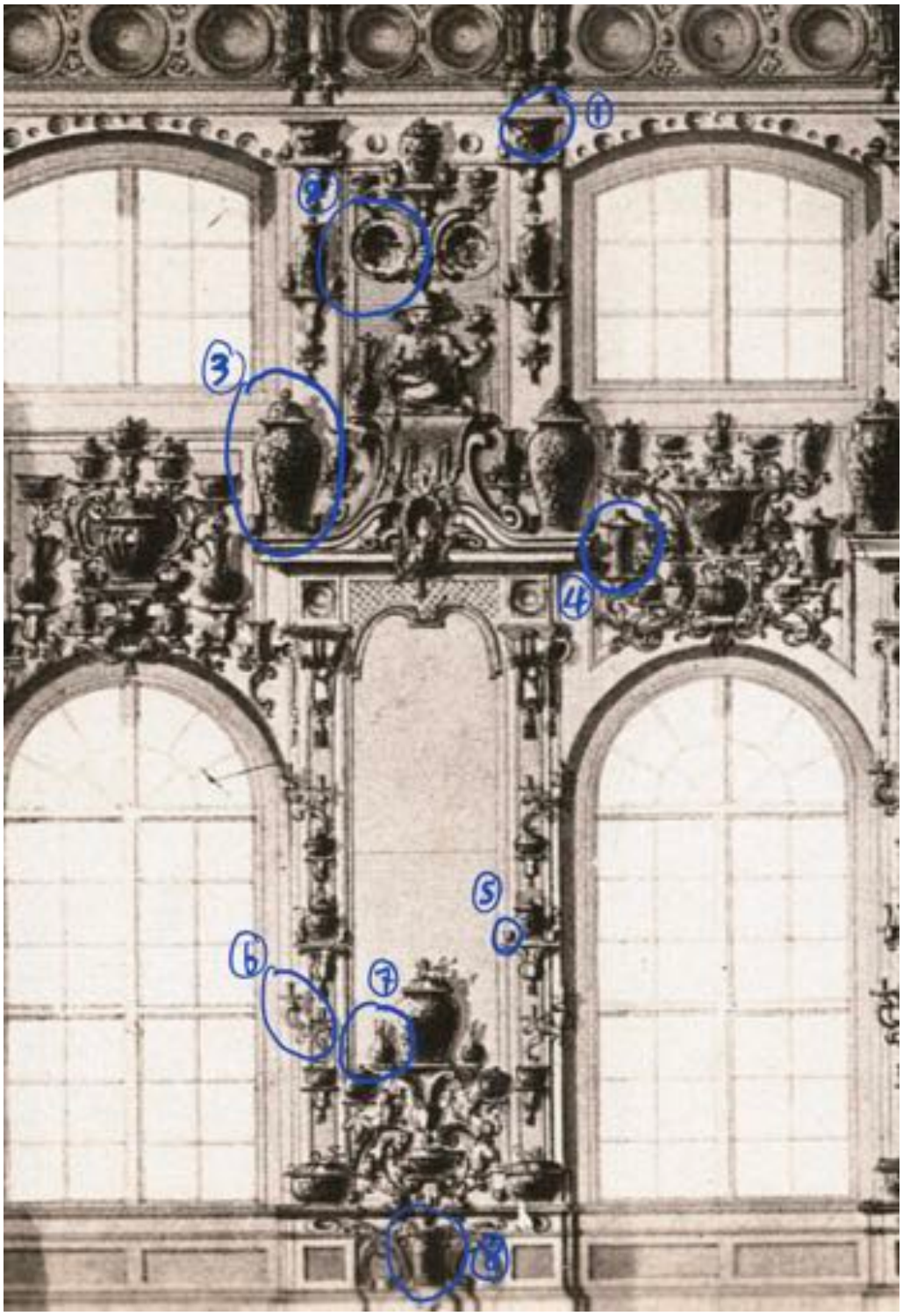

Figure 39. Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, *Ansicht Raum No.10*, chalcography, 1729, Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv.

Figure 40. Jingdezhen Porcelain Kiln, *Fischbassin*, Kangxi Reign (1662-1722), porcelain, Dresden, Porzellansammlung.

Figure 41. Jingdezhen Porcelain Kiln, *Deckelvase*, Kangxi Reign (1662-1722), porcelain, Dresden, Porzellansammlung.

Figure 42. Jingdezhen Porcelain Kiln, *Becher*, Kangxi Reign (1662-1722), porcelain, Dresden, Porzellansammlung.

Figure 43. Jingdezhen Porcelain Kiln, *Flaschenvase*, Kangxi Reign (1662-1722), porcelain, Dresden, Porzellansammlung.

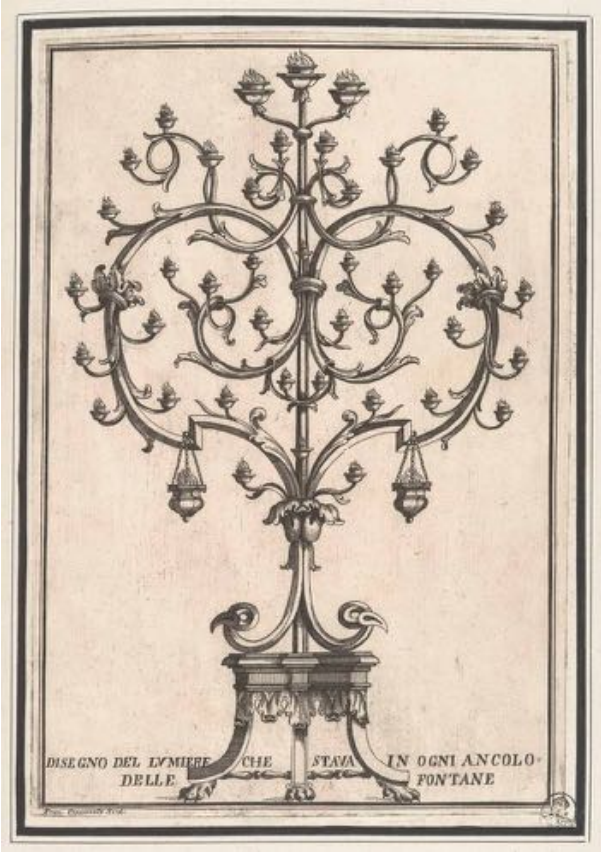

Figure 44. Francesco Cepparuli, *Leuchter für die Brunnen der Festarchitektur vor dem Palazzo Reale in Neapel anlässlich der Geburt der Prinzessin Maria Isabel*, chalcography, 1740-1742, Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.