Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

Dutch demand for porcelain: The maritime distribution of Chinese ceramics and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), first half of the 17th century

Ketel, C.L.

Citation

Ketel, C. L. (2021, September 30). *Dutch demand for porcelain: The maritime distribution of Chinese ceramics and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), first half of the 17th century*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3214229

Version:	Publisher's Version
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3214229

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

DUTCH DEMAND FOR PORCELAIN

THE MARITIME DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE CERAMICS AND THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC), FIRST HALF OF THE 17th CENTURY.

Christine Louise Ketel

DUTCH DEMAND FOR PORCELAIN

THE MARITIME DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE CERAMICS AND THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC), FIRST HALF OF THE 17th CENTURY.

Christine Louise Ketel

Copyright@Christine Louise Ketel, Leiden, 2021

ISBN: 978-94-6423-404-6

Printed by: Proefschriftmaken.nl

Cover Designs: Vera van Beek

Cover illustration: De rede van Batavia met VOC-retourvloot. Adam Willaerts, 1649. Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv.nr. B.0258.

Backcover illustration:
Stucco ceiling in the porcelain chamber (Porzellankabinetts) with a detail of the ceiling painting signed by Augustin Terwesten, 1697, portraying an "Allegory of the Introduction of Porcelain to Europe".
Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/ Photographer: Wolfgang Pfauder.

Dutch Demand for Porcelain.
The Maritime Distribution of Chinese Ceramics and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), first half of the 17th Century.

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,

volgens besluit van het college voor promoties

te verdedigen op donderdag 30 september 2021

klokke 13.45 uur

door

Christine Louise Ketel

geboren te Tokio, Japan

Promotor

Prof. Dr. A.T. Gerritsen

Promotiecommissie

Prof. Dr. J.L. Blussé

Prof Dr. R. Baarsen

Dr. J. van Campen	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Dr. E. Ströber	Former curator Asian Ceramics, Museum Het Princessehof, Leeuwarden.

DEDICATION

Woo!!....vases and our life are fragile.
I remember when I met Roxanna at the museum, that visit opened my eyes.
Our most precious, valuable pottery broken.
What a life!
In sorrow,
Cong Tran -Vietnamese collector
From: 'The contributions of Roxanna Brown to the study of Southeast Asian Ceramics'. by Dawn F. Rooney in: *Southeast Asian Ceramics: New Light on Old Pottery.* Ed. John N. Miksic, Singapore, 2009.

My dissertation is dedicated to Roxanna Maude Brown (1946-2008), who was unjustly arrested in Seattle, U.S.A. where she was invited to lecture. She was charged with having misused her electronic signature for dealings in Asian antiquities. Imprisoned without a trial, she spent four days in a cell and died from complications of peritonitis as a result of lack of treatment. As Mort Rosenblum wrote: *'However unintended, Roxanna Brown suffered capital punishment without trial because of what appears to be simple identity theft, now so common to our daily lives.'* In 2009, the US federal government paid $ 880,000 to settle the lawsuit filed by her son.

Roxanna was an authority on Southeast Asian ceramics and used the concept of finds from shipwrecks to support her theory on the Ming Gap. She became curator at Bangkok University's Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum and has written extensively on subjects relating to Southeast Asian ceramics. Her works have inspired me because she was the first to compare ceramics salvaged from shipwrecks to their origins, the kilns where they were shaped, decorated and fired. I think that this method is crucial for thorough research on identifying and dating ceramics, and this is the principal aim of my dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I.

Acknowledgements 1

Chapter 1. Introduction. 3

Aim and structure. 6

Explanation of sources used. 10
Main sources.
Secondary sources.

Chapter 2: The distribution of Chinese ceramics to overseas markets up to the end of the 16th century. 18

Introduction. 18

The definitions of 'export ceramics'. 21

Ceramic shipments during the Tang Dynasty, (618-907). 24

Shipments of Chinese ceramics during the Song Dynasty, (960-1279). 28

Ceramic production and shipments during the Yuan Dynasty, (1279-1368). 34

The first period of the Ming Dynasty, (1368- ca.1522). 39

The arrival of the Portuguese in Asia and the porcelain trade. 53

Flatware for export markets. 60

Chapter 3: Definitions, interpretations and descriptions of Chinese blue and white porcelain with a border decoration in panels. 74

Introduction. 74

Definitions and origins of the word *carrack/carraca*. 77

The combination of the terms 'Kraak' and porcelain. 84

Characteristics of Kraak-type porcelain. 92

The production of panel-decorated porcelain as export ware. 94

Archaeological excavations in Jingdezhen of Kraak-panelled ware. 99

Possible origins of the panel pattern. 104
Discoveries of tomb finds in China with Kraak-panelled ware. 107

The main shapes of panel-decorated wares. 111

Types of porcelain items without the panel pattern in Western cargoes. 125

Zhangzhou ware. 131

Conclusion of this chapter. 137

Chapter 4: A reinterpretation of dating Kraak-panelled porcelain based on shipwreck finds. 139

Introduction. 139

Chronologies of panel-decorated Kraak ware. 140

Conclusion of this chapter. 169

Chapter 5. The beginnings of Dutch trade in Asia and shipments of Chinese porcelain, 1596-ca.1622. 170

Introduction. 170

The period before the establishment of the VOC (1595-1602). 173

A review of the two captured Portuguese ships, *São Tiago* (1602) and *Santa Catarina* (1604) by the Dutch and their contents. 180

Shipments of Chinese porcelain by the VOC from 1602 to around 1612. 191

Porcelain commissions and deliveries during the period 1612-1622. 198

Conclusion of this chapter. 208

Chapter 6. The distribution of Chinese porcelain by the VOC from 1622 until 1655. 210

Introduction. 210

The first period, 1622-1634. 213

The second period of porcelain deliveries, from 1634 to 1644. 223

The decline of the quality and quantities of ceramic supplies from 1644 to 1655. 252

Chinese ceramics shipped to other destinations by the VOC. 261

The Interinsular region. 263

Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia. 267

Japan. 272

Porcelain deliveries to Gamron (Bandar-e-Abbas) and Mocha (Al-Mukhā). 275

Ceramic artifacts excavated at some sites of VOC tradeposts. 282

Conclusion of this chapter 286

Summary and overall conclusion of the dissertation. 288

Nederlandse samenvatting. 291

Bibliography. 293

Curriculum Vitae Christine L. Ketel 323

Volume II.
Appendices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I first wish to commemorate Professor Dr. H.A. van Oort (1916-2001), who became professor at the department of *Oost Aziatische Kunst en Archeologie* at the University of Amsterdam. His enthusiasm inspired many who were interested in this subject to become his students and get acquainted with the unique collection of Asian Art in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The University closed the faculty in 1986 after which this subject was no longer taught there. I also commemorate Bas Kist (1933-2003), curator of the department of Dutch History at the Rijksmuseum. Under his supervision, between 1979 and 1982, I coordinated a research group, together with Christien Smits, to sort out and research the 200 kilos of broken blue and white Chinese porcelain salvaged from the VOC shipwreck the *Witte Leeuw* by the Belgian diver Robert Sténuit. This resulted in the publication of *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw (1613).* It was my introduction to maritime archaeology and Kraak-type porcelain.

I cannot mention all the archaeologists, maritime archaeologists and specialists on the subject of Chinese export porcelain whom I have become acquainted with during conferences, most of which took place in China. I especially thank Cao Jianwen, Li Jian'an, Qin Dashu, Jiang Bo, Cheng Peikai and many others for the lively discussions and exchanges of information on the subject of Chinese export ware.

As to the thesis itself, I thank Robert Parthesius for encouraging me to undertake it, and Menno Leenstra for his advice on the archival material. Special thanks also to Ink de Pree to help me get through the first drafts. My supervisor, Anne Gerritsen, encouraged me to reach the ultimate goal of the dissertation. Finally, I thank the Doctorate Committee for their useful comments.

Many thanks to Cao Jianwen, Hugo Crespo, Jack Harbeston, Valerie Esterhuizen, R. Jayasena, Elena Strong of the National Museum of Bermuda, and Peter, the grandson of the deceased Edward von der Porten, who provided me with much of the photo materials. Also thanks to Claire Delery, curator of Musée Guimet in Paris for sending me numerous images of the porcelain collection housed in the Santos Palace in Lisbon, as well as Jeroen ter Brugge and Maria Smit of the Rijksmuseum for the new images of the porcelain from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. I intend to write an updated catalogue with these in the near future. Stan van Houcke helped to complete my overview of the Ardebil Shrine collection by presenting me with the enormous catalogue of the Iran

Bastan Museum. I am also grateful to the library assistants of the Rijksmuseum who regularly had to carry the heavy Topkapi Palace Museum and Ardebil Shrine books to my desk for me to re-check images and texts.

There are so many others I wish to thank for having supported me on this long journey that I do not know where to start. First of all, my loving family and the many warm circles of friends. Naturally they often asked why I was putting myself through this ordeal, and I just could not provide an adequate answer. Their support however, kept me going.

My advice to others on this long and lonely road is written on a card for my birthday: "Whatever you decide to do, make sure it makes you HAPPY'. *Bedankt* Kees, it took awhile, but in the end, in spite of all the setbacks, it did.

CHAPTER 1. Introduction.

In 1613, the *Witte Leeuw (White Lion*), one of the ships of a return fleet of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) that had departed from Bantam on the island of Java, made a stopover in the bay of Jamestown, on the island of St. Helena, to take in fresh water and food. An unexpected encounter with a group of Portuguese ships resulted in the battle during which the *Witte Leeuw* was hit and the gunpowder on board blew up the whole ship.

In 1977, the Belgian diver Robert Sténuit, director of the G.R.A.S.P. salvage company, discovered the shipwreck.[1] During the salvage, Sténuit did not find the diamonds listed on the cargo manifest but instead discovered a massive amount of Chinese blue and white export porcelain. Only 290 intact pieces were recovered; the rest were shards, weighing more than 300 kilos. Bas Kist, curator of the Dutch History department at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam at that time, was interested in the broken finds and a project was started to sort out and classify the shards. The result was the 1982 publication of the catalogue, *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw,* of which I was the editor.[2] This work was the first publication on a maritime salvage of a VOC vessel on its homeward-bound voyage that contained such a large amount of Chinese porcelain.

Hereafter, I continued to be intrigued by maritime and terrestrial archaeology and I have given numerous papers on the subjects of the VOC and the trade in Chinese porcelain. My focus was first mainly on Kraak porcelain, as this was the dominant type retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw*. This led to further research on the broader subject of what types of Chinese ceramics were produced and transported to overseas regions during the centuries of maritime trade, for which items from shipwrecks are an essential source.

The importance of shipwrecks that contained Chinese export ceramics was directly mirrored in the sudden interest from collectors and museums in several auctions that took place in the 1980s. In 1983, a Singapore-based salvage company that had been searching for wrecks in that area discovered the wreck of a Chinese junk near Java, Indonesia. Some 25,000 pieces of unbroken porcelain were retrieved and several

---

[1] *Groupe de Recherche Archéologique Sous-Marine Post Médievale*.
[2] C.L.van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*, Amsterdam, 1982.

sales at Christie's in Amsterdam brought in around 3 million US dollars.[3] This became known as the 'Hatcher cargo', named after the owner of the salvage company, Michael Hatcher. The auction of porcelain salvaged from the Dutch VOC ship, *Geldermalsen,* that sank in 1752 in the Riau Archipelago, south of Singapore, was even more spectacular. In 1986, this cargo, which became known as the 'Nanking cargo' in collectors' circles, included around 239,000 items of which about 170,000 were still intact, and yielded 25 million US dollars.[4] These shipwreck finds instigated some to publish on types of Chinese ceramics that had been produced for export overseas and of which little was known or written about. In this sense, the salvage of shipwreck finds must be rated positively.

There is, however, another side. In the case of the *Geldermalsen*, it was noted that 'Representatives of the archaeological community have pointed to examples of commercial recovery operations such as that of the *Geldermalsen* as illustrative of the manner in which valuable archaeological and historical information is lost whilst the economic value of the wreck is maximized'.[5] Another critic remarked: 'Although the wreck contained excellent associations, with the porcelains still in their original crates, no effort was made to record these associations or to preserve any part of the wreck site'.[6] Moreover, the possibility that the wreck laid within Indonesian territorial waters resulted in a lawsuit by the Indonesian government against Christie's.[7]

---

[3] *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain, Recently Recovered from an Asian Vessel in the South China Sea. The Property of Captain Michael Hatcher*, Auction Catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, 14 March 1984; *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain. The Second and Final part of the Hatcher Collection, recently recovered from an Asian vessel in the South China Sea*, Auction Catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, 12 & 13 June 1984; *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain. The private collection of Captain Michael M. Hatcher, selected from the contents of an Asiatic vessel, which went down in the South China Sea circa 1640,* Auction Catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, 14 February 1985.
[4] The salvage company involved was again that of Michael Hatcher. *The Nanking Cargo. Chinese Export Porcelain and Gold*, Auction Catalogue Christie's Amsterdam, 28 April - 2 May 1986.
[5] Craig Forrest. 'Has the Application of Salvage Law to Underwater Cultural Heritage Become a Thing of the Past?' *Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2003, p. 324.
[6] Richard Gould, *Archaeology and the Social History of Ships*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 342.
[7] Agus Sudaryadi, 'The Belitung Wreck Site After Commercial Salvage in 1998', *Proceedings of the Asia-Pacific Regional conference on Underwater Heritage protections,* 2011: http://www.themua.org/collections/ (visited January, 2020), p. 5: 'From the salvaging of *Geldermalsen'*s cargo, Indonesia got neither financial nor non-financial award. The result of the auction was not done clearly, meanwhile the process of lifting, packing, conservation, and auction did not involve Indonesian archaeologists at all. Thus, there was no data, documentation nor improvement of underwater archaeologists' knowledge in Indonesia. One of the more horrendous consequences of the event is that an Indonesian archaeologist is considered dead, his body thus far not found, who was active in the investigation of locating the *Geldermalsen'*. In 1999, the cargo of over 350,000 pieces from the *Tek Sing* dated 1822 also salvaged by Hatcher's company, was sold in Stuttgart in 2000 resulting in 7.2 million German marks. The Indonesian government received only 2000 ceramic pieces and 2 million DM.

These are only a few examples of the unethical side of salvaging items from shipwrecks. A responsible and more academic way is when government control and funding is involved. For example, at the time of the auctions in the 1980s, China had just started developing its own maritime archaeology to salvage shipwrecks and conserve the objects discovered. Naturally the Chinese state was interested in obtaining items from Western shipwrecks, given that the ceramics had been produced in China and are considered to be part of its cultural heritage. As a Chinese maritime archaeologist noted: 'The Chinese were powerless to have the items returned to them or to prevent the sale going ahead, so in desperation they sent two officials to The Netherlands to bid for some of the items. Their US$ 30,000 budget did not even allow them to meet a single starting price of any of the 160,000 pieces on sale'.[8] This prompted the Chinese government to set up its own maritime heritage research department in 1987.[9] Once awareness of its own cultural heritage had been kindled, China enacted its *Regulation on Protection and Administration of Underwater Cultural Relics*, which provides a legal framework for the protection and management of historic shipwrecks. 'Under this Regulation, China asserts jurisdiction over historic shipwrecks not only in her internal waters and territorial sea but also in other sea areas under China's jurisdiction. Furthermore, China reclaims the ownership of historic shipwrecks originating from China found within these waters'.[10]

An important inspiration for this dissertation is the doctoral thesis published by Roxanna Brown in 1988. She emphasized the importance of shipwreck finds as an essential addition to dating ceramics. 'Shipwreck data is revolutionising the identification and dating of Chinese as well as Southeast Asian wares. Shipwrecks introduce important archaeological assemblages into a world that once relied heavily on stylistic analysis and this has sometimes caused some discomfort'.[11] Nevertheless, Brown rightly warned that without clear evidence of a ship's identity, one cannot be certain of its exact sinking date: 'Recovered cargoes are never intact, since the sites are disturbed by fishing activities and divers long before professional observation and

---

[8] *Fragrant Harbour,* no. 255, pp. 40-41; from: http://www.stuartheaver.com/Nan_Hai.pdf (visited January 2020).
[9] Liu Ben An, 'Three Recently Discovered Shipwrecks in China'. *Conference Papers on Sunken Treasures. Underwater Archaeology in China*. Los Angeles, 1995.
[10] Hongye Zhao, 'Recent Developments in the Legal Protection of Historic Shipwrecks in China.' *Ocean Development & International Law,* 1992, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 305-333; from: http://www.tandfonline.com/(visited January 2020).
[11] R. Brown, *The Ceramics of South-East Asia, their Dating and Identification,* Kuala Lumpur, 1988, p.21.

excavation take place.' Furthermore, 'Only few sites yield indisputable evidence; some may have been discovered to a certain degree already, or the salvaged items may not all have originated from the actual ship; there is always a certain degree of "pollution"'.[12] Indeed, there are areas such as reefs, a bay for sheltering, or a hazardous coastline which may have multiple wrecks so that debris from several shipwrecks can become mixed up.[13] Thus, other items can be swept by currents into a dated shipwreck site, thereby creating confusion as to the dating.

Nevertheless, in academic research on the maritime distribution of Chinese ceramics, finds from shipwrecks are an essential addition to archival documents and historical facts.[14] They help to analyse trade routes, the types and the dating of ceramics that were transported from place to place.[15] It is regrettable that some unethically salvaged shipwrecks need to be included in this research, but there is simply a lack of government-supported ones to use as references.

Aim and structure of the dissertation.

For this study, I have drawn on three distinct areas of research: maritime trade and archaeology, Chinese export ware, and the history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). During the epoch when the VOC started operations in Asia from 1602, and Chinese porcelain gradually came in demand, a specific type of Chinese export ware was produced which later became known as Kraak porcelain. As this was the main type shipped by the VOC to the Dutch Republic in the first half of the 17th century, it led me to analyse this particular type of porcelain in detail. What is the origin of the term Kraak,

---

[12] Ibid.

[13] Sebastian Ostkamp made a critical note on the shipwreck finds of the *Witte Leeuw*. He states that some ceramics included in the catalogue were not contemporary with the wreck but have been used by other authors to date them. See: S. Ostkamp, 'The Dutch 17th Century Trade from an Archaeological Perspective', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Golden Age,* J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.), Amsterdam, 2014. pp. 53-87, p. 58. However, when compiling the catalogue of the *Witte Leeuw*, these later ceramics have clearly been given a separate chapter as being 18th century. Van der Pijl-Ketel, (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), p. 250.

[14] For example, the so-called 'Wanli' shipwreck cannot be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1619) as the salvaged ceramics include items from a later date (the Chongzhen reign, 1628-1644). S. Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo,* Manila, 2007.

[15] An excellent overview of shipwrecks and their finds can to be found in: Chunming Wu (ed.), *Early Navigation in the Asia-Pacific Region, A Maritime Archaeological Perspective*. Singapore, 2016.
Recent scientific methods used on shipwreck ceramics are documented in Danita de Waal, 'Raman Investigation of Ceramics from 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Shipwrecks', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy,* vol.35, 2004, pp. 8- 9; from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/jrs.1210. (visited January, 2020).

which shapes can be categorized as Kraak porcelain and how can these be securely dated? I also researched VOC orders and cargo lists to analyse the quantities of porcelain transported by the VOC to the Dutch Republic, within Asia, and to Persia during this epoch to determine when amounts were high or low. The outcome is that a considerable variation is to be seen; it seems that there was no regular outflow of Chinese porcelain during those years.

My research is divided into three main parts. The first part, Chapter 2, provides an historical background of the types of Chinese ceramics transported overseas during the Tang dynasty (618-907), the Song dynasty (907-1279), the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) and the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) up to the end of the 16th century. I refer to ceramics salvaged from dated shipwrecks of each period to illustrate what was transported and show which adaptations, be it to shapes or decorations, were made to items produced for overseas markets in the course of these centuries.

With the arrival of the Portuguese and the Spanish merchants in Asia at the beginning of the 16th century, an additional overseas market for Chinese ceramics came into being. The royal courts of Lisbon and Madrid were keen to acquire Chinese porcelain.[16] Here the question arises whether items were specifically produced or adapted to suit these new foreign customers. Ceramics from early Portuguese shipwrecks, such as the *São João* (1552) and the *São Bento* (1554), are illustrative of porcelain the Portuguese purchased in that period. These were for the most part bowls and some flatware, all regular Chinese wares. Numerous references to orders for porcelain by the Portuguese exist, but as far as I know, none include specific Western shapes. Nonetheless, square-shaped porcelain flasks copied from a European glass or faience model exist, and other items have heraldic or religious inscriptions.[17]

A noticeable change can be seen towards the end of the 16th century by way of the Spanish *San Diego* shipwreck that sank in 1600. Amongst the salvaged objects are

---

[16] M.A. Pinto de Matos, 'The Portuguese Trade', *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no. 1, 1999, pp. 22-30; M.A. Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art,* vol. 48, 2002/3, and *The R.A. Collection of Chinese Ceramics. A Collector's Vision*, London, 2011. T. Canepa, 'The Iberian Royal Courts of Lisbon and Madrid and their Role in Spreading a Taste for Chinese Porcelain in 16th-century Europe', in Van Campen and Eliëns (eds.), 2014 (op. cit.), pp. 17-35. T. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644.* London, 2016. She describes how porcelain was acquired through 'diplomatic gifts', 'Royal orders', and there are lists of porcelain items used for banquets. See also: T. Canepa, *Jingdezhen to the World: The Lurie Collection of Chinese Export Porcelain from the Late Ming Dynasty.* London, 2019 (this publication appeared after research for this thesis had been completed).

[17] Pinto de Matos 1999 (op.cit.), p. 26, fig. 7; Canepa 2014 (op. cit.), p. 23, fig. 6.

items decorated with a typical panel pattern that until then had not been found in shipwrecks. In later years, this type became known as Kraak porcelain, the topic of the second part, chapters three and four, of this dissertation.

In Chapter 3, I first approach the subject of Kraak porcelain from an art-historical perspective. Definitions of this specific type of export porcelain diverge widely. To arrive at a concise determination of this term, I have analysed the various definitions of the term Kraak, how is it used, and how it fits into the overall classification of Chinese porcelain as export ware. The aim here is to give this particular type of porcelain a clearer definition, as has been done with other export wares. For example, terms such as 'transitional ware', *famille verte, famille noire* and *famille rose* are all Western labels, used for Chinese export wares.

I use archaeological finds from Jingdezhen to illustrate that items for the domestic market were produced and fired in the same kilns as Kraak-type porcelain, using the same types of raw material. The difference can be determined by the shapes**,** which are for the most part foreign to the Chinese, and the characteristic panel pattern. I illustrate the main shapes, using the typology made for the items retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw*, as they represent the majority of Kraak-type items.

Furthermore, when reading Dutch terms on orders and cargo lists, it is not clear which shapes these actually are. For example, which shapes would have been meant by *groote schotelen, groote en middelmatige boterschotelen, cameels koppen, clapmutsen,* all part of Kraak-type ware. There are also terms related to Western shapes such as *olie- en azijn kannetjes, pimpelkens, tuytepottekens, mosterdpotten, brandewijnstopkens*. However, these had not been produced before models were regularly sent to Formosa to be copied from around 1634. Until these were produced, other items were purchased that could fulfil the same usage.

I continue in Chapter four with a reinterpretation of the ways in which Kraak-panelled porcelain has usually been dated. After examining three existing dating methods based on flatware found at shipwreck sites, I conclude that a dated wreck could contain items with different border patterns; therefore, one specific panel pattern cannot be given a precise dating.

Turning to the historical perspective, the last part of my research (Chapters 5 and 6) focuses on how the distribution of Chinese porcelain by Dutch commercial enterprises evolved from the end of the 16th century to around 1655, including the

quantities and types involved. I divide the distribution of Chinese porcelain by the Dutch into several periods, each of which can be analysed separately. The first phase covers the years 1595-1602, the period during which individual private companies *(voorcompagnieën)* dispatched ships to Asia in search of pepper and spices and returned with minor quantities of porcelain. The second covers the first twenty years of the officially established VOC in Asia, from around 1602 until 1624, when porcelain started to become a sought-after commodity in the Dutch Republic, although the period is characterized by relatively few orders for Chinese porcelain.

In 1624, the VOC established a trading post on Formosa (present-day Taiwan), which remained in operation until 1662, the subject of the last chapter. I show that between 1624 and 1634, quantities of porcelain shipped to the Dutch Republic were still meager. From around 1634, when trade terms with the Chinese authorities had more or less been settled, orders from the directors increased and included specific instructions as to shapes and designs, often accompanied by samples to be copied.

The conclusion of this historical part is twofold: the first half of the 17th century was not, as often assumed, a period during which Chinese porcelain continually arrived in the Dutch Republic in large quantities. Based on VOC documents, I conclude that both coarse and fine porcelain were delivered from the Chinese ports to Formosa during a relatively short period. This was then distributed to various regions within Asia and to the Dutch Republic. Therefore, it was only between 1635 and 1645, that substantial quantities of porcelain were shipped to the Dutch Republic. This corresponds with the relatively small amounts of Chinese porcelain items shown in some Dutch inventories, dating between 1625-1650.[18]

Second, from around 1634, when specific Western models were sent to Asia to be copied, they were not directly produced as such. When comparing the 'Wanli shipwreck' dated to ca. 1630-1635, to the 'Hatcher cargo' (ca. 1643-45), we can see that finds from this shipwreck contained more items that can be considered as having been copied from Western shapes. Still, all types of flatware continued to be produced with Kraak-panel patterns until the termination of porcelain supplies around 1650.

[18] P. de Ruiter, 'Chinees Porselein in Nederlandse Schilderkunst van de 17e eeuw', Master's thesis, 2012-2013; S. Drossaer and T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, The Hague, 1974.

I also show that the VOC did not only transport Chinese ceramics back to the Dutch Republic, but also to other regions within Asia and the Middle East. This gave the VOC an exceptional place in the history of the export of Chinese porcelain.

Explanation of sources used.

Main sources.

There are many institutions with databases and well-documented information on shipwrecks.[19] The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is focused on organising meetings and training courses in the management and preservation of underwater cultural heritage, which adds to the overall knowledge of maritime archaeology.[20] Symposia and conferences have provided new insights and information.[21] It is just as important to study archaeological land excavations.[22] In the past thirty to forty years many archaeologists have been able to undertake excavations in East and Southeast Asia. The result of these researches show what was actually produced at kiln sites and what was excavated in overseas regions. Reports on shipwrecks with ceramics then enable us to trace the routes taken to deliver them.

---

[19] The database of Southeast Asian Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage (SEAMUCH) is a component of the Southeast Asian Collaborative Program on Underwater Archaeology. See for more information:
http//www.seameo-spafa.org/archaeology/
http://www.aima-underwater.org.au
http://www.nauticalarchaeologyjp.com (in Japanese);
https://mua.apps.uri.edu/MUA.htm (museum of underwater archaeology)
http://www.seaa-web.org (visited January, 2020)

[20] https://www.icomos.org/en/focus# (visited January, 2020).

[21] Asia Pacific Conference on Underwater Cultural Heritage: http://www.apconf.org/about/ (visited January, 2020); *International Conference: Chinese Export Ceramics and the Maritime Trade, 12-15th Centuries*. Hong Kong City University, 2005; *Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia*. 12-14 March, 2007, Singapore, *Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, October 31st to November 2nd. (some papers are published in *Field Archaeology of Taiwan*, vol. 13 (1/2), 2010); *Asia-Pacific Regional Conference on Underwater Cultural Heritage*. November 8-12, 2011, Manila, Philippines; *International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 2012; *Third Symposium on the Chinese Export Porcelain of the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Shanghai, December 13-21, 2014; *Maritime Silk Road –China's Historic Sites; Dongxiyao Kiln Ruins*, March 17-20, 2017

[22] Already in 1952 research was carried out at the Yangmeiting and Shihuwan kiln sites on the outskirts of Jingdezhen, where remains of bowls and dishes from the Tang dynasty were discovered. See: Liu Xinyuan (ed.) *Ceramic Finds from Jingdezhen Kilns*, Catalogue by Fung Ping Shan Museum and the University of Hong Kong, 1992, p. 33.

For the historical account I rely on documents kept in the National Archives at The Hague.[23] They supply information on the VOC trade, the regions where the Dutch were posted and their handling activities at these places, collectively known as the *octrooigebied* (the area covered by the charter of the Company).[24] Information on each journey taken by a ship with details as to tonnage, dates, crewmembers, value of the return cargo and the events that took place during a journey has been published.[25] The period of the individual private companies (*voorcompagnieën* 1595 -1602), can be found in the documents of the *Compagnieën op Oost-Indië,* with entrance number: NL-HaNA, 1.04.01, inv. nr. xxx. For the VOC (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) there is an entrance number NL-HaNA 1.04.02, and an inventory number. This may be shortened for footnotes as: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02 inv. nr. xxx. Other archives consulted include, *Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling* (NL-HaNA: 1.11.01.01), *Admiraliteitscolleges* (NL-HaNA: 1.01.46), *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* (NL-HaNA: 3.01.14), and *Staten-Generaal* (NL-HaNA: 1.01.02).

Several document collections regarding the VOC have been used as references for the present study. The publication by Isaac Commelin (1598-1676) includes thirty travel accounts regarding events of the early period of the voyages to the East.[26] Herman T. Colenbrander (1871-1945) compiled seven volumes that contain the letters and events that took place during the governorship of Governor-General Coen (1587-1629) at Batavia.[27]

In 1621, the directors of the Dutch East India Company in the Netherlands wrote to the governor-general and councillors of the Indies in Batavia that a daily register should be kept of the events and activities that took place there as well as at other VOC

---

[23] Others are kept at the *Arsip Nasional,* Republic of Indonesia; the *Westkaapse Argiefbewaarplek* in Cape Town, South Africa; the National Archives of Sri Lanka in Colombo, the Tamil Nadu Archives in India and the British Library, Oriental and India Office collections.

[24] J.C.M. Pennings, *History of the Arrangements of the VOC Archives*, from website: http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/history/history_managevoc.htm (visited January, 2020); M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, R. Raben and H. Spijkerman, *De Archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1795)*. Netherlands Algemeen Rijksarchief. Eerste Afdeling,1992; see website: http://www.gahetna.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf (visited January, 2020).

[25] F.S. Gaastra and J. R. de Bruijn, 'The Dutch East India Company's Shipping, 1602-1795, in a Comparative Perspective', pp. 177-208, in J.R. de Bruijn and F.S. Gaastra (eds.), *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and Their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries.* Amsterdam, 1993. There is also a website in English: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das (visited January, 2020).

[26] I. Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (1646), (Facsimile Publication), (12 volumes), Amsterdam, 1969.

[27] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, (7 volumes), The Hague, 1919-1934.

trade posts in Asia. These daily journals (*dagregisters*) provide all kinds of information such as the supplies of merchandise, the arrival and departure of ships and their cargoes. The two main ones used for this research are the journals that were kept at Batavia and Formosa.[28]

I have also referred to the annual reports of the Governor-General and other officials in Asia that were sent to the directors of the VOC in the Dutch Republic, edited by Willem Ph. Coolhaas (1899-1981).[29] Publications with information on the VOC also include the series of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (Linschoten Society) published by Nijhoff, The Hague.[30]

Secondary sources.

As to secondary sources, I have used historical publications on the maritime trade during the Tang, Song, Yuan and early Ming dynasties, as well as literature on the types of ceramics produced in Chinese kilns during these dynasties. Liu Yang and Janice Stargardt both give overviews of the main types of ceramics that were produced during the Tang dynasty and shipped abroad.[31] A.T. Kessler and Angela Schottenhammer have documented the types produced for the Islamic communities during the Song dynasty.[32] The most recent publication that encompasses the history of the production of ceramics throughout China, including Jingdezhen is by Anne Gerritsen.[33] There are many publications on the origin of blue and white decoration and the overseas clientele during the Yuan dynasty. I have mainly used literature to illustrate which types and

---

[28] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Dagh-registers Gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1631-1644*, The Hague, 1877-1902. J. L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, W.E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.), *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662*, vols. I-IV, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, The Hague, 1986-2000. http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/voctaiwan/index_html_en (visited January, 2020); (All four volumes have been translated into Chinese by Professor Chiang Shu-sheng).

[29] W.Ph. Coolhaas and J. van Goor (eds.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 9 volumes, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, The Hague, 1960-1988.

[30] This society, named after Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, publishes all types of historical material concerning the events of the Dutch in Asia during the period of the VOC. The famous *Itinerario* that Van Linschoten compiled in 1596 was published as the first issue of this society.

[31] Liu Yang, 'Tang Dynasty Changsha Ceramics' in *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds,* R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. Keith Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), Washington, 2010; J. Stargardt, 'Indian Ocean Trade in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Demand, Distance, and Profit', *South East Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no.1, 2014, pp. 35-55.

[32] A.T. Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*, Leiden, 2012; A. Schottenhammer, 'China's Gate to the Indian Ocean–Iranian and Arab Long-Distance Traders', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* vol. 76, no 1, 2016, pp. 135-179.

[33] A. Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White. Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World*. Cambridge, 2020.

sizes were transported to overseas markets. For example, Jean Beamish deals with the blue and white decorated items destined for Southeast Asian markets.[34] Brian Fahy discusses whether blue and white decorated porcelain was made for foreign customers first and as a result was also appreciated by the Chinese elite, or whether it was the other way around.[35]

The monumental volumes documenting the Chinese porcelain in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul are essential on the subject of what was produced for the Middle East.[36] Earlier publications on the collection of the Ardebil Shrine in Iran, written by John Pope and Takatoshi Misugi, have also been consulted.[37] Monique Crick and John Guy provide information on porcelain wares traded within Southeast Asia.[38] I found new and interesting insights about the porcelain items for the Portuguese market in the study of Maria F. Lochschmidt.[39]

There are numerous publications on the subject of ceramic finds from shipwrecks and I will name only a few here. Finds from the *Belitung wreck* dated to the Tang dynasty are discussed in *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds* with many known contributors covering a range of subjects on this period.[40] Roxanna Brown analysed salvaged finds from wrecks found in the Southeast Asian waters and the issues of the Ming gap and Ming ban.[41] Numerous underwater archaeologists such as Frank Goddio and Mensun Bound published reports on salvaged shipwrecks and data on their ceramic loads.[42] Others are Michel L'Hour, Michael Flecker and John Miksic.[43]

---

[34] J. Beamish, 'The Significance of Yuan Blue and White Exported to South East Asia', *South East Asia & China: Art, Interaction & Commerce*, London, 1995.
[35] B. Fahy, 'Let the Porcelain Talk. The Social Life of Blue and White Porcelain in Asia During the Yuan (1279-1368 CE) and Early Ming Dynasties'. PhD. thesis, University of Oxford, 2010.
[36] R. Krahl and J. Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul,* vols. I-III, London, 1986.
[37] J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine,* Washington, 1956; T. Misugi, *Chinese Porcelain Collections in the Near East: Topkapi and Ardebil,* Hong Kong, 1981. It is regrettable that a detailed and coloured publication of the porcelain items of the Ardebil Shrine in Iran has never been made.
[38] M. Crick. *Chinese Ceramics for Southeast Asia. The Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Muller*, Geneva, 2010; J. Guy: *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries.* Oxford, 1986.
[39] M. F. Lochschmidt, 'Chinesisches Blauweiß-Exportporzellan Die Portugiesischen Bestellungen vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1722. Eine Neue Chronologie mit Beiträgen zu Form und Dekor', PhD. thesis, University of Vienna, 2008.
[40] R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. Keith Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds,* Washington, 2010.
[41] R. Brown, *The Ceramics of South-East Asia, their Dating and their Identification*, Kuala Lumpur, 1988; *The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia,* Bangkok. 2009; R. Brown and S. Sjostrand. *Maritime Archaeology and Shipwreck Ceramics in Malaysia.* Bangkok, 2002.
[42] F. Goddio, F. S., Pierson and M. Crick, *Sunken Treasure: Fifteenth-Century Chinese Ceramics from the Lena Cargo,* London, 2000; F. Goddio et al, *Lost at Sea: The Strange Route of the Lena Shoal junk*, London, 2002;

The sources used for chapter three include several etymological dictionaries. I have consulted these to compare the various definitions of the term Kraak. In addition, specialised naval and shipbuilding treatises have been consulted.[44]

The publication of S.W.A. Drossaer and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer shows that inventories of Dutch regents did not use the term 'Kraak porselein' to depict a certain type of Chinese porcelain.[45] Eva Ströber shows that the word 'Krack' was used for a group of Chinese porcelain wares in the inventory of the collection of August the Strong of Saxony, but these were not even of the blue and white decorated type.[46]

Hessel Miedema described items with a panel motif in the collection of Museum Het Princessehof and was the first to list characteristics of these wares to distinguish them from other Chinese export wares.[47] This was expanded on in the catalogue of *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*.[48] Further publications on this subject include an extensive study on the subject of Kraak porcelain, published in 1989 by Maura Rinaldi.[49] In 2002, a symposium was held in Leeuwarden together with an exhibition on Kraak porcelain, with many contributors.[50] A commercial publication by Jorge Welsh gives another overview of this type of ware.[51]

Christiaan Jörg, former curator of the Groninger Museum, has published numerous articles and books on the subject of Chinese export porcelain to the Netherlands, especially on the second half of the 17th century and later.[52] Several

---

Mensun Bound, 'Aspects of the Hoi An wreck: Dishes, bottles, statuettes and chronology'. *Taoci,* (Revue Annuelle de la Société Française d'étude de la Céramique Orientale), 2001, pp. 95-104.

[43] M. L'Hour, *The Sunken Treasure of Brunei Darussalem.* Paris, 2001; M. Flecker, 'The Thirteenth-Century Java Sea Wreck: A Chinese Cargo in an Indonesian ship'. *The Mariners Mirror,* vol. 89, November 2003, pp. 388-404.; M. Flecker, 'The Jade Dragon Wreck: Sabah, East Malaysia', *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 98, no. 1, 2012, pp. 9-29; M. Flecker, 'Maritime Archeology in Southeast Asia', in *Southeast Asian Ceramics, New Light on Old Pottery,* John Miksic (ed.), Singapore, 2010.

[44] G. J. Marcus, *The Conquest of the North Atlantic,* Woodbridge, 1981; R. Mortan Nance, 'Wicker Vessels', *The Mariner's Mirror*, July 1922, pp. 199-205.

[45] S. Drossaer and T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, The Hague, 1974.

[46] E. Ströber, 'Representation and Taste in Baroque Court Culture: The Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong', *Vormen uit Vuur*, 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 48-58.

[47] H. Miedema, *Kraakporselein en Overgangsgoed*, Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof, Leeuwarden, 1964.

[48] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) (op. cit.), 1982.

[49] M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, a Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989.

[50] 'Kraak, begeerlijk porselein uit China', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, no. 1/2, 2003, (special issue).

[51] L. Vinhais and J. Welsh (eds.), *Kraak Porcelain – the Rise of Global Trade in the late 16th and 17th Centuries*. London and Lisbon, 2008.

[52] C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade,* The Hague 1982; C.J.A. Jörg, *Oosters Porselein, Delfts Aardewerk: Wisselwerkingen*, Groningen 1983; C.J.A. Jörg, 'Kraakporselein', in *Antiek*, no .25, 1990, pp. 53-64; C.J.A. Jörg, 'Chinese porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and the Private Enterprises', *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 16, 1992, pp.

articles on the subject of Chinese porcelain exported to the Netherlands can be found in a publication on the subject of the Dutch Golden Age, dated 2014.[53]

Michael Dillon writes on the infrastructure of the actual production process at Jingdezhen; another author providing detailed information on this subject, is Christine Moll-Murata.[54] Li Baoping and Cao Jianwen have published on the finds of Kraak ware in Jingdezhen; these include dishes found in Chinese tombs.[55]

The dating of Kraak type porcelain that I discuss in chapter four is primarily based on the publications of three authors: Brian McElney, Maura Rinaldi and Edward Von der Porten.[56] I present items from dated shipwrecks as well as some terrestrial sites to support my argument that this specific decoration was produced only from 1595-98.[57]

Chapters five and six, the last part of my research, focus on the distribution of Chinese ceramics by the VOC during the first half of the 17th century. I refer to several

---

183-205; C.J.A. Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch Market', *Oriental Art.* vol. XIV, no. 1, 1999, pp. 30-38; C.J.A. Jörg, 'Interasiatic Dutch Porcelain Trade', Ibid., pp. 71-80; C.J.A. Jörg and J. van Campen, *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: the Ming and Qing Dynasty*, London 1997.

[53] Van Campen and Eliëns (eds.), 2014 (op. cit.): Canepa, (op. cit.) pp. 17-37; C. Viallé, 'Camel cups, Parrot Cups and other Chinese Kraak Porcelain Items in Dutch Trade Records, 1598-1623', pp. 37-53; Ostkamp, (op. cit.), pp. 53-79.

[54] M. Dillon, 'A History of the Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen', PhD. thesis, University of Leeds, 1976; C. Moll-Murata. 'Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Ceramic Industries of Jingdezhen and Delft.', Paper presented to *the S.R. Epstein Memorial Conference: 'Technology and Human Capital Formation in the East and West'*, June 18-21, 2008; from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Christine_Moll-Murata/publication/237443235_Guilds_and_Apprenticeship_in_China_and_Europe_The_Ceramics_Industries_of_Jingdezhen_and_Delft_Paper_presented_to_the_SR_Epstein_Memorial_Conference_Technology_and_Human_Capital_Formation_in_the_East_a/links/54e359420cf2d90c1d9c6397/ (visited January, 2020).

[55] Baoping Li, *Kraak Porcelain from Tombs and Kiln Sites in China: Discoveries and Associated Issues,* Paper presented at the conference Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, University of Warwick, April, 2010; Cao Jianwen and Luo Yifei, 'Kraak Porcelain Discovered at Some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years', *Oriental Art,* vol. 1, no. 4, 2006, pp. 16-24.

[56] B. McElney, *South East Asian and Chinese Trade Pottery*, Catalogue of the Exhibition held in Hong Kong by the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1979; B. McElney, *Chinese Ceramics & The Maritime Trade Pre-1700,* Bath, 2006; M. Rinaldi, 'Dating Kraak Porcelain', *Vormen uit Vuur* , 180/181, no. 1/2, 2003, pp. 30-41; E.P. Von der Porten, *Drake and Cermeño in California: Sixteenth-Century Chinese Ceramics*, Drake Navigators Guild, Point Reyes, California, 1973; C. Shangraw and E.P. Von der Porten, *The Drake and Cermeño Expeditions' Chinese Porcelains at Drakes Bay, California, 1579 and 1595*, Santa Rosa, California, 1981. E.P. Von der Porten, 'Manila Galleon Porcelains on the American Coast', *Taoci*, no.2, December 2001, pp. 57-63, and a recent monograph, *Early Wanli Porcelains from the 1578 Manila Galleon San Juanillo*, 2017 (the author kindly provided me a copy of the yet unpublished manuscript).

[57] The shipwreck finds include: V. Esterhuizen and E. Axelson, 'Relics from the São Gonçalo at Plettenberg Bay', *Antiques in South Africa,* vol. 8, 1980, pp. 37-40; M. L'Hour, (ed.), *Le Mauritius. La mémoire engloutie*, Paris, 1989 ; D. Carré, J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio, *Le San Diego : Un Trésor Sous la Mer*, Catalogue, Paris, 1994 ; J.P. Desroches, 'Oriental Ceramics and Porcelains', *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires, the Last Voyage.* Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Pavilhão de Portugal, Expo 1998 ; M. L'Hour (ed.) 1989, (op. cit.).

documents concerning the capture of the Portuguese *Santa Catarina* in 1604, based primarily on publications by Robert Fruin and Levinus Hulsius. [58]

Dutch historians who have written on the subject of Chinese porcelain as part of the commodities traded by the VOC are limited. Johannes de Hullu was head of the VOC archives from 1902 to 1924 and maintained that porcelain was mostly used as ballast and not an important trade commodity.[59] The archivist Hendrik Enno van Gelder (1876 -1960) provided information on the quantities and types of porcelain transported by the VOC.[60] He also explained that porcelain was not an essential part of the whole trade of the VOC because large profits were made on the spices and pepper.[61]

Heert Terpstra (1884-1964), who had a position at the Royal Institute of the Tropics, specialised in several trade posts of the VOC, mainly the regions of Asia called the western quarters (*westerkwartieren)*.[62] He also wrote on Patani on the east coast of Malaysia, as it was important because of its position as a geographical market junction.[63] It was in fact the first place where the Dutch bought porcelain from Chinese merchants.

Thijs Volker provided detailed information on the porcelain trade between 1602 and 1685, based on the VOC documents.[64] Maria Meilink-Roelofsz published various books and articles on the subject of the VOC trade.[65] Charles Boxer states that porcelain

---

[58] L. Hulsius *Achte Schiffart: Kurtz Beschreibung was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern in den Ost Indien, die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre, als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. und 1603 hat zugetragen, Zusammen gezogen durch Levinum Hulsium*, Frankfurt, 1605; R. Fruin, *Een onuitgegeven werk van Hugo de Groot.* (An unpublished work of Hugo Grotius), Leiden, 1868; 'Robert Fruin's Verspreide geschriften met aantekeningen toevoegsels en verbeteringen uit des schrijvers nalatenschap', vol. 3, *Historische opstellen*, The Hague, 1901.

[59] J. de Hullu, 'De Porceleinhandel Der Oost-Indische Compagnie en Cornelis Pronk als haar teekenaar', *Oud Holland,* vol. 33, no. 1 (1915), pp. 50-62. J. de Hullu 'Over den Chineeschen handel der O. I. C. in de eerste dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde,* vol. 73, 1917, pp. 32-151.

[60] H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek,* no. 10 (1924), pp. 165-193. (He made use of data collected by De Hullu.)

[61] Ibid., p. 168: '*Tenslotte zal men den porceleinhandel in het algemeene beeld van den handel der O.I.C. niet een heel groote plaats behoeven in te ruimen. Als men de cijfers der cargasoenen leest, dan zijn het niet die der porceleinen welke de groote winsten beloofden: de kruidnagelen, de peper, de muskaatnoten, later de thee, zijn van veel meer gewicht. Maar de geliefde porceleinkasten onzer overgrootmoeders hebben van de minder belangrijke handelswaar een grooten voorraad bewaard en wij zijn daardoor nieuwsgieriger naar de herkomst daarvan dan naar het lot van de balen peper en muskaat!'.*

[62] H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)*, The Hague, 1918, p. 142 and p. 144.; H. Terpstra, 'De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië bij de stichting van het fort Geldria te Paliacatte', *De Indische Gids,* vol. XXXVII, 1915, pp. 331-360.

[63] H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*, The Hague 1938.

[64] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers, 1602–1682.* Leiden, 1954.

[65] M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*

was shipped in large quantities to Europe and that between 1602 and 1657 this amounted to 'more than three million pieces'.[66]

Leonard Blussé has written a number of publications on the overall trading relations between the Dutch and the Chinese during the period of the VOC.[67] I have consulted numerous other publications on the VOC in general although they do not deal with the trade in porcelain. For example, Femme Gaastra has published many books and articles on the VOC, its structure, and enterprises.[68] Wim Wennekes focuses on several commodities, which brought profits to the VOC, such as pepper, cotton and silk.[69] Robert Parthesius has explained the complicated transportation system of the VOC in Asia including the inter-Asian shipping activities.[70] This is especially important to understand, as the ceramic cargoes carried by VOC ships were not all destined for the Dutch Republic. Cees Brouwer published on the supplies of porcelain to the port of Mocha in present day Yemen, a VOC post that was established in 1634.[71] Tristan Mostert and Jan van Campen provide an historical overview of Dutch relations with China.[72]

Between 1500 and about 1630, The Hague, 1962; *The VOC in Azië*, Bussum, 1976 by the same author gives information on the various trade posts.

[66] C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800.* London, 1965, pp. 174-175.

[67] L. Blussé, 'Chinese Trade to Batavia During the Days of the VOC', *Archipel*, vol. 18 (1979), pp. 195-213; L. Blussé and J. de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee,* Franeker, 1983; L. Blussé, *Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia.* Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 122, Dordrecht 1986; L. Blussé, 'No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690', *Modern Asian Studies,* vol. 30, no. 1, February 1996, pp. 51-76; E. van Veen and L. Blussé (eds.), *Rivalry and Conflict. European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden, 2005; L. Blussé, *Visible Cities. Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans. The Edwin O. Reischauer Lectures*, Cambridge, 2008; L. Blussé, 'The Batavian Connection: the Chinese Junks and their Merchants', in Van Campen and Eliëns (eds.) 2014, (op. cit.), pp. 97-109.

[68] F.S. Gaastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC,* Haarlem 1982; 2nd edition Zutphen 1991; 3rd edition Zutphen 2002; *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline*, Zutphen. 2003; F.S. Gaastra and J.R. Bruijn, (eds.) 1993, (op.cit.).

[69] W. Wennekes, *Gouden Handel, de eerste Nederlanders overzee, en wat zij daar haalden*, Amsterdam, 2008.

[70] R. Parthesius. *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660),* Amsterdam, 2010.

[71] C.G. Brouwer, 'The Porcelain Trade to al-Mukha during the Early Seventeenth-Century according to Dutch Accounts', *Vormen uit Vuur,* 175, no. 2, 2001. (special issue); See also C.G. Brouwer, '*Al-Mukhā: The Trans-Oceanic Trade of a Yemeni Staple Town as Mapped by Merchants of the VOC, 1614-1640. Coffee, Spices & Textiles*, Amsterdam 2006. *Dutch-Yemeni Encounters: Activities of the United East India Company (VOC) in South Arabian Waters since 1614,* Amsterdam 1998.

[72] T. Mostert and J. van Campen, *Zijden Draad. China en Nederland sinds 1600*. Also in English: *Silk Thread*. *China and the Netherlands from 1600,* Amsterdam 2015.

CHAPTER 2. The distribution of Chinese ceramics to overseas markets up to the end of the 16th century.

Introduction.

In this chapter, I discuss what types of ceramic items were shipped overseas during the Tang dynasty (618-907), the Song dynasty (960-1279), and the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). The issue I address here is whether ceramics produced for the domestic market were adapted as to shapes and/or designs to suit foreign markets during these epochs. As the Portuguese and the Spanish arrived in Asia at the beginning of the 16th century, it would then not be surprising that they ordered specific shapes and dimensions, but to my knowledge no such documents have been discovered.[1] Nevertheless, it is well known that Iberian merchants presented motifs such as armorials, inscriptions related to nobility or the Church to the Chinese to be copied on porcelain items.[2]

In general, the ceramics produced in kilns in China were mainly intended to be sold and used domestically, but even before the Tang dynasty (618-907), ceramics had been transported abroad overland, using the Silk Road routes.[3] Chinese ceramics have been found at numerous sites along these routes. For example, during the 1980s, the Inner Mongolian Institute of Archaeology researched the Mongolian city of Kharakoto in the Gobi Desert.[4] Between 2000 and 2004, a German-Mongolian archaeological team

---

[1] T. Canepa, 'The Iberian Royal Courts of Lisbon and Madrid and their Role in Spreading a Taste for Chinese Porcelain in 16th-century Europe', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.), Zwolle, 2014, pp. 17-35; T. Canepa, 'Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644. A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence', PhD. thesis, Leiden University, 2015, p.73: 'We do not know whether the Portuguese specified a preference of colour and/or decoration, or which European motifs or inscriptions were to be used (alone or in combination with others) in a particular piece'. M.A. Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art,* vol. 48, 2002/3, 2011, and *The R.A. Collection of Chinese Ceramics. A Collector's Vision*, London, 2016; C. Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain,* Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, Madrid, 2016.

[2] Canepa 2015 (op.cit.), pp. 257-280.

[3] The 'Silk road' actually consisted of several routes; there were two main ones, the northern route from Yellow river basin going northwards towards the Mongolian plateau through southern Siberia until central Asia where it split into two routes towards Persia. The second route passed through the provinces Gansu, Shaanxi through the 'Hexi corridor', to the Yumen pass to Loulan and the Lop Nur, then splitting to follow routes north and south of the Taklamakan desert to reach Samarkand/Bukhara. Another 'split' was a route towards Afghanistan and India. At the start of the 7th century, the city of Chang'an (already the capital during the previous dynasties) became a metropolis where traders from western regions came with their commodities. See: J. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty, 1st to 2nd Centuries CE*, Charleston, South Carolina, 2009.

[4] This caravan city was under Mongolian domination from 1226 until 1380 and was probably used as a garrison city. See: J. Carswell, *Blue and White Chinese Porcelain Around the World*, London, 2000, p. 70, notes 44-45. At the start of the 20th century, there were numerous archaeological expeditions. Sven Hedin (1865-1952) made three expeditions crossing the Taklamakan and Lop deserts between 1894 and 1908. From England, Aurel Stein made several expeditions in 1900, 1906–1908, 1913–1916 and 1930. In 1905,

excavated the area of Kharakorum, the capital of the Mongol empire in the 13th century and fragments of various types of Chinese ceramics were retrieved.[5]

Other research projects along the Silk Road have revealed new information on Chinese ceramics.[6] For example, Almalik (Huocheng) in the western province of Xinjiang was the capital of the Chagaday khanate where Chinese archaeologists have found pieces of 14th-century porcelain as well as Persian inlaid metalwork.[7] Chinese porcelain has also been found in Samarkand and in Azerbaijan; tiles with Chinese designs have been found in the hunting lodge of Il-Khan Abaqa (1265-1281).[8]

Over the last century various international archaeological teams have researched the site of Fustat (south of Cairo), revealing several dated strata with Chinese ceramics.[9] From 1998-2001, a joint venture between Egypt and Japan resulted in a thorough report of this site (2500m^2).[10] These excavations have yielded over half a million Chinese shards, but none earlier than the 9th century. This supports the theory that the export of ceramics from China to this region started during the Tang dynasty.[11] Identical pieces have been found at Yangzhou in Jiangsu province, the Chinese port of export in

---

he came into contact with the warden monk of the Dunhuang grottos, Wang Yuan Lu, and was able to buy hundreds of manuscripts, which had been hidden by Buddhist monks, dating from as far back as 400 AD. In 1908 Kharakoto (middle Gobi Desert) was discovered by Count Kozlov. Another Western archaeologist who had the opportunity to 'acquire' valuable trophies from central Asia was the Frenchman Paul Pelliot (1878-1945). Albert von Le Coq (1860-1930) removed numerous murals from another group of caves, at Bezeklik, succeeding Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935) who undertook expeditions in 1902-1903 and 1905-1907 to Turfan. The ceramic fragments found from these expeditions are now kept in museums (the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Harvard University, and in Stockholm). The pieces belong to Chinese domestic wares (Jun, Cizhou, Northern Song wares).

[5] *Dschingis Khan und Seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen.* Exhibition Catalogue, Bonn, 2005, pp.187-195.

[6] A. T. Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*, Leiden, 2012. Part 1 deals with Kharakoto, pp. 22-28 and pp. 42-50. For other finds, see: D. C. Waugh, 'The Silk Roads in History', *Expedition,* vol. 52, no. 3, The Penn Museum, 2010; The Silk Road Foundation, http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/ (visited January, 2020); Han Jianye, 'The Painted Pottery Road and Early Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges', *Anabasis-Studia Classica et Orientalia*, no. 3, 2012, pp. 25-42. Another example of a recent research project is:
https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/humanities/departments/classics-and-archaeology/research/research-projects/current-projects/silk-road.aspx (visited January, 2020).

[7] Carswell 2000 (op. cit.), p. 74.

[8] Samarkand Museum/Ulugh Beg observatory. See J. Carswell, 'China and the Middle East', *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no.1,1999, pp. 2-15.

[9] Established in 641 as a military encampment, this area rose to a trade centre until 1168 when it was invaded by crusaders. It then recovered until the black plague destroyed the city in the 14th century.

[10] T. Yuba, and T. Mikami, 'China and Egypt: Fustat', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society (TOCS),* 1980-81, vol. 45, London, 1982, pp. 67-89.

[11] Ibid., p. 68: 'From the Tang dynasty there is Sancai, Yue and Changsha wares; from the Song dynasty, there are celadons from Yue and Longquan kilns, white wares from Jingdezhen kilns; from the Yuan and early Ming dynasties are white and blue and white pieces. Longquan celadon types of everyday wares were most imported type of ware during the Yuan dynasty'.

that period.[12] Sharmah (Hadramawt in Yemen) was discovered in 1996 by French archaeological teams. According to Bing Zhao, this port was one of the main harbours of the Indian Ocean used by merchants from the Persian Gulf, until it was abandoned in the middle of the 12th century.[13] Excavations have revealed 47,425 pieces of ceramics, of which 3.6% are of Chinese origin.

Later on, Sri Lanka (former Ceylon) became another important destination for export ceramics.[14] Green-glazed shards found at Nilaveli in the northeast were thought to come from an unknown shipwreck from around 1100 AD; they are identical to those from the *Sinan* wreck found off the Korean coast.[15] Another excavated site is that of the rose garden of the palace of Kotla Firuzshah at Delhi built in 1354, and destroyed by the Turkic-Mongolian conqueror Timur Lenk in 1398. The excavation revealed shards belonging to about 72 items of Chinese porcelain.[16]

Even on the eastern coast of Africa shards of Chinese ceramics were discovered dating from the 14th to 16th centuries. They were used to decorate façades of mosques and pillars of Islamic tomb sites.[17] According to James Kirkman, 'Pieces of Chinese porcelain were found in tombs and the great Pillar of Malindi, dating from the first quarter of the 15th century to the end. These included celadon, but only few *qingbai* and thirteen blue and white bowls'.[18] Henceforth Chinese ceramics came more and more in

---

[12] 'The Yangzhou City report on the archaeological excavation 1987-1988'; abstract in English on: http://www.kaogu.net.cn/en/Publication/New_books/2013/1025/30088.html. (visited January, 2020).
[13] Bing Zhao and Pierre Lombard, 'La Céramique Chinoise Importée avant 1500 à Qal'at al-Bahreïn: Fouilles Françaises 1989-2002', *Taoci*, vol. 4, pp. 105-116; Bing Zhao, 'Sharmah (South Coast of Arabia) and its Commercial Connexion in the Southeast Asia (10th-12th centuries)'. Paper given at the symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. Singapore, 2007, (unpublished).
[14] Carswell 2000 (op. cit.), p.169 and pp. 174-175.
[15] Ibid., pp.108-109; J. Carswell, 'Two Unexplored Wrecks of the 14th-Century in the Red Sea and Sri Lanka'. *Taoci,* vol. 2, December 2001, pp. 51-53.
[16] E. E. Smart, 'Fourteenth Century Chinese Porcelain from the Tughlaq Palace in Delhi', *TOCS,* vol. 41, 1975-1977, pp. 199-230. Some even had rivets indicating that they were mended, possibly that the Islamic sultan ordered them to be destroyed because of the human figures on them (p. 200). 'Mughal paintings show dishes of blue and white being used for eating'. She refers to an illustration from a Barbarnama manuscript, dated to the Mughal era, ca. 1590, British Library, Or. 3714, folio 253r.
[17] Bing Zhao, 'Chinese-Style Ceramics in East Africa from the 9th to16th Century: A Case of Changing Value and Symbols in the Multi-Partner Global Trade', *Afriques,* no. 6, 2015; from: https://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1836 (visited January, 2020); M.A. Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art,* vol. 48, 2002/3; N. Chittick, 'East Africa and the Orient: Ports and Trade Before the Arrival of the Portuguese', *Historical Relations Across the Indian Ocean*, pp. 13-23, Gent, 1980.
[18] J. Kirkman, 'The Great Pillars of Malindi and Mambrui', *Oriental Art*, vol. VI, no. 2, 1975, pp. 55-67, p.55. By the same author, *The Arab City of Gedi*, Oxford, 1954; *Fort Jesus: A Portuguese Fortress on the East African Coast,* Oxford, 1974.

demand in overseas regions; numerous local kilns in Southeast Asian regions are known to have produced imitations.[19]

The definitions of 'export ceramics'.

Terms such as 'export ware' and 'exported ware' are used in art history to describe ceramic items produced in China for overseas destinations to distinguish them from those made for the domestic market.[20] As I focus on types of Chinese ceramics that were exported, I discuss the difference between items 'to be exported', 'produced for export' and items produced for the Chinese domestic market. [21] As Liu Xinyuan remarks,

> I believe that there is both a broad sense and a narrow sense to the term "export" porcelain. In a broad sense, export porcelain refers to the porcelain produced in China and actually meant for the Chinese market but which was sold overseas: the porcelain excavated in Egypt was this type of porcelain made in the Tang and

[19] G. Wade, 'An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2009, pp. 221–265, p. 261: 'To feed the increased demand for Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia, more and more kilns were opened or further developed in the provinces along the Chinese coast. In addition, the influence of Chinese ceramic design and technology was felt through many of the societies of Southeast Asia during the period. The ceramic industries of Àai Viêt, Angkor and Java were all essentially changed through either copying the Chinese ceramic forms, importing Chinese labour to produce local copies, or both. The Cambodian ceramics of the tenth century onwards are so similar to those of Guang-dong that researchers agree that there must have been intimate links between the respective producers. In the area of what is today Thailand, the kilns of Si-Satchanalai developed and began to produce export wares over this period. In Java, by the eleventh century, not only were shapes of professionally made pottery beginning to imitate those of the imported Chinese ceramics, but Javanese potters seem to have moved away from traditional paddle-and-anvil technique and adopted the potting wheel.'

[20] For example, early publications include: A. Brankston, *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen*, Peking, 1938 (reprinted 1970); W. Burton, *Porcelain, a Sketch of its Nature, Art and Manufacture*, London, 1906; R.L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain. An Account of the Potter's Art in China from Primitive Times to the Present Day*, London, 1915; R.L. Hobson, *The Art of the Chinese Potter from the Han Dynasty to the End of the Ming,* New York, 1923; R.L. Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, London, 1923 (reprinted 1962/1969); W. B. Honey, *The Ceramic Art of China, and Other Countries of the Far East*, New York, 1944; R.S. Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1953; R.S. Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, London, 1965; R.S. Jenyns, 'The Wares of the Transitional Period Between the Ming and the Ch'ing 1620-1683', *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 9, 1955, pp. 20-42. H. Garner, *Oriental Blue and White*, London, 1954, (reprinted in 1977); D. Lion-Goldschmidt, *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain,* Paris, 1957; D. Lion-Goldsmidt, *Ming Porcelain*, New York, 1978; R. Kerr, L.E. Mengoni and M. Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, London, 2011.

[21] A. Gerritsen and S. McDowall, 'Global China: Material Culture and Connections in World History', *Journal of World History*, vol. 23, no. 1, March, 2012, pp. 3-8, p. 6: 'By discarding the separation between the two types of production and studying porcelain production and use as a complex whole, historians will allow the connections between the domestic economy in China and global economic flows, as well as the integration more generally of the Chinese empire into the culture of the early modern world, to become visible'.

> Song dynasty period. In a narrow sense export porcelain means the porcelain produced by the Chinese specifically for the foreign market.[22]

In this sense, items commonly used by the Chinese were shipped overseas alongside those that were adapted in shape or dimension to suit a foreign market, the main subject in this chapter.

The term 'domestic ware' is used to describe ceramic items produced only for the Chinese market, generally named '*minyao*'. Synonyms in art history are 'provincial ware', 'people's ware', 'common ware', or 'folk ware', produced in 'public kilns', 'private kilns', 'provincial kilns', contrary to the ceramics produced for the Imperial court. Stacey Pierson explains:

> Official porcelain was made at Jingdezhen from the very first Ming reign period, that of the Hongwu emperor (1368-98), during which time commissions were sent from the court on a regular basis to kilns and workshops set aside for what is traditionally classified in Chinese using a binary system such as "imperial" (*guan*)/ "non-imperial" (*minyao*: "folkware" or "commercial"), "domestic" (*guonei)*/ "export" (*guowai*), demonstrating that production is defined by consumer type in literature.[23]

In China, ceramic vessels are generally divided into two main types: those made for daily use and wares for decorative or aesthetic purposes.[24] Items for daily use can be sub-divided again into three main categories.[25] The first is for daily utilitarian purposes such as tableware: small dishes, bowls of various sizes, cups of various sizes for tea or wine, pouring vessels: all types of flasks and teapots, and containers such as jars with lids.[26] The second category comprises items for household use such as drum stools,

---

[22] Liu Xinyuan, 'Imperial Export Porcelain from Late Yuan to Early Ming', *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no.1, 1999, pp. 98-100; p. 98.

[23] S. Pierson, *From Object to Concept. Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming porcelain,* Hong Kong University Press, 2013, p. 8: 'Certainly those porcelains made at what are often misleadingly called 'the imperial kilns (*yuqichang*) were, in the early 15th century, given a trademark which designated (in theory at least) separate production and raw materials'.

[24] Items purely for decorative or aesthetic purposes were mostly produced for the upper classes, literati and the Imperial court. Ceramics for construction and architectural decoration (bricks, roof tiles and roof ornaments) are a specific subject, as well as funerary objects, and will not be discussed here.

[25] For details on shapes produced during the Ming Dynasty: W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain being a Translation of the Tao Shuo*, Oxford, 1910, pp. 155-168: 'Book VI: Descriptions of specimens'. Under the heading 'Porcelain of the Reign of Wan-li 1573-1619' all shapes are described including on p. 156: saucer-shaped plates (*tieh*), round dishes (*pan*), bowls (*wan*); p. 157: cups (*chung* or *chan*) and p. 158, cups (*ou*); p. 159: wine cups (*pei*).

[26] Guanyu Wang, 'The Interactions Between Chinese Export Ceramics and Their Foreign "Markets": The Stories in Late Ming Dynasty', paper presented in the Postgraduate Student Forum 2011, Chinese University of Hong Kong: 'This kind of artifact is mainly tableware, tea and wine vessels; therefore, they

screens, candlesticks and items for the family altar, which include incense burners, statues, and vases.[27] The last group includes functional shapes or items for the 'scholar's table'.[28] These are brush pots, brush rests, water droppers and ink slabs.[29]

Small or medium-sized dishes are part of the domestic tableware for serving food or pickles. For example, the emperor needed a large amount of tableware, as his meals comprised numerous dishes.[30] Eva Ströber explains that in the Ming dynasty a meal was made up of, 'eight main dishes, four side dishes, two or three hot soups, hotpots and the staples of steamed buns, rice and cakes'.[31] Large dishes would have been used for bringing these courses from the kitchen, but everything was eaten from small bowls and saucers.[32] (Figure 2.0) 'There was probably not much difference between the shapes and sizes in which the food was served at the imperial table and the "normal" tableware of a well-to-do-family, or even in the shapes of tableware in which Chinese food is served today'.[33]

---

are often plain in shape and easy to use, and the surface are usually depicted with lots of patterns (sometimes with texts), including Religious Design with Taoist and Buddhist symbols such as the Eight Diagrams and Sanskrit, the implied meaning of auspicious Happiness 福 character, longevity 寿, *Wanfutongyou* 万福同攸, and *Fuguijiaqifugui* 富贵佳器 (SIC), etc. In addition, there all kinds of characters, plants, horses, fish, butterfly...the decorative patterns which were popular in public'. From: http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ant/PostgraduateForum2011/Arch/WANGGuanyu.pdf (visited January, 2020).

[27] Ibid., 'Workshops catering for the Court also produced specific sacrificial pieces'.

[28] Ibid., 'The word Wenfang 文房 was first used in the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589) and in the Tang Dynasty it became the indicator of the place for scholars to study and do routine activities'.

[29] Ibid. She explains that the fashion amongst the upper classes during the Ming dynasty was to be a literatus, meaning an educated person, schooled in Confucianism and who focused on spending his time to culture and arts, for instance painting; p.4: 'this increased the demand for such items as well as flower cases, dragon jars and statues whereas the "common" items as porcelain pillow, drum stool, and candlesticks decreased'.

[30] Ibid.

[31] E. Ströber, *Ming. Porcelain for a Globalised Trade*, Stuttgart, 2012, pp. 68-69.

[32] R. Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, Los Angeles/London, 2010, p. 267: 'early Ming emperors began to use vessels with matching designs and colour, with twenty-seven pieces in each service, on their banquet tables. The Jiajing emperor (reigned 1522-66) ordered Jingdezhen to produce 1,340 dinner sets decorated with dragons, including 26,350 bowls and 50,500 plates'. He refers to: Bushell 1910 (op. cit.) and D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain,* London, 1974; L.A. Cort and J. Stuart, *Joined Colors: Decoration and Meaning in Chinese Porcelain: Ceramics from Collectors in the Min Chiu Society, Hong Kong*, Washington D.C., 1993; J. Stuart, 'Imperial Porcelain and Court Values', *Orientations,* vol. 24, no. 8, 1993, pp. 24-30.

[33] Ströber 2012 (op. cit.), p. 69.

Figure 2.0. Detail of 'Night Revels of Han Xizai', showing a pipa player and her audience. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk. Original by Gu Hongzhong (10th century), 12th century remake from the Song dynasty. Collection of the Palace Museum Beijing.[34]

The other definition of 'export ware' refers to items that were not familiar in China. For example, the flatware that was transported to overseas regions was, for the most part, different in size and shape from those used domestically in China. I therefore agree with Liu Xinyuan that two interpretations of the term 'export ware' are possible.

Ceramic shipments during the Tang dynasty (618-907).

During the Tang dynasty, large quantities of Chinese domestic tableware like bowls and pouring vessels were transported to overseas regions, especially Southeast Asia. Well-equipped kilns in various regions in China catered to domestic as well as overseas demand. By comparing salvaged finds from shipwrecks to those excavated at the original sites of production, it is possible to establish what was actually shipped overseas during this period.

The *Belitung* wreck was salvaged in 1998 in Indonesian waters near the island of Belitung.[35] The ship was identified as an Arab type trading vessel.[36] The immense

[34] From: Wikimedia Commons.

[35] J. K. Wilson and M. Flecker, 'Dating the Belitung Shipwreck', in R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. K. Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds,* Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 2010, pp. 35-40. The cargo was sold for 32 million USD to a private entity in Singapore. The 'fund share' given by the treasure-hunters to Indonesia was only 5 Million USD. In 2011 a symposium was held to discuss this salvage; the Society for American Archaeology, the Council of American Maritime Museums and the

number of ceramics from this wreckage, around 60,000 pieces, represents the major types of early 9th-century ceramic production in China.[37] The two main types of ceramics salvaged from this shipwreck, known as Yue and Changsha wares, were produced in large quantities during the Tang dynasty. The durable ware known as Yue ware was the first green-glazed type of stoneware produced in China; by 2009 archaeologists had discovered 179 kiln sites.[38] These are situated around the Shanglin Lake and four other lakes near the mouth of the Yangzi River.[39]

Changsha ceramics are of greyish coarse stoneware, covered with a white/off-white layer of slip (a mixture of clay and water) before the decoration was painted.[40] Janice Stargardt links the archaeological finds of this specific type of ware to the *Belitung* shipwreck: 'the Changsha ceramics on board the *Belitung* reveal processes of standardization and mass-production within the kiln group: basic shallow bowls were produced in batches numbering many thousands and covered with identical slips and

---

International Committee for Underwater Cultural Heritage, were against the exhibition to be held at the Sackler Institute claiming that the excavation was only for commercial gain and conducted so quickly that there was a loss of information. See: P. Coleman, 'Unesco and the Belitung Shipwreck: The Need for a Permissive Definition of "Commercial Exploitation"', *George Washington International Law Review*, 2013, vol. 45, no. 4, 2013, p. 847. Another symposium was held at New York University in March 2017 to discuss the ethics of salvaging shipwrecks.

[36] M. Flecker, 'A Ninth-Century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck in Indonesia: First Evidence for Direct Trade with China', *World Archaeology*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2001, pp. 335-354; M. Flecker, 'A Ninth-Century Arab Shipwreck in Indonesia. The First Archaeological Evidence of Direct Trade with China', in Krahl et al. (eds.) 2010 (op. cit.), pp. 100-119; p.101; 'As it happened, the site contained crucial information about trade between the major empires of the period, Abbasid Iraq and Tang China—making this one of the most important archaeological revelations of the twentieth century. Not only was the Belitung shipwreck the oldest Arab vessel discovered in Asian waters, but it also contained the largest group of Tang dynasty artefacts ever found. The archaeological recovery of both ship and cargo has allowed for a radical reappraisal of the Maritime Silk Route to China, answering questions on the nature of Asian sea trade with far greater certainty than was possible before'.

[37] Liu Yang, 'Tang Dynasty Changsha Ceramics', in Krahl et al. (eds.) 2010 (op. cit.), pp.145-159; J. Guy, 'Late Tang Ceramics and Asia's International Trade. Treasures from the Belitung Shipwreck', Krahl et al. (eds.) 2010 (op. cit.), pp. 19-27; J. Guy, *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries: with a Catalogue of Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai Wares in Australian Collections*, Oxford, 1986.

[38] Stoneware is different to porcelain in that it is made of coarser types of clay, often with impurities; it is usually thicker as an item and fired at a high temperature (1200 Centigrade). This makes the object more durable and therefore popular as a ceramic sort to transport.

[39] Yue ware is considered by some scholars in China the earliest type of true porcelain as it was fired at the temperature of 1300 degrees. From: http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5806/%20Ancient%20Porcelain%20Kiln%20Site%20in%20China (visited January, 2020).

[40] Liu Yang 2010 (op. cit.), p. 145: 'Evidence from archaeological excavations throughout China and abroad proves that Changsha wares for the most part were made for export; kilns mushroomed in the Changsha vicinity largely in response to the demands of foreign markets'; p.147: 'Chinese archaeologists have distinguished about seventy different product forms. They can be divided into ten core groups, including ewers and vases (2,514 pieces); bowls and saucer dishes (1,596 pieces); jars (939 pieces); basins and washers (580 pieces); boxes (474 pieces); lamps (188 pieces); tools such as milling stones and milling blocks (81 pieces); objects for the scholar's desk (63 pieces); pillows (48 pieces); and others'.

brown painted rims'.[41] She estimates that around 12,000-to 15,000 dishes could have been fired in one of the largest kilns at one time.[42] These suited Middle Eastern customers: 'A range of motifs designed to appeal to specific markets – Arabic calligraphy, plants, and birds – were later fluidly painted on the interior of the bowls in the same brown paint before final glazing and firing'.[43] (Figure 2.1) This is an early example how Chinese domestic wares were adapted to appeal to foreign customers.

Figure 2.1. Changsha bowls from the *Belitung* shipwreck.[44]

Furthermore, Stargardt states: 'To be in a position to supply and satisfy all their export markets, the Changsha and Yue kilns were clearly able to function on a mass

[41] J. Stargardt, 'Indian Ocean Trade in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Demand, Distance, and Profit', *South East Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no.1, 2014, pp. 35-55; p. 41: 'Their presence on board this ship resulted from the popularity of their new forms of production and the market activities of concentric and intersecting circles of numerous merchants – Chinese and foreign – surrounding Yangzhou'.
[42] Ibid., p. 40: 'While the Changsha kilns in Hunan Province supplied the bulk of the c. 70,000 Chinese ceramics on board the Belitung, I estimate that the Yue wares on board also numbered c. 2000, in addition to the smaller but very high quality and value wares of similar shapes from North Chinese kilns'.
[43] Ibid., p. 41: 'Tang Chinese ceramics changed the food culture of the Abbasid court and wider society, causing them to adopt the use of ceramic dishes, bowls, and ewers alongside their famous metal wares'. 'The enthusiasm of the Abbasid court for Chinese fine ceramics is well documented from the time of Caliph Harun al-Rashid onwards'. She refers in note 39 to: R. Kauz (ed.), 'Patterns of Exchange in the Decorative Arts between China and South-West Asia', *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea,* Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 107; J. Hallett, 'Pearl Cups Like the Moon: The Abbasid Reception of Chinese Ceramics', Krahl et. al (eds.) 2010, (op. cit.), pp. 75–81; M. Crick, *Chinese Ceramics for Southeast Asia. The Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Muller*, Geneva, 2010, p. 21.
[44] Image taken from: Liu Yang, in Krahl et al. (eds.) 2010 (op. cit.), p. 144. See also *Sunken Treasures. Discoveries in Shipwrecks from the Maritime Silk Road 800-1900.* K. Gaillard and E. van den Berg (eds.), catalogue for the exhibition in the Keramiekmuseum Princessehof, Leeuwarden, 7 September 2019 – 28 June 2020.

scale, to maintain reliable standards, and to increase or decrease their levels of production in response to changes in demand during the ninth century'.[45]

The *Intan* and *Cirebon* wrecks were ships of Southeast Asian origin transporting a mixed cargo of ceramics for various markets on the Indonesian islands.[46] The *Intan* wreck, dated to the 10th century, may have been an Indonesian inter-insular cargo ship sailing from Palembang to central or eastern Java.[47] The salvage resulted in 8,000 ceramics, among them pieces of Yue ware such as green-ware bowls, covered boxes with finely incised decorations, and lobed ewers; but also stoneware jars from Guangdong province, as well as flasks and *kendi* type pouring vessels.[48] These items provide more evidence that adaptations were made to suit foreign tastes: by applying certain designs and producing non-domestic Chinese shapes such as covered boxes, *kendi* and ewers.[49]

Around 260,000 artefacts of which 205,000 ceramics were salvaged from the *Cirebon* wreck, found one hundred nautical miles off the coast of Java in 2005 and also dated to the end of the 10th century.[50] Most items are *Yue* type bowls, plates and ewers for daily use, but there are also some pieces of white *Ding* type porcelain.[51] (Figure 2.2)

---

[45] Stargardt 2014 (op. cit.), p. 42; Liu Yang, in Krahl et al. (eds.) 2010 (op. cit.).

[46] Stargardt 2014 (op. cit.), p. 49: 'Their cargoes reveal some continuities with the Belitung cargo in the presence of mass-produced Chinese ceramics, some of them of high quality and from several kiln sources – but all southern and mostly the Yue and Fan Chang kilns. For instance, neither the Intan nor the Cirebon wrecks contained any Changsha ceramics. In the ninety years that separated the Intan from the Belitung, that strikingly prolific source of ceramics on the Belitung had ceased to export'.

[47] M. Flecker, 'Treasures from the Java Sea, the 10th-century Intan Shipwreck', *Heritage Asia Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 2, December 2004 – February 2005, pp. 25-29; Flecker 2010 (op.cit.), pp. 335-354; M. Flecker, 'The Archaeological Excavation of the 10th Century Intan Wreck', PhD. dissertation, National University of Singapore, 2001.

[48] A *kendi* is a pouring vessel, usually with a rounded body, a straight neck with an opening and a spout. It was mostly in use in Southeast Asian regions as a religious ritual vessel. In the course of the Ming dynasty, various shapes, including animal-shapes were produced. D. Rooney, *Kendi in the Cultural Context of Southeast Asia, a Commentary,* from: http://rooneyarchive.net/articles/kendi/kendi_album/kendi.htm (visited January, 2020); J. Sweetman and N. Guerin, *The Spouted Ewer and its Relatives in the Far East.* Catalogue of an exhibition of the Barlow Gallery, University of Sussex, 1983; Khoo Joo Ee, *Kendi: Pouring Vessels in the University of Malaya Collection (The Asia Collection),* Oxford, 1991. Stoneware jars were used as containers for food and water because of their durability. See Li Baoping and Li Jianan, 'Chinese Storage Jars in China and Beyond', pp. 73-87 in *Chigusa and the Art of Tea,* J. Lusaka (ed.), Washington, 2014.

[49] A. Schottenhammer, 'China's Gate to the Indian Ocean – Iranian and Arab Long-distance Traders', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 76, no.1, 2016, pp. 135-179. Appendix 2 provides a list of the goods traded: 'From the 806-biographical record that Li Ao 李翱 (774–ca. 836 or 841) wrote about Xu Shen 徐申 (738–806), the recently deceased provincial governor of Lingnan, we learn about trade goods and vessels that came to China during the late eighth and early ninth centuries: Each year foreigners from every country come here to trade. Rare pearls, tortoise shells, exotic fragrances, and rhinoceros' horns, everything flows [to China] on oceangoing vessels'.

[50] 'Five Dynasty Treasures: Chinese Ceramics found in the Indonesian Cirebon Shipwreck', lecture given by Lim Yah Chiew (Synopsis and commentary by Natalie Ong), Southeast Asian Ceramic Society,

Figure 2.2. Ceramics from the *Cirebon* wreck. Photo by *Cosmix Archaeological Underwater Research & Recovery*, Musée Royal de Mariemont.

We see from these shipwreck finds and the fragments found at the production sites in China that during the Tang dynasty the ceramics transported overseas were a mixture of utilitarian wares intended for the domestic market and items that differed from these in decoration (*Belitung* wreck) and shapes (*Cirebon* and *Intan* wrecks).

Shipments of ceramics during the Song dynasty (960-1279).

According to several scholars, it was in the period of the Southern Song dynasty that foreign trade rapidly developed. Kessler refers to André Wink: 'China's maritime commerce flourished largely in private hands but by the early 12th century government income from taxes on foreign trade amounted to 20% of the total. And the revenue of the Song in the 11th century was already two to three times as large as that of the Tang in the 8th century. The development of Chinese maritime trade now led to the first Chinese commercial settlements in Southeast Asia'.[52]

This can be seen by way of the numerous shipwrecks discovered and salvaged by Chinese maritime archaeologists.[53] The *Nanhai No. 1*, first salvaged in 1987, was found in the western part of the Pearl River delta, southern China, and was lifted practically

---

Singapore, 2010. From: http://www.seaceramic.org.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/A-talk-by-Lim-Yah-Chiew.pdf (visited January, 2020).

[51] H. Liebner, 'The Siren of Cirebon, a Tenth-Century Trading Vessel Lost in the Java Sea'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014. From: http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/6912/ (visited January, 2020). *Ding* ware is a thin porcelain covered with a white-tinted glaze and mostly produced in kilns of northern Hebei province from the start of the Song dynasty.

[52] Kessler 2012 (op.cit.), p.424, note 494: A. Wink, *Al-Hind*: *The Making of the Indo Islamic World*, vol. I, Delhi, I990.

[53] For more information on the underwater cultural heritage in China (SACH), see: http://english.cach.org.cn/col/col1574/ (visited January, 2020).

intact in 2011. About 60,000 ceramics were discovered which have been traced to kilns of Jingdezhen, Dehua, Cizhou and Longquan. It is an example of a ceramic shipment containing a mixture of domestic wares from various Chinese kilns destined for an (unknown) overseas destination during the Song dynasty.[54] (Figure 2.3)

Figure 2.3. Ceramics salvaged from the shipwreck of the *Nanhai No. 1* at the Guangdong Maritime Silk Road Museum. Photo from website.[55]

The *Baijiao No. 1* shipwreck dated to the 12th century was found near Dinghai, Lianjiang county, Fujian province. It contained 2,678 artefacts including black-glazed and green-glazed wares from kilns in Fujian.[56] (Figure 2.4) According to Sarah Kenderdine, most of the 475 ceramic items were black-glazed bowls and 12-20% was green-glazed ware: 'Song merchants traded in porcelain vessels on a much larger scale than the merchants of the Tang or Five dynasties. Stone monuments were erected near a number of Song porcelain kilns and inscriptions recorded the activities of merchants

[54] The pieces and remains of the ship are kept at the Guangdong Maritime Silk Road museum, see: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-05/17/c_139064396.htm (visited January, 2020).
[55] Ibid.
[56] Its destination is unknown. Chunming Wu (ed.), *Early Navigation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Maritime Archaeological Perspective*, Singapore, 2016; J. Green (ed.), Maritime Archaeology in the People's Republic of China, *Special Publication No.1. Department of Maritime Archaeology,* Western Australian Museum, no. 237, 1997.

engaged in transporting the ceramics to distant regions for sale'.[57] She also mentions that 'workshops stamped their porcelain vessels with exclusive inscriptions'.[58]

Figure 2.4. Black-glazed bowls salvaged from the *Baijiao No. 1* shipwreck. Photo by Jon Carpenter.[59]

The 'History of Song' (*Songshi*) lists import and export goods, including porcelain.[60] Another historical publication documents that the 'Malay peninsula, Java, Champa, Borneo, and some Philippine islands' were potential markets; Java and Palembang seem to have been the most prosperous destinations.[61] Another account relates: 'The ocean-going junks are several hundred (Chinese) feet in length and breadth. The traders divide the space by lot and store their goods therein. Each person gets several feet of space. He stores his goods below and sleeps on top of them at night… A great part of the cargo consists of pottery, the small pieces are packed in the larger, till

[57] S. Kenderdine, '"Bai Jiao I", The Excavation of a Song Dynasty Shipwreck in the Dinghai area, Fujian province', *The International Journal of Nautical Archeology,* no. 24, 1995, pp. 247-266, p. 257, figs. 13 and 14.
[58] Ibid., p. 254-255 and p. 261.
[59] Image taken from: Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Maritime Museum A compendium of projects, programmes and publications 1971–2003, p. 12: http://museum.wa.gov.au/sites/default/files/Compendium.pdf (visited January, 2020).
[60] It is one of the 24 histories of China; 'The compilation was undertaken by a professional team of the Historiography Institute (guoshiguan 國史館). In 1343 Emperor Shun 元順帝 (r.1333 – 1368) of the Yuan dynasty decreed the compilation of the three dynastic histories of the Song, Liao (Liaoshi 遼史) and Jin (Jinshi 金史) dynasties'. From: http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Historiography/songshi.html (visited January, 2020). According to F. Hirth and Rockhill and W.w. Rockhill, 'The Annals of the Sung dynasty supply a list of the principal articles of this trade, imports and exports, in or about 999. They were gold, silver, Chinese cash, coined money, lead, piece-goods of all colours, porcelain-ware, cotton fabrics, incense and scented woods, rhinoceros horns, ivory, coral, amber, steel (pin-tHe) , shells of turtles, tortoise-shell, cornelians….' *Chau Ju-kua* [Chao Rugua 趙汝适], *His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chï.* Translated from the Chinese and annotated by F. Hirth and W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 19.
[61] Tien Tse Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514-1644. A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*. Leiden, 1969 (1934), pp. 21-23.

there is no space left'.[62] These descriptions give an insight into the way ceramics were shipped during this epoch as is visible in a number of shipwrecks. In the *Nanhai No. 1* shipwreck mentioned above, the stacks of ceramics can be seen as well as the way these were placed in compartments of which the wood has disintegrated.[63]

The *Huaguangjiao No. 1* shipwreck was found off the coast of the Xisha islands, also known as the Paracel Islands, southeast of Hainan province.[64] More than 10,000 items were found during the salvage in 2007, including many pieces of fine *qingbai* ware from Jingdezhen and brown-glazed bowls and ewers from various kilns in Fujian and Guangdong provinces, all dated to the Song dynasty.[65] This is an example of a mixture of ceramics from different production areas that were collected for shipment overseas. (Figures 2.5 and 2.6)

Figure 2.5. *Qingbai* bowls and pouring vessels from the *Huaguangjjiao No. 1* shipwreck.

Figure 2.6. A *qingbai* vase from the *Huaguangjjiao No. 1* shipwreck.[66]

---

[62] Hirth and Rockhill 1911(op.cit.), p. 31; J. Miksic, *Southeast Asian Ceramics: New Light on Old Pottery*, Paris, 2009, p. 74.

[63] See images on: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/about-the-heritage/underwater-museums/the-guangdong-maritime-silk-road-museum-nanhai-no-1-museum/ (visited January, 2020).

[64] See websites: https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/silk-road-themes/underwater-heritage/huaguangjiao-no1-shipwreck; http://www.china.org.cn/china/2011-04/02/content_22284163.htm (both visited January, 2020); Li Jian'an, 'Chinese Trade Ceramics from the 13th to 17th centuries: Marine Archaeological Discoveries in China', *The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal* no. 3, 2011, pp. 77-83; China's Underwater Excavations of the 16th-17th Century Chinese Export Porcelain, *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*, Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 2012, pp. 77-91.

[65] In documentation related to the Yuan dynasty, the islands were called *Wanglishitang:* ten thousand miles of stone pond. This area is a large reef area and Chinese maritime archaeologists mentioned that there are large amounts of shards strewn all over these reefs which indicate that this must have been a major shipping route. Personal communication from Li Jian'an, director of the Maritime Archaeology department, Fuzhou. *Qingbai*, literally 'greenish or bluish white', is a type of porcelain ware covered with a light greenish to bluish-white glaze.

[66] Photo from china.org.cn.

Numerous shipwrecks salvaged from the Indonesian archipelago contained ceramics. A Chinese junk discovered in 1990-1991 at Breaker Reef, southwest of Palawan, is dated to the late 11th- early 12th century.[67] It contained brown and light green-glazed ware with painted designs in *Cizhou* style.[68] The finds included, 'around 40 ochre-green-glazed bowls; 146 *Qingbai* bowls; 300 green-glazed saucers with coarse incised sketches; 6 octagonal stem cups; 45 ewers, a few covered boxes and small moulded bottles of 9 centimetres height used for burial rituals in the Philippines; small "sauce pots" with a height of 6.4 centimetres; stoneware *kendi*; some rare Cizhou coloured wares; small jars of 6.5 height and shards of an ewer and vase found at Sarawak'.[69] (Figure 2.7)

Figure 2.7. Salvaged wares from the Breaker Reef area exhibited at the Ayala Museum in Makati City. Photo by N. de Guzman.[70]

Identical wares were found at various archaeological sites in Indonesia.[71] The earliest dated pieces are from Kota Batu in Brunei where large amounts of Chinese

[67] M.F. Dupoizat, 'The Ceramic Cargo of a Song-Dynasty Junk Found in the Philippines and its Significance in the China-Southeast Asia Trade' in R. Scott and J. Guy (eds.), *South East Asia and China: Art, Interaction and Commerce*, Percival David Colloquies no. 17, London, 1995, pp. 225-252.
[68] The main ceramic production output during the Northern Song dynasty (960 -1127) came from kilns in the north of China. The wares are known as *Ru, Guan, Ge, Jun*, and *Cizhou*. R. Kerr and I. Thomas, *Song Dynasty Ceramics*, London, 2004; N. Wood, *Chinese Glazes- their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation,* London, 1999, pp. 81-88 on *Guan* ware; pp. 125-129 on *Ru* ware; pp. 129-134 on *Cizhou* ware.
[69] Dupoizat 1995 (op. cit.), p. 225.
[70] Image taken from: https://www.bworldonline.com/ceramics-exhibit-snapshot-china-philippine-maritime-trade/ (visited January, 2020).
[71] E. McKinnon, 'Chinese Ceramics Recovered as Surface Finds at Cot Me and Ujung Batee Kapal, Kecamatan Mesjid Besar, Kabupaten Aceh Besar', *Proceedings of the Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia*, 12-14 March 2007, Singapore. This contains information on finds at Desa Lamreh (Northwest tip of Sumatra), at Banda Ache (Kureng Raya) of stoneware from the Song to early Ming dynasty, celadons from the Song dynasty, Yuan *qingbai* and blue and white wares.

shards dated between the 7th to 13th centuries were discovered in the Sarawak Delta.[72] Dupoizat explains that some 'primitive' populations in Borneo even regarded Chinese bowls as having spiritual power and used them for burials. For example, the graves of the Melanau population of Sarawak on the northwest coast of Borneo contained numerous Chinese bowls, some of which are engraved with *da ji* (good luck).[73] In another region, antique green-glazed vessels also had a significant meaning. According to William Burton:

> At this day, the Dayak of Borneo regards as his most sacred treasure vessels of old Chinese Celadon porcelain which have been handed down with the utmost reverence from generation to generation; because, according to a native superstition, they are made of the remnants of the same clay from which the Almighty first created the sun and then the moon; so that the most miraculous virtues are attributed to them in the power of curing diseases, while no evil spirit will approach the house in which they are kept.[74]

The preference for large dishes by certain overseas communities became apparent in the Song dynasty. In 1178, Zhou Qufei reported that 'People of the Persian country in the maritime southwest … eat cakes, meat, and rice [by laying them out on and] filling porcelains. They eat it with their two hands and chew on it'.[75] This remark indicates that merchants from the Middle East, active in South East Asia, were apparently already using such dishes in this period. He also refers to Cui Yan who noted: 'The large plates with diameters from about 45 to 57 centimeters were manufactured precisely to accommodate Moslem feasts in which people gather seated together and eat with their hands'. [76]

---

[72] Wan Kong Ann, 'Examining the Connection between Ancient China and Borneo through Santubon Archaeological Sites', *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 236, April 2013; http://www.sino-platonic.org ; http://www.nationalmuseum.gov.ph/nationalmuseumbeta/Museums%20and%20Branches/fivecenturies.html (both visited January, 2020).

[73] These are identical to 19 pieces from the Breaker Reef shipwreck; Dupoizat 1995, (op. cit.), p. 222: 'Certain shapes/types were favoured by various ethnic groups in Borneo or Philippines. However, it is very important to note two different and separate attitudes to these imported ceramics in Southeast Asia., dependant on the particular culture involved. On the one hand, there are those who made extensive use of trade ceramics for ritual and burial. On the other hand, there are those who made general use of these ceramics, as well as during festivals'.

[74] W. Burton, *Porcelain, a Sketch of its Nature, Art and Manufacture*, London, 1906, p. 63; Wan Kong Ann 2013 (op. cit.).

[75] Kessler 2012 (op. cit.), p. 467, note 556, where he refers to: Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai Daida*, vol. 3118, book 3, pp. 28–29.

[76] Ibid.

Ceramic production and shipments during the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368).

It appears that the Mongolian rulers of the Yuan dynasty were not as interested in luxurious porcelains as the previous Song dynasty rulers and kept to their modest customs.[77] Nevertheless, the Yuan dynasty rulers saw the importance of revenues from overseas trade. According to Brian Fahy, 'By the 14th Century, the maritime ceramic trade was booming, and the Mongol rulers initiated public works projects to promote economic development. Roads were constructed and the Grand Canal was extended to facilitate transport of goods'.[78] The government set up offices at the ports of Quanzhou and Ningbo to supervise overseas trade, to increase tax collections; loans were granted to commercial shipbuilders and the government would extract 70% of the profits from the trading cargo.[79]

The major technical innovation that occurred during the Yuan dynasty was the application of a pigment that fires to a blue colour. This new type of decoration was made possible by the use of a substance made from a mineral containing cobalt oxide from Persia, called 'Islamic blue' (*Huihui qing*).[80] There is discussion amongst art-historians as to whether items with underglaze blue decoration were only produced for

---

[77] R. Krahl and J. Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul,* vols. I-III, London, 1986, p. 238. 'The inception of the Yuan dynasty put Mongols and other foreigners at the top of the class structure, completely dispersing the Song elite. Because these new elites simply took their official roles and not their "places" in society, many municipal frameworks stayed the same.'

[78] The Grand Canal is the longest man-made canal in the world, connecting Beijing to Hangzhou measuring over 1700 km long. Fahy 2010 (op.cit.), p. 32; Ching-Fei Shih, 'Experiments and Innovation: Jingdezhen Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty', PhD. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2001, p. 169.

[79] Ibid.

[80] R. Kerr, J. Needham and N. Wood (eds.), *Science and Civilization in China: Vol. 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 12, Ceramic Technology*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 663; Du Feng and Su BaoRu, 'Further Study of Sources of the Imported Cobalt-blue Pigment Used on Jingdezhen Porcelain from Late 13th to Early 15th Centuries', *Science in China Series E: Technological Sciences* , 2008, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 249-259, p. 249: '"Su Ma Li Qing" (Samarra-blue) and "Su Bo Ni Qing" (Sumatra-blue) are definitely different cobalt ores originated in different places, because of their very similar transliterations in Chinese, the confusion has appeared in ancient books for more than 400 years, which considered "Su Ma Li Qing" and "Su Bo Ni Qing" as the same cobalt-blue pigment. In this article the mistake was corrected, the possible producing places and the approximate eras of the two pigments imported to China and used at Jingdezhen were also suggested.'; Fahy 2010 (op. cit.), p. 10, suggests: 'There are two major points of view that authorities tend to take in the technological stimulus of Chinese blue-and-white; whether the primary influences in blue-and-white porcelain production are from internal (within China) or external (from the Middle East) factors. There are those who believe that blue-and-white production was based solely on the impact of foreign agents upon Chinese ceramic centres. They cite the influence of the Mongol Khanate government that was in power at the time and its press for a ceramic that mimicked Middle Eastern tastes. The use of a foreign source of cobalt to create these wares and use of what is believed to be foreign designs on blue and white ceramics supports this opinion. Critics of this stance tend to believe that the impetus for blue-and-white production during the Yuan Dynasty is due to local demand and artistic influences. Academics use models of earlier ceramic methods and glazing styles to support a theory that China had been using similar techniques on previous ceramics and changes in colour scheme reflect a local flavour'.

overseas markets.[81] James Watt maintains that 'recent archaeological finds in China have refuted this assumption. Large hoards of porcelain, including blue-and-white have been found all over the country, from the southern provinces to Inner Mongolia'.[82] According to Beamish, 'the same kilns produced items for both a domestic and an export market and that the same designs were adapted to different shapes that would not necessarily have been acceptable in both markets'.[83] In the exhibition held at the Shanghai museum in 2012, excavated items from the Luomaqiao kiln area in Jingdezhen were on display, and supported this theory.[84] Liu Xinyuan maintains 'Large plates excavated from the original Yuan imperial kiln sites are clearly not for the Chinese, they were more suited for the Islamic taste. The quality is however identical to those intended for the Imperial court'.[85]

There are also differences between porcelain shapes made for the Middle Eastern collections and those made for Southeast Asian regions. For example, ceramic remains excavated in the Philippines and Indonesia include small jars, dishes, and bowls that differ in dimension and shape from those shipped to the Middle East. According to Laurie Barnes, 'Archaeological finds in another part of Indonesia, Sumatra, show a demand for specific utilitarian wares, such as vessels for serving rice or containers for use in ritual ceremonies. The people of this area were particularly fond of various sizes of green glazed jars and bowls with appliqué fish'.[86]

---

[81] Peng Minghan and Yin Qinlan, 'Yuan and Ming Provincial Blue and White from Jingdezhen' in P. Lam (ed.), *Yuan and Ming Blue and White from Jiangxi*, Hong Kong, 2002, p. 25.

[82] J. C.Y. Watt, *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2010, pp. 284-285. He refers to note 13 on p. 299: 'For a listing of the main hoards up to 1999, cf. Chen Kelun in Wang Qingzheng (ed.) 2000, vol. 11, pp. 305–311. Both Watt and Chen believe the porcelains in such hoards date to the Yuan dynasty'.

[83] J. Beamish, 'The Significance of Yuan Blue and White Exported to South East Asia', *South East Asia & China: Art, Interaction & Commerce,* London, 1995, pp. 225-251, p. 243.

[84] Chen Xiejun (ed.), *Splendors in Smalt: Art of Yuan Blue-and-white Porcelain*. Shanghai Museum exhibition, 2012; Li Baoping, 'Latest Excavations of Yuan Blue-and-White and Other Ceramics from Jingdezhen and Related Issues', *OCS Newsletter*, no. 22, October 2014, pp. 6-10. He refers to the excavations of Luomaqiao kilnsite: Jiang Jianxin, Weng Yanjun, Jiang Xiaomin and Wu Shurong, 'Archaeological Excavation on the Luomaqiao Kiln-site in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi,' in *State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2013* (in Chinese), Beijing, Cultural Relics Press, 2014, pp. 157-161; Crick states that the Luomaqiao kilns made smaller items with simple designs for the Southeast Asian market and the Hutian workshops larger pieces. Crick 2010 (op. cit.), p. 219

[85] Liu Xinyuan 1999 (op. cit.), p. 98; Kessler 2012 (op. cit.), refers to: Cui Yan, 'Lun Wailai Wenhua dui Yuandai Qinghua Ciqi Zhuangshi Wenyang de Yingxiang' in Huang Yunpeng (ed.), *Yuan Qinghua Yanjiu*: *Jingdezhen Yuan Qinghua Guoji Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji,* Shanghai 2006, p. 249: 'The large plates with diameters from 45–57 cms. were manufactured precisely to accommodate Moslem feasts in which people gather seated together and eat with their hands'.

[86] L. Barnes, 'Yuan Dynasty Ceramics' in Li Zhiyan, V.L. Bower, and He Li (eds.) *Chinese Ceramics: From the Paleolithic Period through the Qing*, New Haven, 2010. pp. 330-385, p. 336: 'Until quite recently, it was a

Shipwrecks dated to the Yuan dynasty provide additional data on ceramics exported overseas during this period. For example, in 1996, about 12,000 intact pieces were recovered from a wreck site in the Java Sea dated to the 13th century.[87] 'It has been estimated that the ceramic cargo of the Java sea wreck comprised at least 100,000 individual pieces from Fujian kilns, such as those at Anxi, Nanan and Putian'.[88] The salvaged items include, besides green-glazed bowls and dishes, covered boxes and jars.[89] (Figure 2.9)

Figure 2.9. Researcher Wenpeng Xu examines Chinese ceramics from the Field Museum's Java Sea Shipwreck collection. Photo: Lisa Niziolek, Field Museum Chicago (2018).

Another discovery, in 2010, were the remains of a wreck off the coast of Sabah, East Malaysia, dated to around 1300. Besides various types of jars, lead-glazed *kendi,* a shape that was especially favoured in Southeast Asia, it contained numerous green-glazed wares, small items like jarlets and dishes decorated with a dragon or twin-fish

---

custom in Indonesia, specifically on the island of Sulawesi, to include *Longquan* wares in burials'. See also Crick 2010 (op. cit.).

[87] Recent research undertaken by the Field Museum in Chicago established a much earlier date of sinking, of around 100 years. See: L. Niziolek, 'Portable X-ray Fuorescence Analysis of Ceramic Covered Boxes from the 12th/13th-century Java Sea Shipwreck: A Preliminary Investigation' *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 103, 2019, pp. 57-71; L. Niziolek, G. Feinman, J. Kimura, A. Respess, and Lu Zhang. 'Revisiting the Date of the Java Sea Shipwreck from Indonesia', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, October, 2018. From: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2352409X18300208 (visited January, 2020).

[88] M. Flecker, 'The Thirteenth-Century Java Sea Wreck: A Chinese Cargo in an Indonesian Ship', *The Mariner's Mirror,* vol. 89, November 2003, pp. 388-404. By the same author: 'The 13th Century Java Sea Wreck: Bulk Iron and Ceramics from China', proceedings of the Fujian Ceramics Conference, Singapore, 1999.

[89] See: https://www.fieldmuseum.org/blog/what-were-still-uncovering-800-year-old-shipwreck (visited January, 2020).

design 'en relief'.[90] According to Flecker, 'The better-quality pieces have a plain interior while the majority have an unglazed ring in the centre to allow for direct stacking inside the kiln. Dishes with appliqué twin- fish in the centre, a design that perhaps best typifies *Longquan* ceramics, were also relatively common'. [91] (Figure 2.10) A few large dishes were also found. (Figure 2.11) These finds typify the taste for green-glazed dishes within Southeast Asia.

Figure 2.10. A small *Longquan* type of dish with appliqué twin-fish decoration.[92]

Figure 2.11. A large dish with a moulded panel design.[93]

Further examples of export ceramics from this period have been salvaged from ships wrecked near the reefs that marked the passage to the west of Palawan Island, Philippines.[94] One of these is a Chinese junk named the *Investigator Shoal*; it sank near a group of islands of Kalayaan and contained brown and green-glazed ceramics, mostly Chinese utilitarian wares such as cups, bowls, saucers and plates, but only a few rare ewers.[95]

In 1976, a shipwreck was discovered in the waters near the South Korean coastline at Sinan county, Jeolla province. From 1976 to 1984, research and salvage was carried out and, exceptionally, wooden tags show the names of customers who ordered the items. The Tofukuji temple in Kyoto, Japan ordered many objects. The ship departed from the Chinese port of Ningbo in 1323 and was bound for Hakata, Fukuoka province

[90] M. Flecker, 'The Jade Dragon Wreck: Sabah, East Malaysia', *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 98, no. 1, 2012, pp. 9-29; see also Wan Kong Ann 2013 (op. cit.).
[91] Flecker (op.cit.), p. 19.
[92] Ibid., p. 19, fig. 11.
[93] Ibid., p. 20, fig. 13.
[94] R. Scott and J. Guy (eds.), *South East Asia and China. Art, Interaction and Commerce*, Sir Percival David colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, no. 17, London, 1995; E. Dizon, 'Underwater and Maritime Archaeology in the Philippines', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, no. 31, 2003, pp. 1-15.
[95] Crick 2010 (op. cit.), pp. 32-34. Exceptional shapes for export include: bottles, ewers with phoenix heads, stem cups; see p. 29 for a map with production sites.

in Japan.[96] Around 22,000 ceramic pieces were salvaged of which around 16,000 are green-glazed items made in the Longquan kilns. The cargo consisted mainly of bowls and dishes with incised flower designs. Dark-glazed bowls produced in the Jian kilns in Fujian province were already much in demand in Japan for drinking tea and would have been a standard item for this market. Vases, incense burners, figurines, flower pots and a large quantity of ewers, and cup stands, typical pieces used at temples, indicate that the cargo included a special delivery for temples.[97] (Figure 2.12)

Figure 2.12. A variety of items from the *Sinan wreck* dated 1323 displayed at the National Museum of Korea. Photos: Wi Tack-whan, National Museum of Korea.[98]

Looking over the pre-Ming epoch as a whole, I conclude that during the Tang dynasty, there was a noticeable increase in production, and adaptations such as a type of decoration that appealed to foreign customers were added to domestic type *Yue* and *Changsha* bowls. Furthermore, some non-Chinese innovations of shapes like *kendi* and ewers with bird heads were produced. From the Song dynasty on, the Longquan kilns increased the variety of green-glazed wares; smaller items catered mostly to Southeast Asian markets; Islamic clientele favoured the larger dishes. Other wares in demand and shipped overseas were domestic bowls from the Cizhou kilns and dark-glazed bowls

[96] Lee Myong Ok, 'Discoveries from the Sinan Shipwreck', *The Silk Road,* no. 14, 2016, pp. 223-225; 'Discoveries from the Sinan Shipwreck: Special Exhibition on the 40th Anniversary of the Excavation', 26 July to 4 September 2016, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 2016, from: http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/History/view?articleId=138942# (visited January, 2020). See also *Sunken Treasures*, Gaillard and Van den Berg (eds.) 2019 (op.cit.).
[97] Barbara Seyock, 'Archaeological Complexes from Muromachi Period Japan as a Key Perception of International Maritime Trade in East Asia', in A. Schottenhammer (ed.), *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 179-20. see also: Lee Myong Ok (op. cit.), p. 223.
[98] From: http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/History/view?articleId=138942 (visited January, 2020).

from the Jian kilns favoured in Japan. Shipwrecks dated to the Tang and Song dynasties have revealed a mixture of Chinese domestic type of wares with a small addition of foreign items.

The Yuan dynasty can be characterized as the period during which underglaze blue decoration on porcelain became popular in China, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Non-Chinese shapes as ewers and pen-boxes were an addition to suit Islamic customers and, as before, smaller items such as covered boxes and small jars mostly served Southeast Asian regions. The demand for flatware of larger dimensions increased as these primarily met the requirements of Islamic customers. Green-glazed items prevail the Middle Eastern collections in this period; the Topkapi Palace collection with 406 pieces of Longquan kiln ware.[99] More than half of the 58 celadons in the Ardebil Shrine collection are large dishes, eight with diameters from 60-63 cm.[100]

We see here a division between 'export ceramics' and 'ceramics that were exported', a distinction made earlier. The 'export' or rather 'foreign' (*guowai*) wares are mainly shapes unfamiliar to the Chinese and were produced specifically for transportation to overseas regions. Fragments from shipwrecks have established that, during these epochs, ceramics exported from China were a mixture of Chinese domestic items, mostly bowls, combined with 'foreign' shapes. (Appendix Chapter 2, Table 1.)

The first period of the Ming dynasty (1368- ca.1522).

The discussion of the types of Chinese ceramics transported overseas during this period is complicated by the fact that several edicts were issued by the early Ming emperors that prohibited overseas trade. There is often confusion between the terms 'the Ming trade ban' and 'the Ming gap'. The first Ming emperor, Hongwu (1368-1390), issued an edict, the *Haijin* (ban on sea trade) in 1371 to prevent piracy, especially by the Japanese, and the smuggling of goods.[101] This ban also intended to control the power of the

---

[99] The Longquan kilns are renowned for the production of celadon ware. The Topkapi museum has 15th century celadon dishes all with a foliated rim and bracket lobed sides. See also Regina Krahl: 'China ships and Porcelain Rooms: Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East', p.42 in *Vormen uit Vuur, no.*191/192; 2005-2/3.

[100] Pope 1956 (op.cit.) pp. 153-158 and p.159.

[101] In fact, there were several edicts that issued trade bans during the Ming dynasty; a further decree took place in 1447; a decree dated to 1500 prohibited the use of Chinese junks with more than two masts; the Jiajing Emperor reiterated the ban on trade with foreigners and a further decree of 1525 required all ships with multi-masts to be destroyed. See B. McElney, *Chinese Ceramics and the Maritime Trade, Pre-1700*, Bath, 2006, p. 10.

eunuchs who supervised overseas trade at that time.[102] The Chinese were forbidden to leave the country, the import and export of goods were prohibited and ships were purposely destroyed.[103]

The term 'Ming Gap' was given to the subsequent lack of export ceramics caused by the Ming ban.[104] Roxanna Brown devoted her research to the shipments of ceramics during the Ming gap for which she made extensive use of shipwreck finds in Southeast Asia.[105] Brown's research focused on how Vietnamese and Thai ceramics replaced or filled up the overseas export of Chinese wares during the Ming ban on foreign trade: 'The primary goal has been to offer, after decades of speculation, hard data on whether or not there were shortages of Chinese ceramics in general during the reigns of the early Ming dynasty and whether or not there was a total absence of Chinese blue and white export ceramics in Southeast Asia during the 15th century'.[106]

Brown based her research on the finds of fourteen shipwrecks in Southeast Asian waters, which showed that only around 50-100 pieces of blue and white porcelain items had been transported during the period 1368-1488. She also concluded that there were, in fact, different periods of shortages of Chinese ceramic export ware. The first period was between around 1368, the first year of Hongwu reign, to around 1424, the last year of emperor Yongle (1403-1424), when there was a drop to 30-40% of Chinese ceramics of the total amount of the cargo. The second shortage occurred from the end of the reign of Yongle (1424) to the end of Chenghua (1465-1487), when there were

---

[102] S. Pierson, *From Object to Concept. Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain.* Hong Kong, p. 22. She explains how tributes to the Chinese emperor took place. All foreign trade was to be conducted by official tribute missions which were handled by representatives of the Ming Empire and its 'vassal' states. The emperor in return also sent items. For example, in 1383, 57,000 pieces of porcelain were sent to regions in South East Asia; Ströber 2012 (op. cit.), p. 26: 'In 1383 from Siam 200 ivory items sent to the emperor who in return sent 1900 ceramic pieces'.

[103] Li Kangying and A. Schottenhammer, *The Ming Maritime Trade Policy in Transition, 1368 to 1567*. Wiesbaden, 2010. Introduction, p. 3: 'The *haijin* was not only a policy of the Hongwu administration but was instituted as part of the *Ancestral Injunctions…* to be upheld by all following administrations'. See also Gang Deng, *Maritime Sector, Institutions, and Sea Power of Premodern China*. Westport, Conn., 1999.

[104] The term was first used by Tom Harrisson to refer to an absence of early Ming blue-and-white wares at Sarawak River delta sites in Borneo. T. Harrisson (ed.), *The Peoples of Sarawak*, Sarawak Museum, Kuching, 1959; Wan Kong Ann 2013 (op.cit.).

[105] R. Brown, *The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia,* The Siam Society, Bangkok. 2009, pp. 24-27, p. 51: 'For, prior to the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505), Ming blue- and-white is practically absent from both land and maritime sites. Elsewhere, I have adopted the term 'Ming gap' to refer to this near absence of blue-and-white, which extends from 1352 (when Chinese archaeologists say war caused the closure of the Jingdezhen kilns) to the Hongzhi reign'. See also: R. Brown and S. Sjostrand, *Maritime Archaeology and Shipwreck Ceramics in Malaysia*, published on the occasion of the exhibition Malaysian Maritime Archaeology by the Department of Museums & Antiquities in collaboration with Nanhai Marine Archaeology, Kuala Lumpur, 2002.

[106] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 74.

hardly any Chinese ceramics (5% or less of the cargo). A further series of imperial edicts affected export: in 1438, no blue and white decoration was allowed to be used on non-imperial wares, and in 1447, neither blue and white nor the colours yellow, purple, red or green were to be applied to porcelain without imperial permission.[107]

Brown shows that shipwrecks within Southeast Asia from this era contained a mixture of Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese export ceramics to make up for the regular shipments of Chinese ceramics.[108] For example, the *Turiang* wreck site dated to 1370 contained Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese ceramics.[109] (Figures 2.13 and 2.14) It was apparently a Chinese vessel heading for Borneo and/or Sulawesi. The wreck is dated to around 1370-1400, and is one of the earliest shipwrecks yet discovered with Thai export ceramics.[110]

Figure 2.13. A green-glazed dish from the *Turiang* shipwreck, National Museum Kuala Lumpur. Photo by author.

Figure 2.14. Various items salvaged from from the *Turiang* shipwreck. National Museum, Kuala Lumpur. Photo by author.

The *Nanyang* wreck dated to 1380 was found in 1995 off the Malaysian coast; its cargo is estimated to have been 10-15,000 pieces, most of which were green-glazed wares produced in the Sawankhalok kilns in Thailand. Some 20 dishes are from the

[107] McElney 2006 (op.cit.), p. 10; Tai Yew Seng, 'The Ming Gap and the Revival of Commercial Production of Blue and White Porcelain in China'. *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association,* vol. 31, 2011, pp. 85-92.
[108] As the demand continued, smaller kilns from other areas in China produced quantities of everyday ware which could easily be secretly shipped from ports of Fujian. M. Flecker, 'Maritime Archeology in Southeast Asia' in Miksic (ed.) 2010 (op. cit.), pp. 34-48.
[109] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), pp. 40-41.
[110] R. Brown and S. Sjostrand, *Turiang: A Fourteenth Century Shipwreck in Southeast Asian Waters*, vol. 2. Pacific Asia Museum, Kuala Lumpur 2000; S. Sjostrand and C. Barnes, 'The "Turiang": a Fourteenth-Century Chinese Shipwreck upsetting Southeast Asian Ceramic History', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol.74, no.1, 2001, pp. 71-109; Brown and Sjostrand 2002 (op. cit.).

Sukhothai kilns and a few storage jars came from south China.[111] A similar wreck was discovered in 1996 and named the *Longquan* wreck and dated to around 1400. 'The ceramics are estimated to have numbered 100,000 pieces, fifteen times the volume present on the *Turiang'*. The cargo included 40% green-glazed items from Sisatchanalai and 20% black wares from Sukhothai kilns. Some 40% of the cargo consisted of Chinese green-glazed plates and bowls and monochrome white bowls.[112] (Figure 2.15)

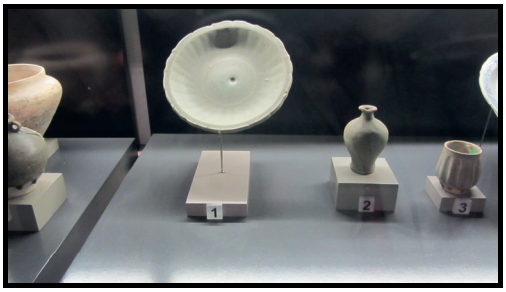


Figure 2.15. A Chinese green-glazed plate and other items from the *Longquan* wreck (ca.1400). National Museum, Kuala Lumpur. Photo by author.

According to Qin Dashu, early Ming *Longquan* ware was used for trade and exquisite pieces were used as tribute ware for foreign countries. [113]

> This is recorded in the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming* under the entry of "Ministry of Works". Therefore, Longquan official wares were ordered by the Ministry of Works, used on official occasions and presented as gifts to other countries. The popular large dishes and bowls of the Yongle reign (1403-1424) might have been made in Longquan kilns specifically for the voyages of Zheng He so that they could be presented as gifts to the rulers of the countries he visited. […] Discoveries of imperial wares provide strong evidence that Zheng He visited

[111] Sukhothai ceramic ware is covered with a creamy white slip and decorated in black with an opaque or greenish glaze. Sawankhalok products tend to be more finely made than the Sukhothai ones. These products are incised and often include animal shapes. Brown 2009 (op. cit.) pp. 41-42: 'The Nanyang wreck (c.1380) was found 10 nautical miles from the nearest Malaysian island. The cargo is well organized, in cargo compartments separated by transverse bulkheads. This site has not yet been excavated, but four hundred ceramic pieces were recovered for study purposes'. See also Brown and Sjostrand 2002 (op. cit.)
[112] Ibid., p. 184 and https://www.maritimeasia.ws/turiang/chinese.html (visited January, 2020).
[113] Qin Dashu, 'Ming Ceramics Discovered in Kenya and Some Related Issues', in*: Ming China: Courts and Contacts: 1400-1450.* British Museum publications, London, 2016; Khalfan Bibi Ahmed, 'The Provenance of Chinese Ceramics Unearthed from Important Archaeological Sites of Manda and Mtwapa, Kenya'. MA thesis, Sun Yat-sen University, 2019.

the coastal areas of Kenya.[114]

Eva Ströber also notes: 'Besides being used as tableware, large celadon dishes served as diplomatic gifts not only between Middle East rulers, but were also given to European courts. A large celadon dish was given in the year 1487 from the Egyptian sultan Qa'it Baj to Lorenzo de Medici, documented by the inscription on the bottom of the dish'.[115]

In 1457, the Imperial bans were lifted and under the reign of Emperor Chenghua (1465-1487), the production of underglaze blue decorated porcelain revived.[116] Overseas demand increased and a second stream of production developed. Krahl remarked: 'As the high-quality ware produced at Jingdezhen was kept for the growing demands of the discriminating Chinese clientele, a new production line had to be developed for exports. This much rougher ware may have been an upgraded version of ordinary household ceramics made at some Jingdezhen kilns'.[117]

Evidence comes from several shipwrecks that contained cargoes with export ware. The shipwreck named *Royal Nanhai* (dated to c. 1460) was excavated in 1995 with more than 21,000 ceramic pieces, most of which were Sawankhalok green-glazed wares. (Figure 2.16) However, some Chinese blue and white bowls were found hidden beneath the floorboards, indicating that these may have been an illegal purchase.[118] (Figure 2.17) These shipwrecks support the concept of the Ming gap when shipping blue and white porcelain to overseas markets was prohibited. On the whole, only small quantities of Chinese ceramics left China, in this case probably illicitly.

We can see that these dishes were not large sized ones; in fact, shipwrecks found within Southeast Asia mostly contained flatware with a smaller dimension and of a more mediocre quality than those seen in the Middle Eastern collections.

---

[114] Dashu 2016 (op.cit.), p.250; see also: Zhao Bing, 'La Céramique Chinoise Importée en Afrique Orientale (IXe-XVIe siècles) : Un cas de changement de valeur marchande et symbolique dans le commerce global' in: *L'Afrique Orientale et l'Océan Indien : Connexions Commerciales, Circulations et Appropriation des Objets*, 2015.

[115] Eva Ströber also notes, 'Large Dishes from Jingdezhen and Longquan around the World'. Keramiekmuseum Princessehof, 2010 (pdf. Version).

[116] C. Shangraw, 'Fifteenth Century Blue-and-White in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco', *Chinese Ceramics, Selected Articles from Orientations, 1982-1998*, Hong Kong, 1999, pp. 103-114, p. 112.

[117] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 486.

[118] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 43: '446 plates were recovered; 3,415 were intact. They were found stacked between bulkheads, with an average of 32 pieces in each stack. There was only a small amount of brown glazed Chinese bowls and jarlets, but many black-glazed storage jars from Maenam Noi kilns of central Thailand', pp. 128-129 Plates 45 and 46; Brown and Sjostrand 2002 (op. cit.).

Figure 2.16. Green-glazed bowls from the *Nanhai* Shipwreck, ca.1460.[119]

Figure 2.17. Blue and white dish from the *Nanhai* shipwreck, ca 1460. National Museum, Kuala Lumpur. Photo by author.

Another example is the *Pandanan* wreck excavated at south Palawan in the Philippines in 1995. According to Brown, the cargo may have consisted of some 20,000 ceramic pieces of which 70% originated from central Vietnam and Thailand.[120] Also included were around 30-60 Chinese blue and white small dishes, bowls of mediocre quality, and small jars as well as some green-glazed ware, all utilitarian ware.[121] (Figure 2.18) The wreck has not been dated precisely, but is believed to be from around 1470.[122]

Figure 2.18. Blue and white decorated dishes from the *Pandanan* shipwreck ca. 1470. All are medium and small sized dishes.[123]

[119] Photo from lecture given by R. Brown at the Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum, Kuala Lumpur, 2007. From: https://maritimeasia.ws/topic/melaka_slides.pdf. (visited January, 2020).
[120] E.Z. Dizon, 'Anatomy of a Shipwreck: Archaeology of the15th- century Pandanan Shipwreck', C. Loviny (ed.), *The Pearl Road: Tales of Treasure Ships in the Philippines*, Makati City, 1996, pp. 62-93.
[121] Ibid., p. 62: 'The shipwreck site is located about 250 meters off the northeast coast of the island (Dizon 1996:64). Research started in 1993; there were 4, 722 artefacts found in the Pandanan Wreck Site. These are divided into six categories on the basis of the kind of artefacts: earthenware, porcelain, metals, coins, glass artefacts; the stoneware were produced in kilns in Fuchien Province and Guangdong Province in southern China. The blue-and-white wares are composed of saucers, bowls, large bowls and small jarlets. White wares are two pieces of gourd-shaped pouring vessels, one of them has dots of an iron pigment. Celadon wares are composed of dishes with a floral flaring rim, bowls with lotus design, saucers and stemmed cups. The stoneware produced in Fuchien and Guangdong Provinces are brown glazed six eared jars with a dragon design'. Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 44, p. 47, and Plates 51, 52, 53, 54 and 55 all illustrate Chinese blue and white bowls, cups and dishes. There are also 2 ewers with iron spot design.
[122] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 47.
[123] Photos from: https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/silk-road-themes/underwater-heritage/pandanan-14th-century. (visited January, 2020)

From the Hongzhi reign period (1488-1506), underglaze blue ware was produced in larger amounts.[124] This supports Brown's theory that the start of this reign can be considered as the termination of the Ming gap.[125] 'There is general agreement among scholars that the *Lena Shoal*, *Brunei Junk* and *Santa Cruz* shipwrecks can be dated to the Hongzhi reign and that all three carried primarily Chinese blue and white'.[126]

One of these, the *Brunei Junk,* was discovered offshore near Brunei in 1997; researchers date the wreck to around 1500. [127] The 13,500 recovered pieces include Thai and Vietnamese ceramics, numerous Chinese stoneware jars from Jiangxi and green-glazed celadon wares from Guangdong province. Furthermore, 4,565 blue and white decorated items, for the most part dishes of various shapes and sizes, most with a diameter of ca. 20-24 centimetres.[128] (Figure 2.19) Some 1,000 green-glazed and 200 white-glazed porcelain items were also found, some with enamel decorations.[129] Pirazzoli-t'Sersteven maintains that 'This is not the first quality porcelain made in official kilns, but an ordinary production made in private kilns (minyao) from Jiangxi province, Jingdezhen, but also maybe in several cases Linjiang kilns' 'This production was for the domestic market as well as for export'.[130]

---

[124] Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ming Ceramics - A Catalogue of the Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*, London, 2001.
[125] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 48: 'After the Hongzhi flood of Chinese ware, however, there is another period of moderate shortage after about 1520 until the Ming ban is officially rescinded in 1567'.
[126] Brown 2009 (op. cit.), p. 62.
[127] The *Brunei* wreck was discovered forty kilometers off the shore of Brunei by Elf petroleum and salvaged by the team of the company DRASSM led by Michel L'Hour. M. L'Hour (ed.), *The Sunken Treasures of Brunei Darussalam,* Paris, 2001.
[128] M. Pirazzoli-t'Sersteven, 'The Brunei Shipwreck: A Witness to the International Trade in the China Sea around 1500', *The Silk Road*, vol. 9, 2011, pp. 5-18, p. 8; Sharon Wai Yee Wong, 'A Preliminary Study on the Distribution and Consumption of Ceramics in Hong Kong during the Song-Yuan Period', *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association,* vol. 26, 2002, pp. 140-146.
[129] Pirazzoli-t'Sersteven 2011 (op. cit.), p. 8.
[130] Ibid., and note 8: 'The blue and white porcelains in the Brunei cargo are very similar to the ones found in the Daijitun tombs at Fuyu, Jilin province, wrongly attributed to the Yuan dyansty'; 'Several blue and white excavated from a paper-making mill at Gao'An in Jiangxi have their equivalent in the Brunei cargo. Chinese archaeologists attribute these to the Jingdezhen production of the Zhengde reign. See Kaogu 2010, Figs. 30/3 and 31/1'.

Figure 2.19. Two porcelain dishes from the *Brunei* shipwreck. (inv. nrs. left: Bru 1351, right: Bru 3190).[131]

This also concerns the *Lena Shoal* wreck, dated to 1490, and discovered in 1997 near Busuanga Island west of Palawan Island, Philippines.[132] Besides substantial amounts of plates, bowls and stem cups, the cargo included covered pen-boxes and numerous ewers, typical Islamic type shapes.[133] (Figures 2.20 and 2.21)

Figure 2.20. Various porcelain items from the *Lena* shipwreck (1490).[134]

Figure 2.21. Porcelain 'writing boxes' from the *Lena* shipwreck (1490).[135]

[131] Photo from: Ibid., p. 8, Fig. 7.
[132] They include blue and white pieces from the kilns at Jingdezhen, a small amount of *Longquan* celadons but also some Vietnamese and Thai ceramics. F.S. Goddio, S. Pierson and M. Crick, *Sunken Treasure: Fifteenth Century Chinese Ceramics from the Lena Cargo,* London, 2000; F. Goddio et al., *Lost at Sea: The Strange Route of the Lena Shoal Junk*, London, 2002; F. Goddio, 'La Jonque de Lena et le Vaisseau *Royal Captain*', *Taoci*, no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 11-20; M. Crick, 'Les Céramiques Chinoises, Vietnamiennes et Thaïlandaises de la Jonque de Lena', *Taoci*, no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 71-85.
[133] Fahy 2010 (op. cit.), p.23: '(Fig. 36), a Duck jar (Fig. 37), ewers and globular vases (Fig. 38) made up some of the higher quality wares on the ship'.
[134] From: Goddio 2001 (op. cit.), p. 14, fig. 4. Photo by Discovery Communications Inc./UAD Underwater Archaeology and Discovery Ltd.
[135] Ibid., p. 15, fig. 7. Photo by Discovery Communications Inc./UAD Underwater Archaeology and Discovery Ltd.

Flatware from the *Lena* shipwreck show that most dishes have the same dimension of around 20 to 30 centimetres and have a deep well. (Figure 2.22) This shows that large quantities of identical sizes were produced for Southeast Asian communities.

Figure 2.22. Chinese porcelain dishes from the *Lena* shipwreck (ca. 1490). Photo by Discovery Communications Inc./UAD [136]

Another example of "Islamic' types of ceramics are the finds from the *Santa Cruz* wreck, discovered in 2001 near the island of Luzon in the northern Philippines.[137] The 15,500 porcelain pieces are mostly Chinese utilitarian ware dated to the Hongzhi reign, but exceptional water-droppers and calligraphy utensils were also amongst them, as in the *Lena* cargo.[138] Examples are 'pen boxes', copies from Middle Eastern types inlaid with gold or silver, and the crescent-shaped *kendi*. (Figure 2.23)

---

[136] Goddio 2001 (op. cit.), p. 15, fig. 6.
[137] B. Orillaneda, 'A View of a 15th Century Trading Vessel in the Philippines: The Sta. Cruz Shipwreck'. *Proceedings of the Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia*, 12-14 March, 2007, Singapore, pp.1-7; B. Orillaneda, *The Santa Cruz, Zambales Shipwreck Ceramics: Understanding Southeast Asian Ceramic Trade During the Late 15th Century C.E.*, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 2008; F. Goddio, *Weisses Gold. Five Junks and their Cargos*, Exhibition Catalogue, in co-operation with J.P. Desroches and M. Crick, Göttingen, 1997.
[138] A. Kintanar, *Identifying 'Islamic Motif' on Chinese Blue and White Porcelain Recovered from the 15th Century Shipwrecks in the Philippines*, M.A. thesis, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines, Diliman, (no date): 'Most numbered ceramics are celadon with 2,512, followed by 1,769 blue and white porcelains'; from:

Figure 2.23. 'Islamic' shapes salvaged from the *Santa Cruz* shipwreck, National Museum of the Philippines.[139]

The items salvaged from the *Lena* and *Santa Cruz* shipwrecks show that besides plain utilitarian ware as rice bowls, finer items adapted in shapes to 'Islamic taste' were included for wealthier customers in Southeast Asian regions: '50% of *Lena* porcelains can be considered as "definitely Islamic" while the *Santa Cruz* has almost 40%'.[140]

Turning to the two collections in the Middle East, the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul and the collection of the Ardebil Shrine, currently in the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran, have a large variety of Chinese blue and white porcelain, as well as some green-glazed items.[141] The compilers of the three-volume catalogue of the Topkapi Palace Museum that contains all the ceramics explain how the collection was formed: 'Generally, Chinese porcelain reached the palace either as gifts and trophies, or some of it was purchased. A certain amount of ware was acquired by the reversion of the estates of deceased statesmen and members of the court, or of those who had fallen from favour'.[142] Confiscating goods was another method. 'An example is the collection of Esad Pasa; disgraced, his belongings were confiscated from 3 palaces amongst which were

http://www.themua.org/collections/files/original/df52f701c82d9d5da62c178528d7de97.pdf (visited January, 2020); Orillaneda 2008 (op. cit.); Brown 2009 (op. cit.), plate 63 illustrates bowls and dishes with a mythical creature, a *qilin*.

[139] Photo from Kintanar (no date), p.10, figures 5a, 5b, 5c and 5d.

[140] Kintanar (op. cit.), p.9.

[141] 'Although no archival documents concerning orders or direct purchases from China have been found, it is clear from price and auction records from the second half of the 16th century onwards, that Chinese porcelains began to be purchased by court dignitaries and the wealthy'. https://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/en/content/chinese-and-japanese-porcelains (visited January, 2020).

[142] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 16; R. Krahl: 'China Ships and Porcelain Rooms: Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East', *Vormen uit Vuur,* 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 38-48; p. 42. The Topkapi Palace Museum contains some 1350 green-glazed items.

3098 pieces of porcelain'.[143] The other method was through a practice known during the Ottoman Empire as '*muhallefat*', (compulsory) inheritance.[144] Official gifts to the Sultan included porcelain that was added to the collection; these came mostly from the Persians.[145] The Topkapi Palace Museum collection consists of 10,358 pieces; 446 pieces date to the Yuan dynasty of which 406 are Longquan green-glazed wares and 40 are blue-and white dishes, all with large dimensions.[146]

The Ardebil Shrine provides further examples.[147] In 1611, Shah Abbas (r.1587-1629) donated the porcelain collection accumulated during his reign with gifts and sporadic purchases from previous periods to the mausoleum of Safi al-Din (1252-1334) in the city of Ardebil in northern Iran.[148] A special room housed all his donations, which included a large number of books. Pope referred to several accounts written by travellers who visited the Shrine.[149] One description was written by 'Adam Olearius, who served as secretary to the ambassadors sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Moscovy and the King of Persia and arrived in Ardebil in 1637'. He describes it as: 'This Hall is called Tzenetsera (Chini-serai/Chini-khaneh) and serves for a Library'; furthermore, 'In the Neeches of the vault, there were above three or four hundred vessels, of Porcelane; some so large as that they contain'd above 40 quarts of Liquor. These are only used at entertainments which are brought from the Sepulchre to the King and other great Lords who pass that way'.[150] Many items were destroyed

---

[143] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 16.
[144] Ibid., pp. 15-16 and pp. 32-35. According to the authors, this would have been the main method of 'collecting.'
[145] Ibid., p. 30: 'Of the foreign powers it was the Persians who most consistently presented the Sultan with porcelain during the 16 and 17th centuries'.
[146] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.); Krahl 2005 (op. cit.).
[147] T. Misugi, *Chinese Porcelain Collections in the Near East: Topkapi and Ardebil*, Hong Kong, 1981, vols. 1-3. pp. 92-93; J. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington, 1956.
[148] Both Pope 1956 (op. cit.), and Misugi 1981 (op. cit.) have researched this collection. See also Pedro Carvalho, 'Porcelains for the Shah, Ardabil and the Chinese Ceramics trade in the Persian Gulf', *TOCS*, vol. 66, 2001-2002, pp. 47-56; P. Morgan, 'New Thoughts on Old Hormuz: Chinese Ceramics in the Hormuz Region in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Iran,* no. 31, 1991, pp. 67-83.
[149] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), pp.11-17; one is by Anthony Jenkinson who 'brought back' the original Ardebil carpet dated 1540, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum
[150] Ibid., p. 13, note 19; he quotes from: *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia: Begun in the Year M.DC.XXXIII and Finish'd in M.DC.XXXIX : Containing a Compleat History of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and Other Adjacent Countries : with Several Publick Transactions Reaching Neer the Present Times : in Seven Books : Illustrated with Diverse Accurate Mapps and Figures, 1662*: 'The niches were an architectural fashion in Iran; these were shaped according to the various forms of vessels in the wall but were not 'specially' designed for this porcelain collection because not all niches coincide with the actual Chinese pieces.'; see also:Yuka Kadoi, 'The Chini-Khane: Reception and Appreciation of Chinese Ceramics in Iran, 1300-1800', paper presented at the conference 'Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300 to 1800', Warwick, April 2010.

during earthquakes and 19th-century Western visitors remarked that pieces were placed on the floor.[151] The collection originally comprised 1,221 pieces, according to a written inventory, but now only 880 are kept in the Iran Bastan Museum. Some pieces can still be seen in the *chïnï-khãneh* room of the Ardebil Shrine (Figure 2.8). This collection presently contains items of various dimensions, including 287 dishes, 206 saucers, 170 bowls and 95 cups.[152] This collection is of great importance as it has an end date of 1611; all the porcelain items have been produced before this date.[153]

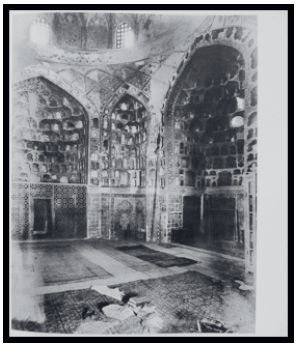


Figure 2.8a. The '*chïnï-khãneh'* room of the Ardebil Shrine. Photo by Myron Bennet Smit. (date unknown).[154]

Figure 2.8b. The same room by the author in 2003.

Even though adaptations to dimension of dishes were made to suit Muslim customers, the reverse also took place. Margaret Medley has written extensively on the subject of the influence of Persian metal ware shapes and decorations on Chinese porcelain.[155] Another innovation besides the increase in dimension of dishes, are the

[151] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), p. 14, refers to an account by James Frasier who visited the Shrine in 1821.
[152] Ibid.
[153] For more information: *Encyclopædia Iranica*- http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ardabil (visited January 2020).
[154] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), plate 4.
[155] M. Medley, *Metalwork and Chinese Ceramics*, London, 1972, p. 13: 'The "Islamic" origin of designs which were introduced under Mongol influence gradually became adopted to the Chinese taste (brackets and foliated rim)'; M. Medley, *Yuan Porcelain and Stoneware,* London, 1974, p. 68: 'The influence of metalwork, exceptionally strong in the Mongol period, was not only that of the native tradition. Near Eastern metalwork also made a strong impact and this may be seen in the unusual bowls, small at the foot, with a generous outward carving wall turned neatly inwards at the top to a well-controlled mouth-rim. The carved and incised decoration generally found on these bowls is held very much in restraint'; M. Vickers, O. Impey, and J. Allan, *From Silver to Ceramic: The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Works*, Oxford, 1986.

foliated rims and moulded panels, a feature that is later applied to shapes produced for the Western market at the start of the 17th century.[156]

When studying the flatware dated to early Ming dynasty, the Topkapi Palace Museum has dishes with diameters ranging from 29-36 and 45-54 centimetres, and have either a narrow flat bracket lobed rim or a plain rim. Dishes from the Ardebil Shrine range from 31 to 43 centimetres in diameter, some larger pieces with a diameter of 55-56.5 centimetres and even three exceptional ones with a diameter of 62-64 centimetres.[157] These are of a typical 'platter' shape, a unique shape that does not correspond to any Chinese domestic shape.[158] The wide base is a typical feature and the rim is usually plain without an everted edge. This is slightly similar to what we know as a 'serving platter', illustrated in Figure 2.24. The Topkapi Palace Museum has numerous dishes of this particular shape.[159]

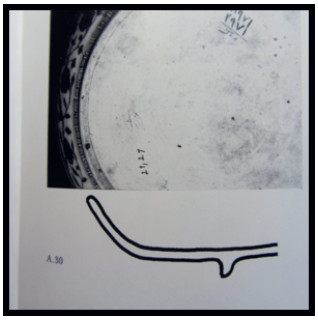
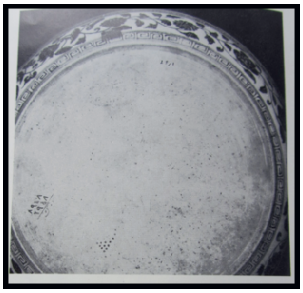


Figure 2.24. Profile and base of a large dish. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.17, d. 33.8 cm.[160]

As, to my knowledge, this shape is only found in the Middle Eastern collections, it may well have been specially ordered.[161] For example, there is one dish from the Ardebil Shrine collection with a Chinese inscription, which, according to Pope, may

[156] Kamer Aga-Oglu, 'Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines', *Archives of the Chinese Art Society,* Manila, 1963, p. 7, 'Certain new features in shape and decoration were evidently introduced in the fourteenth century, during the Yuan and the early years of the Ming period, just as the blue-and-white ware was coming into fashion. The new features are seen particularly in the dishes of large sizes which often have foliated rims and panelled sides and are decorated with floral sprays or bands of floral scrolls and other motifs that are carved, incised, stamped or molded in high relief''.
[157] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plates 75-76. d. 58.5. cm.: Dish with Arabic inscription and Zhengde mark inside rim.
[158] Ibid., see p. 87 for his views on the Persian shapes.
[159] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), pp. 510-511. The diameters range from 41-63.5 cm.
[160] Misugi 1981 (op. cit.), p.114.
[161] There are 17 identical shapes with diameters ranging from 27.5 to 41 centimetres in the Ardebil Shrine, Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plates 43 and 44.

indicate dimensions for an order for this specific shape and size.[162] (Figure 2.25)



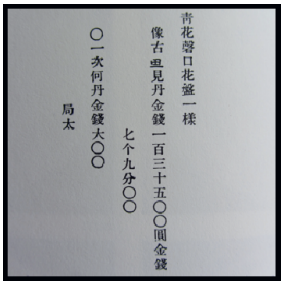


Figure 2.25. Base of a large dish with an inscription. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.1, d. 41 cm.[163]

Numerous dishes have a narrow foliate everted rim. The everted rim was useful for the custom of placing a lid made of gold or silver to keep the food warm, a custom still used in countries in the Middle East.[164] (Figures 2.26 and 2.27) This was however not a new adaptation to suit these customers, as such dishes, then green-glazed, had already been produced in the Song dynasty.

Figure 2.26. A dish with a metal cover, Topkapi Palace Museum.[165]

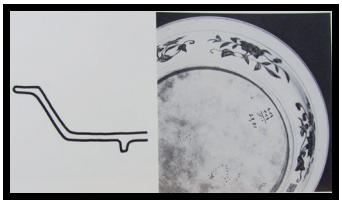


Figure 2.27. Profile and base of a dish everted rim. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.31, d. 43 cm.[166]

[162] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 30: 'The first two characters, *ch'ing-hua'* are perfectly clear and may, if the inscription was actually written when the piece was made, be the earliest occurrence of this standard term for "blue-and-white" noticed thus far. And second, there seems to be reference to 135 monetary units of some sort. Whether this refers to the price of the dish cannot now be determined, but it seems like a possibility that deserves consideration'. Misugi 1981, (op. cit.), p. 114. According to Baoping Li, the first line mentions a blue and white dish with floral design, the second line seems to mention 135 monetary units; 'The third line might be 七寸九分 rather than 七个九分 … then it should mean 7 cun and 9 fen (size of the dish); If 丹 (red) is actually 用 (use), then it might mean certain money was used to make (or to purchase) this dish'. Many thanks to Baoping Li for this information.
[163] Photo from: Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 30.
[164] Krahl and Ayers 1986, (op. cit.). See pp. 559-561 for dishes with a narrow everted rim: inv. nr TKS15/1964, d. 33 cm. and inv. nr. TKS15/1395, d. 51 cm.; Misugi 1981 (op. cit.), p.23: the Ardebil collection includes 27 dishes with diameters ranging from 60-63 cm., and 74 with diameters 37-41 cm. with an everted rim.
[165] Ibid., vol. I, p. 44, 'such covers were used to protect food as it was transported from the kitchens to banquets. These covers were found in the metalwork storage of the Topkapi Saray Museum'.

Summing up, the Ming dynasty started with several trade bans which led to a gap in the export of Chinese ceramics. Items produced in Vietnamese and Thai kilns substituted for these and were transported within Southeast Asian regions. The salvaged cargoes from the *Lena Shoal, Brunei Junk* and *Santa Cruz* shipwrecks suggest that, as all three ships primarily carried Chinese blue and white, the bans were lifted in the Hongzhi reign period. Numerous items from these shipwrecks are specifically 'Islamic' in shape, and indicate that these had come into production, not only to be shipped to the Middle East but were also destined for customers in Southeast Asian regions. Flatware, however, differed in dimension; while the Topkapi Palace Museum and Ardebil Shrine collections also contain exceptionally large and exquisitely decorated dishes, those retrieved from shipwrecks in Southeast Asian waters are, for the most part, smaller, deeper in shape, and more mediocre in quality. Export ware was aimed at mass-quantities for Asian regions and as well as more exclusive items for the Islamic communities.

The arrival of the Portuguese in Asia and the porcelain trade.

The Portuguese first sailed to India in 1498, 1500 and 1502. Thereafter, the Portuguese crown decided to establish permanent settlements around the Indian Ocean to acquire local products and control the sea trade. The first region in Asia the Portuguese conquered was Goa on the east coast of India in 1510.[167] From the main trade base of Goa, Portuguese merchants consolidated their control of the lucrative spice trade.[168] In

---

[166] Misugi 1981 (op. cit.), p. 115.

[167] M. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders. The Swahili Coast, India and Portugal in the Early Modern Era,* London, 1998. In 1510, Goa, Ormuz and Malacca were the first strongholds established under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque. See A. R. De Souza, *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History,* Goa, 1990, pp. 220-221; A. J. R. Russell, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move,* London 1998; Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire*, London, 2008; R.P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961*, Bombay and New York, 1963; S. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Chichester, 2010

[168] J. de Bruijn and F. Gaastra (eds.), *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1993, p. 7: 'The number of return ships to Lisbon was quite small: in the 1580's: average of 4.1; in the 1590's: 3.6. the cargos consisted mostly of spices: for example, in 1571-1580 the annual tonnage was 32,680 of which 26,860 was spices including pepper, leaving 5820 tons for other goods but this would not be only porcelain as textiles and precious metals would also have been part of this amount'; A. Gunder Frank, *ReORIENT. Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Berkeley, 1998, p. 180: 'Despite their base at Goa, Portuguese procurement was less than 10 percent of south-western pepper production. The maintenance of Portugal's '*Estado da India*' cost its taxpayers and the state more than its direct earnings from India, although its private merchants did benefit from it'.

1513, Jorge Alvares arrived at the island of Lintin in the Pearl River.[169] After years of disputes, relations between the Portuguese and Chinese Ming government improved when the Portuguese supported the Chinese authorities in eliminating coastal pirates. From 1549, the Portuguese were permitted to trade from the island of Shangchuan and in 1557 they were allowed to set up their trade post at Lampacau, the island that was later renamed Macao.[170]

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to import commodities from Asia, including Chinese porcelain.[171] Even though numerous documents exist with orders or lists of porcelain for banquets, there is little evidence of what these may actually have looked like.[172] An exception is the porcelain collection of the Portuguese family Lancastre, who owned the Santos Palace in Lisbon.[173] According to D. Lion-Goldschmidt, 'The material assembled here comes from two sources: the Portuguese royal collection (Santos was a residence of the kings of Portugal from 1501 to 1578), and acquisitions made by the Lancastres during the same period, with later additions, brought there when the Lancastre family purchased the palace and its contents at the beginning of the 17th century'.[174]

---

[169] Tien Tse Chang 1969 (op.cit.), pp. 33-34.

[170] In 1519, Simao de Andrade built a fort on Tamao island without the permission of the Chinese authorities. Portuguese also traded or privateered from other areas as Wuyu Island and Yue harbour at Zhangzhou, Shuangyu Island in Wenzhou, and Nan'ao Island in Guangdong. See C. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770. Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao*, The Hague, 1948; C. Boxer and R. Hartwell, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, London, 1973; B. Diffie and W. Bailey, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*, Minneapolis, 1977; A.R. Disney, *History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, Volume 2, Portugal: From Beginnings to 1807*. Cambridge, 2009.

[171] E. van Veen and L. Blussé (eds.), *Rivalry and Conflict. European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries,* , Leiden, 2005, pp. 28-29: 'During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, even before the arrival of pepper from the Moluccas in 1522-23, independent merchants (*feitor)* dominated the Antwerp market'.

[172] Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art*, vol. 48, no. 5, 2002–2003, pp. 36–40; T. Canepa, 'Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with the Western Europe and the New world 1500-1644. A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence'. PhD Thesis, Leiden 2015. pp.128-130.

[173] This building is situated in an area known as '*Santos-o-Velho*' on the Tagus River that used to be a holy sanctuary in commemoration of three holy martyrs. The original 'palace' was used as a convent during the 13th to 15th centuries. It was then rented to Ferdinand Lourenco, a banker. He refurbished it into a luxurious villa and in 1501 Don Manuel I took possession of it until his death in 1521. In 1589, Don Luiz de Lancastre bought the building, which survived the earthquakes of 1578 and 1589. An inventory was made in 1709, which coincides with the pieces still to be seen in that same room today. Since 1909, the French Embassy owns the building and as it is also part residence, the room cannot be visited without official permission.

[174] Daisy Lion Goldschmidt, 'Les Porcelaines Chinoises du Palais de Santos', *Arts Asiatiques,* vol. XXXIX, 1984, pp. 5-72; Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, 'Ming Porcelains in the Santos Palace Collection, Lisbon', TOCS, vol. 49, 1984–1985, pp. 78–93.

T. Canepa refers extensively to several fragments of early 16th-century Chinese porcelain found at archaeological sites in Portugal and Spain. None have a specific western shape; most are dishes with a flat rim and Chinese type rice bowls.[175] Nonetheless, numerous porcelain items were produced with Western inscriptions.[176] Fourteen dishes, which bear the armillary sphere and the coats-of-arms of King Manuel I (1495–1521) together with the Roman Catholic IHS monogram, are now in various Western collections, of which one is in Museum Het Princessehof in Leeuwarden.[177] As to shapes, Lochschmidt writes,

> These first orders have strong similarities in shape and decoration with the wares exported to the Middle East and, in the case of dishes, also to South-East Asia. In my opinion this group of the very first orders was commissioned by Portuguese not in China itself, but probably in Melaka, the Spice Islands and other trading posts where private Chinese merchants sold the first pieces of porcelain to them and then took orders of their Portuguese customers back to Jingdezhen.[178]

When comparing a dish in the Topkapi Palace Museum decorated with Islamic motifs to a similar shaped one with Portuguese inscriptions, we see that the shape is

---

[175] Canepa 2015 (op.cit.), Figures 3.1.1.1/ 3.1.1.11a+b/3.1.1.24/3.1.1.25; M.I. Dias et al. 'Tracing the Origin of Blue and White Chinese Porcelain ordered for the Portuguese Market during the Ming Dynasty using INAA'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* no. 40, 2013, pp. 3046-3057.

[176] Maria Fernandez Lochschmidt groups these into four periods, see M.F. Lochschmidt, 'Chinesisches Blauweiß-Exportporzellan. Die Portugiesischen Bestellungen vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1722. Eine neue Chronologie mit Beiträgen zu Form und Dekor', Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, 2008, p. 101 (summary in English), 'The first period covers the first quarter of the 16th century to around 1522, during which the Portuguese were prohibited to trade directly with the Chinese; the second period covers the time when the Portuguese were officially prohibited to trade with the Chinese, from 1522 to 1557, the latter year being the date the situation was finally regularized and Macau was given to the Portuguese'; p. 102: 'The third period covers the time from the establishment of the Portuguese in Macau in 1557 and the normalization of the commercial relations with China, up to 1610, when the Portuguese start losing control of the sea-routes to the Dutch'; p. 104, 'The fourth period starts around 1610 and covers the years up to 1657, when Jingdezhen ceases to export to Europe'.

[177] Ibid. p. 100, 'The porcelains of this early period feature basically the emblems of the state and church only, thus clearly bearing witness to the strong centralized government of Manuel I. The only Portuguese decorations to be found are the Manueline armillary sphere and his coats-of-arms, as well as a Catholic symbol, the IHS monogram. Another motif, in my opinion of Portuguese origin, however, is found only together with the preceding ones'. M. Pinto de Matos, 'The Portuguese Trade', *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no. 1, 1999, pp. 22-30. On p. 24, she claims: 'they cannot have been ordered by the Company of Jesus (Jesuits) as they had not yet established the faith in Asia but as Manuel I was their patron he may have ordered them'.

[178] Lochschmidt 2008 (op. cit.), p. 88: 'In diesem ersten Jahrzehnt waren die einzigen Auftraggeber der portugiesische Hof Manuels I zusammen mit der ihm stark verbundenen Kirche. Zu dieser Zeit – und in der zweiten, folgenden Periode – gleichen die nach Portugal exportierten Stücke noch stark der allgemeinen Exportware, die auch nach Nahost und Südostasien verschifft wurde. Sie sind in Form und Dekor chinesisch mit Ausnahme der Wappen der portugiesischen Krone, des Himmelglobus, des IHS-Monogramms und wahrscheinlich auch der bisher nicht gedeuteten Landschaftsdarstellung. Die Qualität ist zu dieser Zeit allgemein niedrig'.

identical. In other words, items that were individually ordered by the Portuguese were Chinese shapes that were decorated according to the demand of these customers.

For example, the dish in Figure 2.28 for the Middle East is decorated with flowers and Figure 2.29 has a similarly shaped dish but then with Portuguese emblems.[179]

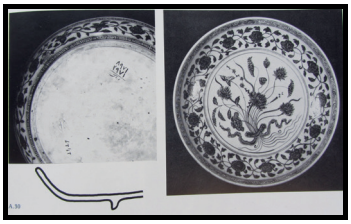


Figure 2.28. Large dish from the Ardebil Shrine, inv.nr. 29.33. d. 48 cm.[180]

Figure. 2.29. Large dish with IHS monogram, armillary sphere and Portuguese royal arms. Metropolitan Museum, New York. inv. nr. 67.4. d. 52.7 cm.

Several more porcelain items with Persian or Islamic texts can be found in the Topkapi Palace and Ardebil Shrine collections.[181] Again, the only differences are in the inscriptions, not the shapes: '…differing mainly in that the Arabic-script roundels are turned into Portuguese coat of arms and armillary spheres and the usual line of Arabic writing around the rim is replaced by a line in Portuguese'.[182] According to Pierson, these pieces may even have been separately produced as gifts for the Sultan.[183] Further examples are in figures 2.30, 2.31 and 2.32, which have Arabic inscriptions; these can be compared to those ordered by the Portuguese with inscriptions illustrated in Figures 2.33 and 2.34.

---

[179] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.); The description reads: 'While the doglike lions illustrate a Chinese theme, the Portuguese coat of arms and the armillary sphere (a type of celestial globe) are often found on works made for Portugal in the early sixteenth century. The letters "I.H.S.," a well-known Latin reference to Jesus Christ, would later be adopted by the Jesuits (Society of Jesus founded in 1534) as a symbol for their order'.

[180] Photo from Misugi 1981 (op. cit.).

[181] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 579: inv. nr. TKS15/2270, dish, d. 26 cm. with a Shi'ite prayer; inv. nr. TKS 15/2663, bowl, d. 24 cm., h. 13.5. cm; TKS15/4386 d. 12.5; h. 6 with religious phrases and TKS15/10407, bowl with Arabic script, d. 23.5 cm.

[182] Ibid., p. 536.

[183] Pierson 2013 (op. cit.), p. 40, 'According to one source, the ambassador of the court of Selim I visited China, where he was given two porcelain bowls with Arabic inscriptions as an official gift from the Zhengde emperor (1506-21) to the Sultan', and 'a document dating from 1514: inventory of the booty taken by Selim I (1512-1520) in his campaign against the Safavid Shah Ismail of Persia. This lists sixty-two or sixty-four porcelains which are thought to have come from the Palace of Hesht Behesht in Tabriz'.

Figure 2.30. Bowl with Arabic inscriptions, Topkapi Palace museum, inv. nr. TKS 55/4386, d. 12.4 cm.[184]

Figure 2.31. Bowl with Arabic inscriptions Topkapi Palace museum, inv. nr. TKS15/10407, d. 18.5 cm.[185]

Figure 2.32. Bowl with Arabic inscriptions, Ardebil Shrine collection inv.nr. 29.346, d. 18.5 cm. Xuande mark.[186]

Figure 2.33. Bowl with Portuguese inscriptions, Topkapi Museum collection, inv.nr. TKS15/2254 h. 11.5 cm. dated to 1541.[187]

Figure 2.34. Bowl with the Portuguese Royal arms, d. 25.5 cm. Fundacao Meiderios E Almeida. Lisbon. Inv. nr. CER. 241.[188]

---

[184] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.).
[185] Ibid.
[186] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 77.
[187] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nr. TKS15/2254, p. 449 (colour plate) and p. 590. The inscription is: *Tempo de Pero de Faria de 1541* (from the times of Pedro de Faria). He was governor of Goa from 1526-1528 and Governor of Malacca from 1528 to 1529. Another bowl with the same inscription is shown in Figure 2.39.
[188] Pinto de Matos 1999 (op. cit.), p. 23, fig. 2. The inscription is: *ave maria gratia plena*.

Another example is a pouring vessel of a type found in the Middle Eastern collections. (Figure 2.35) There are several similar shapes dated to around 1519-1521, but then decorated with the armillary sphere and the coat of arms of Manuel I.[189] (Figure 2.36)

Figure 2.35. Ewer from the Topkapi Palace TKS15/2211. h. 19 cm.[190]

Figure 2.36. Ewer dated 1520, Museum Fundacao Meiderios E Almeida Lisbon inv. nr. 252 cer. h. 26.4 cm.

A rare item with an unusual shape and a Portuguese emblem (upside down) is shown in Figure 2.37.[191] An earthenware jar, made in Portugal with a comparable shape has been identified as a water jar.[192] Such an object might well have been taken by the Portuguese to Asia to be copied and as far as I know, this piece is the only example. (Figure 2.38)

[189] Lochschmidt 2008 (op. cit.), p. 100; Fundacao Meideiros e Almeida, inv. nr. 247CER. Also found on Shangchuan Island, Cheng Pei-kai (ed.), *China Westward. Early Sino-Portuguese Trade of Chinese Ceramics.* Hong Kong, 2009, p. 76, plate 22 ; Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 590: inv. nr. TKS15/2211, h. 19 cm.; this ewer is identical to one with a Portuguese emblem; there are several other non-Western shapes such as the flat pilgrim shaped flasks with the coat of arms of Philip II, dated to around 1585-95 (Casa Museo Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon) and bottles with Portuguese inscriptions. (Museu de Caramulo); Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 54 (early 15th century) and Plate 98 (late 16th century) illustrate identical ewers.
[190] Photo from: Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), p. 590.
[191] It is described by the Metropolitan Museum as: 'The form is neither Chinese nor European; rather, it is based on an Islamic metalwork vessel made for the Near Eastern market that was appropriated for the new European trade. The Chinese painters have misunderstood the Portuguese coat of arms, which appears upside down.' It is dated ca. 1520-1540.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/202581. (visited January, 2020)
[192] T. M. Casimiro and S. Newstead. 'Portuguese Coarse Ware in North Atlantic Trade (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century)', *American Ceramic Circle Journal*, 2019, pp. 59-81.

Figure 2.37 Jug with the Portuguese coat of arms. h. 18.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum, New York. inv. nr. 61.196.

Figure 2.38 Red ware water jar, possibly made in Coimbra, (1650–1690) found in Ferryland (Newfoundland), h. 12 cm. Avalon Colony Museum. Photo: T. Casimiro.

Both Canepa and Lochschmidt maintain that two distinct European shapes have been created during the period 1522-1577, before the occupation of Macao. The first one, a porringer, was at that time a bowl used for eating porridge or soup in Europe; the other shape is a deep dish discussed at the end of this chapter. According to Canepa, the bowl would have been copied from identical ones made of pewter that were taken as utilitarian ware on the journeys; she refers to pewter forms found in the shipwreck *Mary Rose* (1545) and various Spanish wrecks, including one dated 1544.[193] This shape is indeed a common one in Europe, used in the Netherlands as well and known there as *papkom*, a porridge bowl. (Figures 2.39 and 2.40)

Figure 2.39. 'Papkom', Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, inv.nr. F.5600, d. 16.2 cm., 16th-century.

Figure 2.40. 'Papkom', Museum Boymans van Beuningen, inv.nr. F.3653. d.16 cm., ca. 1550-1600.

[193] Canepa 2015 (op. cit.), pp. 274-275; she maintains that the shape was a common one in Europe and that examples in pewter were found in various shipwrecks; p. 277, notes 887 and 888: 'the *Mary Rose* sank during a battle against the French fleet in the Solent in July 1554. The *Honer* is believed to have been a Flemish ship, it sank en route from Antwerp to Spain (Museo da mar de Galacia, 2009)'. The so-called 'Pewter wreck' sank en route from Seville to the New World; there were around 1000 pieces of pewter ware and some ceramic pieces, a few of them identical to a porringer and a deep dish. (pp. 274-275, figures 3.4.1.2.2. and 3.4.1.2.4.) In the Netherlands, this shape was indeed used throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, see J. Gawronski (ed.) *Amsterdam Ceramics*, Amsterdam, 2012, cat. nrs. 301(dated 1550-1575), cat. nrs. 443, 444, 445, 446 (German faience dated 1575-1625), and cat. nr. 485 (Haarlem faience).

However, if the idea was to copy this shape, then the Chinese potters had no knowledge of the use of the handles as they are of too small a size.[194] (Figure 2.41) Apparently, this shape was not a success, as there are only few of such items to be found.

Figure 2.41. Bowl with Portuguese inscription and minute handles. 'Tempo de Pero de Faria de 1541.' Base mark of Ming dynasty, d. 16.5 cm. Museu Rainha D. Leonor, Beja. inv. nr. P1ST/2.

Flatware for export markets.

Dishes of various dimensions and shapes had already been produced in China and transported to the Middle East and Southeast Asia from the 14th century onward, as can be seen from shipwreck finds described above, as well as the Middle Eastern and Indonesian collections.[195] Dishes ranging from 20-50 centimetres in diameter, with and without flat rims as well as the large platter-shaped ones, described above, continued to be produced for export during the first half of the 16th century.[196] It therefore seems unlikely that, 'It is in the Jiajing period (1522-66) that the first plates with flat rims appear, possibly in response to orders by the Portuguese who had settled in Macao in 1557'.[197] In my opinion, the Portuguese were able to buy items already produced for export and did not order flatware with a specific dimension or shape. Numerous

[194] Lochschmidt 2008 (op. cit.).
[195] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), p. 85: 'Flattened rims, both round and foliate are present as before, and among the latter a new style seems to have appeared in which the cavettos are moulded to match the foliations'; for example, plate 82, Ardebil shrine inv.nr. 29.279; Plate 81, inv.nr. 29.150.
[196] Krahl and Ayers 1986, (op. cit.), pp. 607- 626. The dishes illustrated nearly all have a flat rim with a continuous decoration; the diameters range from ca. 29-50 cm. pp. 627- 631; inv. nr. TKS15/1516, d. 50 cm., has a Jiajing mark below the outside rim. There are several examples in the Adam Malik collection that was assembled with items found in Indonesia. Adhyatman (red.) 1980 (op.cit.); Van Orsoy de Flines 1949 (op.cit.). The dishes are all medium to large in size (28.5 cm. - 60 cm.). Plate 32: a dish found in Sulawesi; Plate 36: a large dish, 60 cm. with a reign mark of Jiajing; Plate 37: a dish, 50 cm. mark of Jiajing.
[197] L. Pomper, J. Legg and C. B. DePratter, 'Chinese Porcelain from the Site of the Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena, 1566-1587', *Vormen uit Vuur,* 212/213, no.1, 2011, pp. 32-41, p. 38: The authors compare the plates to the cargo of the *San Felipe* that sank in 1596, of which 27% are similar to the phoenix plates of Santa Elena. Thirty bowls are registered, all of the standard Chinese types.

fragments retrieved from Western archaeological sites and shipwrecks are identical to items in the Middle Eastern collections. This means that porcelain dishes, produced for overseas customers, were already available for the European merchants who appeared on the scene in the first half of the 16th century. Besides, as shown above by way of the finds from the *Lena Shoal, Brunei Junk* and *Santa* Cruz shipwrecks, mass production of flatware for export had already started at the end of the 15th century.

Porcelain fragments found at the earliest known Portuguese shipwreck sites, the *São João* (1552) and the *São Bento* (1554) provide examples of what was then available for overseas merchants. Both wreck sites were found off Port Edward, Natal region on the east coast of South Africa, and contain various types of Chinese shapes including flatware.[198] Some fragments belong to coarse dishes and there are also fine quality bowls, one with a Xuande mark (1426-1435). (Figures 2.42, 2.43 and 2.44) There are several similar dishes in the Ardebil Shrine collection, and there are several ones in the Topkapi Palace Museum, of which one also has a Xuande reign mark. [199]

Figure 2.42. Fragments of coarse dishes from the *São Bento* (1554). [200]

Figure 2.43. Dishes with a fluted cavetto from the the *São Bento* (1554).
Photo courtesy of V. Esterhuizen.

[198] The shards from both wrecks have been thoroughly studied and divided into four groups according to design and quality L.V. Esterhuizen, *Dekoratiewe Motiewe op Chinese Porseleinskerwe uit Portugese Skeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse kus, 1552-1647; 'n Kultuurhistoriese studie* (Decorative motifs on Chinese porcelain shards from Portuguese shipwrecks off the South African coast, 1552-1647; a cultural-historical study.) Unpublished thesis at the University of Pretoria; by the same author: 'History Written in Porcelain Shards. The São João and São Bento, Two Twelfth-Century Portuguese Shipwrecks', *Taoci*, no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 111-116.
[199] Pope 1956 (op.cit.), Plate 90. Inv.nr. 29.279, d. 21 cm.
[200] T. Maggs, 'The Great Galleon São João: Remains from a Mid-sixteenth Century Wreck on the Natal South Coast', *Annals of the Natal Museum*, vol. 26, no. 1, December 1984, pp. 173-186; p. 180, fig. 9.

An identical dish was salvaged from the Belanakan wreck site, Java, named after the location of the Belanakan waters, off the coast of Subang, West Java and discovered in 2010. More than 12,400 ceramic vessels of which 40% were in relative good condition were retrieved. Dishes, bowls and vases with blue and white designs are the main shapes.[201] (Figure 2.45) Finds from these two shipwrecks show that Chinese porcelain was available for European customers, and was not produced especially for them.

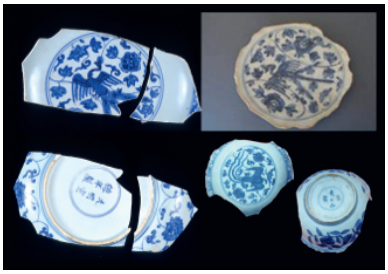


Figure 2.44. Fragments of fine dishes from the *São Bento* (1554). [202]

Figure 2.45 A similar dish from the Belanakan shipwreck site. [203]

Proof from another early shipwreck, discovered off the coast of Mozambique, is also available. The exact identity of the wreck could not be established at first but in 2007 it was identified as the *Espadarte*, which sank in 1558.[204] Around 1,500 pieces of porcelain were retrieved, mostly bowls and few dishes and saucers. (Appendix 2, Table 2). They include a few pieces with the six-character reign mark of the Jiajing period (*Da Ming Jiajing nian hao*), and one with the Xuande reign mark. A few smaller dishes of

[201] https://fr.unesco.org/silkroad/node/9006 (visited January, 2021)
[202] Photo courtesy of V. Esterhuizen.
[203] http://koh-antique.com/belanakan/belanakan%20wreck.htm
[204] Also known as the 'Fort San Sebastian' wreck: A. Mirabal, *Interim Report of the Marine Archaeological Survey Performed in Ilha de Moçambique from May to July 2001*, from: http://publications.aww.pt/downloads/moz_2001_en_survey_report ; M. Mirabel, 'The rescue recovery of the Espadarte shipwreck of 1558 at Ilha de Moçambique', *ARQUEONAUTAS*, 2010. M. Bound, 'Exploring the San Sebastian Wreck off Mozambique', *The Explorers Journal*, Summer, 2004, 'Almost seven years after the discovery of the wreck, the uninterrupted archival research carried out by Arqueonautas and its team of specialists finally succeeded. In March of 2007, two documents landed on the conference table of the office of Arqueonautas in Estoril, Portugal. One document from 1554 read as follows: "The nao Espadarte, which went to India in 1554, while on return to Portugal broke its mast at the Cape [of Good Hope] and was forced to go back to Mozambique, where it was stranded at the point of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte at a depth of 5 fathoms [9m])"

13.5-15 centimetres in diameter are exceptional in shape and decoration but none are typical Western in shape.[205] (Figure 2.46)

Figure 2.46. Left a petal-moulded dish: d. 15 cm. Right; an incised dish with a crab design: d. 13.5-15 cm. from the *Espadarte* shipwreck (1558).[206]

Figure 2.47. Saucer with a crab, waves and sun. Topkapi Palace Museum, inv.nr. TKS15/4378, d.13.5 cm.

Some ten dishes have a white cavetto and a flattened rim, decorated with ribbons and symbols and a circular central design. They have a diameter ranging from 15-20 centimetres.[207] (Figure 2.48)

Figure 2.48. Dishes from the *Espadarte* shipwreck (1558). Christie's catalogue, nr. 627 (right), d. 20 cm.; cat. nr. 628 (left), d. 20.5 cm.; cat nr. 629 (middle), d. 15 cm.[208]

Even though they were retrieved from a Portuguese ship, this particular shape need not have been specially produced for Western customers. The Topkapi Palace collection has numerous dishes, with a flat decorated rim, a white cavetto, each with a different central design, and of various dimensions. (Figures 2.49) The Santos Palace in

[205] *The Fort Sebastian Wreck, a 16th-Century Portuguese Porcelain Wreck off the Island of Mozambique*, Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam, May 2004, nrs. 614 and 616.
[206] Ibid. A small shard with a lobed cavetto and small flower identical to this dish was found at Lagos, Algarve in Portugal, Canepa 2015 (op. cit.), p. 134, fig. 3.1.1.10.
[207] Christie's Amsterdam 2004 (op. cit.), cat. nrs. 627, 628 and 629.
[208] Photo from Ibid.

Lisbon has a dish with an identical design of a circular central design and a rim decorated with symbols.[209]

Figure 2.49. Dish from the Topkapi Palace. inv.nr. TKS15/3571. d.19 cm.[210]

Figure 2.50. Dish with everted rim. Santos Palace, inv.nr. 226, d.19 cm.

Another shape, a deep dish with a rim was also found in the *Espadarte* wreck. (Figure 2.51) There are, again, several identical ones are in the Topkapi Palace Museum, another indication that such a shape was not specifically produced for the European markets.[211] (Figure 2.52) It is remarkably similar to a *clapmuts,* a type that was produced during the first half of the 17th century mostly for the Dutch market. It may well be that this shape, then ordered by the VOC, and was copied from one of an earlier date.

Figure 2.51 Deep dishes salvaged from the shipwreck *Espadarte* (1554), inv. nrs. 603-605.[212]

Figure 2.52. A deep dish decorated with deer, d. 27.5. h.9.5 cm., Topkapi Palace, inv. nr. TKS15/1797.[213]

[209] All images from the Santos Palace: © RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier. I thank Claire Delery of Musee Guimet in Paris for the photos of the Santos Palace collection.
[210] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.), p. 622.
[211] A similar shape was found amongst ceramics from the Bin Thuan shipwreck dated to 1608; *The Bin Thuan Shipwreck*, Christie's Sale Catalogue, Melbourne, March 1-3, 2004.
[212] Photo from Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam, 2004 (op. cit.).
[213] Photo from: Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.).

As the preference of Western customers during this period was clearly dishes of around 20 centimetres diameter, with a flat rim, this size was mostly found at Western shipwreck and terrestrial sites. They are of various qualities, mostly coarse domestic ware, but fragments of fine ware, even with a reign mark, are also included. Examples were excavated at Santa Elena (now South Carolina) and St. Augustine in Florida, the earliest known Spanish settlements in North America (1565-78).[214] Most fragments are parts of dishes with a diameter of 18-20 centimetres, decorated with typical Chinese motifs as phoenix, flying geese, or ducks in a pond. Other items include standard-size rice bowls.[215] (Figures 2.53 and 2.54)

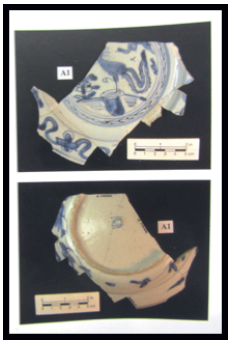


Figure 2.53. Fragments of a dish from Elena settlement. d. ca. 18 cm.[216]

Figure 2.54. Fragments of a dish the Santa from the Santa Elena settlement. d. ca. 18 cm.[217]

A recent publication provides detailed information on the porcelain fragments discovered in the sand dunes in the Baja California, Mexico area.[218] A Spanish ship, the *San Juanillo*, was a Manila galleon of 300 tons, en route from Manila to Acapulco.[219] It is uncertain exactly when the ship was wrecked, but according to E. von der Porten the

[214] Pomper, Legg and DePratter 2011 (op. cit.), pp. 32-41. There are 747 shards that belong to ca. 76 items: plates with phoenix design in the centre, and bowls of all sizes, all Chinese domestic rice bowl types.
[215] Ibid., p. 33; L. Shulsky, 'Chinese Porcelain in Spanish Colonial Sites in the Southern Part of North America and the Carribean', pp. 83-98, *TOCS*, vol. 63, 1998-1999, p. 91: 'The earliest Chinese porcelain on the Manila galleon trade that arrived in Acapulco was in 1573'. Illustration on p. 93, fig. 8 and fig. 9.See also C. Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain,* Madrid, 2016; p.13, figures 131-133 show identical dishes excavated in Madrid.
[216] Pomper, Legg and DePratter 2011 (op. cit.), p. 34, fig. 2.
[217] Ibid., p. 34, fig. 3.
[218] *Porcelains from the Manila Galleon in Baja California, Mexico.* Catalogue. R. Junco (ed.), Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, 2018.
[219] T. Bennett, *Treasure Ships of the Philippines: Where to Find Manila Ships and Japanese shipwrecks with Gold Cargo*. (e-book version published by that author in 2016).

date would be 1578.[220] Around 1,811 fragments were collected and studied. Most belong to bowls: rice bowls, soup bowls, teacups and wine cups with blue and white decorations. There are remains of two bowls, which are very thin and exceptional in design.[221] Several items have a blue and white decoration with enamels and some show only the remains of an enamel decoration.[222] (Appendix 2, Table 3) Most dishes have with a blank cavetto and a phoenix as the central decoration identical to the Santa Elena ones mentioned above. (Figure 2.55) Finds from this shipwreck show that, besides the standard phoenix-type dishes, various other types of porcelain were purchased by the Spanish at the end of the 16th century. They also provide evidence that shapes with a Kraak-panel decoration had, as yet, not been produced.

Figure 2.55. Parts of dishes with phoenix decoration from the 1578 Manila Galleon *San Juanillo.*[223]

An identical dish can be traced to the Topkapi Palace Museum (Figure 2.56) and the Santos Palace collection (Figure 2.57). This again indicates that such dishes were produced for and transported to various overseas regions.

Figure 2.56 Dish with a phoenix; the rim decorated with symbols and scrolls. Topkapi Palace inv.nr. TKS15/2531, d. 21.5 cm.

Figure 2.57. Dish with a phoenix; the rim decorated with symbols. Santos Palace inv. nr. 102, d.19cm.

[220] E. Von der Porten, *Early Wanli Porcelains from the 1578 Manila Galleon San Juanillo*, San Francisco, 2017. Images of the *San Juanillo* porcelain are copied from Junco (ed.) 2018 (op.cit.).
[221] Ibid., p. 4, figs. IV-1 and IV-2.
[222] Ibid., Appendix I, pp. 187-193 and Appendix II, p. 195.
[223] Ibid., p.143, figure XV-1; p.147, fig. XV-2.

The *San Pedro* wreck site (1595), has a similar dish. (Figure 2.58)

Figure 2.58. Dish with a phoenix; scrolls and symbols decorate the rim.
Inv.nr. 79.155.014. *San Pedro* wreck. d. ca.20 cm.[224]

Another type of flatware that has been found at several wreck sites, and which are remarkably similar to ones from the Topkapi Palace collection and the Santos Palace, are saucers and dishes decorated with waterfowl in a pond or lake, as central decorative motif. The everted rim is decorated with plants. One was found at the *San Juanillo* wreck site (Figure 2.59), and is identical to those in the Topkapi Palce Museum (Figure 2.60), and the Santos Palace in Lisbon (Figure 2.61).

Figure 2.59. Part of a dish with geese and ducks in a pond from the *San Juanillo* wreck site (1578). [225]

Figure 2.60. Dish from the Topkapi Palace, TKS15/2628, d. 16.5 cm.

Figure 2.61. Dish from the Santos Palace. inv. nr. 142, d. 20 cm.

[224] All images of fragments from the *San Pedro* (1595) are courtesy of the National Museum of Bermuda.
[225] Junco (ed.) 2018 (op.cit.), p.153, figure XVII-3.

Quite a different dish was amongst the fragments of the *San Juanillo* wreck. It is decorated with an exceptional type of cartouche on the rim and has a central design of a Chinese purse, a design quite unfamiliar to Europeans. (Figure 2.62) Numerous fragments of such dishes were retrieved from the Guanyinge kiln site in Jingdezhen, an indication that this finer type was produced together with other wares of good quality.[226] (Figure 2.63)

Figure 2.62. Fragment of a dish from *San Juanillo* shipwreck. (1578).[227]

Figure 2.63. Fragments of dishes with a similar design excavated at Jingdezhen. Photo by author.

There are numerous dishes in the Topkapi Palace Museum with various border decorations resembling the above-mentioned ones.[228] The Santos Palace has one identical dish, an indication that this was also purchased by Western merchants. (Figure 2.64)

Figure 2.64 Dish with a *ruyi* design and cartouches on the rim. Santos Palace inv.nr. 78, d.19.2 cm.

[226] The Guanyinge kiln site is situated in the Zhushan district of Jingdezhen and discovered in 2001. Fragments reveal that good quality items had been produced in this area for both the domestic as well as for export.
[227] Von der Porten 2017 (op.cit.), p. 136, figure XV-1.
[228] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.), inv.nr. TKS 15/267, d. 20.5 cm

More examples of dishes with a flat rim and a diameter of 18-20 centimetres come from another Spanish ship, the *San Pedro*, mentioned above. It was wrecked in 1596 on the north of the main island of the Bermuda Islands, and discovered in 1951. It was part of the *Nueva España Flota* on a voyage from Cartagena to Cadiz.[229] Most porcelain fragments are parts of Chinese domestic type bowls.[230] (Appendix 2, Table 4) Several fragments of dishes have a central design of flowers or a pond. (Figure 2.65) Here again they show that dishes with a flat rim had possibly become standard ones produced for export in general by the end of the 16th century.

Figure 2.65. Fragments of a dish. Inv.nr. 79.155.014. *San Pedro* wreck.

Both the Topkapi Palace Museum and the Ardebil shrine collection house a large number of this type of dish, with a flat rim and central decorations of ponds with ducks, geese and landscapes. Most are of good quality and dated to the second half of the 16th century.[231] (Figures 2.66 and 2.67)

Figure 2.66. Dish with geese in a landscape; white cavetto and the rim is decorated with landscape designs. Topkapi Palace, inv. nr. TKS15/7730, d.35 cm

[229] I thank Elena Strong for information and images sent, courtesy of the National Museum of Bermuda. National Museum of Bermuda Artifact List: Accession 81:304.
[230] Several fragments from the National Museum of Bermuda show domestic shaped bowls: inv. nrs. 70:155.005;.70:155.004; 70:155.07; 70:155.011, 70:155.012; 70:155.013 and 70:155.015; two fragments have nearly intact bases: inv. nr. 79:155.003.
[231] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.), inv.nrs: TKS 15/1735; TKS 15/1930;TKS 15/2474, TKS 15/2226.

Figure 2.67. Dish decorated with birds and waterfowl in a landscape.
Ardebil Shrine collection, inv.nr. 29.242, d.43.5 cm.

Both Middle Eastern collections have numerous dishes of this type, but then with a central design of deer in a landscape; some pieces are marked Jiajing (1522-1566).[232] This theme was frequently used on this type of export dish, and continued to be applied to some Kraak-panelled items at a later date. Most of the pieces shown here date to the second half of the 16th century and have three to five deer; the dishes produced later are decorated with only two to three deer. [233] (Figures 2.68 – 2.72)

Figure 2.68. Dish with plain cavetto; Jiajing mark on base. Ardebil Shrine inv.nr.29.148, d. 35 cm.[234]

[232] Pope 1956 (op.cit.). Plate 81 and Plate 82 both have Jia jing marks; plate 90: one with blank cavetto and one with flowering branches. See also Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.): p.598: 'In the Jiajing period the official reign mark is used indiscriminately for all sorts of porcelain.' See also: Pope, plates 91: inv.nr.29.148 has a design with 5 deer; inv.nr. 29.147 has a vertical waterfall in the middle and the 3 dishes on plate 92 have deer and one a river landscape.
[233] Krahl (op.cit.) p.694
[234] Pope 1956 (op.cit.) Plate 91.

Figure 2.69. Dish with four deer;
the rim is decorated with lions and vines.
Ardebil Shrine, inv.nr. 29.231, d.30.5 cm.

Figure 2.70. Dish with five deer; the
Rim is decorated with plants.
Topkapi Palace, inv.nr.TKS15/1827,
d. 27 cm.

Figure 2.70 Topkapi Palace Museum
Inv.nr. TKS15/2226, d. 27 cm.

Figure 2.71. Topkapi Palace
Museum inv.nr. TKS15/7763, d. 29 cm.

The Santos Palace collection has several identical dishes. This again indicates that good quality dishes had also been transported by the Portuguese to Lisbon.

Figure 2.73. Dish with two deer in a landscape; the rim has lions and vines.
Santos Palace collection inv.nr. 57 d.30 cm.[235]

[235] Identical to 6 dishes in the Ardebil shrine collection.

Figure 2.74. Dish with 5 deer in a landscape; the rim is decorated with symbols and scroll. deep basin, base mark: *fugui jiaqi* Santos Palace inv.nr. 73. d.34.5.

Figure 2.75. Dish with two deer, inv. nr. 230, d. 20 cm. Santos Palace inv.nr. 230 d.20 cm.

Summing up, Chinese porcelain items purchased by Iberian merchants during the first half of the 16th century were not produced exclusively to cater to European taste. The relatively few items that had been ordered with a Western inscription are, for the most part, not European in shape. Flatware of various shapes and dimensions had been produced for export long before the arrival of Portuguese and Spanish merchants in Asia. It was then unnecessary for them to order the smaller and medium size dishes as these were already available. Numerous examples have been excavated from Western archaeological sites and shipwrecks. These provide an overall view of what the Iberian merchants could purchase and transport at the end of the 16th century.

I note here that several decorative subjects as deer in landscape, and waterfowl in a pond are remarkably identical to those used for Kraak-type items produced in large quantities between 1610 to around 1645. The Jingdezhen potters had already applied these to individual items produced for the Middle East before mass-production for Western clients started. It was then convenient to use the same designs on the larger amounts produced for export. The innovation of a panel pattern then also came to be

used, one convenient for decorating larger quantities, as demand for this particular type of 'foreign ware' increased.

The transition from dishes decorated with the above-mentioned themes, but with only a white cavetto, to same-sized ones with the additional panels pattern can clearly be seen from the *San Diego* shipwreck (1600). It presents a cargo containing both dishes with and without a typical panel pattern for the cavetto and rim, but with deer and waterfowl as the principal central decorations. (Figure 2.76) This is the first concrete evidence of the use of the panel pattern on items for export and became known as Kraak porcelain, the topic of the next two chapters.

Figure 2.76. A group of dishes all of the same dimension of around 20 cm., with different patterns on the rims, some without a panel-design. National Museum Manila, photo by author.

CHAPTER 3. Definitions, interpretations and descriptions of Chinese blue and white porcelain with a border decoration in panels.

Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss a specific type of blue and white decorated Chinese porcelain made for export known as 'Kraak ware' or 'Kraak porcelain'. These terms have been and still are used by Western art historians to designate a specific group of Chinese blue and white decorated wares produced for overseas markets from the end of the 16th century to around 1645-1650. In the same way, other groups of Chinese export porcelain have been given generic Western labels. For example, *famille verte, famille noire* and *famille rose* are used to describe certain categories of enamelled porcelain produced for export. Each name refers to the predominant colour in the total range used to decorate these types of porcelain.[1]

Another term, 'transitional ware', is used in literature to specify a group of porcelains produced during an interregnum period, from the end of the Ming dynasty up to around 1683, when porcelain production restarted in Jingdezhen in the reign of emperor Kangxi (1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty. S. Valenstein defines this as follows: 'Transitional ware is almost completely in Chinese taste, and there is very little foreign flavor to it'. Nonetheless, most shapes were adapted to cater Western demands: 'The Dutch were supplying Chinese merchants with wooden shapes they wanted copied'.[2] Items from the 'Hatcher cargo' shipwreck dated to around 1643-45 provide evidence that most shapes are Western with designs corresponding to what is considered to be 'transitional ware'.[3] A Japanese term, *ko-sometsuke* (old blue and white), is used for a category of blue decorated porcelain produced for the Japanese market during the

---

[1] These terms were first used by the French expert on ceramic wares, Albert Jacquemart around 1862. 'Ceramic scholars, Jacquemart among them, defined and grouped Chinese ceramics according to the material with which they were familiar, that is, predominantly porcelain that had been produced for export in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were not as aware of the overglaze enamel-decorated porcelain produced earlier, or the broad range of forms, designs, and decorative motifs produced for the Chinese domestic and non-European export markets. Traditional Chinese ceramic typologies describe ceramics decorated with overglaze enamels most closely corresponding to *famille verte* as *wucai* (five-colored) or *yingcai* (hard colors)'. Review by Ronald W. Fuchs II of C.J.A. Jörg, 'Famille Verte: Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels', in *Ceramics in America*, 2013. From: http://www.chipstone.org/issue.php/14/Ceramics-in-America-2013; (visited January 2020). Celadon is another generic term used in the West to describe green-glazed wares; they were produced in numerous kilns in different regions in China and vary in green colour.

[2] S. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, New York, 1988, p. 200.

[3] C. Sheaf, C. and R. Kilburn, (eds.), *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes, the Complete Record.* Oxford, 1988. It should be noted that this cargo also contained dishes of the typical Kraak-paneled type.

reigns of emperor Tianqi (1621-1627) and emperor Chongzhen (1628-1644).[4] The shapes are non-Western and suited for Japanese use including the tea-ceremony.

Kraak-type porcelain was shipped by the Dutch East India Company to the Dutch Republic in the first half of the 17th century in large quantities, and it is still abundant in many private and public collections in The Netherlands.[5] To date, definitions of Kraak ware or Kraak porcelain diverge widely and, even though it is regularly used in the literature on Chinese export porcelain, no concise definition has yet been made. The issue of what kind of Chinese export porcelain should be classified as Kraak porcelain and what not has been and still is being debated, and as yet undetermined.[6] Consequently, porcelain collectors, museum curators, archaeologists and art historians have often classified pieces of Chinese blue and white export porcelain produced during the same period as 'Kraak porcelain', even though they do not answer to the main characteristics given to this type of ware. To arrive at a concise determination of this term, I have analysed various definitions of the word Kraak, the combination of 'Kraak' and 'porcelain', how this was used, which shapes and designs can be categorized as Kraak porcelain, and how these can be securely dated.

Before the 1970s, the subject of Kraak porcelain was not as widely written on as other types of blue and white decorated export porcelain.[7] This changed during the late 1970s and 1980s, when shipwrecks were discovered with quantities of blue and white export porcelain, which suddenly became a popular collector's item.[8] During the 1990s, scholars in China became increasingly interested when fragments of non-imperial blue and white porcelain, including the Kraak-type porcelain, started to be excavated from

---

[4] J. Curtis, *Ming Porcelain for the Japanese Market: Ko-sometsuke & Ko-akae*, London, 2008. S. Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period: 1620-1683*, New York, 1984

[5] As C.J.A. Jörg states: '...around 70% of all known kraak pieces are to be found in Dutch private and museum collections. This gives a responsibility to study this type better'. *Vormen uit Vuur*, nr.180-181, 2003/1-2 pp. 6-7. Introduction to the symposium Kraak, Begeerlijk Porselein uit China,

[6] Steven Braat has discussed this point and states that more knowledge about this type of ware has also shown the lack of better terminology. See S. Braat, 'Kraak en Overgangs porselein: onduidelijkheid over vertrouwde begrippen,'p.31, *Vormen uit Vuur*, nr.158, 1996/2, pp.29-40.

[7] Ibid

[8] C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*, Amsterdam, 1982; C. Sheaf and R. Kilburn [1988], *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Rrecord.* Oxford, 1988. *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain Recently Recovered from an Asian Vessel in the South China Sea,* Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam, 10-11 March 1984; *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain*, Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam June 1984. *The Private Collection of Captain M. Hatcher*, Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam, February 1985; *The Nanking Cargo - Chinese Porcelain and Gold,* Christie's Sale Catalogue, Amsterdam, April-May 1986.

archaeological sites in the area of Jingdezhen.[9] As this type of porcelain was unknown to Chinese archaeologists at that time, the origin and the definition of what types of porcelain should be labelled Kraak began to be a topic of interest in China as well.[10]

Concerning the definition of Kraak or carrack, most publications on this subject claim that the word derives from the Portuguese *carraca* for a specific type of ship for trade in Asia, but this word does not appear in any Portuguese publication. On the contrary, the English used *carracks*, and the Dutch *kraken* for these Portuguese trade ships. The reason is that from the early 15th century, the term *carrack* was used by the English and *kraak, kraken*, or *crake* by the Dutch to designate a particular type of trade vessel used in Northern European regions. When people from this area were confronted with Iberian ships resembling those they were acquainted with, they used the general term for them, *carrack/crake* or *kraken*. The origin of this word is explained extensively below.

Many art historians maintain that the merger of the words 'Kraak' and 'porcelain' would have come into use when the Dutch gave this label to the porcelain that was part of the booty of the two Portuguese 'carracks' captured in 1602 and 1604. However, accounts on the capture of these ships do not include the term '*kraakporselein'* once when referring to porcelain items; general words as *porcelyne, schotelen, commeckens* (porcelain, plates, bowls) were used to describe the ceramics from the booty. The combination of 'Kraak' and 'porcelain' (*Kraekporceleyn*) mainly appears in Dutch documents in the second half of the 17th century, but then in a different context. The English, however, had used the combination *carrick* and porcelain in some inventories at the end of the 16th century. This will be further discussed below.

I next discuss the production methods porcelain in Jingdezhen and whether there were any differences in those to produce Kraak porcelain, as this type was produced specially for export and not intended to be used in China itself. As Ying-chen Ping remarks in a book review, 'If I should wish for any addition to this marvellous anthology, it would be more discussion on the end production, that is, how Kraak

[9] Cao Jianwen and Luo Yi Fei, 'Kraak Porcelain Discovered at Some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years', *Oriental Art,* vol. 1, no. 4, 2006, pp. 16-24.
[10] In China, 'kraak porcelain' was first not considered to have been produced in Chinese kilns. During the research of porcelain items salvaged from the *Witte Leeuw* in 1980-82, letters were sent to Chinese museums whether they possessed this type of ware but replies returned with the remark that 'this is not Chinese porcelain'.

porcelain was made and possibly used in China'.[11] Excavated finds from kiln sites in Jingdezhen are evidence to the fact that domestic ware was produced and fired in the same kilns as the Kraak-type porcelain, using the same types of material. The main difference is in the shapes, which are for the most part foreign to the Chinese, as well as the typical panel pattern used to decorate this particular export ware.

I refer to the possible origins of this pattern as some Chinese scholars have delved into this subject. Some considered it was a particular Western pattern which European merchants specifically ordered but this cannot be traced to any known document. Middle Eastern collections include various size dishes with types of panel patterns; most are exquisitely painted, foregoing the standard one used for decorating larger quantities for Western customers. It must be emphasized that no order from any Western customer exists specifying demand for this particular pattern.

I illustrate the main shapes of Kraak ware, using the typology made for the items retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw*, as they represent the majority of the shapes with a decoration in panels, and relate them to some terms regularly used by the VOC on orders and shipping lists.

Definitions and origins of the word *carrack/carraca*.

The Portuguese themselves used the terms *naus, naus da carreira das Índias* for their trading vessels, and not *carraca*; the Spanish used *barco*, or *navia de vela* for a seagoing ship, and not *carraca*. According to Maria Antonia Pinto de Matos, the term *carrack* was used 'by foreigners' for the large vessels known in Portugal as the *nau do trato*: 'a large ship with a tonnage between 1200 and 2000 which was used on the routes between Portugal and India and India and Japan'.[12]

Hugo Crespo has supplied me with the translation of a definition in a Portuguese dictionary dated 1712, 'a large ship called Carraca, those floating cities, those powerful ships of the first navigations to the East, that foreigners called Carracas'.[13] He also refers to a Spanish dictionary, '*Diccionario de la lengua española*', that the term derives from

[11] Ying-chen Ping, 'Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Golden Age', *Aziatische Kunst*, vol. 45, no. 1, March 2015, p. 52.
[12] M.A. Pinto da Matos, *Caminhos da Porcelana–Ming e Qing/The Porcelain Route – Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Lisbon, 1999, p. 116 and p. 122, note 28.
[13] Many thanks to Hugo Miguel Crespo who supplied these definitions and translations.

'the Arabic (the Hispanic side of it) ḥarrák that would be a "large transport ship to 2000 tons invented by the Italians"'.[14]

The possibility of an Arabic origin is again seen in a publication compiled in 1889 by Pieter Veth (1814-1895), with terms and expressions used in the former Dutch colonies in Asia. He explained that the Spanish and Portuguese use of the word *carraca* came from the Arabian word *qorqôr* or *qorqôra* meaning a trading vessel.[15] He also suggested that the Malay word *kĕrakah* was derived from the Spanish-Portuguese word *carraca* and that this word would have come into use by the Dutch by way of Malaysia as *karaak* or *kraak.*[16]

Jozef Vercoullie, in his etymological dictionary of 1890, also maintained that the term 'Kraak' originated from the Arabian *qarâqir*, a large trading vessel *(groot koopvaardijschip),* and that 'kraak porcelain is named such because it was delivered by Spanish kraken'.[17] Several Dutch dictionaries offer similar definitions.[18] The earliest interpretation can be found in a Dutch dictionary dated 1681. The word kraak is defined as, 'kraak, or caraak, a Spanish or Portuguese word meaning a huge ship also known as Spanish caracks many of which were captured by us [the Dutch] in the far east and in memory of such [events] the oldest and finest porcelain was called kraak porcelain'.[19]

---

[14] Diccionario de la lengua española, Real Academia Española, 23, Madrid, 2014.

[15] P.J. Veth, *Oost en West: Verklaring van 1000 woorden uit Nederlands-Indië, met Aanvullingen van H. Kern en F.P.H. Prick van Wely et al., 1889/1910*, (reprinted Leiden, 2003), p. 159: '*Het woord karaak of kraak is rechtstreeks ontleend aan het Spaanse en Portugese carraca, maar behoort met dit tot een talrijke familie van woorden, in verschillende talen van Europa, die alle tot het Arabische qorqôr of qorqôra en zijn meervoud qarâqîr zijn terug te brengen'.*

[16] Ibid., p. 160, '*In het Maleis heeft zich van het Spaans-Portugese carraca het woord kĕrakah gevormd, dat onder andere gelezen wordt in de 'Sjadjara Melajoe' '.... en onmogelijk is het niet dat karaak of kraak eigenlijk door tussenkomst van het Maleis tot ons is gekomen' en 'Korakora is klaarblijkelijk niets dan het reeds genoemde Portugese coracora, welks afstamming van het Arabische qorqêra en verwantschap met carraca en ons kraak reeds in het licht werd gesteld'*. I have as yet not found any definition in an Arabic dictionary. Ab al-Ksimibn Sadrah. *Dictionnaire Francais-Arabe de la langue parlé en Algérie*, Toronto, 1910. *Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords. Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Kindred Dialects*, Leiden, 200

[17] J. Vercoullie, *Beknopt Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* The Hague, 1890, p. 181: '*karaak v., uit Fr. carraque, van Sp-Port. carraca, teruggaande op Ar. qarâqir, meerv. van qorqör. kraakporselein o., omdat het met Spaansche kraken aangebracht werd ; ook zegt het Fr. porcelaine caraque en 't Port. porcellana carraca'.*

[18] J. de Vries et. al, *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek*, Leiden, 1992: '*kraak 2, karaak znw. v., verouderd woord voor een groot model schepen in de 16de en 17de eeuw bij Spanjaarden en Portugezen in gebruik; vgl. ook mnd. krake (1418); fra. carraque of ital. caracca, spa. port. carraca, mlat. caraca, carraca. Arab: ḳarāḳīr mv. van ḳurḳūr 'handelsschip'*. See also P.A.F, van Veen and N. van der Sijs (eds.), *Van Dale Etymologisch Woordenboek,* Utrecht, 1997; J. Franck and N. Van Wijk*, Franck's Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* The Hague, 1929.

[19] W.A. Winschooten, *Seeman*, behelsende een grondige uitlegging van de Neederlandse konst , Leiden, 1681: 'kraak, of, Caraak een Spaans of Portugees woord, waar door sij verstaan groote bakbeesten van Scheepen: enwerden daarom ook genaamd bij uitneemendheid Spaanse Caraaken: deese Carakken sijn bij

This definition shows, in short, how the meanings of the terms 'carrack' and 'kraak porcelain' have been confused from a very early period. Nonetheless, it is evident that the word 'carrack' does not derive from either the Portuguese or Spanish language; the term 'kraak porcelain' was not used in commemoration of captured 'carracks' as will be discussed further below. Consequently, as the Iberians did not use this word for these ships, why did the English and the Dutch do so? The reason is that from the early 15th century, the term *carrack* was used by the English and *kraak, kraken*, or *crake* by the Dutch to designate a particular type of trade vessel used in Northern European regions.

It is possible to trace the origin of this word. *Curragh* or *currach* is a Gaelic word for a specific type of boat: 'For travel by water both within and beyond their island nation, the Irish employed a type of vessel called a Curragh (Irish curach)'.[20] A further definition explains:

> The curragh (Irish form *curach*, connected with Latin *corium*, 'a hide') was the best-known of all the Irish boats. It was made of a wicker-work frame, covered with hides which were stitched together with thongs. Curraghs, when intended for long voyages, were made large and strong, furnished with masts and solid decks and seats, and having the hides tanned. By far the greatest part of the water- communication around the coasts and across the narrow seas, as well as in the lakes and rivers, of Great Britain and Ireland, was carried on in those early days by curraghs, which indeed were used also in other parts of Europe.[21]

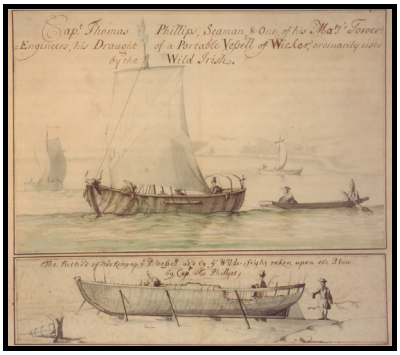


Figure 3.0. A *curragh* type boat used by the Irish. 17th century print.[22]

---

de onse in de Spaanse oorlog veele, voornaamelijk in Oostinden, verooverd: [p. 124] en tot gedagtenis van dien werd het oudste en fijnste Porselijn kraak Porselein genaamd: van de grootheid deeser kraaken,…'; see also D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer *Chinese Export Porcelain,* London, 1972, p.92.

[20] *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopaedia*, John Block Friedman, Kristen Mossler, (eds.), New York 2013, p. 288.

[21] P.W. Joyce, *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Chapter XXIV, 'Communication by Water', London and New York, 1908, p. 492.

[22] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Captain_Thomas_Phillips_-_Currach.jpg (visited January 2021)

This is supported by Geoffrey Marcus, 'From time immemorial the hide-covered craft had been an integral part of the sea-communication of the west; even as late as the ninth century it is likely that there were still some medium-sized *curachs* at sea'.[23] Another reference to the word *curach* can be found in the publication on Irish *curachs* where it is stated: 'the word *curragh* (Gaelic *curach*) will be employed as the regional term for every variety of craft found in Ireland which has had as ancestor some form of wickerwork boat covered with hide'.[24] According to Robert Morton Nance, 'The Irish, oared, sea-fishing curragh is a survivor of the type still in ordinary use in the 17th c.'.[25]

It is quite plausible that the term *carrack* came to be used for a trade ship in the North Sea region. According to D. Meier:

> As early as AD 800 the carrack was the most important type of ship carrying cargo between England and the Continent, and it remained common until the fourteenth century in areas west of today's Ijsselmeer. The carrack's shallow draft made it an ideal vessel for trading along the North Sea coast in the early Middle Ages, and merchants established themselves in the numerous waterside markets that were growing up in places like Dorestad near modern Utrecht on the lower Rhine.[26]

Consequently, when people from the North Sea area were confronted with Iberian trading ships, they used the general term for them, *carrack/crake* or *krake.*[27] It seems that the term *carrack* was used by the English as early as 1449. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature* dated 1842, there is the following description:

> Though occasionally armed and employed against the enemy, they were more generally used in foreign trade. Charnock says that the first carrack which was built in England was built for a merchant, John Tavenier of Hull, who was consequently honoured by Henry VI, with distinguished favour; and she was licensed in 1449 with particular privileges to trade through the Straits of Morocco. The king also ordered her to be called the 'Grace Dieu Carrack.[28]

---

[23] G.J. Marcus, *The Conquest of the North Atlantic*, Woodbridge, 1980. p. 9.
[24] J. Hornell, 'The Curraghs of Ireland', reprinted from the *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. XXIV, no. 1, January 1938, p. 148.
[25] R. Morton Nance, 'Wicker Vessels', *The Mariner's Mirror*, July 1922, p. 199: 'Capt. Phillips' drawings of the large open curragh show the framing, sailing, rigging and the killick-anchor. This sketch, 'A portable vessel of wicker ordinarily used by the Wild Irish', is preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge'. See also: P. Harbison, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People*, Syracuse, N.Y., 1995, p. 42, fig. 12.
[26] Dirk Meier, *Seafarers, Merchants and Pirates in the Middle Ages*, Suffolk, 2006., p.16.
[27] According to Marcus 1980 (op. cit.), p. 150, the Iceland trade started around the middle of the 15th century: 'In 1439 the Marieknyght of Amsterdam sailed from Iceland with a cargo of stockfish and other goods for Dalkey in Ireland. There were probably other Dutch sailings of which the record has been lost'.
[28] Volume 20, no.1, 1842, p. 219.

We then come across the term *carrack* in an English account dated 1587, wherein is written how they encountered such a ship for the first time. R.M. Puga quotes from an account in Richard Hakluyt's 'Voyages': 'A brief relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz [...] and [...] the mouth of the River in Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that was ever seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587'.[29]

Another account that makes use of the word *carrack* was written in 1592, relating to the English capture of the *Madre de Dios* (*Mãe de Deus*) near the Azores during an expedition to the West Indies.[30] A lengthy description of the battle and the capture of this vessel was written, wherein the term *carak* is used for the ship, but not for any porcelain: 'Aboard the merchantman which "proved a treasure house and warehouse in one" were exotic and extremely profitable commodities – which overwhelmed England'.[31] These included porcelain ('porcellan vessels of China'), but no descriptions or amounts are given.[32]

It is worth clarifying what type of ship a *carrack* was. Beata Możejko explains that confusion remains on the use of the terms of a *carrack* and a *caravel*: 'As with the

---

[29] R.M. Puga, 'The Presence of the "Portugals" in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt's Navigations', *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies,* no. 5, Lisbon, 2003, pp. 81-116; on p. 99, note 67, Puga refers to Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages in Eight Volumes*, vol. 4, London, 1962, pp. 281-285.

[30] Russell Miller, *The Seafarers: The East Indiamen*, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 8-9: 'Pandemonium broke loose in England's Dartmouth harbour [...] in 1592 when the *Madre de Dios*, a Portuguese carrack captured while homeward bound from India, dropped anchor near the town's dock. She was the biggest ship anyone in Elizabethan England had ever seen, a floating castle [...] about three times the capacity of the largest English ships. [...]. The *Madre de Dios* was packed with a fortune in Oriental riches. […] …the looting of the carrack had already begun weeks earlier, right after she was surprised by a squadron of six English warships off the Azores. […] For the merchants of London it offered a tantalizing glimpse of the cargoes they might regularly enjoy if they could break what was then a Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade'.

[31] Puga 2002 (op. cit.), p. 86, note 22. Here Puga refers to the report in Hakluyt, (op. cit.), vol. 5, pp. 57-68: 'A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough, Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwell and Devon. Wherin chiefly Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into Dortmouth the seventh of September, 1592'.

[32] Ibid., p. 89. Puga again quotes, in his note 30, from the report by John Burrough in Hakluyt (op. cit.), vol. 5, pp. 66-67: 'The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, ebenwood as black as jet, bedsteds of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificial in workemanship [all worth] 150000 li. Sterling [although when it arrived in Darthmouth it was said to be worth 500000 li]'. See also: Ferdinando Oliveira Simões and Manuel Leitão. *Carrack of the Route to India 'Madre de Deus', 1589-1592, =Nau da India, Madre de Deus, 1589-1592*, Lisbon, 2004.

caravel there is no universally accepted definition. The carrack is described as a ship with a deeper but less streamlined hull than a caravel, which was also less manoeuvrable. Another distinctive feature of the carrack (lacking in the caravel) was a long, tall forecastle.' 'All southern-European carracks are thought to have been carvel-built, while those made by the Flemish and English (and probably by other northern Europeans) were of clinker construction (at least from the early 15th century onwards)'.[33]

The *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Maritime History* states*:* 'It is believed that the carrack was the next stage in ship development after the Middle Ages. The first carrack began to appear in the early 1300s, and it was the largest, most robust vessel of its day' … 'The carrack was the first three-masted vessel of any significant size. The earliest carracks had been built with one mast and were somewhat similar to the medieval cog'.[34]

Another description is found in *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*:

> The two-masted carrack plied northern European waters by the first years of the fifteenth century, and a three-masted version followed soon after. These carracks probably came originally from the west coast of Europe and were quickly known in the Bay of Biscay and the North Sea. At the time, the cog-hulk combination dominated long-distance trade and was only slowly supplanted by the new design' '…in the course of the late fifteenth and the sixteenth- centuries the new type took over the bulk and long-distance trades, first in the Low Countries and Britain and later in the Baltic.[35]

This is supported by the earliest known illustration I was able to find, a print with only the initials of the maker, 'WA' (Figure 3.1). The word *kraeck* is written next to the top of the mast and this would suggest that the term was already used for this particular ship in the 15th century at the time the print was presumably made.[36] The anonymous artist was one who travelled throughout Europe, made numerous illustrations, including other sea-going vessels.

---

[33] B. Możejko, *Peter von Danzig: The Story of a Great Caravel, 1462-1475*. Leiden 2019, p. 18.
[34] J. B. Hattendorf, (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Maritime History*, Oxford, 2007, entry by William H. Thiesen.
[35] J.B. Friedman and K. Mossler Figg, *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages, an Encyclopaedia*, New York, 2013, pp. 557-558.
[36] The original can be found in: Max Lehrs. *Der Meister WA., ein Kupferstrecher der Zeit Karsl des Kuhmen.* 1895. Figure 30 (*Grosser Dreimaster mit eingerefften Segeln nach links steuernd*).

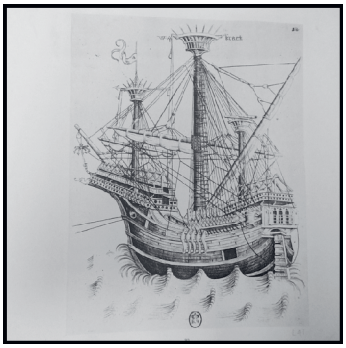


Figure 3.1. Anonymous. Illustrated in Max Lehrs [1895] *Der Meister WA.* The exact date is unknown.

Numerous paintings depict Portuguese *nau's*, and thus we can get an impression of them. (Figure 3.2.) A precies definition is as follows:

> The *nau* became a seaworthy, full-rigged ship suitable for the eighteen-month round-trip voyage to India. *Naus* were large (over 100 tons) cargo carriers rigged with square-rigged fore and main masts, with topsails and crow's nests, lateen mizzens, and bowsprits tted with deep spritsails. A special type, the Portuguese India *nau*, was purpose built for the India trade and averaged, during the 16th century, a capacity of 500 to 600 *tonéis*, which is equivalent to 1,100 to 1,200 tons of displacement. [37]

Figure 3.2. A Portuguese *nau.* Painting detail of the Fall of Icarus; attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Elder ca.1560 or a copy. Royal Museums of Brussels.

[37] Katie Custer. 'Exploration and empire: iconographic evidence of iberian ships of Discovery' pp.43-62; p.49 in Edge of Empire. *Proceedigns of the Symposiun of 'Edge of Empire'* held at the 2006 Annula Meeting og the society for Historical Archaeology, Sacramento.

Based on the above analysis, I conclude that the name *carrack/kraek* was given to a general type of trade ship that was used in the North Sea region from the early Middle Ages. The English then used the term *carrack,* and the Dutch, *crake, caraque, de carake, craquen, groote craeck* for such a ship. The word may have been derived from the Irish *curragh* and came to be used in maritime Northern Europe for a trading vessel. Changes were constantly made to its structure, and by the beginning of the 15th century it was characterized by three or four masts, a large aft castle and a smaller forecastle from. When people from the North Sea region were confronted with Iberian ships resembling those they were acquantied with, they used the general term for them, *carrack*.[38]

The combination of the terms 'Kraak' and porcelain.

In what follows I argue that the Dutch did not use the term '*Kraakporselein'* to describe the Chinese porcelain captured from Portuguese ships, as often assumed. Furthermore, it was not used in Dutch inventories and households to describe Chinese porcelain until later in the 17th century.

There are a few examples of this combination in England. Teresa Canepa refers to several inventories in Exeter dated 1596, 1597 and 1598 described by J.P. Allan.[39] One of these, dated 1596, concerns the inventory of Thomas Baskerville which mentions '6 carracke' dishes; in 1598 another one, made of the estate of John Anthonye, lists '9 carricke dishes'.[40] It may be possible that, in these inventories, the English linked the term *carrack* to some items of Chinese porcelain from the captured ship, *Madre de Dios*,

[38] According to Marcus 1980 (op. cit.), p. 150, the Iceland trade started around the middle of the 15th century: 'In 1439 the Marieknyght of Amsterdam sailed from Iceland with a cargo of stockfish and other goods for Dalkey in Ireland. There were probably other Dutch sailings of which the record has been lost'.
[39] T. Canepa, Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and Their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644. A survey of documentary and material evidence, Ph.D. thesis, Leiden, 2015, figs. 3.2.2.24 and 3.2.2.25 with excerpts from these documents obtained from the Exeter City Council; p. 221, notes 594 and 595, where she refers to: J.P. Allan. Medieval & Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971-1980. *Exeter Archaeological Reports,* vol. 3, Exeter, 1984, pp. 106-108.
[40] Allan 1984 (op.cit.), p.106: 'An Exeter inventory first listed porcelain in 1596 when Thomas Baskerville left six "carracke" dishes with two stone jugs and one dozen cheese trenchers in his cellar…In 1597 three "China dishes" valued at 3s. were listed in the buttery of Walter Horsey (OC 71). In 1598 John Anthonye left nine "Carrack" dishes valued at Ss. in his little chamber (OC 72). Their households were probably unusual, even among the wealthy, in their possession of porcelain'; p.107: 'The first evidence of the possession of sizeable quantities of porcelain in Exeter comes from the inventory of Richard Bevys. On his death in 1603 he left, "One Carricke Goblett wth a foote of silver gilte" valued at 26s. 8d. "One other Carricke Goblett wth a silver foote" valued at £1 and "Tenn flatt Carricke Dishes Tenn deep little Carricke dishes, two Basons and Ewers and Two other Carricke Dishes" valued together at 38s. (Donaldson 1909, 221-2)'.

mentioned above. These references do not prove, however, that the combination *carrack* (*carricke*) and dishes was commonly used in England during that period. In fact, according to Allan, 'No references to the import of porcelain have been found in the 17th-century Exeter custom records; the evidence comes entirely from probate inventories. It is sometimes listed as 'china', but more commonly described as "chainy", a corruption which survived until the last century (Laycock 1923, 245)'.[41] He also noted that it particularly appeared in inventories of well-to-do households in Exeter, but, '"carrick" goods can sometimes be shown to be oriental products'.[42] Besides, as no detailed descriptions of the items are given, we cannot establish what their decorative features were. In the Dutch Republic, the combination was used to describe Chinese porcelain only in the second half of the 17th century and then in the sense of it being 'antique' or old.[43]

Documents concerning Portuguese ships captured by the Dutch in 1602 and 1604 mention porcelain in general, but the term Kraak in combination with porcelain was not used once. The first ship containing porcelain that fell victim to privateering was the *São Tiago*, seized in 1602 near the island of St. Helena by the ships *Zeelandia* and *Langebark* owned by the private Company of Zeeland, before the establishment of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1602.[44] Accounts relate that the booty was partly divided and partly auctioned on November 23, 1602 and, 'that the porcelain shall be sold that lies in storage in lots of 20 dishes and 10 bowls' (*Voorder dat men de porseleyne sal vercopen int packhuys daer die leyt met 20 schotelen ende met 10*

[41] Canepa 2015 (op.cit.), p. 221. According to Allan 1984 (op.cit.), p. 105.
[42] Allan 1984 (op.cit.), p.106: '"China" was distinguished from "galley wares" in Port Books, and "carrick" goods can sometimes be shown to be oriental products'. The term 'carricke' seems only to have been particularly used in Exeter: 'Further references to porcelain in the first decade of the 17th century are not plentiful. Three have been found amongst 28 surviving or published Exeter inventories. Two of these are of less substantial estates which suggest comfort but not great wealth. In 1606 eight china dishes valued at 6s. 8d. were listed amongst the plate of Richard Colliskett, whose total estate was valued at £139 (OC 92). In 1608 Richard Priston, a weaver with an estate of similar value, owned three carrick dishes appraised at only 6d'; 'In the period between 1610 and 1643, 23 inventories amongst a total of 104 list 'carrick' or china vessels. These inventories come from all levels of Exeter freemen, perhaps with a bias towards the more wealthy'; p. 108: 'In the period 1596-1620, the forms of 121 items of carrick or china are given. These comprise 110 dishes, including 27 little dishes; six cups; two basins and ewers; two goblets; and a spoon. The more complicated forms are therefore rare. The practice of mounting porcelain in silver is well attested. Seven china or carrick cups tipped or footed with silver are recorded in Devon inventories of 1600-30. In her will of 1627 Jane Potter of Silverton left to a grandchild a china dish footed with silver (Murray n.d., Vol. 26, Potter family), and in 1605 John Trosse left a china dish with a foot of glass valued at 3s. 4d. (OC 86), but these are the only examples of dishes with mounts, and the majority of dishes appear to have remained unmounted'.
[43] There are only a few exceptions but these cannot indicate that the combination meant the specific type: 'Kraak porcelain'.
[44] NL-HaNA 1.01.02 (Staten-Generaal), inv.nr. 12563.2.

commeckens tseffens).[45] From these documents can be read that only the words *porselyn, porseleyns, porcelynen, porcelyne, schotelen, commeckens* were used.

The second ship captured in 1604 and carrying a large quantity of porcelain was the *Santa Catarina.*[46] According to the historian Levinus Hulsius (1546 -1606), the booty included 'a countless number of porcelains of all sorts and kinds, nearly 30 lasts, being about 1000 *Centner*'.[47] In the accounts of the capture of the *Santa Catharina* the word *cracke* or *carack* is used only for the ship and not for the porcelain. What is mentioned is: 'porcelain/a good amount of porcelain' (*porselyn/goede partye porseleyn*); 'all kinds of beautiful and fine porcelains' (*aldrhande schoone & fyne porcheleinen*); 'a large amount of fine porcelains' (*ghroote menichte van fyne porcheleynen*).[48]

Furthermore, inventories of the residences of the House of Orange show that the combination of Kraak and porcelain was not used for Chinese porcelain.[49] (Appendix 3, list 1) Petra de Ruiter has researched 342 inventories of inhabitants of various towns including towns as Medemblik, Weesp, Weesperkarspel, Maassluis, Doesburg, Lichtenvoorde and Oirschot in the Netherlands that date to the 17th century.[50] These inventories, dated prior to 1625, do not list porcelain at all, which indicates that it was still too valuable in those cities to have been bought as a regular item. In later dated ones, dating from 1625 to 1650, the word porcelain (*porceleyn*) appears more frequently, indicating that Chinese porcelain had become affordable.[51]

---

[45] W.S. Unger, *De Oudste Reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië.* Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. LI, The Hague, 1948. p.138: '*1602 October 7: Is geresolveert dat op Maendach [25 November] zal gaen beginnen te vercopen alle de goederen, tweeten, eerst alle de beschadigde goederen, voorts porseleyns …. Voorder dat men de porseleyne sal vercopen int packhuys daer die leyt met 20 schotelen ende met 10 commeckens tseffens'.*

[46] There are numerous accounts of the seizure of this Portuguese vessel which will be dealt with in chapter 5.

[47] L. Hulsius, *Achte Schiffart: Kurtz Beschreibung was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern in den Ost Indien, die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre, als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. und 1603 hat zugetragen*, *Zusammen gezogen durch Levinum Hulsium*, Wolffgang Richter, in Verl. deß Collectoris, Frankfurt, 1605, pp. 41-42. This will be discussed in chapter 5.

[48] R. Fruin, *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften met aanteekeningen toevoegsels en verbeteringen uit des schrijvers nalatenschap'*, vol.3, The Hague, 1901, p. 383.

[49] A.M. Erkelens, *Queen Mary's Delft Porcelain: Ceramics at Het Loo from the Time of William and Mary*. Paleis Het Loo, 1996, p. 11: 'The earliest mentions of porcelain are of one white and one blue coupe, bowl or beaker, with silver-gilt mounts owned by William the Silent (1533-1584) in Breda in 1567. His son Philips Willem (1554-1618) had 65 items of porcelain, mainly dishes, in Breda in 1619. The first large collection (285 porcelain objects) is referred to in 1632 in a room of Louise de Coligny and is accompanied by a description of an arrangement on shelves. Really large collections were assembled by Amalia van Solms, her daughters Albertine Agnes, Mary II and Marie Louise van Hessen Kassel'; S. Hartog, *Pronken met Oosters Porselein*, exhibition catalogue, Gemeentemuseum Arnhem, 1990, pp. 10-17.

[50] P. de Ruiter, Chinees Porselein in Nederlandse Schilderkunst van de 17e eeuw, Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2012-2013.

[51] Ibid., p. 38; see her table 3.

Nevertheless, porcelain is to be found in fifteen inventories of well-to-do citizens housed on a main canal in Leiden, the Rapenburg, and dated to before 1625.[52] The earliest one, dated 1616, lists *porceleyn* under a separate heading, indicating that this was just as valuable a ware as copper and silver, are also listed separately.[53] (Appendix 3, list 2) It is interesting that the term *Indiaensch copgen* ('Indian cup') is also used.[54] The shapes become more descriptive in the course of the years, but none make use of the combination porcelain and Kraak.[55]

An incidental use of this combination can be read in the order sent to Asia by the VOC in 1638. On the extensive list, two items use the term *craek/crack*. One is a request for 5000 pieces and refers to a sample being 'a broken *craek* bowl' (*5000stx a 3gls yder synde een gebroken craek com*).[56] It is unclear what could be meant by this term here; *craek* could mean 'broken' but may also refer to a particular type of bowl that had been sent earlier on.[57]

In the second half of the 17th century, the term Kraak appears more frequently, but is used in a particular sense. Nanne Ottema (1874-1955), a Dutch collector of, among other wares, Chinese porcelain, refers to an inventory dated 1667 that lists items such as sugar pots, cups, pots with and without silver lids, *clapmutsen*, butter saucers, and fruit dishes under the heading 'East Indian ware' (*Oost Indische werck*). He assumed that these would all have been of the Kraak porcelain type but this cannot be proven.[58]

A list of items owned by Amalia van Solms dating from 1673 provides more details.[59] Here the word 'Kraak' appears in combination with porcelain items as: 'a large

---

[52] Ibid.
[53] Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C.W. Fock and A.J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, Leiden, 1986-1992, p. 398.
[54] Ibid., p. 397 and p. 398.
[55] Ibid., p.574: '*noc 8 porsseleyne boterschotelen; noch 8 doubble porsseleyn schotelen; noch 2 clapmutsen van porsseleyn*'
[56] NL-HaNA 1.04.02, inv. nr. 316, (Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1633 sep. 19 - 1643 aug. 31).
[57] The fact that the order mentions ten-sided plates is curious as the only examples I could find are in the Topkapi Museum collection and they are quite exceptional. R. Krahl and J. Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul*, vols. I-III, London, 1986, p. 744: inv. nrs. TKS15/2287, d. 30.5 cm., and TKS15/2264, d. 31 cm.
[58] N. Ottema, *Chinese Ceramiek: Handboek Geschreven naar Aanleiding van de Verzamelingen in het Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof te Leeuwarden*, Lochem, 1970, p. 94: '*De inventaris van den Frieschen admiraal Tjerk Hiddes de Vries uit 1667 geeft een opstelling van verscheidene suickerpotten, coppen, kantjes met en sonder silveren lidden, pannen, clapmutsen, butterschutteltjes, vruchtschaeltjes, saucierkes, enz. enz. onder de betiteling "Oost Indische werck" dit wil dus zeggen oost Aziatische waar, die blijkbaar al tot het kraakporselein type behoorden. Zie Friesche Volksalmanak, 1889*'.
[59] S.W.A. Drossaer and Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes en Daarmede Gelijk te Stellen Stukken 1567-1795*, The Hague, 1974, Inventory 1, numbers 204-206

camelbowl of craeck ware' (*Een groote cameelscomme van kraeckwerck*); 'two camelbowls of craeck work, somewhat smaller' (*twee cameelscommen van craeckwerck, nogh wat cleynder*), 'fourteen crackbowls' (*Veerthien craeckcommen*) and 'thirteen smaller crack bowls' (*Derthien cleynder craeckcommen*).[60] (Appendix 3, list 3) The inventory of her residence in Leeuwarden, dated 1688, lists under the heading 'blue porcelain' (*blau postelein*): 'six butter saucers, *crakwork' (Ses boterschooteljes, crakwerk*), 'six small *clapmutsen*, crakwork' (*Ses clapmutjes, crakwerk*), 'two high crack bowls' (*Twee hooge crakcommen*).[61] (Appendix 3, list 4) As both these inventories date from the end of the 17th century when the production of the typical mass-produced Kraak ware had been terminated, *crac*, *crack* or *kraeck* is used here in the sense of being 'antique'.

Stephen Hartog maintains that the term would have come into use at the end of the 17th century to distinguish the 'new' Kangxi porcelains (reign period 1662-1722) transported from Guangzhou, from the earlier dated underglaze blue decorated items.[62] This is confirmed by further examples. Hartog also refers to the auction of a shop inventory that was published in the *Amsterdamse Courant* in 1697.[63] The list includes 'a set of very old and curious Kraak porcelain consisting of whole and half (sized) basins' and other items' (*partij seer oud en curieus Kraekporceleyn best(aand) in heel als halve lampet-schotels, Drielingen, dubbelde en enkelde boterschotels, Schalen, Flessen, Potten, Klapmutsen, Kommen en and(ere) sort*).[64]

According to Eva Ströber, the word *Krack* was used for all types types of Chinese porcelain listed in the collection of August the Strong of Saxony. In the first inventory dated 1721, descriptions of the porcelain include 'Blue and White East Indian' (*Blau und Weiss Ost Indisch*). Ströber refers to the list under the heading *Krack*: 'His majesty the

---

and numbers 544-576. See also: *Porzellan aus China und Japan. Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen Kassel,* catalogue, Berlin, 1990, pp. 51-63. Amalia had a large porcelain closet built, probably the earliest example of a porcelain cabinet, and one which inspired her daughter, Louise Henriette to make one in the Oranienburg in Berlin. The original pieces have disappeared and the palace was destroyed at the end of the Second World War but a ceiling painting in the 'porcelain room' shows pieces of Chinese porcelain with panel decoration.

[60] Drossaer and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.), part I, p. 308, under de heading '*Specificatie van de porceleynen'*: nr. 413, nr.414, nr. 478 and nr. 479. It is most interesting to see here the combination 'camel' (cameel) and 'kraeck'. This will be dealt with further on.

[61] Ibid., part II, p. 151: the inventory of residence of Amalia van Solms in Leeuwarden dated 1688.

[62] Hartog 1990 (op.cit.), p.32.

[63] Ibid., p. 8, 'Porselein uit het Verre Oosten en de wijze waarop dit porselein in Nederland werd verzameld en getoond'; he refers to the '*Amsterdamse Courant*, 14 maart 1697, nr. 32'.

[64] Ibid.

King uses this [term] to call this porcelain "Old Indian"'.[65] This section also includes 'groups of gold-and silver-mounted porcelain, such as toilet boxes', porcelain in *Kakiemon* style, jars of the transitional type with a polychrome design and even several Dehua figures decorated in Europe.[66] This is again proof that the word 'Krack' was used as a general term for an antique item, regardless as to its type or decoration.

The term 'old krack' was used in the inventory of the member of the Orange family at their residence Oranienstein in Oranienburg, Henriette Amalia van Anhalt-Dessau (1666-1726), where a porcelain cabinet was made for her collection. An inventory dated 1726 lists: 'five flasks extra old Kraak porcelain; two old bottles/flasks, kraak porcelain' (*Nr.487*: *Funff flaschen, extra alt krachporcelain, Nr.506: zwey alte flaschgen*, *krachporcelan*).[67] These are all examples of how the combination 'old' and 'Kraak porcelain' was again used to indicate antique items. Another example is given by Marion van Aken, who refers to an advertisement in a newspaper dated 1758, which mentions 'a large group of Old Kraak Blue and Japanese Porcelains' (*grote party allerhande Oude Kraak Blaauwe en Japanse Porceleynen*).[68] In this sense, Kraak could also have been used as a general term for all blue and white decorated porcelain.

I note here that the Dutch word for porcelain (*porseleyn*) often had a double meaning. During the first ten years of the 17th century, the term *Delftse porceley*n came into use, although this ware was not real porcelain.[69] According to Van Aken, the term *Indische aerde-werck* meaning 'pottery from India' or 'coming from the East' was also used for earthenware imitating the Chinese blue and white dishes with a decoration in panels.[70] Van Aken also refers to a household inventory dated 1625, which mentions

---

[65] E. Ströber, 'Representation and Taste in Baroque Court Culture: The Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong', *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, 2005/2, pp. 48-58; p. 56.
[66] Ibid., p. 57. The renewed inventory dated 1779 replaced the term 'krack' with 'Alt Indianisch Porcellain' (old Indian porcelain) but some items retain the term 'Krack Guth' (kraak ware) for blue and white decorated porcelain. *Kakiemon* is a type of Japanese porcelain produced during from the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) in family kilns on Kyushu island. The wares consist of mostly octagonal, hexagonal or square dishes, bowls and vases. The decoration is painted in a pale underglaze blue with soft enamel colours. In the Chinese town Dehua, white ware was produced from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Dehua figures became popular in Europe during the 18th- and 19th-centuries.
[67] Drossaer and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.), part II, p. 379.
[68] M. van Aken-Fehmers, 'Delfts Aardewerk, de Allerbeste Nabootsing van Oosters Porselein', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, 2003/1, pp. 67-77; p. 76 and note 50 refer to: *Hollandsche Historische Courant, 16 februari 1758, nr. 20*.
[69] M. van Aken-Fehmers, 'Delfts Aardewerk; De 'allerbeste' Nabootsing van Oosters Porselein', *Keramika*, no. 2, 2002, pp. 33-40.
[70] Ibid.

porceleijn but the items were all the faience type of pottery.[71] Jan Baart mentions that a workshop in Delft was named the Porcelain Dish (*De Porceleyne Schotel*) as early as 1598.[72] The term 'porcelain maker' (*porceleijnbakker*) was first used in 1624. There were even official 'porcelain sellers' (*porcelijnverkoper*) in Amsterdam and Haarlem.[73] It is therefore important to bear in mind that during the 17th century the Dutch term *porcelyn* could have meant either Delft faience or Chinese porcelain. (Figures 3.3 and 3.4)

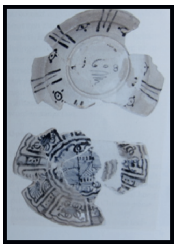


Figure 3.3. Faience dish dated 1608. Gemeente Museum, The Hague. d. 19 cm.[74]

Figure 3.4. Faience dish dated 1619. Archaeological storage, Amsterdam. d. 19 cm.[75]

The Dutch term *kraeck* was used in a different context as well. Some 17th century inventories used the words *krack* and *krack guth* for textiles instead of porcelain. For example, according to Steven Braat, *Kraeckstof* was mentioned in an inventory dated 1646 of the residence called Batestein and refers to wallpaper (*wandbespanning*) with 'kraak cloth' (*Kraeckstof*).[76] In another inventory dated 1665 the words *krack* and *krack guth* appear, referring here to textiles instead of porcelain.[77]

Another use of the word kraak and its possible combination with porcelain can be traced to the northern region of the Netherlands. As already mentioned, it was, for

---

[71] Ibid., pp. 34-35. Faience is the English word for earthenware pottery covered with a tin-glaze; the term may have derived from Faenza, a town in northern Italy.
[72] J.M. Baart, 'Het Hollants Porceleyn 1600-1660', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, 2003/1, pp. 56-65; p. 62.
[73] Ibid.; J.M. Baart, 'Het ontstaan van het "Hollants Porceleyn"' in D. Kicken, A.M. Koldeweij en J.R. ter Molen, *Gevonden Voorwerpen, Opstellen over Middeleeuwse Archeologie voor H.J.E. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam papers, no.11, Rotterdam, 2000, pp. 50-61; at pp. 57-59: figs.15a, 15b, 16a, 16b; L. Schledorn, 'Oosters Porselein en Delfts Aardewerk: een economische wisselwerking?' in T.M. Eliëns, M. Groen, S. Ostkamp, and L.A. Schledorn (eds.) *Delfts Aardewerk. Geschiedenis van een Nationaal Product: De Porceleyne Fles*, *deel III*, Zwolle/Delft, 2003, pp. 143-155.
[74] From Baart 2003 (op. cit.), p. 56, fig.1.
[75] From Ibid., p. 57, fig. 2a.
[76] Braat 1996 (op. cit.); he refers to the inventory of the residence Batestein published by P. van Meurs, 'Kunst in de Archieven van Vianen', *Oud Holland,* nr. 26, 1908, p. 179.
[77] F.T. Scholten and C.J.A. Jörg, 'Delfts aardewerk in het Groninger Museum', *Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van de Ceramiek*, vol. 140, no. 4, 1990.

the most part, well-to-do citizens in towns and cities who could afford to purchase Chinese porcelain from traders in Amsterdam or through the VOC. Merchants who lived in villages in the northern provinces of the Dutch Republic were also eager customers; it was a custom there to place the precious pieces of porcelain on the lintel above the bed and the rim above the fireplace in their houses. According to Nanne Ottema, this was called the 'kraak' and therefore the porcelain placed on it was named *kraak.*[78] (Figure 3.5)

Figures 3.5 Details of the *Hindeloopen kamer* in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. Photos by author.

However, the *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek* gives a different definition: 'A kraak is a loose shelf in a farmers' house, hanging from the ceiling, on which a supply of bread is kept, a method used in the Veluwe area, in the east of Holland'.[79] A Frisian dictionary defines 'kraak' as 'a gallery in a church', and, 'a sound such as creaking and the cracking of ice when it freezes hard' (*kreake=Galerij in een kerk. 1. Kreakje*; Krakend *kreakerich Kraken en rammelen: (k)ryk(k)rakje Het vriest dat het kraakt it friest dat it klapt, knapt, knipt*).[80] The word is, in fact, commonly used in Holland in many ways that

[78] N. Ottema, *Het Kunstambacht en de Volkskunst in Friesland,* Amsterdam, 1942, p. 91: *'Het Chineesche porselein dat de Hindeloopers bij voorkeur bij de Amsterdamse porseleinkooplui of direct door bemiddeling van de VOC aankochten was het zogenaamde kraakporselein, het Chineesche product dat onze voorouders voor het eerst in de laatste jaren van de 16e eeuw, in den tijd van Keizer Wan Li dus, aantroffen in de Portugueesche caraques of kraken die zij in de straat van Malakka of elders in het Oost buitmaaakten'.* N. Ottema, *De Praktijk van het Porselein Verzamelen*, Leeuwarden, 1953, p. 94: '*In Hindeloopen zijn tot aan het uitsterven van deze cultuur de kraakporseleinen schotels, klapmutsen en kraaikoppen het eenige porselein geweest dat toegelaten werd als versiering op de kraak, de richel, die den bedsteewand van boven afsloot en op den hoogen mantel van de schouw'*; p. 95: *'In Friesland werd het bijzonder gewaardeerd. De gehele porceleinversiering op de kraak boven de bedsteden in de Hindeloopen kamer bestond uit Kraakporseleinen schotels, terwijl de steile hoge kommetjes, kraaikoppen genaamd, inwendig versierd met een spitsbekkig zangvogeltje, meest op de hoge schoorsteenmantel geplaatst werden'.* At the museum in Hindeloopen I was told that the expression 'kraak' for a ledge was not used as such as far as they knew.
[79] Probably used to keep the bread out of reach of rats. See: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal (WNT)* http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=results&wdb=wnt%2Cvmnw%2Conw%2Cmnw&uitvoer=HTML&lemmodern=%22kraak%22 (visited January, 2020) '*Eene plank in de boerenwoning, die aan den zolder vastgemaakt, op eenigen afstand ervan hangt en waarop men den voorraad van gebakken brood legt. Voorheen op de Veluwe gebruikt'.*
[80] *Friesche Woordenboek*. https://taalweb.frl/wurdboekportaal. (visited January 2020).

had nothing to do with porcelain.[81] Many combined words including the term 'kraak' are used with the meaning of *kraken,* which means to break.[82] For instance, there is a Dutch expression, 'someone as frail and delicate as Kraak porcelain (*een menschje zo teertjes en zo fyntjes als kraakporselin*)'.[83] This may well be an explanation why the combination 'kraak' and porcelain came to be used in the northern provinces of Holland, but it could have been applied to all types of porcelain, not just the Kraak-panelled type.

Characteristics of Kraak-type porcelain.

In this section, I describe the characteristics of Kraak-panel decorated porcelain in detail to distinguish this type from other underglaze blue decorated porcelain made for export during the first half of the 17th-century.

The first detailed description of Kraak porcelain was made in 1964 by Hessel Miedema, then curator at the museum Het Princessehof in Leeuwarden, which houses numerous items of Kraak-type porcelain.[84] He was the first to make a list of criteria to which the porcelain piece must require to be named 'kraak ware' in order to distinguish it from other types of blue and white decorated porcelain imported from China. These included the technical aspects as well as the design patterns for flatware and bowls, which all have panels as their basic decorative pattern.[85]

This was further expanded on in 1980-1982 by a research group sorting out the more than 300 kilos of broken pieces salvaged from the VOC ship, the *Witte Leeuw* and donated to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1979.[86] In the following years, meetings with the other Dutch museums known for their collections of Kraak panel-decorated porcelain were held to discuss the characteristics to which pieces should comply in

---

[81] In present everyday Dutch, the word kraak/kraken has several other meanings.
[82] http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M035302.re.5 (visited January, 2020): *'Hier is echter het begrip van 't breken steeds op den voorgrond getreden, terwijl het geluid bijzaak is geworden; de beteekenis is dus: met gekraak breken. In verschillende figuurlijke toepassingen wordt zelfs weinig of niet meer aan het geluid gedacht'; 'Voor dingen die kraken, die versleten of van slechte kwaliteit zijn'.*
[83] Ibid.
[84] H. Miedema, *Kraakporselein en Overgangsgoed*, Leeuwarden, 1964, p. 6: 'The material is good white porcelain, no crackled glaze, and moulded in relief'.
[85] Miedema 1964 (op. cit.), pp. 6-7.
[86] Under the supervision of Bas Kist (1933-2003), then assistant-curator of the department of Dutch History at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.).

order to be categorised as Kraak porcelain.[87] An extensive list as well as a typology was made, based on the numerous shapes that came to light after the fragments from the *Witte Leeuw* had been sorted.[88] Several exhibitions were held: one in the Groninger Museum in 1980 and another in Museum Het Princessehof in Leeuwarden in 1981.[89]

Maura Rinaldi further pursued the subject of Kraak porcelain in a publication of 1986. She describes the general material characteristics and made a classification based on shapes, dividing them into four groups: dishes, *klapmutsen*, bowls and closed forms. These were subdivided according to the different border patterns on which she based a chronology. This will be discussed in the following chapter.[90]

Further attention was given much later, during a symposium that focused on the subject of Kraak porcelain held in Leeuwarden in 2002.[91] The topic had been neglected even though the large sales of shipwreck porcelain at auctions in the 1980s included this particular type of porcelain. Christian Jörg stated at that time that it was necessary to update the analysis of Kraak porcelain.[92] In 2008, another publication focused on Kraak porcelain.[93] Canepa remarks, 'Despite the large amount of research carried out over the past decade in China and other countries, kraak porcelain is still difficult to define and its dating is subject to much discussion'.[94] Even in recent publications on Chinese export ceramics, the description of Kraak porcelain remains vague and its origin uncertain.[95] In a publication on the Dutch Golden Age, dated 2014, some authors touch upon the subject of Kraak porcelain but no precise definition is given.[96]

---

[87] The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Museum Het Princessehof and the Frisian Museum in Leeuwarden, and the Groninger Museum in Groningen.
[88] Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.); see p. 284 for the complete list.
[89] Groninger Museum, from December 1980 to February 1981 and the Museum Het Princessehof in 1981.
[90] M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989; M. Rinaldi, 'Kraak Porcelain: The History and Classification of Dishes', *Heritage*, no. 8, 1986, National Museum, Singapore, pp. 1-27.
[91] 'Kraak, Begeerlijk Porselein uit China', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180-181, 2003/1 (special issue).
[92] Ibid., p. 6.
[93] T. Canepa, *Kraak Porcelain –The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries,* L. Vinhais and J. Welsh(eds.) Lisbon, 2008, pp. 17-65. This publication gives an extensive explanation of Kraak ware and the different types depicted in the catalogue are well explained with references to shipwrecks and other sites.
[94] Ibid., p. 17.
[95] R. Kerr, L.E. Mengoni, and M. Wilson. *Chinese Export Ceramics*, London, 2011, p. 22, 'The origin of the name has been debated, some believing that it came from the name of a Portuguese trading vessel called "caracca", which the Dutch called "kraken"'.
[96] *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for The Dutch Golden Age*, J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.), Zwolle, 2014. T. Canepa, 'The Iberian Royal Courts of Lisbon and Madrid and their Role in Spreading a Taste for Chinese Porcelain in 16th-Century Europe', pp. 17-37; C. Viallé, 'Camel cups, Parrot cups and Other Chinese Kraak Porcelain Items in Dutch Trade Records' 1598-1623', pp. 37-53, and S. Ostkamp, 'The Dutch 17th Century Trade from an Archaeological Perspective, pp. 53-79.

What then are the main characteristics that distinguish Kraak porcelain from other Chinese export wares? The criteria established in 1964 and 1982 consider Kraak ware as belonging to the group of: 'usually flat shapes as plates and dishes with a thin body and a slightly foliated rim. There is often a moulded design of panels on walls and rim. The base is slightly convex and chattermarks are visible. This type of porcelain is decorated with cobalt-blue paint and covered with a very thin, transparent, uncrackled glaze, which has a tendency to chip off at the rim. The chief characteristic of kraakporcelain is the scheme of the decoration. Designs of flowers, insects and symbols are painted in the panels. The central decoration is usually enclosed by one or more scalloped medallions, filled with various diaper patterns'.[97] The technical aspects are dealt with below, comparing the production methods of other ware made in the 'folk kilns' to that of Kraak porcelain. The aim is to show that, as both were produced in the workshops of Jingdezhen, using the same materials and firing in the same kilns, there is, in fact no difference in the production methods. What distinguishes Kraak porcelain from the domestic wares produced for the Chinese market is the decoration scheme of panels and the 'foreign' shapes. These will be discussed in detail below.

The production of panel-decorated porcelain as export ware.

There are numerous publications on the production of porcelain in Jingdezhen in general.[98] Michael Dillon sums up the production methods as follows: 'The porcelain body, as made in Jingdezhen, is essentially a mixture of *kaolin* and *petuntse* which are also known respectively as china clay and china stone. The mixed clay substance is placed on a revolving disk or table and hand shaped into a bowl, cup or other objects. This method results in an even density of the complete vessel.'[99] Moll-Murata explains

[97] Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 47-48; Miedema 1964 (op. cit.), pp. 6-7,

[98] For example, the *Taoye Tushuo* (The twenty illustrations of the manufacture of porcelain), written by Tang Ying in 1743; The *Tao Shuo,* a treatise written in 1774 by Zhu Yan and translated into English by S.W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain being a Translation of the Tao Shuo*, Oxford, 1910; the *Ching-te-chen T'ao Lu* (The pottery record of Jingdezhen) written around 1790, of which the first translation was made by the sinologist Stanislas Julien, *Histoire et Fabrication de la Porcelaine Chinoise*, Paris, 1856. The English translation is by G.R. Sayer, *Ching-te-Chen Tao-lu, or The Potteries of China,* London, 1951.

[99] M. Dillon, *A History of the Porcelain Industry in Jingdezh*en, Ph.D thesis, Department of Chinese Studies, University of Leeds, 1976, p. 83; According to Wu Ruoming, 90% of the domestic wares were made by this method and closed forms were made by using moulds; Wu Ruoming *The Origins of Kraak Porcelain in the Late Ming Dynasty*. Ph.D. thesis, Institute of East Asian Art History, Ruprecht-Karls University, Heidelberg, 2014, p. 82; Dagmar Schäfer states that for daily domestic wares the potters could form perfect pieces without the use of moulds as they routinely used the wheel method, D. Schäfer, *The*

the various divisions and subdivisions of labour in the production process; each worker had his own task such as shaping, carving or moulding the object, or painting the pieces before firing.[100] She adds that 'in Jingdezhen, a further partition of the production process took place that was unique. This involved the so-called 'round' or 'open' objects (*yuanqi*) that were turned on the wheel or formed in moulds, and the 'closed' or 'carved' objects (*zhuoqi*) that could be round or polygonal, turned on the wheel and then carved when finished, or built up in segments and also formed with moulds'.[101]

Dillon adds that 'Round ware has always been more common than non-uniform angular pieces. In Ming times, it was estimated to have constituted nine-tenths of all porcelain made, and consisting of dishes, cups and the like in everyday use'.[102] He illustrates prints from the publication *Tiangong kaiwu* 'Works of Heaven and the Inception of Things', made in 1637 by Song Yingxing (b.1587).[103] (Figure 3.6)

Crafting of the 10,000 Things: Knowledge and Technology in Seventeenth-Century China, New York, 2011, p. 119.

[100] C. Moll-Murata, 'Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Ceramics Industries of Jingdezhen and Delft', *S.R. Epstein Memorial Conference: Technology and Human Capital Formation in the East and West.* June 2008, pp. 18-21; on p. 9 she also states: 'In conventional reckoning, the Jingdezhen porcelain industry was said to have eight sectors and 36 trades, but actually the number of trades and subdivisions, most of which were controlled by particular guild branches, was even greater than that'.

[101] Ibid., p. 9. Moll-Murata also refers to Sie Wun-Ci (Xie Yunqi), *Chuantong yu zhidu chuangxin: Jingdezhen taoci chanye fazhan de bijiao yanjiu* (Tradition and Institution Innovation: A Comparative Study of the Development of Jingdezhen Ceramics Industry), M.A. thesis, National Sun Yat-sen University, 2008; Sayer 1951 (op.cit.), p. 45, 'The *Jingdezhen Tao Lu* mainly gives information on the manufacture of pieces made in separate workshops for the court. There is little mention of products from private kilns, but there is an explanation on separate kilns, called 'Big dragon kilns' where exceptionally large pieces such as 'big or second size fish jars' as well as 'third size porcelain jars' could be fired one at a time'.

[102] Dillon 1976 (op. cit.), p. 86 refers to note 14 in *Ming Qingshi luncong* (Collected Essays on Ming and Qing History), Wuhan, 1957.

[103] The *Tiangong Kaiwu* (The works of heaven and the inception of things) is a compendium on industry, agriculture and artisanry written in the late Ming dynasty. Dillon 1976 (op. cit.), p. 93. He also states on p.286: 'It is quite possible that the information about porcelain manufacture was obtained at first hand since Song was born in Fengzxin in northern Jiangxi, just thirty miles west of Nanchang, and spent some of his official career as an Education Officer for the Fenyi district which is only about a hundred miles south-west of the Poyang lake'. E.C. Huang, 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market: Jingdezhen Porcelain Production as Global Visual Culture', *Journal of World History*, vol. 23, no. 1, March 2012, pp. 115-145; p. 125: 'In his chapter on ceramic techniques, the author Song Yingxing (b. 1587) divided the information contained therein into six sections discussing separately the production of tiles, bricks, bottles and jars, white porcelain, blue-and-white ware, and kilns. Corresponding to these subsections, the Tiangong kaiwu contained thirteen simple sketches printed by woodblock carving technique. Each illustration portrayed people in the midst of making different ceramic objects, including constructing jars, loading the kiln, and molding clay'.

Figure 3.6. Illustration from the 'Works of Heaven and the Inception of Things', (*Tiangong kaiwu*), 1637, nr. 1025. [104]

One of the characteristics given to Kraak type porcelain is that items, mostly flatware, were often so thinly covered by the transparent glaze, that the iron impurities in the clay could cause it to burst open during firing and flake off easily at the rim, in art-historical terms often called 'moth-eaten' edges.[105] Li Min considers 'kraak-panelled ware to be unpopular for Chinese domestic use because of this deficiency'. 'The thin glaze layer and frequent defect along the edges often made them undesirable for food wares from the native perspective'. [106] These remarks show that, as the Chinese are accustomed to 'pure', unflawed pieces, this 'foreign ware' would not have been used as a regular tableware item.

Some types of dishes and bowls show sides with moulded panels, which are copied by the decoration. By placing the pieces into clay moulds having the required pattern, cartouche- or other shaped panels become impressed in the body. This method is regularly applied to ceramics in China, and visible on items dating back to the Song dynasty. In the case of Kraak-type ware, moulding may have been a method to aid the painters in the process of mass-production of this type for export, as domestic items did

[104] From: Dillon 1976 (op. cit.) p. 88.
[105] The Japanese term used is '*mushikui'*.
[106] Li Min, 'The Transpacific Extension of Porcelain Trade in Early Modern Era. Cultural Transformations.' *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*, Hong Kong, 2012, p. 231.

not have them. Nonetheless, it is certainly not a standard characteristic of Kraak ware, as there are numerous dishes or plates and bowls decorated with panels, but without any moulding.[107]

The underglaze blue decoration was done using a mineral known as cobalt oxide. According to Dillon, 'Song Yingqing in 1637 recorded that three grades of cobalt oxide used in the blue colouring were readily obtainable in the area; a high-quality pigment from Zhejiang, and less good from Jiangxi and Guangdong'.[108] Decoration on an item could differ in quality; central designs may sometimes be exquisitely painted while those within panels or on the exterior are sloppily drawn, and sometimes the other way around. As explained, different decorators would be doing different tasks: one would paint the outline of the panels, one the designs on the rims and the cartouches on the cavetto, one the exterior and another one would paint the central design. As Dillon explains: 'All the painting was done by hand with a solution of the ground material and done by specialists either in outlines or in filling-in, so that the men became highly skilled craftsmen but never artists, who could plan and execute a whole design'.[109] In Figure 3.7 two decorators are seen at work.[110] Trimming and fitting a foot ring took place after adding the glaze and before firing as shown in Figure 3.8.[111]

---

[107] The largest sized dishes, with a diameter of 50 centimetres, do not have a moulded pattern. Li Min refers to Chen Lili (in Chinese only) who says that this moulded technique would have been used to reduce the fragility of the thin body and so have fewer misfiring's. He also states that the thin body was a cost-saving measure to offset the expense of labour-intensive paintings and demand for high quality clay. Li Min 2012 (op. cit.), p. 231.

[108] Dillon 1976 (op. cit.), p.93, note 26. The 18 'scrolls' or booklets were written between 1634 and 1637 and printed in 1637. http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/tiangongkaiwu.html (visited August 2018)

[109] Ibid., p. 96; M. Dillon, 'Jingdezhen as a Ming Industrial Center' in *Chinese Economic History up to 1949* (2 vols.), Folkestone, 2008, vol.1, p.287: 'By the sixteenth century there was a very fine division of labor in Jingdezhen. Kilns and workshops specialized in firing and making specific wares. Within a workshop of any size there were specialists mixing the paste for the body, throwing, "mould-tapping" to ensure uniform size, trimming on the wheel, decorating and glazing. other individuals took specialist responsibility for loading and firing the kilns. Such a highly specialized division of labor permitted the improvement in quality demanded by the court and by wealthy private buyers, and also permitted an increase in production as individuals became expert in finishing their tasks speedily'.

[110] Ibid., p. 97.

[111] Ibid. Wu Ruoming 2014 (op. cit.), p. 82. She maintains that foot rings can have different shapes.: 'Methods of cutting the foot ring further developed during the Ming dynasty using the *zhaoluo* technique'.

Figure 3.7. Illustration from the *Tiangong Kaiwu*. Two artists are decorating the items.[112]

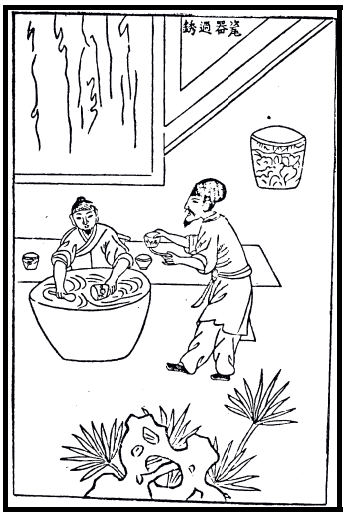


Figure 3.8. Illustration from *Tiangong Kaiwu*, showing the dipping of bowls into the glaze substance. [113]

Generally, the turned or moulded unbaked pieces were placed in saggars.[114] Thin clay discs were also used to place a vessel on to avoid grit getting stuck to the base. Nonetheless, numerous Kraak-type dishes have sand kernels adhering to the base and around the foot ring.[115] Nearly all the largest sized dishes of this type, with a diameter of 50 centimetres, have an unglazed base and foot ring for the same reason.

Baoping Li explains that all types of porcelains were placed in one kiln for firing and it was normal to load porcelains of different quality and shapes into different parts of a kiln according to the kiln temperature. Larger closed shapes such as pots, ewers and bottles were placed at the best position in the kiln, as these were more vulnerable and valuable.[116]

---

[112] Dillon 1976 (op.cit.), p. 88.
[113] Ibid.
[114] A saggar/sagger is a lidded container made of baked clay in which the porcelain item was placed to be fired.
[115] Li Min 2012 (op. cit.), p. 213: 'doing away with the stoneware support disk under the foot ring during firing ended up with sand from the kiln floor adhered to the bottom of plates'.
[116] Baoping Li, 'Kraak Porcelain from Tombs and Kiln Sites in China: Discoveries and Associated Issues', paper presented at the conference *Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300-1800* University of Warwick, 2010, p. 8: 'Apart from the fact that closed forms *kraak* porcelain were manufactured in much smaller quantities than open forms, the obvious rarity of kiln wasters for the former may be tentatively attributed to three other factors. Firstly, compared with open form *kraak* porcelain that is characterised by thin bodies, most closed form *kraak* wares have remarkably thicker body, and this greatly helps to reduce the chance of warping or cracking during firing. Secondly, it is a routine practice to load porcelain

Archaeological excavations in Jingdezhen with Kraak-panelled ware.

As well known, the Jingdezhen production for export ware was not concentrated on a few workshops or kilns. Workshops that prepared the clay, formed the shapes and decorated them were spread all around Jingdezhen. The items were then taken to a kiln and fired, so a kiln firing contained all types of porcelain prepared in various workshops. As Anne Gerritsen explains, 'No workshop made a single piece of porcelain from start to finish'. [117] For example, workshops in the Imperial kiln complex were divided according to the manufacturing process. 'Workshop, then is a slightly misleading name; work division is a more accurate rendering of the term'. In my view the term 'kiln' is also unclear. According to a dictionary the definition is: 'an oven, furnace, or heated enclosure used for processing a substance by burning, firing, or drying'.[118] A kiln is therefore a furnace and a kiln site has a broader meaning as that could include workshops, workspaces and furnaces.

As both domestic wares and wares produced for overseas markets were fired in the same kilns, it is not surprising that fragments of both sorts were discovered at the same sites during archaeological excavations in Jingdezhen. Kiln sites in and around Jingdezhen that produced non-imperial utilitarian wares have been discovered and excavated as of the late 1990s. This shows that, from the middle of the Ming dynasty onwards, kilns that produced domestic as well as export wares were located for the most part in the Old City zone along the river Chang as shown in Figure 3.9.[119]

---

of remarkably different quality and value into different parts of a kiln for varying temperatures. The closed form *kraak* porcelain that is more valuable may well have been placed in the best position of a kiln for the best success rate. Thirdly, open form and closed form porcelain involve different manufacturing and glazing techniques. Jingdezhen has a long tradition to make the two porcelain types in different workshops'.

[117] A. Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White. Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World*. Cambridge, 2020, p. 148.

[118] Meriam-Webster Dictionary.com

[119] Cao Jianwen and Luo Yifei, 'Kraak Porcelain Discovered at Some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years', *Oriental Art,* vol.1. no.4, 2006, p. 16: 'The Old City Zone was in an area where Guanyinge was in the north, Xiaogangzui to the south, the bank of the Changjiang River to the west, and Manshan to the east. "Kilns are arranged along the rivers and boats and ships which carry porcelains come and go everyday." This poetic line is a vivid description about the prosperity of Jingdezhen city during the Ming and Qing dynasty. The Old City Zone stretched from the south to north along Changjiang River. It had two streets, which were thirteen miles long. For this reason, Jingdezhen city was known as "Taoyang Shisan Li" means a town that stretches thirteen miles. The Qing dynasty lasted 300 years, with the city developments and changes, so the kilns in the Ming dynasty had been buried deeply underground. This explains why the relics of the kilns, which produced kraak porcelain hadn't been found for such a long time'.

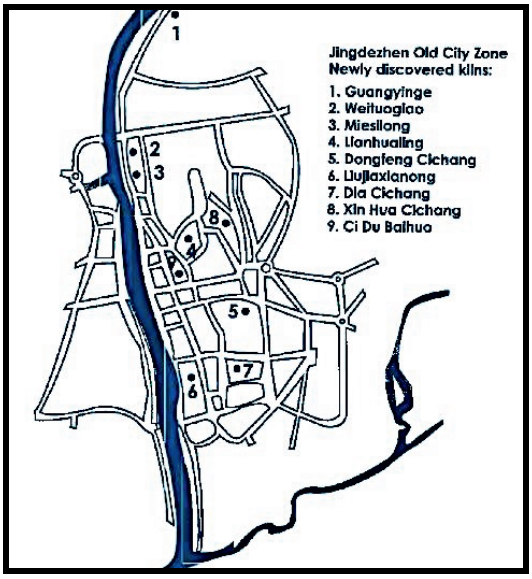


Figure 3.9. Map of Jingdezhen with excavated kiln sites that included panel-decorated porcelain. Courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

In 2002, fragments of both domestic ware and export ware had been discovered in *Situli* in the northern area of Jingdezhen, when the Old City Zone was being rebuilt. Unfortunately, nearly all of these sites were built over. Another site was the *Shengli* Road in Jingdezhen City at the former location of *Xinhua* Porcelain Factory. Further archaeological investigations led to several important discoveries and theories; research continued and the results were first presented in 2004.[120] In all, seven workshop areas have revealed non-domestic porcelain shards with a panel decoration: the *Guanyinge* kiln site, the *Lianhualing* kiln site, the *Xinhua* Ceramic Factory kiln site, the *Renming* Ceramic Factory kiln site, the *Dongfeng* Ceramic Factory kiln site and the *Liujiaxianong* kiln site, all shown in Figure 3.9. This has led to the conclusion that the objects manufactured at these sites were a mixture of items made for the Chinese domestic market and wares made for export, including those decorated with the panel motif; there were no sites where the panel-decorated wares were exclusively potted and fired.

[120] Ibid., p. 16.

The first kiln site to be discovered was the *Guanyinge* site in 2001, located in the north of the 'old city zone' of Jingdezhen.[121] In 2007 it was again excavated, the area extended to include an additional 547 square meters, and according to Li Baoping, this area had numerous workshops for potting and two well-preserved pottery wheels.[122] Other remains included large jars for processing or storing raw materials as well as a sedimentation pond or settling basin in which the kaolin was mixed with water. Even though no structure of an actual firing kiln was discovered, numerous saggars and clay discs for supporting the pieces during firing were recovered.

Several fragments of domestic ware with inscriptions were also found at this site.[123] According to Jiang Jianxin, these had marks such as: 'Wan Li period' (1573-1620), 'made during Wan Li period Ming dynasty', 'made during Tianqi period' (1621-1627), and 'made during Xinyou Period' (the first year of the emperor Xizong of the Tianqi dynasty, 1621).[124] The domestic ware found at the *Guanyinge* site includes fragments of dishes, saucers, bowls, cups, covered bowls, pots, pouring pots, and some exceptional pieces. Fragments with panel decoration were mostly parts of plates and bowls; the plates are medium or small sized, with an average diameter of 20 centimetres or smaller.[125] (Appendix 3, list 5)

---

[121] According to Baoping Li 2010 (op. cit.), p. 6, note 29: 'The Guanyinge kiln complexes were already known by the early 1980s but there was no report of *kraak* ware finds.' Li refers to Zhen Li, 'An overview of the Ming dynasty blue and white porcelain industry of private kilns in Jingdezhen', *Jingdezhen Ceramics*, 1986, no.3; this indicates that at that time no Kraak ware had yet been found.

[122] Ibid., Li refers to the archaeological reports published in Chinese in *Wenwu Tiandi*, 2008, no.7 and *Wenwu Tiandi*, 2009, no.12; the excavation was jointly conducted by the School of Archaeology and Museology of Beijing University, the Jiangxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, and the Jingdezhen Municipal Institute of Ceramic Archaeology.

[123] Ibid., pp. 6-7: 'Some of the domestic porcelain finds at Guanyinge bear underglaze blue marks of "Fine Vessel Made by Chen" (*Chen Zao Jia Qi*) or "Made by Mr. Lan Himself" (*Lan Shi Zi Zao*), and a studio name. This demonstrates that porcelain fired at the Guanyinge kiln complex had indeed been potted in multiple workshops. Despite the scarcity of *kraak* wares unearthed, the controlled excavation is nonetheless important in many regards. For example, some shards bear cyclic date marks such as *renzi*, *jiayin*, *guichou* (respectively interpreted as 1492, 1494, 1553) or an inscription of the 36th year (1608) of the Wanli period, or reign marks (including pseudo ones) of the Ming periods spanning from Xuande (1426-1435) to Wanli (1573-1620) and Tianqi (1621-1627). Good stratigraphy and the self-dated items help to divide the finds from this excavation into five periods, which are respectively dated to the reigns of Zhengtong (1436-1449), Jingtai (1450-1457), Chenghua (1465-1487)-Zhengde (1506-1521), Jiajing (1522-1566), early and middle Wanli period, and late Wanli to Chongzhen (1628-1644) period. Such firmly grounded periodisation work is undoubtedly valuable for studying Ming ceramics at a high resolution, and the *kraak* porcelain finds are dated to the Wanli period.'

[124] Jiang Jianxin, 'Society in the Late Period of Ming Dynasty, Jingdezhen and the Producing of Carack Porcelain', *Ceramic Vision*, Jingdezhen, 2012, p. 38. Some of the domestic type wares from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck have similar marks, see Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 185-190.

[125] Cao Jianwen and Luo Yifei 2006 (op. cit.), p. 16.

The *Lianhualing* site situated north of the *Shengli* road was excavated in 2002 when building construction began. The shards with panel decoration found in this kiln area have a thicker body; most are part of large plates with a diameter of around 40 centimetres as shown in Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.10. Fragments of dishes with panel decoration from the *Lianhualing* kiln site, Jingdezhen. Photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

More shards with panel-motif were discovered in the late Ming stratum over which the *Dongfeng* Ceramic Factory had been built. During the 2002-2003 excavations, parts of medium sized bowls and plates of around 21 centimetres in diameter were found as illustrated in Figure 3.11. Dishes with a different panel-border and central design are illustrative that items were produced in the same workshop, but shaped and painted in different ways.

Figure 3.11. Fragment of a dish from the *Dongfeng* site, Jingdezhen, d. ca. 21 cm. Photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

From 2002-2004, when the Zhanqian Road was being paved over, large-scale kilns of the late Ming and Qing dynasties were discovered and excavated. Only a few shards of panel-decorated porcelain were found, mostly parts of dishes with a flattened

rim of small to medium size. The structure of the plates was coarse with grains of sands adhering to the base; therefore, archaeologists consider these are of medium or lower quality porcelain. The finds included only few fragments of bowls decorated with deer, a sign that these were produced in limited quantities.[126] (Figure 3.12)

Figure 3.12. Fragment of a dish with an octangonal star- shaped decoration from the Electro Ceramic Factory site, Jingdezhen. Courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

Panel decorated ware was excavated in 2004 from a late Ming-dynasty kiln, when a water pipeline was laid in the *Liujiaxianong* district. (Figure 3.13) Most fragments were parts of medium or small sized dishes with a double deer decoration and found amongst bowls produced for the inland market; the quality of the plates is coarse.[127] According to archaeologists, apart from the five kilns mentioned above, panel-decorated wares have been found in other sites such as the *Nanmentou* kiln site, the *Shibaqiao* kiln site, and the *Guihuanong* kiln site.[128]

Figure 3.13. Fragment of a dish with two sketchily drawn deer. *Liujiaxianong* kiln site, Jingdezhen. Photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

The overall conclusion of Jingdezhen archaeologists is that most of the shards with the panel pattern retrieved from the *Guanyinge* site are of a much finer quality

[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

than those from others. This kiln area is now known to have been manned by well-trained potters and designers from the former Imperial factory after its closure in 1608 (the 36th year of the Wanli period). It shows that finer quality items for the foreign markets were produced simultaneously with the better-quality ware produced for the domestic market in those workshops. Other items, produced in smaller workshops in Jingdezhen, would have made by lesser-qualified potters as the quality of the painting is generally mediocre. In 2014, and again in 2016, I had the opportunity to examine more fragments discovered by Cao Jianwen. These are still in the process of being sorted and will hopefully be published. (Appendix 3, list 6) Most come from the *Guanyinge* site and are pieces of good quality.

Summing up, in Jingdezhen, the techniques and materials used to produce porcelain for overseas markets including Kraak-panelled ware were the same as those used to produce items for the Chinese domestic market. The difference in quality can be linked to the workshops where these were made and decorated; the best quality came from the *Guanyinge* area of Jingdezhen where workers of the former Imperial kiln were active after it was closed in 1608. Therefore, we come across a mixture of items of mediocre and good quality Kraak-type ware from shipwrecks.

Possible origins of the panel pattern.

Panel motifs on ceramics were not a decorative innovation for Kraak porcelain. Earthenware bowls with panels had been produced in the Middle East as early as the 11-12th century. Chinese potters may have copied these, as Persian merchants would have taken such simple bowls with them to China for their own use. For instance, Cao Jianwen illustrates four examples of Persian ware from the Tereq Rajab Museum in Kuwait dating from the 11-14th centuries, all with panel patterns.[129] Edward Gibbs shows several base shards of bowls with a distinctive panel pattern dated mid 14th

[129] Cao Jianwen. 'Early Sino-Portuguese Trade and the Origin of Kraak Porcelain Decorating Style', *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*, Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2012, p. 307, Fig. 11-14; G. Fehervari, *Pottery of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum*, Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait, 1998; Cao Ganyuan, 'Decorations on Blue and White Porcelain at Jingdezhen between 1436-1464 and a Comparative Study of Blue and White Porcelain of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties', *University of Hong Kong Museum Journal,* no. 3, 2011, pp. 63-77.

century found at Fustat.[130] (Figures 3.14 and 3.15) He maintains that the panel-style and the technique of underglaze painting may have been 'experimented with first at Raqqa in Syria'.[131] He furthermore points out that finds from a small village on the east of Damascus included the highest percentage of base shards of bowls decorated in the panel-style.[132]

Figure 3.14. Base shard found at Fustat British Museum inv. nr. 1921.3.1. [133]

Figure 3.15. Under glaze decorated base shards from Syria, 13-14th centuries.[134]

From the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) on, Chinese potters applied all types of patterns, including panels, to blue and white decorated porcelain, which were especially favoured by Middle Eastern customers. (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). The use of lotus-shaped panels to decorate metal ware in the Middle East may have influenced Chinese craftsmen, as Jessica Rawson explains.[135]

---

[130] E. Gibbs, 'Mamluk Ceramics, 648-923 A.H./A.D. 1250-1517', *TOCS*, vol. 63, 1998-1999, p. 33, Fig. 17; V. Vezzoli, 'The Fustat Ceramic Collection in the Royal Museums of Art and History of Brussels: The Mamluk Assemblage', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis*, *Brussel*, vol. 82, 2011, pp. 119-168.
[131] Gibbs 1998 (op. cit.), p. 31, note 48.
[132] Ibid., p. 22, Figs. 4 and 5.
[133] Ibid., p. 33, Fig. 17.
[134] Ibid., p. 22, Figs. 4 and 5.
[135] J. Rawson, *Chinese Ornament. The Lotus and The Dragon,* London, 1984, pp. 70, 76, 8, 122, 125, 129, 156, 163 and 171.

Figure 3.16. Dish with flattened foliate rim, 14th century, d. 46 cm., Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.127.[136]

Figure 3.17. Dish with flattened foliate rim, 14th century, d. 45.5 cm., Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.48.[137]

Linda Pomper puts forward quite a different explanation and suggests that the panel pattern could have been copied from earthenware dishes manufactured in Deruta, Italy, some of which are decorated with panels.[138] She maintains that the Portuguese could have taken such pieces 'as religious artefacts during the first half of the 16th century' or as 'household devotional objects' with them to Macao or Japan and then such pieces would have been ordered to be reproduced in Jingdezhen. However, such objects were fragile and no such European earthenware items have as yet been retrieved from any archaeological sites in Asia, making this hypothesis unlikely.[139]

---

[136] Pope 1956 (op.cit.), Plate 21.
[137] Ibid. See also inv. nrs. 29.123 and 29.129 with roundels.
[138] L. Pomper, 'A Possible Source for the Panelling on One Type of Kraakware', *Arts of Asia*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2015. pp. 38-47. Deruta is a town near Perugia in Italy which produced earthenware vessels with a metallic glaze from the 13th century onwards. From the 15th century the decorative elements became enriched with figures and scenes.
[139] T. M. Casimiro, 'Portuguese Faience in London', *London Archaeologist*, vol. 11, no. 5, 2006, pp. 115-121. The only known excavations unearthing Portuguese faience were in London and Holland but the artefacts

Some Chinese scholars thought that overseas customers had ordered this particular decorative motif, but as no documented orders for this specific type of design exist, this remains doubtful. As a panel pattern somewhat resembles an open lotus flower, it is often used on Chinese porcelain and other decorative items. According to some Chinese scholars, there is a specific term for a type of panel design that is named *kaiguang* which literally means 'letting in the light'. This may have derived from Tibetan Buddhist terminology to indicate the phenomenon of 'inviting' the spirit of the Buddha to enter a sculpture.[140] According to Cao Jianwen, in Chinese art terminology it is usually used to describe specific patterns with an 'open' aspect like a roundel, a panel or cartouche.[141] Therefore, in China, the term *kaiguang ci* (ceramics with an open decoration) is often used for Kraak-panelled ware.[142] I agree with Cao Jianwen's conclusion that there is no single origin of this pattern; it may have been derived from Persian or Tang metal and silver wares, Buddhist designs such as the lotus flower, or earthenware bowls from Syria or Europe that may have been transported to China during the 14th century.

Discoveries of tomb finds in China with Kraak-panelled ware.

Although Kraak porcelain was principally transported to overseas destinations, dishes of this type have been found in several tombs in China, where they had an exceptional function during that period. According to Baoping Li,

> Around the late Ming to the Republic period, there seems to be a burial custom of putting [a]ceramic plate beside head of the deceased in Jiangxi region, which is called shoupan or "longevity (i.e. funerary) plate". For example, in 1958 the well preserved joint burial of Zhu Houye, the Prince Zhuang of Yi, and his two wives Wang and Wan was excavated in their family cemetery at Hongmen, Nancheng.

---

date from the early 17th century and show that the panel pattern had been copied from the original Kraak porcelain. 'At first the major production followed the Chinese porcelain tradition, producing large quantities of *pratos* (dishes), *taças* (bowls), *jarros* (jars) and *potes (*pots) from workshops in Portugal. Portuguese tin-glaze workshops, producing since the 2nd half of the 16th century, started to decorate their objects in blue, following the Chinese patterns, especially Wan-Li, the most required'.

[140] Wu 2013 (op. cit.), p.17: 'In Buddhist rituals, *kaiguang* means to welcome Buddha to inhabit in a newly constructed sculpture. This rite is also called *kaiyan*'. The term is used in several religious traditions throughout Asia, including Buddhism and Taoism.

[141] Personal communication by Cao Jianwen.

[142] Wu 2013 (op. cit.), p.18: 'The earliest reference to *kaiguang* decoration was written by Chen Liu in the text *Taoya* during the Tonzhi and Guangxy periods', 'Because the panelled decoration was widely employed in Kraak porcelain, this type of porcelain generally has been called *kaiguang ci'.* In Japan, the term *fuyo-de*, meaning lotus panels is used for this panelled pattern.

> The tomb, last sealed in 1591 (19 year of the Wanli period) by their grandson Zhu Yiyin, yielded a blue and white dragon design plate respectively beside head of Zhu Houye and Lady Wang. Another example is the joint burial of Prince Zhu Youmu, the grandson of Zhu Yiyin, and his two wives Huang and Wang. The tomb is situated in another cemetery of the prince family at Yuekou of Nancheng, and was last sealed in 1634. It had been partly looted and was excavated in 1982. Among finds from the tomb is a celadon plate beside the head of Zhu Youmu, a celadon plate beside the head of Lady Wang holding her gilt silver headdress, and fragments of a blue and white dragon design plate from the coffin of Lady Huang that probably was a longevity plate as well.[143]

There are several examples of Kraak-type dishes discovered in tombs, all misfired, some have a hole in the centre, others have cracks on the rim. In 1966, a dish was discovered in a tomb of lady *You*, who passed away in 1620 and was buried in 1628. Another two dishes were found in 1982, in southern Jiangxi province, one from a tomb dated 1608 in Guangchang, and another from a tomb in Huichang.[144] In 1990, a misfired plate with a panel pattern was found in the tomb of Tang Kejing who died in 1625 and was buried in 1631.[145] In total around 24 pieces from 15 datable tombs of commoners, nobility and even princes have been retrieved between 1982 and the mid 1990s.[146] (Appendix 3, list 7) Misfired or broken pieces were apparently sought to be used as a funerary object to be placed near or under the head of the deceased in order to enable the soul to leave the body. (Figure 3.18)

---

[143] Ibid.
[144] Baoping Li, 'Discoveries and Interpretation of Ming Dynasty Porcelain from Tombs in China.' *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2012, pp. 203-215; Li refers to several publications in Chinese: Xue Qiao and Liu Jinfeng, 'Ming dynasty export blue and white porcelain plates from the Wanli period unearthed in Jiangxi', *Jiangxi Wenwu*, 1985 no.1; Yao Chengqing, Sun Jinmin, and Yao Lianhong, 'A brief discussion on the blue and white porcelain plates unearthed from datable tombs in Guangchang', *Jiangxi Wenwu*, 1990, no.2.
[145] Baoping Li 2010 (op. cit.). He refers to Sun Jinmin, 'A datable tomb from the Ming dynasty Chongzhen reign period discovered in Guangchang, Jiangxi', *Jiangxi Wenwu* 1990, no.4 (only in Chinese).
[146] Baoping Li 2012 (op. cit.), p. 206.

Figure 3.18. Dish with panel pattern, the central decoration with deer is broken. Found in a tomb in Jiangxi province. Collection of Cao Jianwen. Photo by the author.

These exceptional discoveries lead to question why such Kraak-panelled dishes were placed in these tombs. Cao Jianwen maintains that Kraak-type ware was transported along or near the major waterway routes in Jiangxi leading to the trade ports in Fujian province, from where it was shipped abroad.[147] According to Li Jian'an, the Min river route was the main artery, 'The land route from the Xin river to the point where the Min river met the sea provided the shortest passage to the southern China coast and Southeast Asia. Other routes (via the Yangtse river or Ningpo port) were much longer…hence the Min river route was a traditional route for export ceramics linking Jingdezhen, Longquan and other kilns along the Min river'.[148] (Figure 3.19)

Figure 3.19. Map of the Min River in Fujian province.[149]

[147] Cao Jianwen 2012 (op. cit.), pp. 303-308; Baoping Li 2012 (op. cit.), p. 207.
[148] Li Jian'an, 'Chinese Trade Ceramics from the 13th to 17th Centuries: Marine Archaeological Discoveries in China', *University of Hong Kong Museum Journal*, no. 3, 2011, p. 89.
[149] Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Baoping Li also explains, 'Most of these routes shared the same first part linking the porcelain centre Jingdezhen to Guangchang. Guangchang at the upper reach of the Fu-he river is the pivotal transit point of these routes, where porcelain shipped from Jingdezhen needed to be unloaded for varying distances of overland transportation before being re-loaded for shipping in rivers of Fujian and Guangdong'.[150] (Figure 3.20)

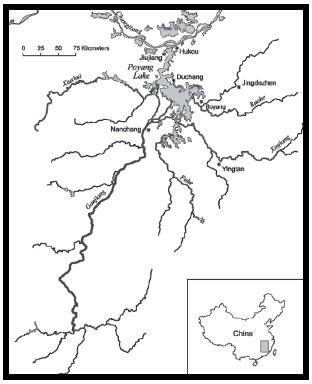


Figure 3.20. Map of rivers to Poyang Lake and Jingdezhen.[151]

As these routes were used for transporting porcelain from Jingdezhen and other kilns to the main ports of Fuzhou and Quanzhou, panel-decorated dishes may have been sold along the way to local people. They may have bought such items because of its non-Chinese decoration and shape; misfired panel-decorated dishes were not discarded because of their special function as a funerary or longevity item.[152]

Evidence also comes from the private collection of Hu Yanxi, who had collected dishes with panel patterns, acquired at markets and shops in China during the past twenty odd years. His collection consists of dishes with an average diameter of 20-26 cm.; all have signs of misfirings. In his search, he did not come across any large dishes or closed forms with a panel pattern. (Appendix 3, list 8.)

---

[150] Guangchang county is in southern Jiangxi province. The Fu river flows in this county to Lake Poyang over which the ceramics were shipped from Jingdezhen. Baoping Li 2012 (op.cit.), p. 207.
[151] D. Shankman and Liang, Qiaoli, 'Landscape Changes and Increasing Flood Frequency in China's Poyang Lake Region', *The Professional Geographer*, 2003, no. 55. pp. 434-445.
[152] Baoping Li 2012 (op.cit.), p. 209, 'Mostly as seconds rejected in Jingdezhen, they were probably transported by sailors commuting between Jingdezhen and Guangchang, perhaps alongside the packed porcelain goods, and were sold to local people along the transportation routes and particularly those in Guangchang. The selling price must be very low, since they were seconds and many were to be used only for burial purposes'. Li refers to Xue Qiao and Liu Jinfeng, 'Cultural relics unearthed in south Jiangxi and the change in export routes of Jingdezhen porcelain during the transitional period of Ming and Qing dynasties', *Relics from the South*, 1993, no. 3 (in Chinese).

The main shapes of panel-decorated wares.

The second main characteristic feature of Kraak-type ware is the 'foreign' type shape. These include for the most part, dishes with a flat rim of various dimensions, dishes with a deep well, named *clapmuts*, and bowls, usually called crow cups in English (*kraaikoppen* in Dutch). I illustrate these by using the typology made for the publication of ceramics from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck, since these shapes are representative of the main types of Kraak-panelled ware. The same numerical figures are used, according to the category in the publication.[153]

I also give examples of names that appear on the ships' cargo lists and VOC orders.[154] These changed during the years, which does not make it possible to exactly identify each shape. For example, there are, in fact, numerous terms for flatware in Dutch. The word dish (*schootel*) is generally used in VOC orders, cargo lists or letters in various combinations. In 1614, an order sent by the VOC directors included all kinds of porcelain shapes, 'especially flatware, such as butter dishes, fruit dishes and other dishes' (*eerst alle pladt goet als boterschotelen, fruytschotelen, andere schotelen*).[155] However, the exact size remains uncertain; general terms were used as, 'porcelain of the largest sort, a size smaller and another smaller size'.[156] Nonetheless, with the use of the *Witte Leeuw* drawings an impression can be given as to what could be meant by terms written on VOC documents.

The largest size dish with the panel-motif retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw* has an average diameter of 50 centimetres; the base is unglazed and the cavetto is unmoulded.[157] (Figure 3.21) Not many fragments belonging to this particular shape have been retrieved from Western shipwrecks or archaeological sites. It was more favoured by Islamic customers as the Topkapi Palace and Ardebil Shrine collections have numerous dishes of this particular shape; they are deeper than the standard dishes

[153] Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.).
[154] T. Volker has translated the Dutch terms, but he does not always give the original word. T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*. Leiden, 1954, p. 63.
[155] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 312, (1614 nov. 21 - 1617 apr. 20): *Memorie van bewindhebbers aan Hendrick Jansz., dd. 21 november 1614.*
[156] H.T. Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen; Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol.4, The Hague, 1922, p. 564 (Letter from the VOC directors to J.P. Coen 17-9-1622): '*400 stucken schotelen van de grootste sortering, 2000 stucken een slach cleender, 4000 noch een slach cleender*'.
[157] The 'cavetto' is the inward slanting interior area of a dish between the rim and the base. It can be either smooth or moulded by using moulds to press a certain pattern onto the object. This facilitates the decoration that is to be applied, in the case of Kraak-type porcelain, these are various panel shapes, cartouches or roundels.

of 35-50 centimetres diameter with a flat rim retrieved from Western shipwrecks.[158]

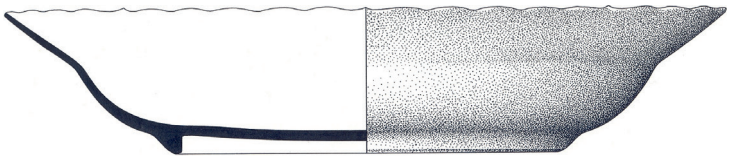
Large dishes, d. 50-51 cm., h. 9.0-9.5 cm.	

Figure 3.21. Profile drawing of a dish without moulded panels, d. 50-51 cm.

The other large dish retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck was one with a diameter of 49.8-50.0 centimetres. It has a flattened foliated rim and the cavetto has six moulded cartouche-shaped panels. (Figure 3.22) Fragments belonging to this type were found in most shipwrecks: the *San Diego* (1600), the *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606) and the *Witte Leeuw* (1613); the *São Gonçalo* (1630), the 'Wanli wreck' (1630-35) and the 'Hatcher cargo' have a larger amount.[159] VOC orders often use the term *hele schotel* (whole dish), which may indicate this size. However, just as the other terminology used, this remains guesswork.

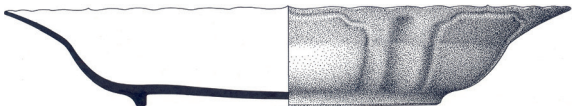
Type 1.1.1: d. 49.8-50.0 cm.	

Figure 3.22. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 49 -50 cm.

In 1607, a VOC order stated: 'Bring as many fine quality large items as possible, even if they are as large as the bottom of a barrel, as long as it is good quality and not crooked but as large as our decorative platters'.[160] A request was sent in 1608 for:

[158] Pope 1956 (op.cit.), plate nrs. 182,183,184,185 and186.
[159] The 'Wanli shipwreck' has around 31 complete ones and the 'Hatcher cargo' around 438 pieces. S. Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus. *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo.* Manila, 2007. Sheaf and R. Kilburn 1988 (op.cit.).
[160] NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten), inv. nr. 1136. '*Men can niet te veel fyne groote stucks brenghen al brachtmen stuckx soo groot als eenen boodem van een tonne als fatsoen goet is & niet slym ofte scheef/ maer gelyck onse grootste pronck plattelen syn'*.

'1,000 large dishes' and, '200 large dishes of two and a half…width'.[161] However, only a relatively small number was sent to the Dutch Republic that year; the ship *Gouda* only had eight large (*8 groote porceleyn schotels*) and seven somewhat smaller dishes listed on its cargo list.[162] A letter dated 1610, states that a 100 large porcelain dishes were sent from Patani to Bantam to be loaded in the return-ships.[163] Consequently, in 1612, the cargo list of the *Wapen van Amsterdam* records 5 bales/bundles with large porcelain dishes and the cargo list of the *Vlissingen* included 370 large dishes.[164]

A dish of smaller dimensions, with diameters ranging from 29-32 centimetres has a flattened rim and most have a moulded cartouche type of panel. (Figure 3.23) The term half-dishes (*halve schootelen*) was often used on cargo lists and may refer to this shape and size. For example, on the shipping list of the *Vlissingen* dated 1612 the terms 'half-sized' and 'the same but smaller' are used.[165] The cargo list of the *Gelderlant* dated to 1614 lists '3000 half-dishes' (*3000 halve schotelen*).[166] Another example is found on the cargo list of the *Leeuwinne* dated 1622 that lists '51 dishes and 30 bundles with 240 half-dishes' (*51 hele schotels/30 bos -240 halve schotels*).[167] The *San Diego* shipwreck contained only a few fragments; the *Witte Leeuw* around 25, and most come from the later dated shipwrecks such as the 'Wanli shipwreck' (460 pieces) and the 'Hatcher cargo' (419 pieces).

---

[161] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 634, *Memorie voor de Chinezen die van Patani naar China gaan, bevattende een opgave van goederen die de Chinezen bij hun terugkeer voor de Nederlanders in Patani meebrengen, en een opgave van Victor Sprinckel van de textiel die in Patani werd gevraagd (1608). '1000 groote schootelen…..200 grote schootelen van 2 ½ … breet fijn)'.*

[162] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 633: *Factuur van de lading van het schip Gouda, gaande van Patani naar de Republiek, 1608, 25 sept. 'Een tobbe inhoudende 8 groote porceleyn schotels a 8 maes t stcuck/7 dito wat minder a 3 maes'.*

[163] H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens Omtrent Den Porceleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie, medegedeeld door Dr. H.E. van Gelder', *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek*, The Hague, 1924, p. 170: '*Brief van Jaques L'Hermite de Jonge dd. 10 November 1610*: [*Hij zendt...] 100 groote porceleyne schotels'.*

[164] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 607, *Facturen van de ladingen van de schepen Wapen van Amsterdam, Vlissingen en Witte Leeuw, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 5-12-1612*: '*5 baelen met groote porceleynen Schotels'*; the *Vlissingen* records: '*370 stux groote schotels à 2 R. de 10 stuck R 444… 400 halve dittos'.*

[165] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 607, (op.cit.): '*400 halve dittos; 580 stx dittos wat clejnder'*.

[166] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1057. '*Laus Deo ady 25 octob.r an.o 1614, In bantam facture vant Cargasoen gescheept ende geladen in ordre van E. H. Jan pieterS coen int schip dat godt beware genampt Gelderlant'.*

[167] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1076, *Factura en cognossement van de goederen ende coopmanschappen geladen in het schip de Leeuwinne, Batavia, 6 September 1622.*

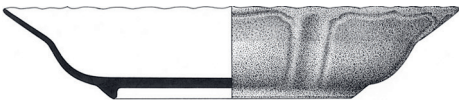
Type 1.1.3: d. 29.0-32.0 cm. h. 4.5-5.5 cm.	

Figure 3.23. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 29-32 cm.

The dish that was apparently most popular, considering the large numbers retrieved from shipwrecks, has a flat rim and an average diameter of 20-21 centimetres. (Figure 3.24) Most of these have a moulded cavetto, but there are many identical ones without one.[168] Here the term *een derde* (one third) may have indicated the size. Most Western shipwrecks included this shape: the *San Diego, Nossa Senhora dos Mártires, Banda, Mauritius,* and the *Witte Leeuw.*

Type 1.1.4: d. 21.0 cm. h. 3.0 cm.	

Figure 3.24. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 21 cm.

Orders from the VOC directors specified their size: one of the first orders sent to Admiral Verhoeff in 1607, stated: 'we want a number of dishes …we use daily/an amount like our tin saucers'.[169] Figure 3.24 depicts pewter dishes of various sizes and shapes excavated in the Netherlands, and some of these may have been used as samples. Figure 3.26 shows a table with such dishes.

[168] Aboard the *Witte Leeuw* were 60-70 pieces and, in fact, identical fragments were found in all known western-bound shipwrecks.
[169] NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten), inv.nr. 1136, '*voort een groote partie wat grooter op de fatsoenen van tinnen platelen die wy Dagelyckx gebruycken/een partie gelick ons tinne sausyeren syn*'.

Figure 3.25. Pewter dishes and saucers of various dimensions. Excavated in Lelystad (former Zuider Zee) from the remains of a local cargo ship, dated to the end of the 16th century. Rijskdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed. Inv.nr. OB71-305-12-16-65-66.

Figure 3.26. Still life with gilt goblet. Oil painting by Willem Claesz. Heda, 1635. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. nr.SK-A-4830.

The smallest dish with a flat rim, which we generally call a saucer, has a slightly flattened foliated rim and moulded broad panels. (Figure 3.27) The finds from the *Witte Leeuw* include only few fragments of this type and all were of delicate, fine quality.

Type 1.1.5: d. 14.0 cm. h. 2.0 cm.	

Figure 3.27. Profile drawing of a small dish with moulded panels, d. 14 cm.

In Dutch, the term *sausieren* is known but this word was not used on VOC lists.[170] However, butter dishes (*boter platelen*) was a common term on the orders and we come across it as early as 1600 on the list with personal items that Admiral Heemskerck sent back to the Dutch Republic which included '40 butter dishes' (*40 boter platelen*).[171]

Most VOC cargo lists and orders include the terms butter dishes, flat butter dishes, single or double sized butter dishes (*boter platelen/ platte booter schootelen/enckelde boterschotelen/dubbelde boterschotelen*). For example, the cargo list of the *Vlissingen* dated 1612 listed '600 butter dishes and 5230 small ones'.[172] The term was also used in the inventory of the House of Orange dated to 1619: '25 porcelain butter dishes' (*25 porcheleynen boterschotelen*).[173] There are, however only few shipwrecks from which this size dish was retrieved: the *Witte Leeuw*, the *São Gonçalo* and some from the 'Hatcher cargo'.

There are several still life paintings with small panel-decorated dishes on which chunks of butter are placed.[174] Figures 3.28, 3.29 and 3.30, are details of such still-life paintings and illustrate small dishes with a diameter of around 12-14 centimetres, resembling those from the *Witte Leeuw*. They may not have specifically been used as a butter dish as there are more paintings with identical dishes but with other food.

Figure 3.28. Detail from *Stilleven met ham en kaas* by Floris van Schooten, 1640. Frans Hals Museum.

[170] J.A. Kamermans, *Materiële Cultuur in de Krimpenerwaard in de Zeventiende en Achttiende eeuw: ontwikkeling en diversiteit,* Utrecht, 1999. On p. 112 he refers to the term 'Chauchierkens' used for saucers and also mentions that in the 17th century sauce bowls were also called 'sausieren': *'In de zeventiende eeuw waren er ook sauskommen, die dan echter sausieren genoemd werden.'*
[171] NL-HaNA 1.04.01 (Voorcompagnieën), inv. nr. 92. *Brieven van Cornelis van Heemskerck aan Bewindhebbers (1600).*
[172] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 607 (op.cit.)*: '600 dobbel boterschotels…5230 boterschotelkens'*.
[173] Drossaer and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.), p. 146.
[174] See, for more examples, Julie Hochstrasse, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven and London, 2007.

Figure 3.29. Detail from a painting by Clara Peeters (1594 – ca. 1658), *Still Life with cheeses, artichoke, and cherries*, ca. 1615. Los Angeles County Museum.

Figure 3.30. Detail of a painting by Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582 – ca. 1647), *Breakfast with cheese, herring and ham*, 1615. Museum Twente.

The following shape is a dish without a flat rim and has roundels instead of panels or cartouches as its border pattern. They generally come in two sizes: 20-22 centimetres and its smaller equivalent of 14-16 centimetres. (Figure 3.31) Fragments of this type were mostly retrieved from VOC shipwrecks: the *Mauritius* (1609), *Witte Leeuw* and *Banda* (1615). The *São Gonçalo* has only a few shards. This would assume that the Iberians did not favour such a shape.

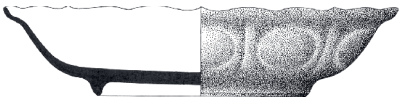
Type. 1.2.1: d. 20-22 cm. h. 3.5-4.0 cm.	
Type 1.2.2: d. 14-16 cm. h. 3.0 cm.	

Figure 3.31. Two profile drawings of dishes without a rim and moulded roundels.

The already mentioned list of personal items that Cornelis van Heemskerck had sent to the Dutch Republic in 1600, included, '10 fine fruit dishes' (*fyne fruyt schale*).[175] On most orders and cargo lists of the VOC the terms *fruytschalen, ½ fruyt schalen*, and even *fruytschalen op voetjns* (fruitdishes with feet) are used, but again, whether this term referred to this particular shape remains speculative.[176]

In 1618, both fruit dishes as well as butter dishes were ordered in large quantities, 'we want a good amount of 15-20,000 pieces of fine butter dishes as well as 8-10.000 fruit dishes'.[177] In 1629, another large order was sent for '15,000 fruitdishes and 6,000 half-sized ones'.[178] The inventories of the House of Orange dated 1632 also lists them: 'thirteen various sorts of fruit dishes; forty-two jam- or fruit dishes; twelve porcelain fruit dishes of a smaller size; eleven porcelain fruit dishes, deeper than the previous and smaller'.[179] Here the term fruit dish is used rather randomly and therefore it is, on the whole, difficult to establish what a *fruytschotel* is meant to denote, but my own assumption is that it may likely have been the type I describe in figure 3.31.

The next shape is another one that frequently appears in VOC documents as well as in Dutch inventories.[180] It is a shallow bowl with a flattened foliated rim that has become known as *clapmuts.* (Figure 3.32) The cavetto is moulded and a frequently occurring design used as a rim decoration is what is known in China and amongst art historians as a *tao tie* mask.[181]

---

[175] NL-HaNA 1.04.01 (Voorcompagnieën), inv. nr. 92. (Letter from Cornelis van Heemskerck to the directors of the Old Company. This will be further dealt with in chapter 5).

[176] NL–HaNa 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten), inv. nr. 1136; NL-Ha 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1057. (op.cit)*;* NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1076 (op.cit.)*: '500 fruytschalen… 40 bos…1600 halve d.o schalen…11 bos -110 fruytschalen op voetjns'.*

[177] Van Gelder 1924 (op.cit.), p. 178, *Memorie van Bewinthebbers der O-I Compagnie waarnaar zich de commiezen bij het doen van hun inkoopen hebben te richten, dd. 30 November 1618* : '*jaerlicx goede pertye van 15 oft 20.000 stucx fijne boterschotelen, alsmede 8 oft 10.000 fruytschalen'*.

[178] H.T. Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersoon Coen Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indie,* vol. 5, The Hague, 1923, p. 506, *Memorie voor Taiwan 24-4-1629*: '*15.000 fruytschalen ….6.000 stucx halve fruytschalen*'.

[179] Drossaers and Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.), pp. 204-205: '*in Oude Hof aan Noordeinde in het 'cabinet' =op planken porselein; Huys in 't Noorteynde…camer daer mevrouw de princesse…(Louise de Coligny)…lijsten van porcelijen op planken'; 'Derthien fruytschotelen van diversche fatsoen van porceleyn; Tweeendeveertich porceleyne confijt- off fruytschotelkens; twaelff porceleyne fruytschotelen, wat cleynder als de voors. Derthien; Elff porceleyne fruytschotelen, wat dieper als de voors. Ende wat cleynder*'.

[180] The Orange inventory of 1619 lists them as: '6 porcelains called *clapmutsen'* ('*6 porcheleyne die men noempt clapmutsen'*), Drossaers and Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.), pp. 160-162.

[181] The *tao tie is* a motif depicting a type of mythological mask found on ancient Chinese ritual bronze vessels.

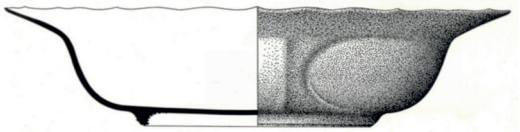
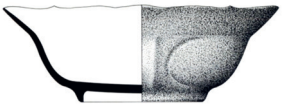
Type 1.3.1: d. 20-24 cm. h. 5.5-6.6 cm.	
Type 1.3.2: d. 12-14 cm. h. 4.5-5.0 cm.	

Figure 3.32. Two profile drawings of *clapmuts* type bowls with moulded cavetto.

It is possible that the name *clapmuts* derived from the name of a type of cap that was worn by the Dutch in the 17th century and has a shape similar to such a shallow bowl as illustrated in Figure 3.33. Rinaldi suggests that this particular shape may have been made especially for the Dutch market to eat porridge or soup from.[182] There are, indeed, bowls made of earthenware that were named as such. (Figure 3.34)

Figure 3.33. A type of hat known as 'clapmuts'.[183]

Figure 3.34. Earthenware bowl named *clapmuts*, ca.1350-1400. d. 20.3. cm., coll. Van Beuningen-de Vriese. Museum Boijmans Rotterdam, inv. nr. F930.

The term was already written on the list of Cornelis van Heemskerck in 1600, mentioned above. The terms *clapmuts* and *half clapmutsen (claepmutsen, halve claep mutsen)* were continually used on cargo lists and orders of the VOC up to around 1644.[184] Sometimes they are listed as *groote fyne commen ofte clapmutsen* (large fine bowls or *clapmuts*). The cargo list of the *Vlissingen,* dated 1612, shows three sizes: '6680 half-sized clapmutsen, 3320 whole (sized) and 1200 one-fourth sized'.[185] The cargo list

[182] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 118.
[183] Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982 (op. cit.). Drawing not included in the original publication.
[184] Colenbrander 1923 (op. cit.) part 5, p. 506: '*Memorie voor Taiwan 24 april 1629*'.
[185] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 607 (op.cit). Cargo lists of the *Vlissingen* and *Wapen van Amsterdam* 1612. '*6680 halve clapmutsen…3320 dittos heele….1200 vierdendeelen van clapmutsen*' .

of the *Gelderland* listed 2000 *clapmutsen* and 1500 white half-sized ones in 1614 (*2000 clapmutS ….1500 witte ½ clapmutS*.).[186] This indicates that white types were available, but these seem to have been quite rare as none have been retrieved from shipwrecks.

Martin Pitts shows the proportions of the *clapmuts* and other bowls transported by the VOC in a table.[187] It illustrates that this particular shape was ordered frequently during the first decades of the 17th-century, but became less popular after 1636. Finds from the VOC shipwrecks *Mauritius, Witte Leeuw*, and the *Banda* all included this shape. From the 'Wanli shipwreck' 6 *clapmutsen* were retrieved; the 'Hatcher wreck' had some 63 large *clapmutsen* and 103 smaller ones.[188] To my knowledge, no Iberian shipwrecks contained this shape, an indication that it was not in demand in those European regions.

A large number of bowls with the panel pattern were sorted out from the fragments of the *Witte Leeuw* and come in three sizes. (Figure 3.35) Here again, VOC shipwrecks included this shape, but the Iberian ones had only few.

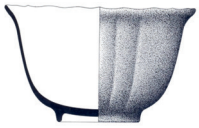
Type 1.4.1 d. 14-16 cm. h. 7.0-9.5 cm.	
Type 1.4.2 d. 12-14 cm. h. 6.5-8.0 cm.	
Type 1.4.3. d. 10 -12 cm. h. 6.0-6.8 cm.	

Figure 3.35: Three profile drawings of bowls of various sizes and moulded vertical ribs.

[186] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1057, (op.cit.).
[187] M. Pitts, 'Pots and Comparative History: The Case of Imported Roman Fine Wares and Chinese Porcelain in North West Europe', in M. Fulford and E. Durham (eds), *Seeing Red. New Economic and Social Perspectives on Gallo-Roman Terra Sigillata*, London, 2013, pp. 381-390, p. 386, figure 26.4.
[188] S. Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*" Kuala Lumpur, 2007, pp. 44-45; Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op. cit.), p.164.

The term used for this type of bowl is contested. Pitts explains that these bowls were used for drinking *kandeel*, a warm drink made of eggs, milk, wine, sugar and cinnamon, in English called caudle, and *kandeelskop* by the Dutch.[189] In 17th and 18th century Holland, drinking the warm brew called *kandeel* at the birth of a child was only customary in rich families and there are many examples of glass vessels called *kandeels kop*. According to various Dutch dictionaries, *kandeel* meant any type of warm beverage, thus such bowls could have come to be used for a warm drink in general.[190] Therefore, the term *kandeelscop* may refer to this particular shape, found as early as 1600 in the *San Diego* shipwreck. It seems, however, that it was misspelt on Dutch documents.

The name camel cup (*cameels coppe)* on lists occurs as early as 1600, the first on that of admiral Van Heemskerck.[191] Volker maintains that the word *camel/cammeel* is a wrong transcription of *kandeelkop* because, 'not wrong reading but wrong writing must be held responsible for the fabulous "camel's cup". The scribe at work apparently did not know the true meaning of the words he wrote down. He apparently knew what a camel was but he had probably never quaffed a caudle-cup, never having been to a lying in where it was the custom to drink the health of mother and child in the concoction that gave its name to the cup'.[192]

Cynthia Viallé on the other hand, suggested that the scribes used the word *cameel* because of the likeness to deer depicted on them.[193] (Figures 3.36 and 3.37) This is an interesting aspect, but only few fragments of such bowls have been found at shipwrecks and kiln sites, which suggests that they had not been mass-produced in large quantities and we cannot be sure whether VOC scribes had ever seen camels.[194] I rather agree with Volker that at some point a misspelling may have taken place when *candeelkop* was written as *cameelcop* and that this term continued to be used on the

---

[189] Pitts 2013 (op. cit.), p. 385: 'Vessels intended for the consumption of "caudle" (kandeelskoppen) were the principal cup forms sought by the Dutch until the introduction of regular tea imports.'
[190] According to the Dutch Etymological dictionaries, the definition is a 'warm beverage' and can be prepared with various ingredients including cinnamon (*kandeel*); see: J. de Vries 1971 (op. cit.) *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek*. '*Kandeel: warme drank, Oudfr.: caldel (thans chaudeau) van chaud = warm, Lat. calidus.*; J. Vercoullie, *Beknopt Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.* The Hague, 1890, '*kandeel v., Mnl. candeel, met dissi-mil. uit Ofra. caldel (thans chaudeau) = warmen drank, een afleid. van Lat. calidus (Fr. chaud) = warm (z. lauw). Van den Ofra. bijvorm caudel komt Eng. Caudle'.*
[191] NL-HaNA 1.04.01 (Voorcompagnieën), inv. nr. 92, (op. cit.).
[192] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 23.
[193] Viallé 2014 (op. cit.), p. 49.
[194] The 'deer' design was mainly used on plates, as can be deducted from the *San Diego* wreck dated 1600; some pieces were found in other early shipwrecks as the *Santo Alberto* (1593) and the *San Augustin* (1595) and only a few fragments were retrieved from VOC shipwrecks.

VOC documents to denote this type of cup or rather bowl; once a term came to be used for a particular item, this would be consistently used over the years by others.

Figure 3.36. Fragments of bowls with deer excavated in Jingdezhen; photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

Figure 3.37. Exterior of bowl, one fragment from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) NG-1978-127-10125-W.

The term appears on most documents concerning orders or shipping lists, sometimes with variations. For example, one dated to 1614 lists: 'flat camelcups or half-camelcups and one-quarter camelcups'.[195] The term *vlacke cameels coppen* is listed separately from the other *cameels coppen* and could refer to another type of cup or bowl. In 1618, they are ordered in four sizes but there is an additional demand: ´that they should have straight walls and not the everted ones that the camel cup usually has and that those with straight walls are one-fourth more valuable than those with everted rims'.[196] This may have been a request for the 'bell-shape cup' (*clockcopken*), thought to have been produced at a much later date.

Around the same period other terms for bowls appear. The cargo list of the *Mauritius* dated to 1623 lists a large number of camel cups: '8400 half (sized) camel cups (*halve CameelsCoppen*)' but also 'character cups (*Caracter Coppen*)'.[197] Other terms

[195] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1057 (op.cit.); NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1075; the cargo list of the *Gouda* in1622 lists besides a large quantity of 'camel cups, half (sized) camel cups, a third (sized) camel cups: '*500 cameels coppen/680 stx ½ cameels coppen 840 vlacke cameels coppen/ 400 ¼ vlacke Ditto/400 quart cameels coppen*'.

[196] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 178. *Memorie van Bewindhebbers der O-I Compagnie waarnaar zich de commiezen bij het doen van hun inkoopen hebben te richten, dd. 30 November 1618: 'doch dienen dese coppen te sijn met rechte oft steyle canten en de niet omleggende gelyck de gemeyne cameelscoppen ordinaerlyck plegen te wesen, alsoo de soorte van de steyle canten wel een vierde paerdt meerder waerdich sullen wesen als de omleggende canten*'. This was repeated in 1629, for 'camel cups with straight sides (*stucx cameelscoppen met opstaende canten*)'; Colenbrander 1923 (op. cit.), p. 506, '*Memorie voor Taiwan 24-4-1629'.*

[197] H. Terpstra *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*, The Hague, p.128; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1077, *Factura Mauritius*.

used for cups or bowls in general are: '*warmoes* cups, half (sized) *warmoes* cups, rose cups, small rose cups, small bowls, large hollow bowls'.[198]

The use of the term *cameel* or *candeel* remains a topic of discussion. In the inventory of Amalia van Solms dated 1673, seven items are listed with the word 'cameel'; two of these are noted as 'camel bottles' (*cameelflesjes*); then there are 'four camel caudel cups' (*Vier cameelscandeelcoppen*) as well as '16 caudle bowls' (*candeelbacken*).[199] An inventory of Johan Tortarolis dated 1656 lists 'Four caudle bowls of porcelain' (*4 kandeel porceleyne kommen/4 porceleyne kandeelkommen*).[200] In the end, these documents show that the adjective camel (*cameel*) was applied to a wide variety of shapes and unsystematically so. The random mixture of the use of *kandeel, cameel* does not help in assessing whether these bowls correspond to the ones on order lists; the frequency by which the name occurs and visible evidence from shipwrecks are the only guidelines.

The bowls from the *Witte Leeuw* and other shipwrecks all have panels and are decorated in the centre with a bird on a rock; in English, it is often called a crow-cup, a literal translation of the Dutch word *kraaikop*. However, this Dutch term was not used on the orders, cargo lists or in inventories for these bowls. The term *kraaikop* came to be used in literature presumably because the bird depicted on these bowls was mistakenly taken for a crow but is in fact a magpie. The Chinese use designs in a symbolic way and as in China crows are considered a symbol of sadness or death, they would certainly not have been used as a decorative item on porcelains. (Figure 3.38) The poet-politician of the Song dynasty, Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) wrote a poem titled 'Wild Magpie'. It states that a magpie in the morning makes 'a lot of noise when the sun comes out, so there will be good news, it will be a lucky day'.[201] Chinese potters would have used this to symbolize happiness or luck, in the same manner as they did for other items.

---

[198] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1075: *'waermoes coppen, halve waermoes coppen, ros /roos coppen, cleijne ros coppen, celijne comen, groote holle comen'*. A '*warmoeskop*' is a soup bowl; '*warmoes*' is a vegetable soup or stew. (see website http://www.woorden.org/woord/GtB).
[199] Drossaer and Scheurleer 1974 (op. cit.) p. 308 and p. 310.
[200] Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock and Van Dissel, 1986-1992 (op. cit.), p. 488: *'Rap. 24, 1656 inboedel van Johan Tortarolis: 4 porceleyne kandeelkomme; op de boven kamer … opte kas: 4 kandeel porceleyne kommen'.*
[201] Personal communication from Cao Jianwen. See also: https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Ouyang_Xiu (visited January 2020)

Figure 3.38. Bowl with a bird on a rock, d. 14 cm., h. 10 cm. Rijksmuseum, inv. nr. NG-1978-127-8852-W.

In my view, the central decoration of the bird on a rock on the bowls had undergone an interesting adaptation. There are several bowls and small saucers without any panels but with a white moulded pattern or a lobed shape in the Topkapi Palace museum collection.[202] A number of bowls, all exceptional types with moulded sides or having a lobed shape, are decorated with the bird-on-rock motif in the centre. (Figures 3.39 and 3.40) None of these types have been found in any European shipwreck.[203] This is an indication that this design had apparently been applied to bowls produced for the Middle Eastern market before the 'crow cup' types were produced in large quantities for European markets. With the arrival of Western clients, an increase in orders took place, especially by the VOC. The Chinese potters may have decided to use the fairly simple 'bird-on-a-rock' design on these mass-produced bowls.

Figure 3.39 Bowl with bird on a rock. d. 9.5 cm. h.7 cm. TKS15/2623, Topkapi Museum.

Figure 3.40. Bowls with a bird on a rock. d. 12 cm. Topkapi museum, inv. nrs. TKS15/2626; TKS15/2621.

[202] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nrs.: TKS 15/2389; TKS15/2474: saucer with bird on a rock; TKS15/ 2670: saucer with a bird on a rock; TKS 15/2534: saucer with bird on a rock. There is no panel pattern on the border.

[203] There are a few exceptions: the *San Juanillo* had two bowls with exceptionally finely painted design in some type of panels. This early dated shipwreck (1578) is therefore proof that these were not the standard ones that came to be produced in large quantities.

Other decorative items used on Kraak-panelled ware are flowers, fruits, insects, the 'Eight Symbols', the attributes of the eight Daoist immortals. There are also Confucian items relating to wealth, knowledge, and health. They include a flaming pearl, a jade musical stone, a rhinoceros horn, a scroll, and an Artemisia leaf. Some Buddhist items as a conch-shell, a flaming wheel, beaded pendants are also used; these would all have been incomprehensible to Western customers. Further designs commonly used for panelled Kraak ware are ducks/geese in a pond, or a basket or pot with flowers. Deer was used for simply decorated dishes with or without panels, as seen from those salvaged from the *San Diego*. Exclusive decoration only appears on fine-potted Kraak ware; most examples can be found in the Middle Eastern collections. Items of lesser quality were retrieved from shipwrecks as they were part of a cargo, and produced in large quantities.

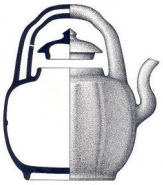
Types of porcelain items without the panel pattern in Western cargoes.

The above-mentioned shipwrecks did not only contain Kraak-type panelled items. Besides panel-decorated ware, a large number of fragments retrieved from Western shipwrecks belong to other shapes, such as Chinese domestic type bowls. Small thin wine cups found in Dutch shipwrecks and land sites were transported as far as Jamestown, Virginia. Another type, Zhangzhou ware, has also been salvaged from most Western shipwrecks. This shows that, during the first half of the 17th century, cargoes contained a variety of Chinese ceramics, the panel-decorated Kraak-type but also Chinese rice bowls, thin wine cups and Zhangzhou ware. In my view, such items would have been bought and taken along either as personal purchases, but they may also have been necessary to replace items that had not yet been produced for Western merchants.

Specific Western shapes such as oil and vinegar jugs, pots with spouts, and tiny brandy cups are regularly included on bills of lading (*ronde potkens, saucierkens, cameelscoppen, tafelborden, olie- en azijn kannetjes, tuytepottekens, brandewijnkopkens*).[204] I note here that, even though 'Western shapes' such as oil and vinegar jugs and brandy bottles had been ordered, exact copies had not yet been produced. Chinese shapes resembling them were available for European customers, since only these have been salvaged from shipwrecks in this period. In the figure below,

[204] Ibid.

I illustrate items salvaged from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck to demonstrate which shapes may have been used for Western functions. (Figure 3.41) For example, a pot with handle and spout was not used in the Dutch Republic for tea, as this was then not yet a common beverage. Just as a kendi shape, this may have been used for another liquid. The small pot with a lid was possibly used for condiments; small saucers for mustard, or salt. A long necked flask or bottle (*Brandewijnkopkens*) was most likely used for brandy or Dutch gin (*jenever*), and the small wine cups for consuming it.

Pots with handle and spout (*kannekens/ Cannekens met hengsels ende pipen)* (Witte Leeuw, type 1.5)	 inv.nr.NG-1977-174-W. h. 19.0 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum
Pouring vessel with spouts *(tuytpottekens*) (Witte Leeuw, type 3.11)	inv.nr.NG- 1977-119W. h. 12.6 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum
Pots (*ronde potgens)* (Witte Leeuw, type 3.12)	inv.nr oks 1977/138, h. 11.1 cm. inv.nr.NG- 1977-117W. h. 9.3 cm.
Small jugs with spouts *(olie- en azijn kannetjes* (Witte Leeuw, type 3.17)	inv.nr. OKA 16388. h. 11.6 cm.

Kendi (Witte Leeuw, type 1.6.1)	 NG-1977-175-W, h. 17.0 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum
Small saucers (*saucierkens* (Witte Leeuw type. 3.1) Mustard saucer (?) *(most schalen*) (Witte Leeuw, type. 3.13)	 NG-1977-159W. d. 11.2 cm. Photo by author. Photo Rijksmuseum. NG-1977-168-W, d. 8.8 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.
Wine cups (*brandewijnkopgens)* (Witte Leeuw, type 3.10)	 NG-1977-130-W.h. 4.6 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.
Chinese domestic type bowls.	 NG-1977-150-W. d. 11,3 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum. NG-1977-173-W. h.:7.8 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum. NG-1977-156-W. d. 14.2 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.

	NG-1978-127-10782. d. 16.7 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.

Figure 3.41. Chinese shapes salvaged from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) as examples of items other than Kraak-panelled porcelain from a VOC shipment.

The *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck included ten different types of bowls of various dimensions.[205] One is a small type of wine cup with a diameter of 3.8 centimetres and a height of five centimetres. Some of these are decorated with a small band of a delicately painted frieze and some are plain white. (Figures 3.42 and 3.43) These cups are very thinly potted, nearly translucent and numerous have been salvaged from the shipwrecks. (the *Witte Leeuw*, the *Banda* as well as the 'Hatcher cargo').[206]

Figure 3.42. Small wine cup from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). Inv. nr. NG 1977-126W. d. 4.9 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.

Figure 3.43. Numerous fragments of wine cups from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). Photo by author.

Similar wine cups have been salvaged from the shipwreck of the *Banda* (1615), and retrieved from the shore of Mauritius Island as shown in figures 3.44 and 3.45.

[205] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 148-165. See also Appendix 4, list 7.
[206] Ibid., pp. 143-145; Dumas 1981 (op. cit.); Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op. cit.), p. 36.

Figure 3.44 Several wine cups and one flask salvaged from the shipwreck of the *Banda* (1615).[207]

Figure 3.45. Fragments found on the shore of the island Mauritius. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasena

There are several commissions by the VOC that include the term 'pimpelkens', sometimes with the addition 'to drink brandy wine from'.[208] The first order dates from 1612 and is the shipping list of the *Vlissingen*, one of the ships that returned together with the *Witte Leeuw* to the Dutch Republic in 1612.[209] In 1614, the cargo list of the *Gelderland* lists '25,230 wine cups' ('*25230 pimpelkens in 10 tobben'*).[210] That of the *Gouda* dated 1622 includes several packages with various quantities.[211] However, in 1629 an order was sent to Taiwan for all sorts of porcelain 'except we do not want any pimpelkens'.[212] Then, in 1631 a large quantity is again listed, '3,850 small "pimpelkens" [packed] in 3 round wooden barrels'.[213] The demand seems to have been revived.

The consumption of 'jenever' (Dutch gin) and/or brandy (*brandewijn*) has been (and still is) a common custom among the Dutch and therefore large quantities of such cups would have been ordered and shipped to the homeland and even to the colonies in faraway Virginia (U.S.A.), where Dutch colonists settled. Shards of identical cups have

---

[207] Dumas 1981 (op. cit.).
[208] The Dutch dictionary defines 'pimpel' as: 'a small glas for drinking brandy (*brandewijn*) or other strong liquor.' Woordenboek Der Nederlandsche Taal (WNT).
[209] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 607, '*Facturen van de ladingen van de schepen Wapen van Amsterdam, Vlissingen en Witte Leeuw, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1612 dec. 5'.*
[210] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1057, (op.cit.).
[211] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1075, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam (1622).*
[212] H.T. Colenbrander, *Jan Pieterszoon Coen: Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië,* vol. V, The Hague, 1923, p. 506: (*Memorie Taiwan 24-4-1629*).
[213] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1113, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam (1635): 'Facture vande coopmanschappen dwelck door ordre vande E, H.r gouuerneur Hans Putmans Int schip dat godt bewaer ghenaempt middelburch voor 't patria gescheept'… '3850 stx Cleijne pimpelkens bestaen In 3 ronde houte balies'.*

been found at the Virginian settlement of Jamestown, U.S.A., dating from the period 1618- 1630.[214] (Figure 3.46)

Figure 3.46. On the right a shard found at the site of Jamestown, Virginia, U.S.A. On the left an intact wine cup from the *Witte Leeuw*.[215]

Identical sherds have also been retrieved from several archaeological sites in the Dutch Republic as illustrated in Figure 3.47.

Figure 3.47. Small shard of a wine cup found in Delft. Photo Archeologische Dienst. Delft.

Besides Delft and Amsterdam, there are several cities where Chinese porcelain has been found in archaeological sites.[216] In Alkmaar, Hoorn and Haarlem pieces have been found in layers dated to 1590-1610. [217] (Figure 3.48) Porcelain would have reached these towns because several dignitaries and captains of VOC ships came to live there. For example, in a cesspit of a former VOC employee who lived in the residence 'Rosendaal' until 1624, two plates with panels and a deer decoration, two plain bowls

[214] J. B. Curtis. 'Chinese Ceramics and the Dutch Connection in Early Seventeenth Century Virginia', *Aziatische Kunst* no. 1, 1985, pp. 6-13. Numerous identical wine cups have also been excavated from cesspits in Holland, S. Ostkamp, 'De Introductie van Porselein in de Nederlanden', *Vormen uit Vuur,* vol. 180/181, no. 1, 2003, pp. 14-29.
[215] Curtis 1985 (op. cit.); Van der Pijl Ketel (ed.)1982 (op. cit.), pp. 143-144.
[216] J. Gawronski, *Spul,* Amsterdam, 2018, pp. 294-295, p.300 and p.302.
[217] Ibid.

and four small Zhangzhou type of bowls were found. [218] I have noted that the shape differs slightly from the regular Chinese wine cup; this is slightly shorter in height and does not have the same flaring rim. It may very well be possible that the Chinese adapted the shape slightly for the Western customer.

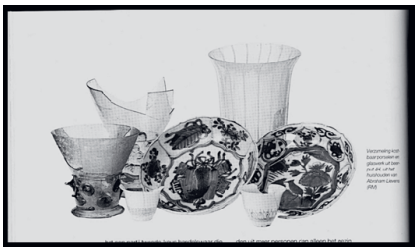


Figure 3.48. Various items excavated from a rubbish pit in Alkmaar of the house of A. Lievenszoon who lived there between 1605 to 1620. Archeologische Dienst Alkmaar. [219]

Zhangzhou ware.

Another type of Chinese porcelain that was part of the Western-bound cargoes, although not in substantial numbers, is a coarse type of porcelain known as Zhangzhou ware. It was produced in various kilns of the Zhangzhou region in south Fujian province. At first the term 'Swatow' was used in Western publications for this particular type of porcelain, but the actual Chinese name corresponds to the region Zhangzhou and is now common.[220] From the 1990s archaeologists have been discovering and excavating numerous sites in that area, which are still ongoing.[221] (Figure 3.49)

[218] S. Ostkamp, 'The Dutch 17th-Century Porcelain Trade from an Archaeological Perspective'. in J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.), *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, Zwolle, 2014. pp. 53-87.
[219] Ostkamp 2003 (op. cit.), p. 22, figure 10.
[220] The name probably derives from the port called Shantou, a trading port that was opened to foreigners in 1860. E. Ströber, *The Collection of Zhangzhou Ware in The Princesshof Museum, Leeuwarden,* (no date)*;* pdf version from: https://www.princessehof.nl/img/uploads/Zhangzhou_Research_0.pdf (visited January, 2020), p. 4; 'The term "Swatow" was apparently introduced by antique dealers and collectors, but it is not clear when the use of the term started. Robert L. Hobson (1872–1941), former keeper of the Asian Department of the British Museum and author of *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, which was published in 1923, did not use the term "Swatow", but did refer to "coarse ceramic ware" instead'.
[221] Li Jian'an, '*Gongxi Yao Diaocha Jilue* (Summary Report of a Survey of the kilns of Dongxi)', in *Fujian Wenbo*, *Taoci Zhuanji* (Special issue on Ceramics), 1993, nos. 1-2 (in Chinese); Lu Taikang, 'The Dong-xi kiln Wares of the Qing Dynasty from Fujian Found in Taiwan', *The International Conference on Maritime Silk Road and Chinese heritage*, Nanjing County, Fujian. In March 2017, a conference was held at Dongxi. Fujian province on the latest finds from kiln sites in that area. (Proceedings, published 2018 in Chinese).

Figure 3.49. Map of Zhangzhou kiln sites.[222]

The Pinghe area seems to have been the main production region during the Ming dynasty.[223] The clay with which the items were made was not as fine as that of the type used in Jingdezhen. It had visible impurities in the grey-white fired body.[224] Any incised decoration was carried out before a thick opaque glaze would be applied first before a coloured tinted one.[225] The base of dishes is usually unglazed and coarse particles of grit or sand are fixed to the foot ring where the glaze stops. According to Ströber: 'It seems the potters in the Zhangzhou kiln used a kind of rather coarse sand and did not bother to wipe the glaze on the foot of the vessels clean. This explains the adherence of sand on the bases and the sides of many Zhangzhou wares. It is a characteristic of Zhangzhou ware and called *shazhu qi* (sandy foot ceramics) by Chinese archaeologists'.[226]

The kilns in this area supplied enormous quantities and a variety of items to be exported to overseas regions but also for local markets.[227] Besides having the necessary

[222] From: R. Tan, *Zhangzhou Ware found in the Philippines.* Malaysia, 2007.
[223] Ibid., p. 33-39; Lu Taikang 2017 (op.cit.), p. 13: 'Chinese archaeologists, with support from Japanese research institutions, excavated a number of kilns as the production sites of Zhangzhou ware: Wanyaoshan and Dongkou in the hills of Pinghe, Huzilou in Nansheng, Dalong and Erlong in Wuzhai, Xiuzhuang, Guanbei and Zhucuo in Zhao'an, Pingshu in Zhangpu, Huotian in Yunxiao, Meiling in Nanjing and Dongzi in Hua'an'.
[224] See also: Hongjiao Ma, Jian Zhu, J. Henderson, and N. Li, 'Zhangzhou ware. Provenance of Zhangzhou Export Blue-and-White and its Clay Source', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (2012) pp. 1218-1226.
[225] Ströber, no date, (op. cit.), explains the types of glazes: monochrome glazes, decoration in underglaze cobalt blue and slip design and decorations in over glaze red, red and green, turquoise and black enamels.
[226] Ibid., p. 88.
[227] R. Tan, (ed.), *Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines: "Swatow" Export Ceramics from Fujian 16th to 17th Century*, Malaysia 2007; R. Tan, 'Zhangzhou Ware-Chinese export ceramics for the Market in Asia in the 16th-17th Century', *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*, Hong Kong, 2012; T. Canepa, *Zhangzhou Export*

materials to produce a coarse type of porcelain, the kilns had direct access to waterways and the port from where junks took the items to overseas destinations. As already explained in chapter 2, the Jiulong river was the main artery to the port of Yuegang (moon harbour), used as an illicit port to transport commodities from China during the Ming ban.[228] After the ban was lifted in 1567 all types of goods were exported from Yuegang and the kilns increased their production once more.[229]

The most common shape produced in the Pinghe kilns is flatware varying in dimension from 16-50 centimetres in diameter. Larger dishes, bowls and jars were mostly in demand in Southeast Asia and Japan. It has been suggested that the Muslim community in the nearby city of Quanzhou may also have influenced the demand and consequently the production of such large items.[230] Two types of dishes produced in the kilns of the Pinghe area were retrieved the most from Western shipwrecks. One is a dish with a diameter of ca. 15-18 centimetres with a flat everted rim and decorated in underglaze blue with a phoenix in the centre. (Figures 3.50 and 3.51)

Figure 3.50. Coarse dish decorated with a phoenix from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck.
Inv. nr.: NG 1977-152-W. d. 15.5 cm.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.51. Identical dish excavated from kiln site in Pinghe area. Fujian d. ca. 18 cm. Photo by author.

This type is similar to those produced in Jingdezhen, which are of a better quality, and may have been copied by the Zhangzhou potters. The other type is a large

---

Ceramics. The So-called Swatow Wares. Exhibition catalogue. Jorge Welsh 2006; M. Crick. 'The San Diego Galleon, 14 December 1600, Dating for Swatow Porcelains', *Oriental Art*, vol. XLVI, no. 3, 2000, pp. 22-31.

[228] This has been discussed in detail in chapter 2.

[229] Small jarlets have always been popular in Southeast Asia for use as burial objects. They were already imported during the Yuan (1279-1368) and the early and middle Ming dynasty of the 15th and 16th century. See M. Crick. *Chinese Ceramics for Southeast Asia. The Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Muller*, Geneva, 2010.

[230] Ibid.

dish of around 35-40 centimetres. (Figures 3.52, 3.53. 3.54 and 3.55) Here again, it is possible that this pattern was copied from dishes produced in Jingdezhen for export. Fragments from the *Witte Leeuw* included numerous examples of Zhangzhou dishes with panels. (Figure 3.52 and Figure 3.54) They may have been purchased as a personal item by the crew and/or used on board as tableware. Identical pieces have been excavated from kilns near Pinghe. (Figures 3.53 and 3.55)

Figure 3.52. Large dish d. ca. 48 cm.
from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (1613)
Inv. nr. NG 1977-176W,
Photo by author.

Figure 3.53. Large dish excavated from
a kiln site in the Pinghe area.
Pinghe museum. Photo by author.

Figure 3.54. Fragment of a large dishes
from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (1613)
Photo by author.

Figure 3.55. Fragments of various dishes.
Pinghe Museum, photo by author.

The variously sized blue and white decorated dishes of the finer Zhangzhou type may also have been added as a supplement to Western customers' cargoes.[231] In this respect the items salvaged from the *Binh Thuan* shipwreck are an excellent example. This cargo is important to show that a much different and better quality ware was also produced in the Zhangzhou kiln area.[232] It furthermore shows that the panel pattern

[231] The *Witte Leeuw* has both good and lesser quality ones.
[232] Hongjiao Ma et al. 2012 (op. cit.), p. 1219: 'These comparatively new discoveries have generated debate on the origin of a proportion of Chinese export porcelain, whether Zhangzhou or Jingdezhen kilns,

was clearly applied to items not produced in Jingdezhen. The ship was a Chinese junk with a cargo of ceramics and other commodities such as iron pans. It was discovered in 2001 on the southern coast of Vietnam at Binh Thuan. According to the maritime archaeologist in charge of the salvage, Michael Flecker, 'all types of decoration, apart from the monochrome and slip-decorated, are well represented in the wreck cargo, clearly demonstrating that at the time the ship went down they were being produced simultaneously and in bulk'.[233] It is alleged that the ship was a Chinese merchant junk with trade commodities on its route to the Malay Peninsula; the exact date of sinking cannot be established, but a possible one is at the end of the Wanli period, around 1610-1619.[234] As I show in the table in Figure 3.56, there are numerous items identical to the finds from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613).

These items show a mixture of decorative designs; several have some type of panel-pattern, but the decoration scheme without panels and with a phoenix or deer in the centre was also used. The quality varies: there are better-painted items as well as coarser ones. It may well be possible that the Zhangzhou kilns supplied porcelain for the Southeast Asian regions, using the decorative elements applied to 'foreign ware' made in Jingdezhen. Still, many items of this lesser quality porcelain were found in Western bound shipwrecks and land sites indicating that this type had also been purchased to be shipped back to European destinations or settlements.

---

or somewhere else. Examples are the octagonal dishes found in the Binh Thuan shipwreck …and the tripod censer in Museum of East Asian Art, Bath…Therefore, this situation has led to a debate as to whether typology alone is a reliable and comprehensive way to provenance late Ming dynasty Chinese export porcelain'.

[233] M. Flecker, 'A Cargo of Zhangzhou Porcelain Found off Binh Thuan Province, Vietnam', *Oriental Art Magazine*, vol. XLVIII, no. 5, 2002/03.

[234] *The Bin Thuan shipwreck*, Christie's sale catalogue March 1 and 2, 2004, Australia, p.14: 'The porcelain cargo points to a Wanli date (1573-1620). Archival evidence tells us of a Chinese junk that sank off southern Vietnam in 1608. It was on its way from China to Johore, and most certainly carried ceramics along with the known cargo of silks'. There is no reference to the archival evidence, regretfully.

Figure 3.56. Table with Iitems salvaged from the *Binh Thuan* wreck dated to the first two decades of the 17th century.[235] Photos in the left column are from Flecker 2002/2003 (op.cit.). Photos of the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) by the author.

Flatware from the Bin Thuan shipwreck (ca. 1608-1610).	Similar dishes from the Witte Leeuw shipwreck (1613).
 Dishes with an everted rim, decorated with a central phoenix and a border with floral medallions and a scaled diaper pattern. Diameter: ca. 20 cm.	 NG-1977-153-W. NG 1977-152-W.
 A medium sized dish with a deer in a landscape and a border of medallions and scaled diapers. Diamter: ca. 20-30 cm.	 inv.nr. unknown.
 A medium sized dish with a medallion and fretwork border with a *qilin*.	 inv.nr. unknown.

[235] See also:
http://maritime-explorations.com/binh%20thuan%20artefacts.htm (visited January 2020).

 A small bowl with a wheel on the interior centre and a band of wash and semi-circles on the exterior.	 Inv.nr: NG-1977-169W. d. 14 cm. h. 6.1 cm.
 Jarlets, one with a deer, the other with foliage .	

Conclusion of this chapter.

In this chapter I have shown that from the 15th century, the term *carrack* was used by the English and *kraak, kraken*, or *crake* by the Dutch to designate a particular type of trade vessel used in Northern European regions. As the terms *carrack, craquen* or *de carake* quite resemble *curraghs* or *currachs*, a Gaelic word for a type of boat, it might well be possible that the name came into use through North Sea maritime trade jargon as there has always been intensive trading between Ireland, England and the North Sea countries including the Netherlands.

Definitions from dictionaries and ethymological references often include the statement that the word derives from the Arabic *qarâqir*, *qorqôr* or *qorqôra, (Arab: ḳarāḳīr mv. van ḳurḳūr handelsschip),* meaning a large trade vessel. In Mediterreanen waters, the *caravel* was a standard sailing ship. It is suggested that 'the term caravel was connected to a small ship related to Muslim Algarvian and Maghrebine models of lateen-rigged craft made to suit Atlantic sailing conditions'. This was called a *qârib.*[236] Therefore, there may be several possible origins to describe a trade ship, each used in a different maritime region. Nevertheless, in South European regions, the term *carraca* was never used; the Italians had *naves*, the Spanish *naos*, and the Portuguese *naus* to describe their trading ships.

[236] M.M. Elbi, The Portuguese Caravel and European Shipbuilding: Phases of Development and Diversity.

According to numerous definitions, the term 'Kraak porcelain' could literally mean any of the porcelain items transported by a type of ship called *carrack, carrick*, or *crake.* Furthermore, as there are no specific descriptions of the porcelain contents of these ships, it is not possible to establish what such items actually looked like. Cargoes transported by Iberian trade vessels were made up of various ceramics. The term would then imply that every type of ceramic ware shipped by a *carrack* was of the blue and white porcelain type decorated with panels, which was not the case.

However, as the term has come to be used by collectors and scholars in the field of Chinese export porcelain for this specific type, it would be difficult to eliminate the term 'Kraak porcelain' completely. As the main characteristic is generally considered to be a decoration pattern that contains panels, I suggest that there may be other ways to describe this type of porcelain. Defintions as 'blue and white panel-decorated porcelain produced at the end of the Ming dynasty', 'blue and white panel-decorated Chinese export porcelain', or simply, 'Kraak-panelled porcelain' should be taken into account.

I have also illustrated the main shapes with panel decorations and shipwrecks from which they have been retrieved. The problem here is linking terminology to shapes, as there is a large variety of terms on the VOC orders and cargo lists for porcelain shapes. It is possible to apply certain terms to actual shapes of Kraak-panelled porcelain, but many are still subject to guesswork. For instance, terms as *fruytschaal, fruytschotel* or *boter platelen* are frequently used for flatware, but which actual shapes correspond to these terms remains uncertain. As far as I know, there are no VOC orders for 'dishes with a panel decoration'; shapes were the only specification, sometimes referring to earthenware Dutch tableware.

Further attention has been paid to items, which do not belong to the category Kraak-panelled porcelain, but were still part of a ship's cargo during the period before 1634-35 when models of Western shapes were sent to be copied. Even though items such as oil and vinegar jugs and brandy bottles had been ordered, exact copies had not yet been produced. Chinese shapes resembling them were then purchased for such use. These belong to the category *minyao* (folkware) as well as Zhangzhou ware, which are described in detail.

CHAPTER 4. A reinterpretation of dating Kraak panel-decorated porcelain based on shipwreck finds.

Introduction.

In this chapter, I discuss in detail previous chronological dating methods, which are based on different border patterns, mainly on flatware; each motif has been assigned a separate period. I question these dating methods here, because several items have been categorized as Kraak ware and given a date prior to the production of porcelain with the typical Kraak-panel designs. In my opinion, these should not be included in a chronological dating-method for this type of ware; they had been produced during the 16th century for various regions throughout the world, and not specifically ordered by European traders as the Dutch.

Furthermore, I make a distinction between Kraak-type ware that were part of regular shipments containing large quantities of mass-produced items, and individual ones of exceptional quality with exquisitely painted designs. Examples can be found in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul and the Ardebil Shrine collection in the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran.[1] (Appendix 4, tables 11 and 12) The porcelain collection of the Santos Palace in Lisbon mentioned in chapter 2, includes numerous Kraak-type items of exceptional quality.[2] (Appendix 4, table 13)

Another collection, albeit of a much later date (1715), is that of the Saxon Prince-Elector, Frederick Augustus I, kept at the Zwinger Museum in Dresden. It contains a

---

[1] R. Krahl and J. Ayers *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul*, vols. I-III, London, 1986; vol. I, p. 16; R. Krahl: 'China Ships and Porcelain Rooms: Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East', *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 38-48; p. 42: 'Generally, Chinese porcelain reached the palace either as gifts and trophies, or some of it was purchased. A certain amount of ware was acquired by the reversion of the estates of deceased statesmen and members of the court, or of those who had fallen from favour'; J. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine,* Washington, D.C. 1956. 'Jalāl-al-dīn Moḥammad MonajjemYazdī records that the Chinese porcelains were installed in the Čīnī-ḵāna of the Ardabīl shrine in 1020/1611 (*Tārīḵ-eʿAbbāsī*, B.M. Add. 27.241, fols. 339-42), approximately three years after Shah ʿAbbās decided to make his property *waqf*: The collection had been acquired through diplomatic and other gifts as well as through the normal resources of trade. Shah ʿAbbās' faithful servitor Qaračaḡāy apparently made his contribution, since over ninety pieces, all but three or four of them of the finest quality early 9th/15th-century ware, bear his name'. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ardabil (visited January, 2020)

[2] In 2015, an exhibition was held at the Museu de Arte Antigua in Lisbon with all the items, which had again been removed for inspection. Musée Guimet, Paris is in the process of compiling a catalogue. I thank Claire Delery, curator of the museum for providing me numerous images (© RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier) for the thesis and the Appendix.

large number of Kraak-panelled items, most of which are of exceptional quality.[3] It is important to distinguish these collections from the mass-produced, mostly medium-quality items transported as cargo, which were salvaged from dated shipwrecks.

Chronologies of panel-decorated Kraak ware.

Three scholars who have made a dating-scheme for blue and white panel-decorated Chinese export porcelain are Edward Von der Porten, Brian McElney and Maura Rinaldi. The first scheme, published in 1973 by Von der Porten, is based on fragments that were found in the area of Point Reyes, Northern California, also known as Drakes' Bay, as it is believed that the Spanish explorer, Francis Drake, landed there in 1579.[4] A total of 1,297 pieces, including porcelain, stoneware and terra cotta ware were collected and compared to finds from various other ships that were wrecked in the same area.[5] Von der Porten discussed several possible origins of these shards; one that they came from the encampment of Drake and his crew there.[6] Another possible origin is the wreck recently established as the *San Juanillo,* dated 1578.[7] The other shipwreck Von der Porten used for his dating method is the *San Augustín*. That ship left Manila on July 5th, 1595, together with two other vessels and is believed to have reached the Northern Californian shore at Point Reyes, where a storm crashed it onto the beach. Von der Porten maintains that fragments found among the native Miwok Indians, who had made beads from the porcelain shards, originated from trade with the crewmembers of this ship.[8]

However, the fragments found in the vicinity where these three ships were wrecked cannot be used for a precise dating. As Marco Meniketti explains, 'At least three sixteenth-century vessels of European origin are known to have wrecked or deposited

---

[3] Eva Ströber, "*La Maladie de Porcelaine." Ostasiatisches Porzellan aus der Sammlung Augusts des Starken/ East Asian Porcelain from the Collection of Augustus the Strong*, Leipzig 2001; Eva Ströber, 'Representation and Taste in Baroque Court Culture: The Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong.' *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 48-58. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to study the Kraak-panelled group as these are being catalogued.
[4] E.P. Von der Porten, *Drake and Cermeño in California: Sixteenth Century Chinese Ceramics*, Drake Navigators Guild, Santa Rosa, California, 1973. The exact area where he landed is disputed.
[5] E.P. Von der Porten, 'Manila Galleon Porcelains on the American Coast', *Taoci*, no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 57-63. Beginning in 1940, all of these sites have been investigated by archaeologists.
[6] Francis Drake visited that area with the *Golden Hind* before sailing west across the Pacific Ocean. C. Shangraw and E.P. Von der Porten, *The Drake and Cermeño Expeditions, Chinese Porcelains at Drakes Bay, California, 1579 and 1595*, Santa Rosa, California, 1981.
[7] E.P. Von der Porten, *Early Wanli Porcelains from the 1578 Manila Galleon San Juanillo*. (unpublished monograph of 2017 kindly made available to the author before he passed away in April 2018).
[8] Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.).

cargo on the Pacific coast, along with another vessel dating from the seventeenth century.'[9] He concludes that 'Controversy has surrounded the Drake/Cermeño porcelains for a considerable time, as these ceramics have been found in close association, and sorting the porcelains is a refined yet subjective process'.[10] In 1997, Von der Porten together with Clarence Shangraw drew up a new dating scheme, comparing the shards from the Drake's Bay area to the shipwrecks of the *San Diego* (1600), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and the *Hatcher* wreck (1643) to illustrate the different border patterns on Kraak.[11] (Appendix 4, list 1)

Brian McElney, a collector of Chinese porcelain and founder of the Museum of East Asian Art in Bath, U.K, devised a different methodology. He divides Kraak-panelled dishes into nine groups, each with a different border design to which he assigns a date.[12] The third method that was developed comes from Maura Rinaldi. She first groups the porcelain according to their shape and then subdivides each shape following the border pattern groups made by McElney.[13] (Appendix 4, list 2) In her publication dated 1989, she refers mainly to examples in museum and private collections, but as their provenance is uncertain, most of these cannot be given a precise date. In 2003, she explained that she had only used McElney's method 'as a cataloguing device' but did not provide an alternative chronology.[14]

Several authors on the subject of Kraak-panelled porcelain question the unreliability of these chronologies. As Regina Krahl explains, 'Such clear-cut divisions and developments are rare in Chinese traditional crafts and to make the dating

---

[9] M. Meniketti, 'Initial PXRF Analysis of Chinese Ceramics from Spanish Shipwrecks on the Pacific Coast', San Jose State University. *SCA Proceedings*, vol, 28, 2014 (pdf. version); p.305: 'Francis Drake's vessel, the *Golden Hind*, was not wrecked, but it was careened in the vicinity of what is known today as Drake's Bay, 25 miles north of San Francisco. During this careening episode, Drake (who would later be knighted) abandoned a considerable portion of the cargo acquired from Spanish ships during his privateering venture, including Chinese export porcelains'.

[10] Ibid., p. 306.

[11] C. Shangraw and E.P. Von der Porten, *Kraak Plate Design Sequence 1550-1655*, Drake Navigators Guild, San Francisco, 1997. The same chronology is in Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.), pp. 57-61.

[12] B. McElney, *Identification and Dating of Blue and White Porcelain*, Bath, 1995, pp. 1-16; B. McElney, *South East Asian and Chinese Trade Pottery. An Exhibition Catalogue*. The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1979, p. 36; B. McElney, *Chinese Ceramics & The Maritime Trade Pre-1700,* Bath, 2006, pp. 28-29.

[13] M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989.

[14] M. Rinaldi, 'Dating Kraak Porcelain', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, no.1/2, 2003, pp. 30-41; p. 41, note 13: 'In both publications, I underline that the fundamental difference between McElney's and my classification is that McElney assumed that border designs followed a chronological evolution, thus dishes could be dated following the border designs; I stated that there is no chronological order in border designs and that I was using this type of classification merely as a cataloguing and reference device. I find it necessary to clarify this point as some authors seem to confuse McElney's and my opposing theories as one and the same'.

essentially dependent on the evolution of a design without supporting evidence from other stylistic and qualitative data is a procedure fraught with problems'.[15] Maria Antonio Pinto de Matos also makes a critical note: 'The chronology put forward by these authors has recently been called into question by Jean-Paul Desroches in his study of the porcelain carried by the Spanish ship "San Diego", which was recovered from the sea in 1993'.[16] Indeed, Desroches considered the chronological border-method unsuitable while cataloguing the *San Diego* finds**.** He stated that it was not possible to use this method to categorize the Kraak finds from this shipwreck because it contained flatware with several variations of panelled patterns, while the sinking was clearly dated to one year, 1600.[17]

As I discussed in the previous chapter, one of the main characteristics of Kraak-type porcelain is the panel motif, and therefore I question the first group described by both McElney and Von der Porten as 'Undecorated rim and cavetto with the underglaze blue decoration being confined to an outlined medallion only'. They date this group to 'c. 1550-1570'.[18] I see no reason for including such a group under their heading 'Kraak porcelain' or 'Kraak plate design sequence' as there are no panelled borders.[19] This also applies to what McElney, Rinaldi and Von der Porten have labelled 'Group 2'. They describe this group as, 'flatware with a blank, unmoulded cavetto. The rim has a continuous design with herons, egrets, ducks, geese and there is a central design that consists mainly of the "deer in landscape" motif'.[20] Rinaldi dates this category to 1565 - 1600 and Von der Porten, from 1570 to 1605.[21] However, as neither group has a panelled border pattern, they should not be included in a Kraak chronology.

---

[15] R. Krahl and J. Ayers (op. cit.), 1986. vol. II, p. 599: 'Looking at the great number of panelled wares in the Topkapi Saray, one is struck by the very many different manners of painting and levels of quality they present, and at the same time by how little these correspond to the different forms of panelling'.
[16] M.A. Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, p. 30: 'McElney and later Maura Rinaldi used the border patterns to determine the chronological evolution of the seven groups into which the various types of objects produced during this period have been divided'.
[17] D. Carré, J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio, *Le San Diego: Un Trésor Sous la Mer*, Catalogue, Association Française d'Action Artistique, Paris, 1994, pp. 300-360; p. 315: '*tous ces types ont été retrouvés et plaident apparemment davantage pour une simultanéité autour de 1595-1600 que pour une chronologie bien étalonnée'.*
[18] McElney 1979 (op. cit.), p. 10; Shangraw and Von der Porten 1997 (op. cit.), p. 8.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., pp. 10-11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 76-79.

In Chapter 2, I explain that this particular size and shape was produced from mid-16th century as export ware, and not specically for the European markets. Nonetheless, as it was a type that suited them, they were included in cargoes of Iberian ships, but not in very large quantities.

Here I again present some fragments of dishes without panels from dated shipwrecks, some already discussed in Chapter 2. The *San Juanillo* dated to 1578 had several such dishes, but none have a panelled border. [22] (Figure 4.1)

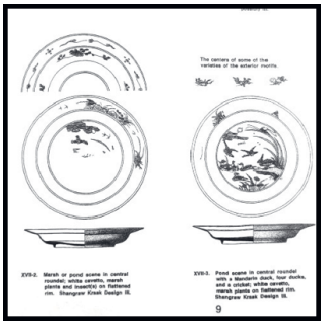


Figure 4.1. Copy of the illustration from E.P. Von der Porten.[23]

Further examples of dishes without a panel pattern were excavated from the Santa Elena site in South Carolina dated to 1566-1587, mentioned in Chapter 2.[24] The *San Pedro* shipwreck dated to 1595 contained only dishes with a blank cavetto, and none with a panel pattern. (Figures 4.2 and 4.3) There are numerous similar dishes in the Middle Eastern collections, indicating that this type was also transported to those regions.[25]

Figure 4.2. Fragments of dish rims from the *San Pedro* shipwreck (1595). Inv. nr. IMHA 79.155-9. [26]

Figure 4.3. Fragments of a dish rim from the *San Pedro* shipwreck (1595). Inv. nr. IMHA 79.155-6.

[22] Von der Porten 2017 (op. cit.), pp. 8-9.
[23] Ibid., p. 9.
[24] L. Pomper, J. Legg and C.B. DePratter, 'Chinese Porcelain from the Site of the Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena, 1566-1587', *Vormen uit Vuur* 212/213, no. 1/2, 2011, pp. 32-41.
[25] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.), inv. nrs. TKS15/ 2548; TKS15/7781/TKS15/2258.
[26] Photos courtesy of the National Museum of Bermuda.

These finds show that up to 1595 no porcelain with the typical Kraak panel pattern has been found from these dated sites. The first visible proof comes from the *San Diego* shipwreck dated to 1600, which contained a large number of items decorated with panels as well as dishes without panels.[27] (Appendix 4, table 3.)

Figure 4.4. Dishes without a panelled border from the *San Diego* shipwreck (1600), d. 20 cm National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

The next group, 'Group 3' is described as, 'Equidistant pomegranates with central medallion either round or star shaped, dated to ca. 1580-1605'.[28] Just as with their previous groupings, this type of 'border pattern' has little to do with the typical panel motif on Kraak porcelain. I have only been able to trace a few such shards to shipwrecks. It is uncertain whether finds from the *Santo Alberto* wrecked at the Haga Haga Morgan Bay area of South Africa in 1593, actually came from that ship; only two shards have such a rim design.[29] The *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires*, wrecked in 1606 on the shoal at the entrance of the Tagus River, Lisbon, only has a few fragments with this moulded 'pomegranate design'.[30] (Figure 4.6) There is only one piece in the collection of the Santos Palace in Lisbon, and three in the Topkapi Palace collection.[31] This type of

[27] Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit.). The Spanish ship *San Diego* that sank in the bay of Manila was a commercial cargo vessel that had been fully loaded and probably intended to depart for Spanish America. It sank on December 16th 1600, after a clash with the Dutch ship *Mauritius*, one of four ships, which had set out from the Dutch Republic in 1598 for Asia. The complete story can be found in: Olivier van Noort, *Wonderlijcke voyagie, by de Hollanders ghedaen, door de Strate Magalanes, ende voorts den gantschen kloot des aerdtbodems om, met vier schepen: onder den admiraal Olivier van Noort van Utrecht, uytgevaeren anno 1598.* Amsterdam 1618. Even though the Spanish captain (Antonio da Morga) had rammed and entered the *Mauritius* and the Dutch flag was captured, their own ship was rapidly sinking from a cannonball shot by the Dutch.
[28] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p.10; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 81.
[29] L.V. Esterhuizen, 'Dekoratiewe motiewe op Chinese porseleinskerwe uit Portugeseskeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse kus, 1552-1647; 'n Kultuurhistoriese studie'. PhD. thesis University of Pretoria, 2005, p.103.; 'History written in porcelain shards. The São Joao and São Bento, Two Twelfth Century Portuguese Shipwrecks'. *Taoci,* nr. 2, 2001, pp. 111-116.
[30] J. P. Desroches, *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires. The Last Voyage.* Catalogue of the exhibition in the Pavilhão de Portugal, Expo Lisbon, 1998, pp. 229-251.
[31] Appendix, list 12. Inv. Nr. 24. The central design has a deer in a landscape. Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 82, plate 59. Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv.nr. TKS 15/8162.

design does not resemble the typical Kraak panel pattern, and therefore I consider it irrelevant to date Kraak ware.

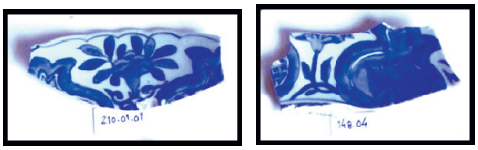


Figure 4.6. Shards with a pomegranate design from the *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606). Photos courtesy of V. Esterhuizen.

McElney describes his 'group 4' as, 'dishes with eight to ten equal panels on the cavetto overlapping onto the rim; the centre is round or star-shaped'. [32] He dates this group to ca. 1570-1615, Rinaldi to 1580-1610, and Von der Porten between 1575 and 1610.[33] There are a few large dishes in the collection of the Topkapi Palace Museum and the Ardebil Shrine with this pattern.[34] These, as well as a dish in the Santos Palace collection are of exceptional quality, and have twelve broad panels.[35] It may well be that this pattern was first applied on dishes specially produced for the Middle East, and then later applied to smaller ones produced for European customers. For example, the *San Diego* shipwreck contained a few small size dishes with this pattern, but then of a much lesser quality. (Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7. A small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck with single broad panels. d. 12-14 cm. National Museum of Manila. Photo by author.

Numerous Kraak panel-decorated dishes recovered from shipwrecks or land sites belong to the 'group 5', which is described as: 'Dishes with 8 -10 broad panels with

[32] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p 10.
[33] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 71 and pp. 82-87.
[34] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv.nrs.: TKS15/10315, d.34.5; TKS15/3344, d.35.4 cm. Pope 1956 (op.cit.), inv. nr. 29.172-173, d. 44.5 cm.; inv.nr. 29.264, d.31 cm. (decagonal); inv.nrs. 29.203-204, d. 35 cm.
[35] Lion-Goldschmidt 1984 (op.cit.), inv.nr. 179 (d. 35 cm.) and inv.nr. 83 (d.19 cm.). The Ardebil Shrine has a similar dish with a diameter of 35 cm.

designs of flowers separated by narrow panels with a single row of dots covering the cavetto and rim. The central design is set off by a circle and most dishes have a deer-in-landscape design; others have waterfowl'.[36] (Figure 4.8) Rinaldi and Von der Porten date this group from about 1579 to 1605. The early date of 1579 is questionable, as the earliest dated dishes with this pattern have been retrieved from the *San Diego* and none from sites prior to 1600. (Figure 4.9) The *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601) yielded an identical dish with the same broad and narrow panels as illustrated in Figure 4.10.[37] (Appendix 4, table 4)

Figure 4.8. Small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck, d. 14-16 cm. National Museum Manila, photo by author.

Figure 4.9. Small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck, d. 14-16 cm. National Museum, Manila, photo by author.

Figure 4.10. Dish salvaged from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601). (no dimensions). Photo courtesy of J. Harbeston.

[36] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 28.
[37] R. Woodman, *The Disastrous Voyage of the Santa Margarita*, Londen, 2008; J. Harbeston, 'Wrecked Spanish Galleon, Project for Salvage Operations on the Manila Galleon Santa Margarita (1601)', *Arts of Asia,* vol. 34, no. 1, 2004, p. 24. It smashed into a reef due to neglect of the crew near the island of Rota, Northern Mariana Islands.
http://www.iotapartners.org/history-of-the-ship/ (visited January, 2020). The salvage company (IOTA partners) which had apparently worked on the discovery of this vessel got into legal problems with the local government involving the destruction of part of the reef where the galleon was located.

Further evidence comes from the already mentioned *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires.*[38] Figure 4.11 shows dishes of identical dimension and shape with a variety of broad panel patterns, with and without narrow ones, all having been produced during the same period. (Appendix 4, table 5).

Figure 4.11 Four dishes from the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* shipwreck (1606), d. 20 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Similar dishes with the broad panels but crudely painted were retrieved from some much later shipwrecks, the *São Gonçalo*, dated 1630, and the so-called 'Wanli shipwreck' dated to around 1630-1635.[39] (Figures 4.12 and 4.13) These small dishes are crudely painted, an indication that they were hastily decorated and produced in large quantities. As dishes decorated with this type of panel can be dated to various periods, a fixed date for this motif cannot be established. It was, just as other panel patterns, continually applied to Kraak-type dishes during the period when these were produced until around 1645.

Figure 4.12. Dish retrieved from the *São Gonçalo* (1630). Photo by author.

Figure 4.13. Small dish d.14 cm. from the 'Wanli shipwreck'. (ca. 1630- 1635). Serial No.1985.[40]

[38] Desroches 1998 (op.cit.), pp. 229-251.
[39] S. Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*, Manila, 2007; C. Sheaf and R. Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record,* Oxford, 1988.
[40] Ibid., p. 212.

McElney and Rinaldi describe their group 6 and 7 as, 'dishes with broad panels having a cartouche or oval design and filled with flowers separated by narrow panels with tassels and beads'.[41] Rinaldi dates this group to 1575 -1605 and Von der Porten from 1590 to 1605/1610. He based the 1590 date on pieces from the *San Augustin* shipwrecked in 1595.[42] However, according to the tests carried out by Meniketti, definite dating is not possible: 'It bears repeating that there is no reference with which to compare. Indeed, other collections are themselves based on the Pt. Reyes materials. Other factors potentially affecting the results include differential absorption of elements from the ambient environment and the depth of penetration of the X-rays on different samples'.[43]

This typical Kraak-panel pattern consists of large cartouches with a decoration separated by narrow panels with ribbons, trellis, dots or other simplified designs. The background is usually 'filled in' with a so-called 'diaper-pattern'; a central design is framed in various ways and was applied to dishes of various dimensions. (Figure 4.14) It appears on most dishes retrieved from Western shipwrecks from 1600 on and continued to be used until at least 1643-1645, the alleged date of sinking of the 'Hatcher wreck'.[44] Some 23,000 pieces were recovered from this wreck site. [45] Flatware is predominant and the panelled type is represented in large numbers and variations that indicate that this type was still being produced in large quantities at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368 -1644). The Middle Eastern collections have numerous dishes of this type. Those in the Ardebil Shrine collection have either a diameter of around 36 centimetres or 45-53 centimetres; there are only a few smaller ones with a diameter of 20 centmetres. The Topkapi Palace Museum has a larger amount, and range from 29-36 centimetres and 45-53 centimetrs. All are elaborately painted.[46]

---

[41] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 28: 'Group 6: large panels have oval pattern; separated by narrow ones; there is no diaper design'; Group 7 is the same but with the 'diaper' design in narrow panels; the panels are moulded; the broad panels are decorated with symbols and/or flowers. See also Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 92-95.
[42] Von der Porten even illustrates shards with this type of panel together with those having only broad panels dating them to the 1570s, see Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.), p. 57.
[43] Meniketti 2014 (op. cit.), p.308.
[44] The *San Diego* (1600), the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606), the *Mauritius* (1609), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613); there are also pieces from the *São Gonçalo* (1630), and the Wanli wreck (ca. 1630-1635) but these are more coarsely decorated.
[45] Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op. cit.).
[46] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), Pope 1956 (op.cit.).

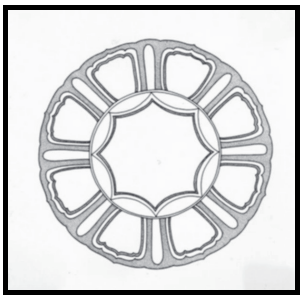


Figure 4.14. Diagram of a standard panel pattern with broad cartouches alternating with narrow panels.[47]

Numerous dishes with this pattern have been retrieved from the *San Diego* as shown in Figures 4.15 and 4.16. The *Santa Margarita* (1601) also carried dishes with this pattern as illustrated in Figure 4.17.

Figure 4.15. A large dish from the *San Diego*, d. 28-30 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

Figure 4.16. Two dishes from the *San Diego*, d.20-24 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

Figure 4.17. Fragments retrieved from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601). Photo courtesy of J. Harbeston.

[47] C. L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw', (1613)*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1982, p. 60.

The shipwreck of the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* dated to 1606 contained a few large dishes with the same design. (Figures 4.18) and 4.19)

Figure 4.18. Dish from the shipwreck of the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606). d. ca. 45 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Figure 4.19. Dish from the shipwreck *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606). d. ca. 45 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Identical dishes were retrieved from the VOC ship *Mauritius*, which sank in 1609 in the Gulf of Guinea on its return journey and was excavated by Michel L'Hour in 1985.[48] The cargo list does not mention any porcelain, but documents show that this ship had taken over part of the cargo from the captured *St. Anthonio* at Madagascar.[49] It would therefore even be possible that the porcelain was part a private cargo of a Portuguese merchant. Of the approximately 215 pieces, some 165 items were decorated with this distinct panel pattern as shown in Figures 4.20 and 4.21. (Appendix 4, table 6)

Figure 4.20. Fragments of dishes from the *Mauritius* shipwreck (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis. Photo by author.

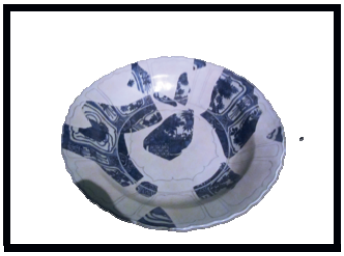


Figure 4.21. Dish retrieved from the *Mauritius* (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis. Photo by author.

[48] M. L'Hour, (ed.), *Le Mauritius. La Mémoire Engloutie*, Paris, 1989. The vessel stranded in the bay of the Cabo de Lope Gonçalves and some of its cargo was transferred to another Dutch ship in the vicinity. NL-HaNA 3.01.14 (Oldebarneveld), inv. nr. 3110.
[49] L'Hour (ed.) 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 233-239.

From the shipwreck of the *Witte Leeuw* (1613), a large quantity of shards most of which had this particular panel-pattern was retrieved.[50] (Appendix 4, table 7) (Figures 4.22, 4.23 and 4.24)

Figure 4.22. Dish with a cicada on a rock and a dragonfly. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). Inv. nr. 4027. d. 21.9 cm. Photo by author.

Figure 4.23 Dish from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. 50.7 cm. Inv. nr. NG 1977-177-W. Photo by author.

Figure 4.24. Dish from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. 28.4 cm. Inv. nr. NG-1977-167-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Further examples of this pattern come from dishes found at the wreck site of the *São Gonçalo.* Portuguese documents show that the *São Gonçalo* sank in 1630 after goods were taken off the ship due to a fire on board. The discovery of large quantities of shards discovered at the campsite where the survivors stayed at Plettenburg Bay area led to extensive research and shows a large quantity of Kraak-panelled porcelain.[51] (Appendix 4, table 9) They include dishes of various dimensions ranging from 20-22 centimetres to 50 centimetres in diameter; most have either square or cartouche-shaped panels. (Figure 4.25) The quality and decoration are variable; one dish is quite exceptional and has round-shaped cartouches. (Figure 4.26)

[50] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.)1982, (op. cit.).
[51] V. Esterhuizen and E. Axelson, 'Relics from the São Gonçalo at Plettenberg Bay', *Antiques in South Africa,* vol. 8, 1980, pp. 37-40.

Figure 4.25. Dish with flattened rim with cartouche-shaped panels from the *São Gonçalo* shipwreck (1630). d. 21 cm. Plettenburg Bay, South Africa. Photo by author.

Figure 4.26. Dish with exceptional type of cartouches from the *São Gonçalo*, d. ca. 20 cm. Plettenburg Bay, Photo by author.

A large number of panel-patterned dishes were salvaged from the so-called 'Wanli shipwreck' in Malaysia's territorial waters.[52] Much of the ceramic cargo was broken by an explosion and more than 9,000 kilos of porcelain shards were recovered from the site. The publication illustrates the ceramics retrieved from the shipwreck area of which some 37,000 fragments have the distinct panelled pattern.[53] (Figures 4.27 and 4.28) The quality of the pieces as well as the designs is variable, ranging from well painted to very coarsely sketched ones. The title 'Wanli' for this shipwreck should however be questioned. The reign ended in 1620; a more likely date would be around 1630-35 as there are various types of porcelain items that had not appeared on VOC documentation prior to 1635.[54]

[52] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.). Only a small part of the ship has been recovered intact; most of the hull was damaged and a large part of the cargo has been lost, seemingly destroyed by a huge explosion which is likely to have followed a battle between the Portuguese ship and a rival vessel, maybe Dutch. An archaeological reconstruction suggests that when the fire reached the ammunition store, the stern was literally torn off by the resulting explosion, and the remains sank to a depth of 40 meters.
[53] Ibid., an overview of the types and amounts is given on pp. 44-45 of that publication.
[54] Ibid., pp. 154-155.

Figure 4.27. Four dishes from the 'Wanli shipwreck', d. ca. 21.5 cm.; serial nrs. 870/5255/6935/5750.[55]

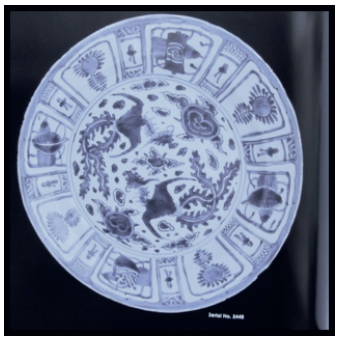


Figure 4.28. Dish with two flying phoenix from the 'Wanli shipwreck', d. ca. 28 cm; serial nr. 2448.[56]

Dishes with an identical pattern were retrieved from the Spanish *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, which left Manila for Acapulco in 1638 and was wrecked on the island of Saipan. According to Rinaldi there are no complete pieces but shards include dishes and bowls with a panelled pattern.[57] The dishes are of four different sizes, from 20 to 50 centimetres in diameter. (Figure 4.29)

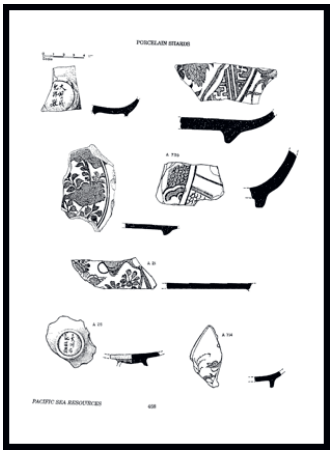


Figure 4.29. Illustration of shards from the shipwreck of the *Nuestra Senhora de la Concepción*.[58]

[55] Ibid., pp. 196-197.
[56] Ibid., p. 180-181.
[57] M. Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the Nuestra Senhora de la Concepçión', *TOCS,* 1992-93, vol. 57, pp. 95-96. See also: M. Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the Concepçión', *Pacific Sea Resources*, 1990, pp. 396-469. There are no closed forms or *clapmuts.*
[58] Ibid. Drawings from pp. 468-469.

The above-mentioned shipwrecks show that, from the turn of the century, this particular panel pattern was mostly used on flatware of different dimensions and continued to be used until around 1643-1645, the date given to the 'Hatcher cargo'.[59] No identical dishes were retrieved from pre-1600 shipwrecks such as the *San Juanillo* (1578) or the *San Pedro* (1595).

A different category as to shape and pattern from the dishes discussed above has been labelled 'group 8' by McElney, Rinaldi and Von der Porten and dated to 'ca. 1595-1645'.[60] It includes dishes without a rim and a pattern of roundels instead of cartouches or straight panels, which are separated by tiny ribbons. A star-shaped border encloses the central decoration. (Figure 4.30) This dating is again questionable because there are no known fragments of this type from shipwrecks prior to 1609. This particular type seems to have been mainly found in Dutch shipwrecks. The 'Wanli' wreck also listed a large number with various dimensions, from 11 centimetres diameter to large ones of 29 centimetres.[61]

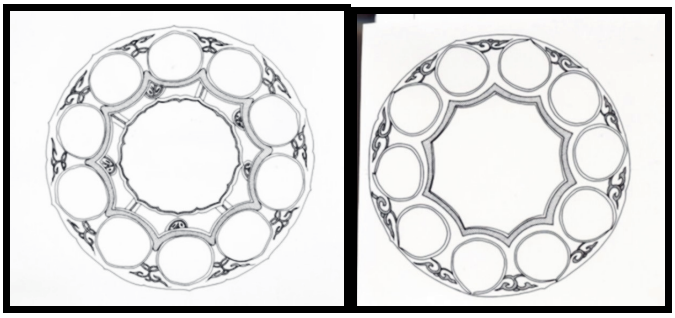


Figure 4.30. Drawings of two types of patterns with roundels on dishes from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613).[62]

A substantial number, around 70 items of this type have been salvaged from the VOC shipwreck of the *Mauritius* (1609), as shown in Figure 4.31.[63]

[59] Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op.cit.).
[60] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 109-111.
[61] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007, (op.cit.).
[62] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), p. 84 and p. 101.
[63] L'Hour (ed.) 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 146-147.

Figure 4.31. Dishes with roundels. d. ca. 20 cm. Musée de la Compagnie des Indes. Port Louis. France. Photo by author.

The fragments of the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck include two sizes of this type of dish. (Figures 4.32 and 4.33)

Figure 4.32. Dish decorated with a frog on a rock. d. 20.9 cm. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). Inv. nr. 5156.[64] Photo by author.

Figure 4.33. Two dishes with a design of a bird and a goose on a rock. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. ca. 15 cm. left: inv. nr. 5173; right: inv. nr. 5174. Photo by author.

Dishes with an identical pattern were retrieved from the ship *Banda,* part of a return fleet that left Bantam bound for Holland together with the *Delft,* the *Geünieerde Provinciën* and the *Gelderland*. The fleet arrived at the island of Mauritius at the beginning of March, 1615.[65] A heavy hurricane crashed the *Banda* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* on the coast destroying each vessel completely.[66] According to the cargo list of the *Gelderland*, the cargo contained 69,057 pieces of porcelain including 'half, third and quarter-sized dishes, half-sized *clapmuts*, cups', identical shapes to those of the *Banda*.[67] (Appendix 4, table 8) (Figures 4.34 and 4.35)

---

[64] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.)1982 (op. cit.), p. 98.

[65] J. Dumas, *Fortune de Mer a l'Ile Maurice,* Paris, 1981.

[66] A large number of shards washed onto the shore came from the other ship that was wrecked on the island of Mauritius during the same storm, the *Geünieerde Provinciën*, but as of yet, these have not been inventoried or published.

[67] H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie.' *Economisch-Historisch jaarboek: bijdragen tot de economische geschiedenis van Nederland*. Vol. X, pp.165-193, 1924, p 172; T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*, Leiden, 1954, p. 26. The cargo of the *Gelderland* was transferred onto the *Delft* and the *Orangeboom*. Both arrived safely in the

Figure 4.34. A small dish from the *Banda* shipwreck (1615) with roundels on the cavetto. A central design of symbols. d. ca. 14 cm. Frederik Hendrick Museum, Mauritius. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasany.

Figure 4.35. Two small dishes with roundels retrieved from the *Banda* shipwreck (1615). d. ca.14-16 cm. Frederik Hendrick Museum, Mauritius. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasena.

McElney and Rinaldi group a totally different shape of a shallow bowl or *clapmuts* to the same group 8 mentioned above.[68] This shape has been discussed in the previous chapter. The border is described as having various shapes of cartouches with a *tao tieh* type of mask above them, separated by narrow elongated ribbons as shown in Figure 4.36.

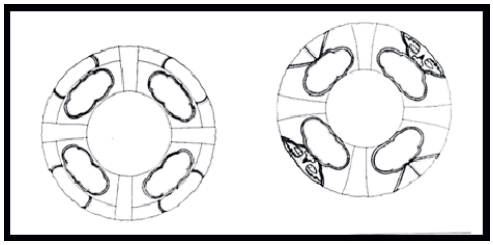


Figure 4.36. Drawings of panel patterns on shallow bowls known as *clapmuts*. Copy from the catalogue of the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613).[69]

Dutch Republic, 1-10-1615 and 13-12-1615; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr.1057, Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam (1615): '*Laus Deo ady 25 octob.r an.o 1614 In bantam facture vant Cargasoen … Gelderland gescheept ende geladen'.*

[68] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 120;

[69] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), p. 113 and p. 105.

Rinaldi made a sub-grouping of the *clapmuts*-type illustrating the various border patterns on this category of flatware. The examples shown in her publication are exceptional items and not similar to any of the more simplified ones found in the *Mauritius* or *Witte Leeuw* shipwrecks.[70] The Topkapi Palace Museum has several exceptionally well-decorated *clapmuts* shapes. These may have been specially ordered for individual customers or used as gifts to rulers in the Middle East as they are of a larger dimension.[71] For example, Figures 4.37 and 4.38 show large *clapmuts*-types from the Topkapi Palace with quite different decorations than those from the above-mentioned shipwrecks.[72] I again assume that such items were first produced for the Middle East and, when large quantities were ordered by the VOC, a simplified pattern was applied to mass-produced ones.

Figure 4.37 *Clapmuts* type. d. 28.5 cm. Topkapi Palace, inv.nr. TKS15/2793.[73]

Figure 4.38. *Clapmuts* type, d. 27 cm. Topkapi Palace, inv. nr. TKS15/2502.[74]

The *Mauritius* shipwreck contained several fragments of the *clapmuts*-type, all with a smaller dimension, each decorated with Chinese symbols and ribbons. (Figure 4.39)

Figure 4.39. Small *clapmuts* from *Mauritius* shipwreck (1609). d. ca. 14-16 cm. Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis, France. Photo by author.

[70] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 134-137.
[71] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nrs.: TKS15/9340, d. 30 cm.; TKS15/3780, d. 37 cm.; TKS15/2793, d. 28.5 cm.; TKS15/ 2513, d. 23.5 cm.; TKS15/ 2514, d. 27 cm.; TKS15/3709, d.: 22 cm.
[72] Ibid. There are only five of the *clapmuts* type and they all have exceptional patterns and designs. TKS15/9340; TKS15/3780, d. 37 cm.; TKS15/2793, d. 28.5 cm.; TKS15/2513, d. 23.5 cm; TKS15/2514, d.27 cm.
[73] Ibid. It has a silver Ottoman mount on the rim.
[74] Ibid.

The *Witte Leeuw* had both small and large sized *clapmuts* as part of its cargo. (Figures 4.40 and 4.41) Several are of a very fine thin porcelain and well decorated, but there are also many with a denser body and are coarsely decorated. This variety in quality is due to the workmanship of different kilns, explained before. Most are decorated with a *tao tieh* mask but there are *clapmuts* shapes with other designs and some have a separate band on the rim.

Figure 4.40. *Clapmuts* from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (1613). d. 21 cm., inv. nr. NG-127-6448-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 4.41. *Clapmuts* from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck with a *tao tieh* mask on the rim. d. 21.5 cm., inv. nr. NG-1978-127-6429-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The *Banda* shipwreck (1615) had several small-sized ones aboard. (Figure 4.42) The fact that they all have identical designs and patterns indicates that these were produced as a series, possibly ordered as a private purchase to be used as tableware. They are mediocre in quality, comparable to the ones from the *Mauritius* shipwreck. Even though the 'Wanli shipwreck' only contained 6, the 'Hatcher cargo' had 73 *clapmuts*-type bowls of 20-22 centimetres diameter and 103 smaller ones of 10-14 centimetres diameter indicating that these were still being produced as late as 1643-45. As far as I know, only few fragments have been retrieved from Iberian shipwrecks;

apparently, the Dutch favoured this shape from the start of their trade, as this typical Dutch term already appeared on an order list dated to 1607.

Figure 4.42. *Clapmuts*-type bowls from the *Banda* (1615). d. ca.14-16 cm. Museum Mahebourg. Mauritius Island. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasena.

The last group that the above-mentioned authors have created, group 9, is described as: 'flatware and large bowls with only broad panels, decorated with a variety of designs different from the above groups such as landscapes with houses, or figures and are divided by 'tulip like' and 'Iznik like' flowers'.[75] Those from the 'Wanli' wreck (ca. 1630-35) do not have any such flowers. The authors date this group to 1625-1650, the last period of the production of the panel-decorated type of porcelain**.** As they have been found in the 'Wanli' wreck but not on the *São Gonçalo* (1630), or any of the other earlier dated shipwrecks, a date after 1630 for this type of decoration would be more likely. The 'Hatcher cargo' included 44 large bowls and the 'Wanli shipwreck' around 25 but they are not of the exceptional quality as those in the Middle Eastern collections.[76] (Figure 4.43 and Figure 4.44)

[75] McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 159-164.
[76] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), pp. 100-107.

Figure 4.43. Large bowl from the 'Wanli shipwreck' (ca.1630-1635), d. 36.0 cm. [77]

Such large bowls may have first have been produced for the Middle East at a much earlier date as the Ardebil Shrine collection has an end date of 1611. The Topkapi Palace museum has five of these large bowls, the Ardebil Shrine collection has only one, and it is exceptionally well decorated.[78] (Figures 4.44 and 4.45)

Figure 4.44. Large bowl with various designs in cartouches divided by flowers . d. 34.5 cm**.** Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.380. Photo by author.

[77] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op.cit.), serial nr. 6923.
[78] Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 106. An identical bowl is in the Topkapi Museum: inv.nr. TKS15/2499.

Figure 4.45. Examples of large bowls from the Topkapi Palace Museum.[79]

Included in the category of Kraak-panelled ware are the small bowls also known as 'caudle cups' or 'crow cups', already explained in Chapter 3.[80] These have not been given a chronological dating by McElney or Von der Porten, even though they have been retrieved from nearly all known Western shipwrecks. Rinaldi divides a range of bowls including those without panelling into separate groups of shapes, and dates each group.[81] Here I would again argue that a clear distinction should be made between the exceptionally fine ones and the coarser types. Of the delicate, well-painted ones, only few have been retrieved from shipwrecks, contrary to the much coarser painted mass-produced ones, salvaged in larger quantities.[82] The Middle Eastern collections contain a number of bowls of various shapes, and with the identical central design of the bird depicted on the mass-produced ones.[83] Therefore, this decoration was not a novelty.

The *San Diego* shipwreck has only four bowls of thinly potted porcelain and with very finely drawn decorations but none of the coarser types, an indication that this was a rare item.[84] (Figures 4.46 and 4.47) The bowl in Figure 4.46, inv.nr. 3855, is identical

[79] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nr. TKS15/3825, d. 38 cm. and inv.nr. TKS15/2503, d. 38 cm.
[80] The name and description have been dealt with in the previous chapter.
[81] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 138-161
[82] The *Witte Leeuw* has only one without panels and a few delicately painted ones. Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 141-142; the rest are more thickly potted and crudely painted, similar to those from the *Mauritius* and *Banda.*
[83] Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), TKS15/2621 (fine quality with a lid, the bird is depicted on the exterior); TKS15/2460 (the bird is in the centre, the exterior has geese. The Ardebil shrine has only a few, but all delicate ones).
[84] Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit), pp. 340-341.

to one drawn in the logbook by someone of the ship *Gelderland* on its return journey to the homeland in 1601-1603.[85]

Figure 4.46. Bowl on the left: inv. nr. 673, h: 5,4 cm. Middle: inv. nr. 2863, h. 6.3 cm. Right: inv. nr. 3855, h. 7.5 cm.[86]

Figure 4.47. Bowl with panel pattern and a bird on a rock in the centre. inv. nr. 672, h. 7,7 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

The secretary of the ship, Symon Jacobszoon Laerle, was especially appointed for writing the entries into the logbook and it is very likely that he also made all the sketches, including the porcelain pieces.[87] These drawings are the earliest dated sketches of Chinese porcelain brought back to the Dutch Republic; it is remarkable to see how detailed they depict the pieces of the types of porcelain.[88] (Figures 4.48 and 4.49) They also indicate that such bowls were scarce and exceptional enough to have been drawn. The *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) yielded three different sizes of bowls of which most are of mediocre quality; there is only one exceptional bowl, identical to the one illustrated in the logbook of the *Gelderland;* therefore, this type was not mass-produced.

[85] P. Moree, *Dodo's en Galjoenen. De Reis van het Schip Gelderland naar Oost-Indie*, *1601-1603*, Zutphen, 2001. This ship was part of the second voyage (*Tweede Schipvaart*) of the Moluccan Fleet. There was a battle with the Portuguese and 2 vessels were captured. In 1603 the *Gelderland*, *Zeeland* and *Duyffken* returned to the Dutch Republic.
[86] Photo from: Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit), p. 340.
[87] Ibid., pp. 41-43. Coastal sketches and other new information as to fish, birds, etc. were made by a crewmember as these were important for future expeditions but also for knowledge of distant regions. pp. 298-301. All drawings are to be found in the National Archives in The Hague. Collection Mayer, 1598, inv. nr. 136.
[88] Ibid.

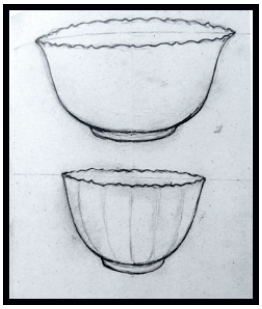


Figure 4.48. Drawing from the logbook of the ship *Gelderland* (1601-1603).
Inv. nr. 136.04. (Nationaal Archief)

Figure 4.49. Sketch of a bowl and interior design of a bird from the logbook of the ship *Gelderland* (1601-1603). Inv. nr. 136.01. (Nationaal Archief)

The *Santa Margarita* shipwreck dated to 1601 has numerous shards of bowls with white deer on a blue background as well as several fragments of bowls with the standard decoration of a bird on a rock in the centre, all of a coarser type than the above-mentioned ones. Bowls with the deer design were rarely found in later dated shipwrecks, indicating that this design must have gradually disappeared. (Figures 4.50, 4.51. 4.52 and 4.53; photos courtesy of J. Harbeston)

Figure 4.50. Bowl with white deer in panels.
d. ca. 14 cm.

Figure 4.51. Base fragment of bowl
with white deer on blue.

Figure 4.52. Base fragment of bowl
With a bird on a rock

Figure 4.53 Two base fragments of bowls
each with a bird on a rock.

It was mostly the coarser type that was salvaged from VOC shipwrecks, as the fragments from the *Mauritius* illustrate. (Figure 4.54) The designs are quite carelessly painted and the potting is of a thicker material than the exquisite ones from the *San Diego*, an indication that such bowls would have been mass-produced from around 1606.[89]

Figure 4.54. Five base fragments of bowls with the bird on a rock design from the shipwreck *Mauritius* (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes. Port Louis. France. Photo by author.

Even though few bowls were of the delicate type, the majority from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) consists of the smaller, coarsely potted and painted ones, as part of the cargo. (Figure 4.57)

Figure 4.55. Finely painted bowl from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). d. 9.4 cm. Inv. nr. 1978-127-9801-W. Photo Rijksmuseum.

Figure 4.56. Finely painted bowl with the panel pattern from the *Witte Leeuw,* d. 12.5 cm. Inv. nr. 1978-127-7755-W. Photo Rijksmuseum.

Figure 4.57. Fragments of five coarser type bowls from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). d. ca. 12 cm. Photo by author.

[89] The *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606) does not have any fragments of 'crow cups' but the *Mauritius* (1609), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and the *Banda* (1615) have numerous ones.

The *São Gonçalo* (1630), only had a few shards of these bowls (Figure 4.58), as does the wreck of the Spanish *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. (1638). The 'Wanli shipwreck' contained only 17 pieces; the 'Hatcher Cargo' around 80 small sized ones.

Figure 4.58. Two base shards of bowls with a bird on a rock from the *São Gonçalo* (1630). Plettenburg Bay, S.A. Photo by author.

An exceptional discovery was made in the Gulf of Thailand, near the island of Ko Si Chang in 1987-1988. 'The date of this shipwreck was established in 1983 through the recovery of a porcelain bowl bearing the Chinese inscription *Da Ming Wanli Nian Zhi* (made in the Great Ming year Wanli). Wanli reigned from 1573–1619. Radio carbon dating of timber samples from the vessel resulted in a reading of 1570±90'.[90] According to the scholars who published the first report, 'the islands below the river mouth were called the Dutch Islands, and the principal one, or Si-chang, "Amsterdam"'.[91] The islands appear to have received these names because VOC ships, which frequented that area (Siam) in the 17th century, took shelter there during the southwest monsoon. As will be discussed in chapter 6, several deliveries took place from Formosa (Taiwan) to Southeast Asian destinations, including Siam, present day Thailand, and therefore it is possible that this cargo was one of those.[92] Hundreds of fragments were found, belonging to bowls, most of a thinner and better-painted quality than mentioned above.

---

[90] R. Harper, *Previously Unpublished Data from the Thai-Australain Excavations of the Ko Si Chang One and Two, Ko Khram, Ko Rin and Prachuap Khiri Khan Wreck Sites in the Gulf of Thailand during the 1980's.* Fremantle, 2016, p. 54.

[91] K. Atkinson, J. Green, R. Harper, and V. Intakosai, 'Joint Thai-Australian Underwater Archaeological Project 1987–1988. Part 1: Archaeological Survey of Wreck Sites in the Gulf of Thailand, 1987–1988'. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol.18, no.4, 1989, pp. 299–315; J. Green, 'The Ko Si Chang Excavation Report 1983', *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, vol. 7 no. 2, pp. 9–37. The researchers are inclined to consider the *Ko Si Chang 1* cargo to be destined for a more discerning Southeast Asian customer and not for the European one.

[92] One example is a request from Siam in 1637 for an assortment of porcelain according to samples. In December of that year, a ship on its way to Batavia from Formosa dropped off a cargo at Siam that included the requested porcelain ('*fluttschip over Siam alvoorens voor Batavia affgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen....van 't geeysche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen'*). J.L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, W.E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.), *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1641*, The Hague, 1986, vol. I, K., fol. 449.

(Appendix 4, table 10) This particular shipwreck merits further research to solve the riddle as to why so many delicate items were shipped to that region. (Figure 4.59)

Figure 4.59. Examples of bowl fragments from the Ko Si Chang site, Gulf of Thailand.[93]

Besides the flatware and bowls discussed above, there are a variety of other shapes with a panel pattern. Rinaldi divides these according to their shapes in the category 'closed forms'.[94] There are several shipwrecks that contained flasks with and without a panel pattern, dating from different periods. Therefore, it would again be impractical to give these shapes a precise date. For example, the *San Diego* from 1600 has flasks with and without panels.[95] It is quite remarkable what a variety of shapes these are; several have an onion-shaped mouth, and most are exquisetly decorated. The question arises for which market these were intended, as none similar were found in other Western shipwrecks. Furthermore, fragments from bottles salvaged from the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613), and the *Banda* (1615), are all much coarser. [96]The 'Wanli shipwreck' cargo from ca. 1630-35 has several *kendi* and gourd-shape bottles, some with panels and some without.[97]

On the whole, nearly all the items in the Topkapi Palace Museum, the Ardebil Shrine and the Santos Palace collections with a panel pattern are of a much better quality and very well decorated. (Appendix 4, tables 11, 12 and 13) When studying these collections, it is possible to see all the various types of the panel pattern. In fact, it is possible to discern a type of evolution in the development of this particular pattern.

[93] Photo taken from: Harper 2016 (op.cit.), p.72.
[94] Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 166-189. Most of the illustrated items in her publication are from either museum or private collections and therefore cannot be given a precise date.
[95] Carré, Desroches, and Goddio 1994 (op. cit.), pp. 328-337; p. 337 illustrates one of the 30 flasks with panels. There are seven *kendi,* two with a panel pattern. The 'Wanli shipwreck' has 15 *kendi* with panels, pp. 90-91.
[96] Desroches 1998 (op.cit.), Dumas 1981 (op.cit.) and the Witte Leeuw: inv.nr. 1977-115 W.
[97] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), pp. 90-95.

Several dishes in the Topkapi Palace Museum have a decagonal shape with ten panels. (Figures 4.60 and 4.61) Then there are dishes with the single or double lined panels, a decorative scheme as yet not applied to dishes produced around the middle of the 16th Century. Finally, there are the large dishes with broad and narrow cartouches, most of which are decorated with elaborate designs. (Figure 4.62) The high quality and often exceptional decoration show that the Chinese paid more attention to individual items produced for the Middle East, which may have been sent as gifts or tribute.[98] Several similar fine decorated dishes can be found in the Santos Palace collection, which has an end date of 1613, when Don Luiz stopped acquiring pieces. These may well have been obtained via contacts in the Middle East. [99] (Figures 4.63 and 4.64) (Appendix 4, table 13)

Apparently, when it came to mass-produced items for European customers, it was convenient for Chinese porcelain producers to use patterns already applied to those destined for the Middle East. As far as I know, there are no known Western orders that request any type of panel pattern on porcelain.

[98] There are some exceptions: several well decorated dishes with the largest diameter, 50 cm. were also found in the *Witte Leeuw* (1613).

[99] Lion Goldschmidt 1984 (op.cit.), p.62: 'Les acquisitions des Lancastre se sont interrompues vers 1613 et ne reprendront que beaucoup plus tard, au cours du troisième quart du XVIF siècle. Cet arrêt des achats coïncide avec le décès, en 1613, de D. Luiz de Lancastre II, passionné comme l'avait été son père par tout ce qui se pouvait acquérir en provenance de la Chine. Il avait même obtenu du roi D. Sebastiâo le privilège d'un brevet l'autorisant à faire venir des « Indes », à ses frais, les biens qu'il convoitait. Il en a été tout autrement de son fils, D. Francisco Luiz, qui se désintéressa de la collection, ayant choisi de vivre à la cour de Madrid et ce, même au-delà de 1 640, date à laquelle le Portugal allait recouvrer son indépendance'.

Figure 4.60. Decagonal dish with deer and crane, Topkapi Palace Museum, inv.nr. TKS 15/ 2287, d. 30.5 cm.

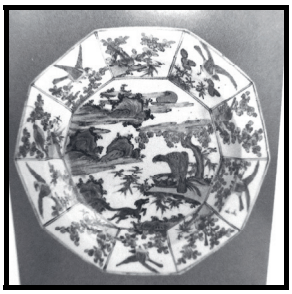


Figure 4.61. TKS15/2264, d.30 cm. Decagonal dish with an eagle on a on a rock and a small dog. Topkapi Palace Museum, inv.nr. TKS15/3344, d.35.4 cm.

Figure 4.62. Dish decorated with a Chinese warrior on a terrace. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv.nr. 29.202, d.30 cm., Iran Bastan Museum. Photo by author.

Figure 4.63. Santos Palace, inv.nr. 115, d. 37 cm. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier.

Figure 4.64. Santos Palace, inv.nr. 125, d. 50.4 cm. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais/ Thierry Ollivier.

Conclusion of this chapter.

The principal aim of this chapter was to discuss the chronological groups proposed by three specialists on the subject of Kraak blue and white panel-decorated porcelain. Each of their 'border groups' has been discussed and supported by illustrating fragments of dated shipwrecks. I conclude that a dating on grounds of their chronological border patterns is not reliable. The first three groups they distinguish include flatware without any clear panel pattern on the border, and should not be included in a chronological scheme for panel-decorated porcelain.

I have also discussed the difference between the fragments from dated shipwrecks, which, in general, are of lesser quality than the carefully chosen and well-kept items specially produced and sold to collectors of Chinese porcelain such as the Ottoman sultans of Turkey and Shah Abbas I of Persia This is the reason that the majority of Kraak-panelled items in the Topkapi Palace Museum and the Ardebil Shrine collections are exceptionally well painted and are quite different from the mass-produced pieces retrieved from Western shipwrecks. I therefore suggest that in the literature on this subject, a distinction should be made between the mass-produced items produced for export and the rarer, exquisite and well-painted ones produced individually and obtained as private purchases. An example is the collection of porcelain housed in the Santos Palace in Lisbon with Kraak-panelled items, mostly flatware, all of excellent quality.

By illustrating and comparing fragments of dated shipwrecks, I conclude that a dating on grounds of border patterns is not reliable, as different patterns were continuously used during the period 1595-ca.1645. A chronological dating should start in the period when the first substantial amount of flatware with the panel pattern was retrieved from a dated shipwreck; the *San Diego* (1600) is the first known cargo containing various types of Kraak-panelled ware. It is, therefore, not possible to establish a precise period when a certain border scheme was used; the patterns overlap continuously during the relatively short period when this particular type was produced for export.

CHAPTER 5. The beginnings of Dutch trade in Asia and shipments of Chinese porcelain, 1595-ca.1622.

Introduction.

In the previous chapters I have dealt with the types of porcelain produced for export. The main type specifically made for Western customers is Kraak-panelled ware; cargoes were supplemented with Chinese domestic wares. The purpose of chapters 5 and 6 is to analyse Dutch demand for porcelain, how orders were fulfilled, and the quantities transported. Here the emphasis is on the role of the VOC as the main maritime distributors of Chinese porcelain during the first half of the 17th century.

I divide the period of 1595-1655 into three separate ones, as each one shows a different pattern of orders and shipments. The first section covers the years 1595-1602, when individual private companies *(voorcompagniëen)* travelled to Asia in search of pepper and spices and returned with minor quantities of porcelain. During this period, Chinese porcelain also arrived in the Dutch Republic as booty of captured Portuguese ships. I provide details on the seizure and booty of the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina*, as they contained the first quantities of Chinese porcelain to have arrived in the Dutch Republic. In addition, I show that there is no concrete evidence of the exact quantities of porcelain retrieved from these captured ships.

The second part covers the first twenty-odd years of the officially established VOC Company in Asia, from 1602 until 1622. During this period, Patani on the east coast of the Malayan Peninsula and Bantam at the tip of Northern Java were the principal trade posts where Chinese commodities were purchased. Porcelain only gradually became a desired commodity in the Dutch Republic, but relatively few commissions for Chinese porcelain characterise this period. The amounts on the return ships to the Republic were inconsistent; only a few shipments contained substantial amounts such as 60,000 items. It was also a period when the organisation of the VOC in Asia underwent several changes. During the first ten years after the establishment of the VOC in Asia, the Company suffered enormous losses and it was decided by the Board of Directors to place all authority in Asia in one person by the appointment of a Governor-General.[1] The first was Pieter Both (1568-1615) who arrived in Bantam in 1610; Jan

[1] Decisions amongst other issues, on the finance, trade and political events in Asia were made with a Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*). F.S. Gaastra, *The Organization of the VOC in the Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)*, from:

Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) became the fourth Governor General of the VOC in 1618. Coen played a prominent role in reorganizing the activities of the VOC in Asia.[2] One was the founding of the city of Batavia in 1619 after forcibly taking over what was then the town of Jayakarta. Batavia became the centre of administration of the VOC in Asia until 1795, when the Company closed down due to bankruptcy.

An important adjustment to the structure of the Company was the introduction of an inter-Asiatic system of transporting merchandise. A major problem confronting the VOC was the company's inability to offer goods that Asian consumers were interested in.[3] Therefore, an inter-Asian trade system was set up whereby the profits could be used to pay for commodities in demand in the Dutch Republic.[4] A network of trade posts in Asia as shown in Figure 5.1 was established. A decisive change for the cargoes of Chinese ceramics was the establishment of the VOC post on the island of Formosa in 1624, the subject of the next chapter.

---

https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf (visited January, 2020): 'It was also the job of the Governor-General and Council to compile the generale eis van Indië (general order from Asia), in which the amount of monies, goods, ships and crews considered necessary for the business overseas was summed up. In the sessions of the Heeren XVII it served as a guideline for decision-making on this subject. The orders from the various establishments were included in the generale eis; the Governor-General and Council were empowered either to reduce or increase each order according to their own insights'.

[2] H.T. Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië,* vols. I-V, The Hague, 1919-1923.

[3] R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660*), Amsterdam, 2010, p. 32: 'During the first twenty years, the VOC administrators came to recognise the importance of an inter-Asiatic trade and that to make the Asian trade profitable, they had to become involved in that system itself. This forced them to trade in products that were not originally meant for the European market and VOC ships had to sail around the region to trade and collect cargo in various places before the return cargo was finally ready'; p. 47: 'There was an Eastern route from Batavia to the spice islands (the group of islands including Banda, Ambon and the Moluccan islands of which first Ternate and Tidore were visited.) Most of the collected spices were shipped back on the return voyages, a portion was used for trading within Asia'.

[4] Ibid., p. 60: 'The main cargo for Europe consisted of pepper and spices, but numerous other products were also requested. In a general memorandum written in the 1620s the VOC directors in the Netherlands instructed the Governor-General, his council and all the merchants in the trading posts all over Asia to send specific products for which they also specified the quantity as well as the quality. Heading the list was large quantities of pepper.'

Figure 5.1: Map of the actual trade zone (*octrooigebied*) of the VOC, between Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) and Japan; c. 1665. © Nationaal Archief Ref. 4.VEL-312.

As there are a sufficient number of publications on the history of the Dutch East India Company, I only give a short overview here. The first Dutch traders to reach Asia were recruited by the 'Company of Distant Regions' (*Compagnie van Verre*) established by nine Amsterdam merchants in 1594. The 'First Expedition' departed on April 2nd, 1595 and returned in August 1597 with 245 bags of pepper, 45 tons of nutmeg and 30 bales of mace. Accounts of various aspects and incidents during this voyage were taken down by at least nine crew members.[5] From these accounts we learn how Dutch merchants were invited to buy Chinese porcelain for the first time.

Following this success, several other companies were established; they each financed their own fleets and returned with cargoes of pepper and spices. A total of fifteen expeditions of these private companies (*voorcompagniëen)* took place between April 1594 and May 1601 with a total of 66 vessels participating. However, prices of the commodities in Asia rose as more and more companies arrived to purchase them. Consequently, the Land's Advocate of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1574-1619), was engaged by the States of Holland to negotiate with the private companies to try and

[5] G. P. Rouffaer and J.W. IJzerman, *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597*, *Journalen, Documenten en andere Bescheiden, deel I. d'Eerste boek van Willem Lodewyckssz.*, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. VII, The Hague, 1915; *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597*, *Journalen, Documenten en andere Bescheiden. Tweede deel. De Oudste Journalen der Reis.* Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XXV, The Hague, 1925.

form a coalition. Finally, in 1602 the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company, (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie),* VOC for short, was established.

The organisation was administered by seventeen executive managing officers who formed the Board of Directors (*Heren Zeventien*). They represented six main Dutch cities or chambers (*Kamers*): Amsterdam, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Enkhuizen and Hoorn. Each chamber was responsible for equipping their own ships, hiring their crew members and organizing their trading, each keeping their own profit. The aim of the VOC in Asia was twofold: to gain control over the spice trade in the Indonesian archipelago and secondly, to take over the Spanish-Portuguese trade posts.

The period before the establishment of the VOC (1595-1602).

One of the main trade posts to purchase pepper and spices was Bantam, a market port on the western tip of Java. The fleet of ships of the first expedition arrived at the port of Bantam on June 23rd, 1596. There are several reports on porcelain being offered for trade. In the account of the 'First Voyage of the Dutch to East India', it was noted that, 'the Chinese brought all sorts of merchandise like porcelain, silk, silken textiles and other [goods]'.[6] It continues with, 'They [the Chinese] also bring Porcelains, fine and coarse, of both sorts and when the Chinese have arrived, which (as has been mentioned before) is in January, one can get for one thousand caxas 5 and 6 dishes but not more than that'.[7] A report concerning the same voyage, notes that on November 7th, 1596, one of the ships of the fleet lay about 6 miles from Bantam harbour near a river entrance to obtain fresh water and provisions; 'and merchants (Chinese) came on board to sell porcelains all from Bantam'.[8] Bantam was an important harbour market where commodities from all over Asia were traded. (Figure 5. 2)

---

[6] Rouffaer and IJzerman (eds.) 1915 (op.cit.), pp. 75-76.

[7] Ibid., p. 123. 'Van de Chinesen, hare handelinghe ende leven: *'Zij brenghen oock Porceleynen fyne ende grove, van beyde soorten, waer ten tyde als de Chinesen aencomen zijn, twelck (als geseyt is) in Januarij is, men om duysent Caxas, 5. ende 6. Schotleen coopen can, ende daer buyten niet meer als twee, ende selden drie.' In the same account the conversion rate is explained (12 -13 ,000 caxas for 1 reaal of eight), 'de onse kochten 12 of 13 duysent van dese penningen (caxas) om en reael van achten'.* A caxa was a coin made of lead mixed with copper with a square hole in the middle that was made in China. It was the main currency from 1590 used in Bantam as well as other islands. 200 of these pieces strung together formed a *santa* = 9 'denier' called *piti* by the Javanese. The Spanish coin, *real de a ocho,* was used in Asia as the currency to purchase merchandise. It was used from the 16th until the 18th century in the Dutch East Indies where the population called them *Real Batu* (or *pasmat*).

[8] Rouffaer and IJzerman (eds.) 1925 (op.cit.), p. 45, note 5: *'ende zijn hier noch coopluy aen boort gecomen met Porselyn te coop al uyt Bantam'.*

Another account, dated November 11th, 1596, reported that, 'a parao has arrived from Bantam to spy on us and under the pretext of selling us some provisions and porcelains told us that the Portuguese had bought up two boats with nuts [nutmeg]'.[9] In November 13th, 1596, a report sent from the ship *Hollandia* anchored about 12 miles from Bantam harbour states that, 'Arabian merchants came on board with good intentions and with warnings of attacks'; 'they brought porcelains and some fruits'.[10] These accounts show how before the establishment of the VOC, the Dutch were occasionally offered the chance to buy porcelain in Asia, but had not yet sent any orders themselves.

Figure 5.2. View of Bantam with ships; one is being careened.[11] '*Gezicht op de stad Bantam, met schepen op de voorgrond; links van het midden ligt een schip gekanteld in het water*'. Print dated 1676, Rijksmuseum, inv. nr. RP-P-OB-47-460.

During this period, Dutch merchants also noted the presence of Chinese traders on the island of Bali. 'The Chinese also come here to trade, and bring sabers, which are

[9] Rouffaer and IJzerman (eds.) 1915, (op. cit.), p. 161**:** '*Den 11. dito isser een Parao van Bantam ghecomen om ons te comen verspieden, ende onse resolutie te vernemen, onder tdexel van eenighe victuali ende Porceleynen te comen vercoopen*'.

[10] Rouffaer and Ijzerman, 1925, (op. cit.), p. 311, note 2. These Arab merchants (also called Moors by the Dutch) were apparently anti-Portuguese and therefore warned the Dutch. *'Ter deeser plaetse syn ons Arabiese Coopluyden aen boort gecoomen, die ons een goedt herdt toedroegen ende dickmaelen voor eenighe aenslaeghen gewaerschout hadden; dese selfde brochten porsileynen, ende eenighe fruyten'*.

[11] Careening: a ship is laid on its side to be repaired or to clean its hull.

also used here, and porcelains which they exchange for cotton cloth'.[12] Another account stated that 'The King of Bali showed some samples of cloves and a canister with porcelain to be sold to the Dutch'.[13] The official report of this first expedition to Asia, written in 1597, concluded that the ships returned to the Dutch Republic with 'some specimens of spices from those regions as well as two porcelain dishes, which were presented to the Honourable Gentlemen'.[14]

The account of the events of the second expedition (1598-1600), under the leadership of Admiral Jacob Van Neck, mentions that rich cargoes returned with 400 lasts of pepper and 100 lasts of cloves, porcelains and other items.[15] The journal of this expedition noted that the local population was interested in exchanging goods, including porcelain, for pewter wares. 'Thus the people daily bartered with us for pewter and other wares, giving so much victuals for a pewter-spoon as might well suffice one man for a whole weeke. We trucked likewise for various other things, as for porcellan dishes and such like'.[16] This statement suggests that a porcelain object was not as precious to the local people as pewter that, in contrast to Europe, was probably a

---

[12] Rouffaer and IJzerman, 1925 (op. cit.), p. 200: *'De chinen comen hier oock somylen handelen, ende brenghen sabelen, die zy alhier oock ghebruijcken, ende Porcelynen, welck zij teghen de Cattoenen lijnwaet vermanghelen'.*

[13] P.A. Leupe, 'Het Gezantschap naar Bali onder de Gouverneur-Generaal Hendrik Bouwer in 1633', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, vol. 5, 1856, p. 213; '*De koning van Bali toont monsters van kruidnagelen en een canastrer met porceleijn voor verkoop aan de Nederlanders'.* NL-HaNA (*voorcompagniën*) 1.04.01, inv. nr. 22. A canister is in this case a wicker basket.

[14] N. Japikse, 'Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal, 1596-1609', *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, vol. 9, no. 62, The Hague, 1926, p. 680, 4 september 1597: *'D'heere advocaat van Hollandt, geassisteert met eenige cooplieden, onderwinders ende principale reeders van de drye groote scepen, binnen Amsterdam toegerust ende van dair in 't iair LXXXIIII uuytgevaren na Java Maior ende andere eylanden van Oost-Indien, heeft cortelijck gerapporteert de geschiedenisse mette uuytcompste van deselve voyage mette verclaringe van de plaitssen, dair de scepen geweest, getracteert ende gehandelt hebben, ende de redenen van het beleth, dat haer in deselve handelinge is geschiet, waerdoere die verscreven scepen heure volle ladinge niet en hebben medegebrocht, hebbende d'heeren Staten gepresenteert eenige speceriën van 't gewas in de verscreven landen, met twee posselyne schotelkens'.*

[15] Jacob van Neck (1564 -1638) was a naval officer and led the Second Expedition from 1598 to 1600 for two merged companies, which became the Old East India Company. See: J. Keuning, (ed.) *Tweede Schipvaart*, part II, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XLIV, The Hague, 1940. In the introduction, p. LXXX, he refers to the original chronicle by Bor, '(*VI, Boek 36. fol. 38*)', *'want noyt soodanighe schepen, met sodanige rijcke ladinghe, binnen Amsterdam ghecomen en zijn; want sy vier hondert lasten pepers in hadden, met hondert lasten naghelen, behalven de macis, noten, muscated ende caneel, porcelynene, zyde ende zijde lakenen ende andere costelijckheyden'.*

[16] Keuning 1940 (op.cit.), 1940, p. 27. The Journal of the vogyage of Van Neck was only available in German and English*: 'A True Report of the gainefull, prosserous and speedy voiage to Java in the East Indies, performedby a fleete of eight ships of Amsterdam ...Which set forth from Texell in Holland, the first of Maie 1598'.* It was printed in London in 1599, translated into English and because the original Dutch version has disappeared, this is used here; p. 32: '[on] November 26th [we] arrived at Bantam [in 1598] with the Mauritius/Hollandia and Overijsel'; 'unto us were daily brought aboord in prauwes or Indian boats great quantity of hens, eegs, cocos, bonannos'.

scarce material in those regions. The same report noted that Chinese merchants 'brought various commodities on board as porcelains, silk cloths and silk and others'.[17]

After visiting the Moluccas, some ships of the fleet returned to Bantam: 'on August 10th our head merchant Rochus Pieterszoon has gone ashore to buy some more porcelains and other items'.[18] Another report mentions that the local governor presented the Admiral (Van Warwijck) on the ship *Amsterdam* with 125 pieces of porcelain.[19] Gradually porcelain became an interesting item to be purchased and to take back to the homeland.

Hans Brouwer, head merchant on the ship *Gelderland,* part of the same fleet of this second expedition, noted in his journal that they arrived at Bantam on July the 9th, 1599, to buy provisions and some porcelain.[20] Several illustrations in the logbook of the *Gelderland* on its return journey in 1601-1602, already shown in chapter 3, depict porcelain items.[21] These may possibly have been some of the porcelains mentioned by Brouwer.

Rare prints depict a reception by local dignitaries for the Dutch officials during the period of the first voyages. We see from the print in Figure 5.3 that the Dutch are seated on the ground and have in front of them a large banana leaf with food on it. The other print, Figure 5.4, depicts a festive meal given by the King of Ternate for the fleet of Jacob van Neck, which was at that location between 1598-1599. It shows a row of large, presumably ceramic, dishes with food on the table. These illustrations are an example of how local rulers in those regions welcomed the Dutch officials. One feast is quite simple, given by a Bandaese chief; the other by the King of Ternate is elaborate, the guests are seated, there are dishes and drinking vessels, which may even have been brought by the Dutch guests themselves.

---

[17] Ibid., p. 76.
[18] J. Keuning (ed.), *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600*. *Het tweede boek, Journael oft Daghregister*, Amsterdam 1601. Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XLVI, The Hague, 1942, p. 95: *'Item den 10. Dito [08-1599] is ons onder Comies aen Lant gevaren om noch eenige Porseleynen ende meer andere dinghen te coopen'.*
[19] J. Keuning (ed.) *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600. Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden, deel V, 2e stuk: De reis naar Ternate.* Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. V, The Hague, 1949, p. 188: *'Den 14 [01-1600] bij den gouverneur gewest, hefft ons verert 125 stuck porcelaijn, in den ad. [admiraliteit] doen foeren'*.
[20] Keuning (ed.) 1942, (op. cit.), p. 209, bijlage 4.
[21] P. Moree, *Dodo's en Galjoenen: De Reis van het Schip Gelderland naar Oost-Indië, 1601- 1603*. Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. C, The Hague, 2001, pp. 175 – 291.

Figure 5.3 Print on paper, dated 1599. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.nr. RP-P-OB-75-393. 'View of a square peopled with men in head cloths. In the centre two people are shown, each with sword and shield. Those sitting on the ground have a banana leaf with a meal in front of them. In the background a fence with seated before it, nine people busy preparing food'.[22]

Figure 5.4. The King of Ternate gives a feast for the crew from ships of the fleet of Jacob van Neck. (1598-1599) One of the ships can be seen through the open window. Print on paper. (Anonymous). Koninklijke Bibliotheek inv. nr. 197 J 96.

These reports indicate that porcelain was becoming an interesting article to take back from Asia, but it was still scarce and there are no bills of lading of this period listing porcelain. Consequently, it was also sought after as a luxury item for private purchase. After 1602, strict regulations were introduced as to which commodities were

[22] According to the index in I. Commelin, *Begin ende voortgangh, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervatende de voornaemste reysen, by de inwoonderen der selver provincien derwaerts gedaen,* Amsterdam, 1646, the illustration is entitled '*Der Bandesers Gastmalen'*.

allowed to be taken back as personal possessions; it was ordered that the value of these could not exceed the equivalent of a month's pay.[23]

An example of this is the case of Cornelis van Heemskerck (1573-1618), who had participated as an officer in several expeditions to Asia during the period of the private companies.[24] In a letter to the directors of the Old Company (*Oude Compagnie*), one of the private companies, he wrote that he had taken back some porcelain from Asia during the second expedition (*Tweede Schipvaart 1598-1599*), which was confiscated by the directors on his return.[25]

> I am now partaking on the third voyage and have never sent anything to my parents or friends as I only sent over one kris from the first voyage, on the second voyage a parrot was given to me by the local people, I enjoyed its speaking, which I had taught him, not without effort, as well as some porcelain from the governor, both of which were confiscated by your honours, but someone else (Pieter Jans Soet) was allowed to keep (it) and that is why I am sending back a chest with this mark (on it) and what is inside is written underneath: for my father.[26]

---

[23] C. Viallé, 'Camel Cups, Parrot Cups and other Chinese Kraak Porcelain Items in Dutch Trade Records, 1598-1623', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.). Amsterdam, 2014, p. 37; she refers to: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv, nr. 7525: '*Artikelbrief en verordeningen van Prins Maurits voor de schepen varende naar Indië (waarvan tien in 1602 uit Amsterdam vertrokken onder bevel van Wybrand van Warwyck) (f. 1)'*: 'No one is allowed to bring any porcelain, wickerwork…which have a value equivalent of a months's pay of the person who brings it with addition of 10 guilders'… 'the directors are obliged to take all lots of porcelain for the benefit of the company which they think are worth more than…'. A later document dated September 7th, 1604, states that possessions of the deceased are not allowed to be sold – especially porcelains and other fine goods'; see: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 99, fol. 148, punt 11, '*Resoluties van de Heren XVII, Vergadering 7 september 1604: Hier wort oock groote disordre bevonden dat op de reyse beneffens de meubelen ende klederen vande affgestorvenen oock werden vercocht de porseleijnen off ander frayicheden waardoor de levenden groote menichte van porseleijnen ende andere fraeye dingen … seggend tselve voorde mast vande goederen … affgestorven gecocht te hebben sulcx dat voordaen dient ordre daer op gestelt dat mende porseleijnen ende andere fraeye dinghen vande Dooden …. Behoudt & niet en vercoopt Dat oock de Levenden den eenen aende anderen niet en sullen mogen coopen ofte vercoopen Opdat de visitatie te beter & met merder fundament mach gedaen werden'; ' Is geresolveeert dat niemandt vant volck varende met de scheepen van dese Comp naer OostIndien vanden minsten tot den meesten sal vermogen iets anders als voor de Comp mede te brengen tsij gecocht gemangelt ofte by vereeringh vercreegen meerder waerdre sijnde als syn dubbelt soldy daervoor hij aengenomen is met expresse Conditie dat den Admirael Coopman Schipper Ondercoopman Sturman ofte Officiant syne mee gebrachte porselynen syde ofte andere waeren van wat qualiteijt*'. This prohibition was repeated later, see J.A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch Indisch Plakaatboek*, *1602-1811*, *Eerste deel 1602-1642*, Batavia, 1885, p. 11: Art. 18 1609. The Governor-General also had to take an oath: 'He may not trade in goods for himself or others, directly or indirectly; no porcelains, nice things, or any other goods', p. 330, article 66.

[24] This ship was part of the same fleet as the Gelderland mentioned above. It is possible that a supply of Chinese porcelain was available in Bantam before the fleet returned to the Dutch Republic, and private purchases were made.

[25] H.A. van Foreest and A. de Booy (eds.), *De Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604),* deel II, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. LXXXIII The Hague, (1981), pp. 208-209.

[26] NL-HaNA (Voorcompagnieën) 1.04.01, inv. nr. 92: *'op de twede voiage was mij een papegayken ghesconcken doordat ik wadt kennisse met de inwoonders ghemaeckt hadde meer als andere, hetwelcke ick door de spraeck was ghenietende, die niet sonder groot hooftbreecken bij mij geleert was , ende mede eenich*

The chest with porcelain was sent on the return ship the *Maen*; the value was small but to rule out any suspicions (that it might have exceeded the amount allowed), Heemskerck had written to his father that he could open the chest (for inspection) and if there were problems with the authorities, he would take care of them himself. A detailed list was made of these porcelains, which shows us what kinds of porcelain shapes were available in Asia at that time. These included various types of flatware, including butter dishes (*boter platelen*), fine fruit dishes (*fyne fruyt schalen*), and white, lobed saucers (*witte gecante cecieren*). Furthermore, a variety of cups (*coppen*), cups with covers (*gedeckte coppen*), small fine cups (*fyne cleine copkens*), fine rose cups (*fine roosgens copkens*), one yellow cup with cover (*1 geel overdect coppen*) and three green cups (*3 grone leege copkens*); white cups with blue rims (*4 cleender witte coppen met blaeuwe randen*) and fine white and blue cups (*fyne widt ende blaeu coppen*). The total amounted to three hundred pieces, which is quite a substantial amount for a crew member to have bought at that time. Another chest in Van Heemskerck's possession was sent back on the *Nederlanden* with General Both, whose ships departed from Bantam on January 14th, 1601.[27] (Appendix 5, list 1).

These two lists of porcelain items are, in fact, the first detailed descriptions of Chinese porcelain brought to the Dutch Republic prior to the establishment of the VOC. On them all sorts of cups are listed and, for the first time, the term *cameelscop*.[28] Flatware, two large dishes, and 12 middle-sized ones are mentioned as well as 40 'butter plates' (*boter platelen*). This list shows all types of porcelain cups and dishes, which were obtainable as early as 1601; not all were of underglaze blue type, as items of white, yellow and green ware was listed, showing that whatever was available, was purchased to take home.

---

porcleein van den gouverneur, hetwelck beide bij U Lieden aangetast is, niet tegenstaende ander (als Pieter jans Soet) het hare behielden, so ist dat ick als nu in het scip de Maen sende een casken geteeckent met dit nevenstaende merck waerin is als volcht ende hier onder geacreven staedt "aen mijn vader"'.

[27] Van Foreest and De Booy 1981, (op. cit.), p. 209: *'Sende noch een klein kasken in het scip de Nederlanden het welck den generael Both tot discretie van zijn bewinthebberen gestelt heeft'.* The *Nederlanden* departed from Bantam 14-01-1601.

[28] This has already been dealt with in the previous chapter.

A review of the two Portuguese ships, the *São Tiago* (1602) and the *Santa Catarina* (1604), captured by the Dutch and their contents.

In chapter three I have briefly dealt with the capture of two Portuguese ships, the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina*. In contemporary studies, we often come across the suggestion that large amounts arrived in the Netherlands for the first time through the capture of these two ships.[29] However, there is some ambiguity about the quantity of porcelain that was part of their booty.

The first ship, the *São Tiago,* was captured on March 14th, 1602, near the island of St. Helena by the ships *Zeelandia* and *Langebark,* both owned by the private Company of Zeeland (*Zeeuwse Compagnie*) just before the VOC was established. The ship was brought to the city of Middelburg, in the province of Zeeland, where the booty was divided.[30] Documents relating to this event reveal that the town councillors were presented with packages of porcelain: the treasurer, the bailiff and the captain each received two packages, the accountant three packages; the mayor of Middelburg and the governor of Vlissingen, a city nearby, received some of the 'largest pieces', and five other people each received two packages of porcelain.[31] The rest was to be auctioned on November 25th, 1602: 'first all damaged goods, then porcelains, cloths, carpets, beds, wall hangings, and woven cloths; furthermore the porcelain that lies in the storage in quantities (lots) of 20 dishes and 10 bowls'.[32] There is however no known inventory or auction results with the exact amounts and the only descriptions of the porcelain items given are very general: dishes (*schotelen*), and bowls (*commekens*) without further specification. (Appendix 5, list 2)

---

[29] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*, Leiden, 1954. On p. 22, he refers to the booty as 'an untold mass of porcelains' and that the 'profit on the sale was very large' (no reference); H. Garner, *Oriental Blue and White,* London, 1954, p. 19, states that 'the captured carracca had sixty tons of china ware from the Catarina that was sold in 1604'; M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, a Moment in the History of Trade,* London, 1989, p. 34, writes that the cargo of the Santa Catharina, 'included more than a hundred thousand pieces, was sold at auctions in 1604'.

[30] W. S. Unger. *De Oudste Reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië, 1598-1604*, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. LI. The Hague, 1948, p. 190, on October the 7th, four people were selected to divide the goods coming from the ship: 100 pounds of pepper, 50 pounds of cinnamon, 50 pounds of nutmeg, 20 packs of saucers and 10 packs of bowls.

[31] According to Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 27, one package would contain twenty pieces but he does not give a reference to support this.

[32] Unger 1948, (op. cit.), p.189: *'Is geresolveert dat op Maendach [Nt 25 November] zal gaen beginnen te vercopen alle de goederen, tweeten, eerst alle de beschadigde goederen, voorts porseleyns …. Voorder dat men* de *porseleyne sal vercopen int packhuys daer die leyt met 20 schotelen ende met 10 commeckens tseffen*'. From: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 7241: Kopie-resoluties van de Kamer Zeeland, (1602, november 25).

A Florentine merchant, Francesco Carletti, who owned part of the cargo of this ship, filed several lawsuits to have his goods returned or compensated. In his publication on the voyages, which he undertook as a private merchant, he refers to a purchase of five large vases, 'perhaps the largest ones ever to have been taken from here to Europe'.[33] These were all filled with Chinese sugared ginger, 'the best quality'. He then mentions that the porcelain he bought is of a quality and amount that could be bought in Macao at low prices, in an assortment of 650-700 pieces: 'large and small, plates, bowls and other fine pieces do not cost more than 20 or 22 tael'.[34] Carletti also describes the quality and the various colours of porcelain produced there and that he bought a service of the blue and white type through the intermediary of the Jesuits who had also sold him the five large vases.[35] After numerous letters, the States General of the Dutch Republic finally compensated Carletti with a sum of 13,000 guilders.[36] There is no mention of any Chinese porcelain in the Dutch archival documents concerning this

---

[33] F. Carletti, *Voyage Autour du Monde de Fransesco Carletti (1594-1606)* traduction F. Verrier, Paris, 1999, p. 195; Carletti complained that the porcelain was 'stolen' by the Zeelanders: '*Laquelle porcelain fut achetee par un marchand de Middleburg en Zelande, ou furent vendus tous mes sutres biens, deux grand vases et peutetre des plus grands qui aient jamais ete rapports de ces pays en Europe'; 'Vases que je rapportais avec trois autres, tous remplis de gingembre confit de Chine qui est le meilleur qui soit'.* See also V. Enthoven, *Zeeland en de Opkomst van de Republiek: Handel en Strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550-1621,* Leiden, 1996, p. 195-199: *'de aanhouding van de Portugese kraak São Jorge door Zeeuwse Oostindiëvaarders (1602) en het 'tot goede prijs' verklaren van de goederen van de Florentijnse koopman Francesco Carletti* (1602-1603)'.

[34] A tael was a 'Chinese unit of weight that, when applied to silver, was long used as a unit of currency. Most taels were equivalent to 1.3 ounces of silver'. From: https://www.britannica.com/topic/tael. (visited January 2020)

[35] Carletti also explains the manufacture of porcelain and that the best may not leave the country. A description follows of items with a 'red decoration' and gilded but he considers the best 'the white with a blue design.' Carletti 1999 (op.cit.), p.196: '*De cette sorte etait le service qu j'achetai, de la plus fine facture que je pus obtenir par l'intermediare des peres de Compagnei de Jesus, qui me firent aussi avoir lesdits cinq vases*'; Rinaldi 2011, (op. cit.), pp. 120-121 and pp. 196-197; T. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644. A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence*. Ph.D. Thesis, Leiden, 2015, p. 180.

[36] M.J. van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*. Leiden, 2006, p. 139: 'Carletti had started legal proceedings to have the verdict reversed. The VOC directors intended to claim the São Tiago for the United Zeeland Company but the Admirality judges were forced to make special arrangements for Carletti who claimed the silk, musk and curiosities and to give him the money for this. On October 30th, the judges decided that the cargo could be auctioned on account only and refused to dismiss Carletti's claim to at least part of the booty (Resoluties Staten General)'; p.143: 'When the silk cargo was auctioned on Dec. 4th, Carletti even tried to buy some back. As he had been granted Spanish citizenship he lost all his rights. In the end Carletti got 13.000 guilders after 3 years of wrangling'. In December 1603, the VOC directors decided to honour both the grand duke of Tuscany Ferdinand with some exquisite presents (booty from the ship); p. 147: 'An ornate bed of state which had already been intended for him and some bed curtains with the crest of De Medici'. These were then offered to his niece, Maria de Medici, wife of Henry IV of France who refused all gifts. D. Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC*. Middelburg, 1987. p. 29*: 'Ter wille van de aanbevelingen van de Staten-Generaal en van de groothertog van Toscane stemden de bewindhebbers er evenwel in toe Carletti 13.000 gulden uit te betalen'.* See also: G. Sgrilli, *Francesco Carletti, Mercante e Viaggiatore Fiorentino*, vol.6, 1905.

affair, but it may be possible that some of the porcelain divided among the provincial officials and ships' officers were Carletti's possessions.

When we add up the pieces given to the provincial officials, a total of more than 1,500 pieces can be accounted for. The remainder of the porcelain was to be auctioned in lots of 20 dishes and 10 bowls, thereby making the total number higher.[37] However, without a definite document we can only speculate on the total amount of porcelain that was part of the booty of the *São Tiago,* but it was certainly substantial for a cargo in that period.

There are several documents and publications available that refer to another example of Dutch freebooting, the capture of the *Santa Catarina.*[38] (Appendix 5, list 3) It has been maintained that the booty contained an 'untold' mass of porcelain and that this was auctioned in Amsterdam.[39] From publications concerning this event we can get more and precise details about the porcelain that was part of the booty of the *Santa Catarina*. [40]

The capture of this Portuguese ship took place when Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck (1567-1607) departed for Asia with a fleet of ships equipped by the Amsterdam private company, the First United Company, also just before the establishment of the VOC in 1602. He arrived in Bantam on February 22nd, 1602, but missed the monsoon to sail to the Spice Islands. Therefore, he first visited Patani from August to November 1602 where he bought 'some tapestries with some porcelains and copperware' (*Cledtjens met eenich porselyn & Coperwerck*) to be traded for spices during his further journey. Van Heemskerck then lay in waiting at the island of Pulau Tioman, in the Strait of Malacca, for over two months, prying on Portuguese ships usually passing by that time of the year.

He was informed that a Portuguese ship had already passed by five days earlier, but on February 25th 1603, Van Heemskerck succeeded to capture the *Santa Catarina* on

---

[37] Unger 1948 (op. cit.), p.189.
[38] For an overview (in Dutch) of the documents used for the capture of this ship, see Appendix list 3.
[39] Enthoven 1996 (op. cit.).
[40] P. Borschberg, 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: the Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch Johor Alliance', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* vol. 33, no. 1, 2002, pp. 31-62; P. Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese and 'Free Trade' in the East Indies*, Singapore and Leiden, 2003; P. Borschberg: 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina off Singapore: Dutch Freebooting, the Portuguese Empire and Intra-Asian Trade at the Dawn of the Seventeenth Century', *Revista de Cultur,* no. 11 (International Edition), July 2004, pp. 11-25; M.J. van Ittersum, 'Hugo Grotius in Context: Van Heemskerck's Capture of the Santa Catarina and its Justification in De Jure Praedae (1604-1606).' *Asian Journal of Social Science,* vol. 31 nr. 3, 2003, pp. 511-548.

its way from Macao to Malacca.[41] Around 750 people including women as well as soldiers who were on board were spared and brought to the shore of Malacca.[42] After a month at Johor, Van Heemskerck sailed to Bantam on April the 3rd with the *Santa Catarina*, arriving there on June the 20th, 1603. The admiral had the most precious goods transhipped from the captured vessel to his own ships, and had several changes made to the Portuguese vessel to enable it to undergo the long return voyage to the Dutch Republic.

The *Santa Catarina* arrived off the English coast in June 1604, in a dilapidated state. It was decided to sail the ship to the town of Emden on the river Eems to the northeast of the Dutch Republic, where it arrived on July 22nd.[43] There, the crew had illegally taken some porcelain and sold it in Emden.[44] After some dispute as to where the remaining goods were to be transported, the cargo was transferred to smaller boats and brought to Amsterdam. The VOC directors ordered that everything was to be put into the storehouse, the *Boshuis*, where the chests, tubs and bales would be opened up for inspection and the contents listed.[45] An actual inventory has never yet been found.

---

[41] NL-HaNa (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21, *'Stukken betreffende de bemoeiingen van de Staten-Generaal met het proces tussen Jacob van Heemskerck, admiraal van de vloot van 8 schepen die 23 april 1601 van de reede van Texel vertrok naar Oost-Indië, en de bewindhebbers van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1605. (Bijlagen, Loketkas, Processen, stukken proces VOC- van Heemskerck*': '*syn tseyl gheghaen naer Ioor al waer wy den vieren twinstichsten tsavons voor de revier van Ioor ghesedt syn ende verstaen soe van den Cooninck als van pieter opmeer dat voor vyff daghen het eene schip van macauo daer voorby ende doer de strate van sincka puro gepasseert was*'.

[42] Van Foreest and De Booy 1981, (op. cit.), p. 325: '*Den 26en smorghens sijn ses ofte seven van de prynssepalen uydt de craeck in ons schip ghecomen ende doen hebbe ick de vys-admirael ende ons schipper in de craeck gesteld ende voors het volck, soo wi best conden, in beide Portugheese jachten gescheept. Indt ondersoecken hebben soeveel naesticheidt ghedaen als moghelyck was, dat se gheen ghoedt souden mede draghen; dan alsoe het volck seer veel was ende wel hondert vrouwen, die om d'eerbaerheid wille soe nau niet conden besocht worden, vrese datter wel wadt achter de handt gebleven is. Daer sijn in beide de jagten over de 750 sielen ghescheept, den capetein heeft mijn bekendt dat om trendt 70 sielen indt vechten doodt ghebleven zijn*'.

[43] However, as England was no longer in conflict with Portugal in that period, the directors of the VOC were afraid that the English would confiscate the ship. NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten)1.01.46, inv. nr. 1534: Uitgaande brieven Admiraliteit Amsterdam (1604 – 1605).; NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350: Resoluties Admiraliteit van Amsterdam*: (*23 april /25 juni,1604); NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226: Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam *(14 Juny anno 1604): 'Is geordoneert Datmen anden Commisen leggende in Engelandt op de wacht vande aencomende schepen ende Caraque uyt OostIndien sal schryven, Dat zyluyden hen met geene middelen en laten bewegen Omme de voorß schepen ofte Caraque aldaer op eenighe havenen ofte plaetsen te laten incomen'.*

[44] NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350 (*Donderdagh 22en July 1604)*: *'Alsoo men wttet schryven vanen heer Aert van Eck verstaet dat het schipvolck van Capt. pieter Willems ende verhouff tot omtrent tw[intigh?] in getale gestelt op de Carake tot versekering desselve ende vande goederen darin geladen souden hebben ver…dert eene goede quantiteyt porceleynen daeruyt te lichten ende te versteken'.*

[45] R. Fruin, 'Een onuitgegeven werk van Hugo de Groot' (1868). This was first published in the *Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1875 (p. 210) and later included in the publication *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften met Aantekeningen Toevoegsels en Verbeteringen uit des Schrijvers Nalatenschap*, Part III: Historische Opstellen, The Hague, 1901, pp. 367-443; p. 383: *'Woonsdag xiiij.en July 1604, Is geresolveert*

Therefore, precise information about the booty of the captured *Santa Catarina* remains speculative, even though several accounts were written about it at the time.

First, there is the official report made by Admiral van Heemskerck while at Bantam, and sent back to the homeland, prior to his own arrival there. He lists the goods in the cargo of the *Santa Catarina* when it left Macao:

> According to the Portuguese, the carrack loaded a cargo at Macao consisting of 2000 picol of silk, 400 or 500 chests of velvet silk, 500,000 of sugar, 500,000 pounds of tutenagh [tintinago or spelter], 500,000 pounds of pock wood [wood to treat syphilis] or otherwise radys syna [Radix China, a root which is used as medicine for skin diseases], enough to fill a ship of 30 or 40 last, 500 pounds of red and yellow copper (both processed and unprocessed), 100 picol of camphor, a big chest filled with 300 pounds of musk balls, and an astounding amount of fine and coarse porcelain, [*vydtnemende veel groff & fyn*] a great quantity of gilded woodwork.[46]

Van Heemskerck also noted which items he had transferred onto his own ship, the *Witte Leeuw* that included some porcelain: 'We also have 9 or ten packs of porcelain on board' ('*9 ofte thien packjens Berseleyn'*).[47] The porcelain from the *Santa Catarina* had apparently been divided and loaded into several ships for the return journey. The porcelain in one of these, the *Eendracht,* was officially taxed and valued at four hundred guilders when it arrived home in March 1604.[48] These accounts provide some unusual details as to how the porcelain booty was divided, but a precise quantity is lacking.

---

dat men de Bewinthebbers vande Oost Indische Compangie sal affeys[sen] een sleutel vant Boshuijs alwaer de goederengecomen uyt de Carake geleyt werden, M[itsgaders] deputeren drie ofte vier uijt den Rade onder de welcke de selve zal berusten ten eynde d'open[ing?]van kisten packen vaten ende balen mitsgade[s] d'inventorisatie van alle de voorS goederen zodoenlyck is in presentie' .

[46] NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21 (op.cit.)*: 'De ladinghe die de craeck naer het segghen vande portughesen soude in macauo in ghenomen Hebben is voor d eerste 2000 pycol fyne syde vier Ofte vyff hondert cassen syde flueelen ende aghila ofte lingum aloes 500 Θ pondt widtte poyer suycker 500 Θ pondt tintanagha dat is den specie daer de Cynesen de Caxjens aff maken Isser 500000 # veel pockhoudt oft anders radys syna ick achte een schip van 30 ofte 40 Last vol 500 picol bereydt ~~oft~~ ende onbereydt roodt ende gheel cooper canfer so est segghen 100 picol eenen groten kyste daer in ontrendt 300 # muskes in ballen vydtnemende veel groff ende fyn porseleyn met seer veel verghuldt werck van Coetsen tafels ende ander dinghen met veel ghoudt dat wy noch niedt en weeten & moochlyck ons leven niedt weeten en sullen'*. (words are often crossed out in the original document).

[47] Van Ittersum 2006 (op. cit.), p. 36: 'He decided to transfer the prize goods to his own ships, which would allow him to load the carrack with pepper at Johore and Bantam. The White Lion received 1,584 bales of silk, 250 bales of raw silk, 150 barrels of camphor, 540 packs of sugar, 74 chests of silk clothes and aloes and … nine or ten (packs) filled with porcelain. The Alkmaar took in 1,150 bales of silk, 646 packs of sugar, 226 chests of aloes and silk velour and four barrels of camphor'.

[48] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226: (Resolutie Kamer Amsterdam, 14 juny anno 1604): '*dat men de Porseleynen gecomen met t' Schip D'eendracht by de Camer van Delft ten convoye sullen werden aengegeven voor de somme van Vierhondert'.*

To commemorate the extraordinary capture and booty, a booklet was published under the title: 'A short and accurate description of the taking of a valuable and enormous carrack, coming from the region of China, by the Admiral Jacobus Heemskercke' (*Corte ende sekere beschryvinghe van 't veroveren der rijcke ende gheweldighe krake, comende uytet gheweste van China door den Admirael Jacobus Heemskercke*).[49] The booty is described as being worth '60 times 100,000 ducaten' (*Den buyt wordt geschap op tsestichmael hondert duysent ducaten*).

Levinus Hulsius (1546 -1606), published accounts of explorations and voyages during the early 17th century including those undertaken by the Dutch.[50] In that epoch, these kinds of publications were popular as there were no newspapers or other forms of media. However, it is unknown where Hulsius would have gathered his information from and whether it was reliable. In his account of the capture of the *Santa Catarina,* he mistakenly writes that the ship was left in Zeeland province, because it could not be brought to Amsterdam, as it was too deeply loaded.[51] However, the documents referred to above clearly state that the ship was taken to the River Eems. Hulsius also included a list of the booty, mentioning various types of Chinese silks, spun gold thread, gold-woven cloth, bed curtains with gold; all kinds of embroidered silks and linen fabrics, aromas and drugs, and all kinds of furniture, much of it gilded. This is identical to Van Heemskerck's report. Hulsius thereafter states that there was, 'a countless number of

---

[49] This report was published in a unique booklet by Richard Schilder, printed in Middelburg in 1604. Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 383: '*Corte ende sekere beschryvinghe van 't veroveren der rijcke ende gheweldighe krake, comende uytet gheweste van China door den Admirael Jacobus Heemskercke"... "Den buyt wordt geschat op tsestichmael hondert duysent ducaten, waeronder 26 hondert duysent gulden aen Chinese syde neffens groote swaerte van ongefineert ende ongesuyvert gout met velen anderen costelycken waren coopmanschappen ende meubelen sijn, onder anderen een conincklycken stoel met edelgesteenten ende cleynodiën ingeleyt dattet een wonder is daeraf te schryven. Die men met groot verlangen dagelijcx verwachtende is*'.

[50] L. Hulsius, *Sammlung von sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten in verschiedene fremde Länder durch Levinus Hulsius und einige Andere, aus dem Holländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit allerhand Anmerrkungen versehen*, Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Oppenheim, and Hanau, 1598-1663.

[51] L.Hulsius, *Achte Schiffart: Kurtz Beschreibung was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern in den Ost Indien, die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre, als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. und 1603 zugetragen. Zusammen gezogen durch Levinum Hulsium*, Frankfurt am Main, 1605. On p. 35-41 he describes the voyage of Heemskerck and the capture of the Santa Catarina: '*Diese Kriegsschiff wurden alle darauß gar voll geladen, besetzten folgendes die Cracke mit frischen Volck, und kamen also darmit in Julio 1604 in Texel, ein Schiffhafen in Holland, wol an, da diese Cracke vollendt entladen, und die Güter nach Amsterdam geführt weynd worden. Wie diese Cracke noch geladen war, is sie 27. Schuh tieff ins Wasser gangen, da sie aber gar außgeleret worden, haben sie diß uberauß groß Faß gen Amsterdam bringen wollen, sie haben es aber wegen seine grösse nicht thun können, und ligt auff dise stund noch in der Wielingen, etliche meil von Amsterdam*'.

porcelains of all sorts and kinds, nearly 30 lasts, being over a 1000 Centner'.[52] There is, however, no mention of '1000 centner' in Heemskercks's report, only that there was 'an astounding amount of fine and coarse porcelain'. The mention of the amount of '30 last' is untraceable in any of the VOC documents.[53] Furthermore, Hulsius could not have had access to a list with the exact contents and value of the booty as the Dutch authorities were still in the process of calculating these at the time of his publication in 1605.[54]

The speculative quantity of porcelain Hulsius mentioned at that time has been used in later publications. For example, Volker made a calculation based on 30 lasts, a last being 'two tons of 1000 kilograms each' (2000 kilo x 30= 60,000 kilos). By weighing some pieces of Kraak-panelled type porcelain, each piece weighing about 550 grams, he arrived at a total of about 100,000 pieces.[55] This large quantity of porcelain has often been quoted in subsequent publications referring to the booty of the *Santa Catarina*. However, a cargo of porcelain would not only have contained the light-weighted Kraak-panelled types; heavy jars and large plates could also have been part of the cargo, as illustrated by the finds from the *San Diego* shipwreck. Without further decisive documents such as the inventory list of the *Boshuis* storehouse, we should consider Hulsius' claim of 50-60,000 kilo's as well as Volker's sum of 100,000 items as hypothetical.

The next issue concerning the *Santa Catarina* is whether and if so, when, there were any auctions selling porcelains from this booty. It must be kept in mind that there was a lot of discussion about whether the goods from the *Santa Catarina* were qualified as 'war booty' or as 'merchandise'. The famous jurist, Hugo de Groot, was engaged to

---

[52] Ibid., p. 41-42. '*Ein unzalbare menge Porcellanen geschirr von allerlei arth und gattung/bey 30.last/das seynde uber tausent Centner*'. See also: Fruin, 1901, (op. cit.), p. 383, note 3.

[53] The first problem is that the last itself, used to describe an amount of cargo, was not a clear dimension. It could be a measure of volume (about 125 cubic feet or 2,7 m^3) or a measure of weight (about 4000 pounds or 2000 kilograms). The volume measure was used for light cargoes, where the space the cargo took in the ship's hold was important, while the weight measure was used for heavy cargoes. Certainly, during the VOC's development phase in Asia, the Company's ships mostly transported relatively light products such as spices. However, these products were sold by weight. To facilitate the calculation of the necessary space on board, 3000 pounds were considered a last for pepper and spices. There is no specification for other goods. If we use Hulsius' calculation, the weight would amount to: 90.000 pounds. In Germanic jargon, a 'zentner' is a weight of 100 units, that is 100 pounds or about 50 kilograms so his calculation of 1000 centner would amount to 50,000 kilograms. (in England the term hundredweight was used).

[54] Hulsius published this in 1605, the final inventory was done in 1608, two years after his death.

[55] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 22: 'A "last" is two tons of 1000 kilogrammes each. To estimate the "untold mass of porcelain" I have weighed one carrack porcelain large dish, one plate, one large bowl, one small bowl and one cup. They gave an average weight of 550 grammes and so, the packing deducted, the 'untold mass' will have amounted to about 100,000 pieces, at that time something to wonder about indeed.'

sort out the legal issues concerning this case of privateering by the Dutch.[56]

According to Fruin, the States General gave permission to sell the 'perishable commodities', the silk and textiles, because they could deteriorate.[57] The Admiralty announced an auction to be held on August 15th and the following days.[58] However, there was disagreement between the chief of police in Amsterdam and the Admiralty on the auction dates. Finally, the VOC directors decided on September 16th 1604, to auction the porcelain and some of the Chinese treasures from the captured ship on, 'Monday or Tuesday at the latest'.[59] Documentary evidence of these auctions, what was sold and for how much, has yet to be found.

There are two further references in the accounts concerning the *Santa Catarina* affair that mention quantities of porcelain. Admiral van Heemskerck and his vice admiral, Jan Pauwels, had apparently purchased some porcelain themselves or they may have taken some from the booty. The existing lists provide details. One is that of Van Heemskerck: 'A large round box filled with porcelain' (*Een groote ronde doose voll porselein*), 'another box filled with porcelain' (*Een ditto vol porselein*), 'a wicker basket filled with porcelain' (*Een matten casgevol porseleyn*); 'a lacquered case filled with porcelain' (*Een gelackt kasken vol porseleyn*), and 'a good number of porcelains in his chest' (*Een goede partye porseleyn in zyn kist*).[60] (Appendix 5, list 4)

---

[56] He was commissioned by the VOC to justify the attack on the Santa Catarina as Heemskerck was accused of piracy and not privateering. De Groot wrote an extensive treatise on the law of nations and one part concerns the principal of *Mare Liberum*, that all nations were free to use the sea to justify this incident. See Hugo de Groot, *De Jure Praedae*, *Verhandeling over het Recht op Buit* (1604*)* Translated from Latin by Dr. Onno Damsté, Leiden, 1934. Hans Blom co-directed a research group on: *'Grotius's De Jure Praedae and the Grotian concept of rights'* at the Netherlands' Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS, an institute of the Royal Academy of Sciences KNAW) in 2004. See also the publications by P. Borschberg, (2003, 2004 and 2005).

[57] Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), pp. 388-389: '*Maar de buit was nog niet aan de Compagnie toegewezen; het process er over voor de admiraliteit zou misschien zes weken duren'*. (It would take another 6 weeks before the booty could be owned by the company as there was an ongoing lawsuit).

[58] NL-HaNA (Admiraliteit) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350: (Resoluties Admiraliteit van Amsterdam 1604)*:* '*Bespreking conditien vercopinge syde en andere bederfelijke waren uit de Carake Prijzen en manier van verkoping op maandag naestcomende/Biljetten dienaangaand Opening en visitatie kisten int boshuis'*.

[59] Ibid., '*Donderdag xvj en September 1604*: *Is met advis vande Bewinthebbers der Oostindische Compagnie goetgevonden op maendage of ten langsten dynsdage naest comende int boshuys deser stede te beginnen openbare vercopen de meest biedende de porceleynen ende eenige chineetsche fraeijicheden gecomen uyt de carake Admirael Heemskerck laest heeft innegebracht Alhier alomme affigeren op de naam van de Rade alhier end den voors Bewinthebbers gelyck desen van de zyde is gedaen Ende dat van de selve vercopinghe (te geschieden ter pr[esentie?] vande Gedeputeerde uijt dit Collegie zal contrebouck gehouden werden bijden Vendumr Sigaar'*.

[60] NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21 (op.cit.): *Inventaris vande goederen bevonden inde kiste van Jacob Heemskerck.*

The vice-admiral, Jan Pauwels, had 'a mattress filled with all sorts of beautiful and very fine porcelains', and, 'a seaman's trunk filled with all sorts of beautiful and fine porcelains'. Furthermore, 'an amount of fine porcelains being worth at least 600 guilders'. The total value of just the porcelains was 1200 guilders'.[61] However**,** neither list gives details on the shapes or amounts; only general terms as, 'a large quantity of fine porcelains' (*ghroote menichte van fyne porcheleynen*) and 'all sorts of pretty and fine porcelains' (*alderhande schoone & seer fyne porcheleinen van allerley soorten*) are given. (Appendix 5, list 5)

Another reference to porcelain comes from documents stating that the VOC directors had sent some gifts to the States General as part of the booty: 'a quantity of the finest porcelains, as well as some velvet, silks and other beautiful items to be sent to Your Honours'.[62] A detailed list was made because the value of these gifts had to be deducted from the taxes that the VOC had to pay to the State. The gifts included, 'a chest with 729 pieces of porcelain taxed as 1390 (guilders), 15 (shillings)'. Another chest contained '3 eight-sided gilded dishes and 4 round plates'. This document does mention a quantity of porcelain, however without specification on size and colour.[63] (Appendix 5, list 6)

The last issue concerning the booty of the *Santa Catarina* is the claim by Hugo de Groot that 'from all over Europe dignitaries came to buy the porcelains'.[64] Fruin wrote that he could not find more facts: 'I wish I could give particulars about the sale to which, according to De Groot, an incredible multitude flocked from all the lands of Europe.[65] He also stated that he could not find any reliable information as at that time no newspapers

---

[61] Ibid., De goederen van Jan Pauwels vice Admirael vande vlote van Heemskerck: '*In syn kisten bevonden gevisiteert synde by de bewinthebberen der oostIndische comp.e in presentie vande gecommitteerde uyt d'Ad`miraliteyt: In een leere Coffer…Een culckter ofte matras datmen tot de bedden ghebruijckt…Voorts was vervult met alderhande schoone & seer fyne porcheleinen van allerley soorten…*
In een bootsmans Kiste…Daer inne van aldrhande schoone & fyne porcheleinen waermede het vervult was…Voorts noch een ghroote menichte van fyne porcheleynen wel waerdich wesende ses hondert gulden…In voegen dat alle de porceleynen alleene wel souden beloopen die inde kisten & andersints bevonden syn geweest ter somme van twaelff hondert gull-'.
[62] The States General kept only part of these and a list was made of those goods. NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 4909**.** Their value had to be reduced from the taxes that the V.O.C. had to pay to the State. Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 397: '*Specificatie van tghene dheeren Staten generael hebben aengehouden vuyt verscheyden koffers ende packen gesonden van Amstelredam by die Bewinthebbers vande OostIndische Compaignie int begintsel van November 1604'.*
[63] Ibid.
[64] Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 389; note 1 refers to *De Jure Praedae* by Hugo de Groot, p. 314.
[65] Ibid., '*Ik wenschte dat ik omtrent die verkooping, waartoe naar het zeggen van De Groot uit alle landen van Europa een ongelooflijke menigte samenvloeide, wat naders kon meedeelen*'.

or 'blue books' (*blauwboekjes*) were published.[66] Fruin continued to say: 'The only facts I can communicate, gleaned from the minutes of the Admiralty, is that the sale took place by means of brokers, and at a price the goods could fetch, to be paid by residents of Amsterdam after six months, by foreigners as much as possible in ready cash'.[67]

There was also the case of De Buzanval, the French ambassador to Holland, who organized a 'purchase of porcelain' for King Henry IV of France. De Buzanval was indeed allowed to choose some items from the booty of the *Santa Catarina* for the French King but suggested to the States General that they should present them 'as gifts' to the King.[68] Consequently, on October 4th, 1604, after the arrival of the captured ship in the Dutch Republic, De Buzanval wrote to the French minister Villeroy that the statesman, Van Oldenbarnevelt (*monsieur Barnfelt*), had assured him there would be gifts. Van Oldenbarnevelt advised Buzanval to go to Amsterdam to make a choice. He consulted Princess Louise de Coligny, the fourth wife of the late William of Orange, and with her assistance he selected 'a fine dinner-service of porcelain, of the best there was' *(een schoon servies van porselein, van de alderbeste die er sijn*).[69] The items were packed by the agent Van der Vreecken in Rotterdam and sent to Paris, where the Dutch envoy Aerssenes presented them to the French King.[70]

Gifts, such as damasks and chinaware, were also presented to the French ministers Villeroy, Sillery and Rosny. The King of England was also given some items, but it is unknown what these were.[71] Therefore the statement that 'from all over Europe dignitaries came to buy the porcelains' should not be taken too literally, as most were

---

66. Ibid.: '*Maar het blijft aan onze verbeelding overgelaten de ontmoeting tusschen die mededingers, die elkander waardig waren, af te maken; naar zekere berichten dienaangaande heb ik tevergeefs omgezien'*. 'Blue books' (in Dutch *blauwboekjes*, in French, *Bibliothèque bleue*) is a term for a type of pamphlet used to spread opinions, ideas or events, whether political or religious.

67 Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 389, note 2 refers to the *Notulen Admiraliteit van Amsterdam, 11 augustus, 1604: 'Het eenige dat ik, uit de notulen der Admiraliteit , kan meedeelen, is dat de verkoop geschiedde door makelaars en tot den prijs dien men maken kon, te betalen na zes maanden door ingezetenen, door vreemdelingen zoveel mogelijk met gereed geld*'.

68 Ibid., p. 395: '*Hij, de gezant, was het van wien het denkbeeld om Hendrik IV in den buit te laten deelen, was uitgegaan*'.

69 Ibid., Fruin literally writes: 'he chose something or other, for example a pretty service of porcelain, the best there is' ('*om iets te noemen een schoon servies van porselein, van de alderbeste die er sijn'*). No exact amount is given.

70 Ibid., p. 396 and note 1 refers to 'Verhooren van Oldenbarnevelt', *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht.* vol. 2, part 2, p. 124.

71 Ibid., p. 397.

gifts and not purchases. There may have been 'foreign buyers' and these had to pay in ready cash, contrary to the Amsterdam buyers who had six months to pay.[72]

These accounts and documents show that there is enough additional information about the *Santa Catarina* to fill up some unclearness regarding her booty. The account made by Hulsius is the only existing one that mentions any large amount of porcelain using two different terms, 'last' and 'centner'. There are no official VOC documents to support the claim that a quantity of 100,000 pieces of porcelain had entered the Dutch Republic in 1604 as booty from the *Santa Catarina*. Further information still remains to be found on the exact quantity of porcelain that was aboard, how much of it was actually auctioned and sold.

A year later the large quantity of 50-60,000 porcelain items from another captured Portuguese ship was documented in more detail. In 1605, Admiral Wybrant van Warwijck captured the Santo António on its voyage from Macao to Malacca. A substantial amount of porcelain was listed as part of its booty: '6000 bundles of porcelains as well as ten tubs with fine and coarse porcelains' (*6000 bont Porceleynen: nevens 10 vaten so fijn als grof dito*).[73] If the sum of ten pieces per pack is correct, a total of 60,000 pieces can be calculated and together with the pieces packed in the ten tubs, this would indeed have been a sensational booty. It is however unclear whether the complete booty or even part of it ever arrived in the Dutch Republic, as during the

---

[72] Ibid.

[73] Borschberg 2002 (op. cit.), p. 63: 'The portion of the *Santo António's* cargo that escaped Dutch seizure included seven hundred to eight hundred *picul* (approximately 42,350-48,400 kilogrammes) of raw silk, about two hundred bales of silks and some three *bahar* (which is equivalent to about nine *picul* or about 544 kilogrammes) in gold. It can thus scarcely surprise — and the Dutch source bitterly complains about this — that the value of the cargo seized from the *Santo António* was significantly less than if it had been captured, for example, on open sea. The Dutch 'traders' made prize of the following items: 2,000 *picul* (approximately 121,000 kilogrammes) of white powdered sugar, baskets of sugar candy (stok-zuiker), 4,500 *picul* (approximately 272,000 kilogrammes) of *tintinago* or spelter, Chinese camphor, 18 lead boxes of musk-balls, 11 chests of vermillion, 22 chests containing Chinese fans (Chinese waejers), 209 fardels of raw silk and 75 fardels of 'bad yellow raw silk"(*geele slegte ruwe zyde*), 6000 pieces of coloured (bont) sundry porcelain 10 casks of both coarse and fine porcelain'. (Borschberg mistakenly transcribes 'bont' as coloured but bundled means 'packed in a bundle', sometimes 10 pieces or 20 per bundle according to size). The original Dutch text can be found in I. Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgangh, Deel 11, Oost-Indische Reyse onder den Admirael Wybrant van Waerwijck,* Amsterdam, 1646, p. 82: ' *'t gene sy in de veroverde Craecke (S. Antoni ghenaemt) vonden / bestont in ontrent twee duysent Picol witte poeyer suycker eenige corven stock suycker: 4500 picol Tintenage: 226 fardeelen Chinese Camphar: 90 fardeelen Aguelæ: 18 loode Cassen met Muscus ballen / 11 Cassen fermelioen: 22 Cassen Chinese Waeyers : 209 ferdeelen rouwe Zijde: 75 ferdeelen geel slechte Zijde : 6000 bont Porceleynen : nevens 10 vaten so fijn als grof dito : Eenige vergulde Bedd'-steden ende andere kleynigheden : een party Radix China: een party Beniewin: 150 Canasters of Corven ghemaeckte Zijde / als fluweelen / Damasten / Taffetaetjens, ghetweernde Zijde, daeronder oock eenige Cassen Gout-draet : synde een sterck Schip / dies het boven ghesloopt / ende met een vast Boevenet hermaeckt is / oock bemant om haer te deffenderen ende naer 't Vaderlandt te varen'.*

return journey various incidents took place that might have prevented this.[74] The VOC ship *Mauritius* was ordered to take on goods destined for the Republic and may have transported some of the porcelain found in the *San António*.[75]

The overall conclusion of this section is that the booty from both Portuguese ships that had left Macao in the years 1603 and 1605 shows that large quantities of porcelain were available there to be bought and shipped by Portuguese merchants. The Dutch merchants had, as yet, not bought such large amounts; they were more focused on purchasing spices and pepper. As they were granted the right of booty, the Dutch realised that a lucrative way to acquire Chinese merchandise was in fact to capture Spanish and Portuguese ships carrying these goods including porcelain. The exact number of items or the revenues of any auctions of the porcelain items obtained from these captures, however, remain to be found.

VOC shipments of Chinese porcelain from 1602 to around 1612.

During the first ten years of VOC trade in Asia, there were as yet no detailed orders for porcelain from the Company's directors; cargo lists of the return ships show fluctuating amounts. The Dutch merchants depended on what Chinese junks brought to be sold to foreign merchants at Bantam or Patani, but also made use of booty from captured ships. Patani was a market and harbour where merchants from many Asian countries brought their merchandise and where pepper was the most sought-after item.[76] It was also one

---

[74] It appears that the original cargo of the *Santo António* was distributed among several other vessels of Van Warwijk's fleet for the return journey from Bantam. The captured vessel itself was leaking and had to be abandoned at Madagascar. The ship *Mauritius* was sent to Madagascar to retrieve the cargo but had to be repaired there and then 'fell apart' during the return journey off the coast of Guinea in February 1609. The cargo was then transhipped onto another vessel brought there that finally arrived on September 8th at Texel.

[75] Commelin 1646, (op. cit.) Part 2: *De Oost-Indische Reyse onder den Admirael Wybtrant van Waerwijck (1605)* p. 82. He transhipped the captured cargo in his ships *Erasmus* and *Nassau* at Bantam and departed from there on February 6th, 1606, and arrived in the Netherlands in June 1607. ('*synde een sterck Schip/ dies het boven ghesloopt / ende met een vast Boevenet hermaeckt is / oock bemant om haer te deffenderen ende naer 't Vaderlandt te varen')*. See also De Groot 1604, (op. cit.), p. 263 and 331; P. Borschberg, 'The Seizure of the Santo António at Patani. VOC Freebooting, the Estado da India and Peninsular Politics, 1602-1609', *Journal of the Siam Society,* no. 90 (2002) pp. 59-72.

[76] A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, The Hague, 1970, p. 7: 'The Portuguese capture of Malacca encouraged the trade of such ports as Patani, especially when Portuguese exactions and extortion in Malacca made trade there increasingly unprofitable. Indian textiles were brought to Patani to be exchanged for pepper, gold, or foodstuffs; and both Chinese goods and Indian textiles presumably were marketed by Malay merchants of Patani in Thailand and through the Indonesian Archipelago, to the north coast ports of Java and Sumatra and to Makasar. Patani thus was part of a general trading system which arose in reaction to Portuguese Malacca and included ports as Acheh in North Sumatra, Bantam in West Java, and Makasar on Sulawezi'. 'Economically, Patani was involved in

of the important coastal settlements for the overseas Chinese merchants, as it lay on the South China Sea route for ships on their way to other regions as Malacca and the Indonesian Archipelago.[77] (Figure 5.5) In order to settle trade terms with the Chinese, the VOC merchants needed to engage interpreters for their negotiations.[78]

Figure 5.5. Map of Malaysia-Thailand border with Patani. From: CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

From this period, orders were sent to Asia, but these only occasionally included porcelain. One general order from the VOC directors dated 1605 states: 'Have the Chinese bring all Chinese goods like silk, sugar, porcelain and other (items) in large quantities by the Chinese to Patani and Bantam'.[79] Another document illustrates the types of porcelain purchased by VOC merchants. (Appendix 5, list 7)

---

this system both in the long-distance trade with China, carried on in Chinese junks, and in a more localized trade with Siam and other Malay and Indonesian ports'.

[77] J.L. Blussé and J. de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee: De Eerste Vijftig Jaar, 1600-1650*, Franeker, 1983, p. 195.

[78] W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*. vol. 1. The Hague, 1898, p.16: '*Een man van Hai-ting [Nt: eene stad aan de zuidkant van de baai van Amoy], genaamd Li Kim en een paar slechte kooplieden Poan Sioe en Koe Tschin hadden lang in Patani gewoond en waren gewoon met de Hollanders over de zaken van China te spreken*'. H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*. The Hague, 1938, p.126, '*Om te maken, dat zooveel mogelijk van de begeerde artikelen werd aangebracht, schreef men blijkbaar uit Patani wel eens brieven, in Chineesch vertaald, aan kooplieden in China, om dezen tot zoo groot mogelijke zendingen aan te moedigen'*. From note 6: '*Zoo in een copiebrief van Victor Sprinckel aan Jacques l'Hermite de Jonge te Bantam, Patani 25 Sept. 1608*'.

[79] NL-HaNA (VOC), 1.04.02, inv. nr. 461, *Instructie van de bewindhebbers voor admiraal Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge, de vice-admiraal en de brede raad van de vloot van elf schepen. 'Alle Chinesche waren als Sijde suijcker porcelenien ende andere meer sal men door die Chinechijn in grote abundantie tot patanen ende Bantam doen brengen*'. Terpstra 1938, Patani; p. 128: 'De eerste gelegenheid, waarbij mij is gebleken, dat van 't vaderland uit het koopen van Chinees porselein aangemoedigd werd, is de tocht van Matelief naar Indië in 1605.

In 1607, an order from the VOC directors for Asian commodities was sent with the fleet of Admiral Pieter Willems Verhoef to Asia. It included, for the first time, specific instructions for the purchase of porcelain in demand in this period in the Dutch Republic.[80] (Appendix 5, list 8) Another order sent to the trade post of Patani, was with instructions for the Chinese to bring the required merchandise, and includes information on the assortment of porcelain required with the quantities of each type.[81] (Appendix 5, list 9)

Flatware was evidently most in demand, 'especially flat butter dishes' (*Insonderheyt platte botter schottelen*), even if it is '50 thousand dozen' (*al brengtmen 50 Duysent Dosynen*), but, 'to make sure it is of fine sorts'. Saltcellars, mustard pots (contrary to saucers) and milk jugs with a handle were ordered for the first time.[82] I have already explained that these shapes were, as yet, not produced according to Western specifications or samples; in this period, existing Chinese shapes sufficed for use as such.

The order continues with 'an amount of fine large bowls, not all too deep because many deep bowls have come from the *Craque Santa Catarina* which are too deep and narrow'.[83] It is a puzzling request; one would consider this meant a *clapmuts* type but these were listed separately.[84] Also in demand were, 'all kinds of beautiful pots small and large, of which the larger should be filled with preserves so as not to transport them empty'. These would also have been Chinese domestic types.[85] Even unusual shapes as 'vases with a star shaped mouth' (*Alderhande fraeye kannekens die monden gelyck een*

---

[80] NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten) 1.11.01.01, inv.nr. 1136, *Stukken betreffende de vloot uitgezeild naar Oost-Indië onder bevel van de admiraal Pieter Willemsz. Verhoeven. Instructies, seinbrieven, monsterrollen, prijskranten en andere stukken;'*.

[81] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 634: *Memorie voor de Chinezen die van Patani naar China gaan, bevattende een opgave van goederen die de Chinezen bij hun terugkeer voor de Nederlanders in Patani meebrengen, en een opgave van Victor Sprinckel van de textiel die in Patani werd gevraagd [1608]* ; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1054: *Stukken betreffende Patani, Calicut (Malabar), Siam, Japan en Johor (1607-1613)*: '*Originele ende copie calcula van uit staande schulden voor rekeninghe van de oude en de nieuwe vereenichde Comp. overgelevert bij Jacob Buis aen Cornelis Francx coopman in dato 9 December 1605'*. It is regrettable that the exact measure is not given; '2 ½' is given, but without exact specifications.

[82] Ibid., '*Ende voorts alderhande Soutvaten mosterpotten melck pottes met hanthaven dae mense can by vatten ofte Draghen'*. Preserved fruit (in Dutch '*confyten'*) was constantly in demand. This would probably have been sugared ginger or fruit for consumption on the long return voyage or to be sold in the homeland.

[83] NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten)1.11.01.01, inv. nr. 1136 (op.cit.): '*Een partie fraye groote comme niet al te seer dieppe want van diepe comme isser seer veel met de Craque Santa Catarina gecomen dewelcke te Diep ende enghe syn*.'

[84] Ibid., '*een goede parie clapmutssen van de minste soorte tot de meste'*.

[85] Ibid., '*Alderhande schoone potten groote ende cleyne men can de groote met confyten vollen omme niet ledich over te brenghen'.*

sterre) were on the list.[86] (Figure 5.6) Such an item was amongst the finds from the *San Diego* shipwreck dated 1600. The Spanish had apparently purchased such a rare item before the Dutch entered the Asian trade; it may be possible that this shape was one of the porcelain items captured by the Dutch and so they were familiar with it.

Figure 5.6. Pouring vessel with star-shaped mouth from the shipwreck of the *San Diego,* 1600. h. 20 cm; d. base: 8 cm. Cat. Nr. 106, inv. nr. 6.[87]

The same instruction includes 'a quantity of flat coarse wares may be brought, the same as the ones Jacob van Neck bought at Patani, the dimensions of which are such that a Dutch cheese can be served on at the table'.[88] We see on the painting in Figure 5.7 a large piece of cheese on a small tin platter, hence the request for the larger size dishes.[89] If, however, these were intended to be of the coarse type, then they were possibly large Zhangzhou-type dishes. The directors recommend that, instead of using stone as ballast for the ships, such heavy porcelains should be placed, 'under the inner planking or lining of the ship' (*onder de gharnierighe brengen*).[90]

---

[86] D. Carré, J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio, *Le San Diego : un Trésor Sous la Mer, Catalogue*, Paris, 1994.
[87] Ibid., figure p.338.
[88] NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten) 1.11.01.01, inv. nr. 1136 (op.cit.): '*Ende soomen in de plaetse van steen eenich swaer werck van Porceleynen conde stouwen onder die garnieren / soo machmen wel een partye plat groffachtich goet brenghen gelyck als Jacob van neck tot Patanie coft / ende syn soo groot datmen een hollantsche Keese daer in mach ter tafel brenghen'.*
[89] See for further descriptions of foodstuffs: Julie Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age.* New Haven and London, 2007.
[90] The lining of a ship where heavy goods are stored as ballast.
http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocglossarium/vocoutp: '*garniering (i,1/ii,2): bekleding van het ruim van een schip met planken, rotan of bamboe, ter bescherming van schip en lading en om de laatste te beter te kunnen opstuwen. Ook de laag rijstbundels, onder in het ruim en waarop de lading rust. Het doel hiervan is, speciaal bij zware waren te voorkomen, dat het zwaartepunt van het schip te laag komt te liggen'.*

Figure 5.7. Still life painting with fruits, nuts and cheese. Floris Claesz van Dijck, 1613. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. inv. nr. OS-1-76.

We see here a detailed order for porcelain with Western shapes, but it cannot be established which sorts actually arrived in the Dutch Republic, as shipping lists of the return ships of those years do not provide exact details. We only know that the total cargo of the return ships of that year was worth 3,000,000 guilders of which 100,000 was 'porcelain and cinnamon'.[91]

As related in chapter 4, the *Mauritius* left Bantam for the Dutch Republic and was shipwrecked in the Gulf of Guinea (Cap de Lope Gonsalves) in 1609.[92] The 215 salvaged porcelain items are quite diverse, but no porcelain was listed on its cargo list and it may be possible that the items were taken on board at Madagascar, where the ship stopped on its return journey to load goods from the captured *São António* in 1605, mentioned above.[93]

Porcelain on one of the ships of the return fleet of 1610, the *Zeelandia*, was only noted as: 'many porcelain dishes' (*veele porcelyne schootels*), without any concrete

[91] NL-HaNA (Landsadvocaat Van Oldenbarnevelt) 3.01.14, inv. nr. 3108, *Aantekeningen betreffende de aankomst en lading van enige schepen van de vloten onder bevel van Cornelis Matelief de Jongen en Paulus van Caerden.* The 5 ships, the Bantam, ter Veer, Ceylon, Gouda and the Erasmus arrived in July and August 1609 in the Dutch Republic. The cargo included 100,000 guilders' worth of porcelain and cinnamon. '*In porceleijnen en caneel 100000 guilden'*; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02 inv. nr. 603, *Facturen van de lading van het schip Bantam, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1608: 'de Bantam, 400 last, 13000 sack peper. 28700 # nagelen, 4 cassen syd ; 272 groote perceleyn'.*

[92] See Appendix chapter 4, list 5; M. L'Hour, *Le Mauritius- la Memoire Engloutie.* Paris, 1989. The pieces can be viewed at the Musée de la Compagnie des Indes at Port Louis, Brittany, France.

[93] L'Hour 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 233-239.

details.[94] The *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* listed a quantity of 9,227 pieces of porcelain and the *Orange* had 'many porcelain dishes' (*veel Porceleyen schotelen*).[95]

The VOC officials at Bantam were not satisfied with these quantities; the Chinese junks that arrived at Bantam with merchandise seemed not to have delivered all that much porcelain in 1610. For example, Jacques l'Hermite de Jonge (1582-1624) chief merchant (*opperkoopman*) at Bantam, wrote to the factor Paulus van Caerden (1569-1615?) on Ambon, one of the islands called the Moluccas, that the supply of damask, velvets and porcelains cannot be sent to him (from Bantam) because the 'junks did not bring much' (from China).[96] Moreover, the VOC was not the only customer at Bantam. De Jonge complains that the Gujarati merchants from India (*guseratten*) drove up the prices because they bought 'so much that there was nothing to be obtained for a reasonable price'.[97] He also reported that it was necessary to contract the Chinese to bring good quality porcelain every year because, 'what they have brought until now is not much and mostly bad quality so that we did not dare to buy to send to the Home country, knowing it was nothing special there'.[98] He furthermore complained that the price of porcelain increased when the ships arrived and when the crew and other

---

[94] E. van Meteren, *Historie van de oorlogen en geschiedenis der Nederlanderen en der zelver Naburen: beginnende met den Jare 1315, en eindigende met den Jare 1611*, Gorinchem and Breda, 1748-1763, vol. 10, pp. 403-404: *'In Zomer en Hooimaand van dit jaar zijn in Nederland scheepen uit Oost-Indien aangekomen, als, de schepen Gelderland, groot 700 vaten, daarop Schipper was Jan Jansz. Mol, met peper gelaaden; Zeelandia, groot 600 vaten, ook wel in hebbende 18000 zakken peper, elk van 55 ponden, wel 700 stukken zyde laakens, veele porcelyne schootels en andere dingen'.*

[95] O. Nachod, *Die beziehungen der Niederländischen ostindschen kompagnie zu Japan im siebzehnten jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1897. p. 115: '*Der Leeuw met Pijlen begab sich nach der heimat und langte am 20 Juli 1610 bei texel an, als Ueberbringer der ersten Ladung aus japan, unter welcher sich 9 Kisten Lackwerck und 9227 Stück Porzellan befanden'.* Van Meteren 1610 (op. cit.), note 135, fol. 659: *Het schip Orangie in Zeelandt geladen met wel acht hondert duysent pont pepers/veel Porceleyen schotelen'*.

[96] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1053, Copie van een brief door Jacques l'Hermite van Bantam aen den admirael Pauwels van Caerden geschreven, gedateerd 23 October 1610: '*Tgene uwe Edele is ontbiedende van Damasten & fluweelen & porceleijn: sal dit jaer niet connen gesonden werden: alsoo..met die Joncken heel weijnich is gecomen: & is soo nauwe by de guseratten opgekocht … [dat niets tegen redelijke prijs waas te krijgen)*'.

[97] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1920 (op.cit.), vol. II, p. 20: letter from J.P. Coen to Amboina, 3-11-1615; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962, pp. 65-84. The Gujarati merchants transported textiles and indigo to the Indonesian islands and the aim of the VOC was to take over this trade and use their monopoly on certain spices for the return ships to Surat.

[98] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1053 (op.cit.); H.E. Gelder, 'Gegevens Omtrent den Porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch jaarboek: bijdragen tot de economische geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. X, pp. 165-193, 1924, pp. 170-171: '*want hetgene tot noch toe gebracht heben is niet veel te beduyden geweest ende meestal slecht goed, waerdoor deselven nimmermeer hebbe durven coopen om naert Vaderlandt te seynden, welwetende dat daer niet als seer curieus goet en dient*'.

people buy these as personal goods.[99] (Appendix 5, list 10) Still, '100 large porcelain dishes' (*groote porcelyenen schotels*) were sent to the VOC directors together with some silk wares and embroidered textiles.[100]

In this period, captured booty continued to supplement porcelain for the Dutch home market. A quantity of porcelain was taken from the *Nostra* [or Nossa] *Sinhore del Pare* captured by the Dutch in the roadstead at Malacca. This was transshipped to the return ships *Hollandia, Middleburch* and *Rotterdam*, which departed from Bantam in 1610/1611.[101] The *Hollandia* had 16 corgees of porcelain, the *Middelburch* 12 corgees, and the *Rotterdam* 2 corgees with various amounts of 'porcheleijn'.[102]

In summary, the quantities of porcelain during the first ten years after the establishment of the VOC to the Dutch Republic and to regions within Asia were relatively small. The VOC directors sent only two orders for porcelain to Asia, one that included details on the required shapes. These were for the most part flatware of various dimensions, but also some unusual items, such as the vase with a star-shaped mouth, and Western shapes such as mustard pots or milk jugs. However, we do not know whether these orders were fulfilled; cargo lists of VOC ships do not give precise details at this stage; at the most they state that the dishes were large or coarse and only a few mention any precise quantity. We do know however, that VOC shipwrecks dated to the first decade of the 17th century included the Kraak-type flatware, *clapmuts* and bowls; items as wine pots, small pots with lids and small saucers had to fulfil the requirements of Western shapes.

---

[99] Ibid., '*en de bootsgezellen ende andere voor haer selven daeraf niet en sullen mogen coopen, dwelck achte hier swaerlijck sal connen te wege* gebracht *worden overmits door oude gewoonte seer is ingewortelt*'. The first time that this was prohibited dates from 1602; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 7525, *Kopie-artikelbrieven, -instructies en andere stukken van Prins Maurits, de Staten-Generaal en de Heren XVII voor de bemanningsleden van de schepen.1602 – 1604.* See also: Viallé 2014 (op. cit.), p. 37.

[100] Van Gelder, 1924, (op. cit.), p. 170, *'(zendt) een casken met eenige sydewercken ende geborduurde deeckens ende 100 groote porceleynen schotels'*.

[101] The return ships Hollandia and Middelburch left Bantam in 1610 and 1611; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 605, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Rotterdam, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1610 sep.*; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 543, *Lijst van de door Verhoeff buitgemaakte goederen uit het veroverde schip Nossa Senhora del Pare 1608 dec. 12.*

[102] A corgee is a unit of mass, used in India, equal to 212 moodahs, or rush mat bundles. A cargo list dated 1614 mentions that one corgee would contain 20 pieces, but as explained before, the quantities per package type could vary.

Porcelain commissions and deliveries during the period 1612-1622.

Until 1612, commodities were still mainly collected at Bantam and Patani and from 1619, Batavia. From this period, a gradual increase in the quantities of porcelain transported to the Dutch Republic is noted and more orders were placed in Asia. As porcelain was still scarce in the homeland, a letter dated April 28th, 1612, was sent to Bantam from the directors with orders to purchase 'as much porcelain as possible, of all sorts', because there was a lack of it. [103]

The return fleet of that year that left Bantam in December 1612 included the ships *Wapen van Amsterdam,* the *Vlissingen* and the *Witte Leeuw.* The *Wapen van Amsterdam,* listed five barrels, each with large porcelain dishes (*groote porceleynen Schotels*) with the letters *P.S.* on the barrel perhaps indicating a private purchase. On the shipping list of the *Vlissingen*, a total amount of 38,641 items is recorded.[104] (Appendix 5, List 11) It includes a large variety of shapes such as large dishes, saucers, table plates, butter dishes and fruit bowls. Oil and vinegar jugs, 'pots with spouts', and tiny brandy or gin cups were also on the list.[105] Salvaged items from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck, which was part of the same fleet, correspond to that list. Identical ones were found amongst the shards of the *Witte Leeuw,* which shows that part of the porcelain cargo of the *Vlissingen* must have been on board.

I have already noted in Chapter 3 that, even though Western shapes as 'oil and vinegar jugs', (*olie- en azijn kannetjes*), 'jugs with a handle and spout' (*Cannekens met hengsels ende pipen)*, ' jugs with a handle' and 'brandy bottles' (*brandewijnstopken*s) were ordered, such items were not found amongst shipwreck finds. It seems that shapes used in China and resembling these were bought; exact Western ones had not yet been produced.

---

[103] Terpstra 1938 (op. cit.), p. 129, refers to a letter sent to Peter Segers in Patani dated April 28 -1612, wherein it is stated that there were no more arrivals of porcelain to the Netherlands and that as much as possible should be sent.

[104] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 607, *Facturen van de ladingen van de schepen Wapen van Amsterdam, Vlissingen en Witte Leeuw, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek, 5 December 1612;* Van Gelder, 1924 (op. cit.), p. 171; the cargo list of the Witte Leeuw does not list any porcelain, see R. Sténuit, 'De Witte Leeuw. De schipbreuk van een schip van de VOC in 1613 en het onderwateronderzoek naar het wrak in 1976', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 25, 1977, no. 4, pp. 165-166; C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*, Amsterdam, 1982, pp. 23-24.

[105] Ibid., *'boterschotels, klapmutsen, fruitschalen, ronde potkens, saucierkens, cameelscoppen, tafelborden, olie- en azijn kannetjes, pimpelkens, tuytepottekens, brandewijnstopkens*'.

Another order, sent in 1613, asked to 'send as much as you can acquire, of all sorts, except the largest size dishes, which cannot be sold'.[106] Perhaps there was a surplus of this type in the Dutch Republic or they became unpopular because of the large size.

During the following years porcelain deliveries gradually increased. In 1614, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, then still second in command (he became VOC Governor-General in 1618), wrote in a letter to the Company's directors in Amsterdam that six Chinese junks had arrived 'instead of the usual 2, 3 or 4, with a very large amount of fine as well as coarse porcelain' (*Sy hebben gebracht een zeer groote party soo fijn als groff porceleyn*), which he was able to buy at a good price.[107] (Appendix 5, list 12) The return ships *Zwarte Leeuw* and *ter Veere*, left Bantam in January 1614 with '*4,277 corgees*' of porcelain. This document also mentions that one 'corgee' would contain 20 pieces (*stelle 20 stuck voor elck corge*). If so, the amount would have been 85,540 pieces, a higher amount than previous cargoes.[108]

An even higher number was listed on the cargo list of the *Gelderland*, which left Bantam on October 25th, 1614.[109] The *Gelderland* was caught in a typhoon at the island of Mauritius together with the *Banda* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* on their return journey at the beginning of 1615.[110] Large amounts of shards have continually washed up on the shores where the *Gelderland* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* were destroyed.[111]

The *Gelderland* listed the large amount of nearly 70,000 items on its cargo list, a

---

[106] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 312, Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië 1614 – 1795, april 28, 1612; this is repeated in another letter, dated March 20, 1613: *'fijn porselein kan in Patani niet te veel worden ingekocht, maar grote schotels moet men niet kopen'.* Terpstra 1938 (op.cit.), p. 129.

[107] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op.cit.), vol. I, p. 65:*'Toucherende den handel der Chinese waren. Dit jaer zijn hier aengecomen 6 Chinese joncken, alle seer wel geladen, in plaetse dat zeer ordinaerlijck voor desen 2, 3 a 4 ten hoochsten plegen te comen'.*

[108] NL-HaNA (Landsadvocaat Van Oldenbarnevelt) 3.01.14, inv. nr. 3119: '*Lading 2 schepen uit Indie januari 1614 Zwarte Leeuw en ter Veere: 4277 corges porcelanen: stelle 20 stuck voor elck corge [waarde f 420770'.*

[109] This ship is not the Gelderland of 1601; VOC ships were often renamed after they were shipwrecked or no longer used.

[110] NL-HaNA, (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1059, *Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637*: 1616; Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 151: Letter dated December 25th, 1615; the *Delft* arrived in the Netherlands in October, 1615, and the *Orangieboom* arrived in December 1615, with as much as possible of the cargo from the *Gelderland*; they left one-third of their cargo behind which the *Witten Beer* then would take back home. See NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 100, *Kopie-resoluties van de Heren XVII, 1608 juli 7 - 1623 augustus 19*; *resoluties october 1615*: *'Nopende de verkoop van de porceleynen tot Delff werdt verstaen'.*

[111] S. Ostkamp 'De Introductie van Porselein in de Nederlanden', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, 2003/1, pp. 14-29.

substantial quantity.[112] These included dishes, *clapmutsen*, *cameels coppen* and bowls as well as: 'low white cups, plain white cups, and half-sized white *clapmutsen*'. (Appendix 5, list 13) 25,230 brandy or gin cups were packed in 10 casks (*25, 230 pimpelkens in 10 tobbe*); these would be identical to those from the *Banda* and *Witte Leeuw* shipwrecks.

From 1615, instructions became more detailed and we see orders for shapes that had not previously been requested, but the preference remained flatware. The VOC directors commissioned a large quantity of porcelain on April 30th, 1615, 'mostly flat ware such as butter dishes, a few middle-sized fruit dishes', but the largest-sized dishes are unnecessary, 'as there are sufficient of these'.[113] (Appendix 5, List 14)

Other shapes ordered included: '*bierenbroodts coppen'*, flasks, and 'nice flowerpots'. The term '*bierenbroodts coppen'* may refer to a type of bowl used during the period of the 16th and 17th centuries to consume a mixture of beer (*bier*) and bread (*broodt*), a regular evening meal at that time.[114] The exact shape cannot be traced, but a *clapmuts*-type would have been suitable. A new instruction was included: the decoration should preferably be 'not completely white but everything [with] blue [decoration]' (*geen wit maer alle geschildert blaew werck*). [115] This request shows, for the first time, that blue and white porcelain was now favoured in the Dutch Republic.

Supplies of porcelain were not quite as plentiful as Coen hoped. Chief merchant Hendrick Janszoon wrote on November 25th 1615 from Patani to Coen that only one junk had arrived, bringing coarse as well as fine porcelain and that the amount of porcelain to be sent back to the Netherlands was not much, 'worth around 1700 real's of eight'.[116]

---

[112] NL-HaNa (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1057, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, factura Gelderlant 25-10-1614:* '*volght het porcelyn …. [totaal] 69057 stx*'. Another of these wrecked ships, the Banda, was salvaged in 1981 but did not have such a substantial amount; the salvaged items have been discussed in chapter 3.

[113] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02 inv. nr. 312, *1614 nov. 21 - 1617 apr. 20: Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1614 nov. 21-1617 apr. 20*; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 173, '*eerst alle pladt goet als boterschotelen, fruytschotelen, andere schotelen, weynich halve fruytschaelen, goede partije schotelen die 't stuck een quaert van en real van achten costen*', '*maer seynt geene vande aldergrootste soorte van schotelen daeraff syn noch genoech gestoffeert*'. He dates this order incorrect as 21-11-1614, which Volker copied: Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 26. Both mistake the punctuation mark after 44, the correct amount should be 44,000 (pieces) not 440.

[114] *WNT* (website *Woordenboek Nederlandse Taal*): '*Voorheen de naam van eene soort van bierpap, gemaakt met brood*'.

[115] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 312: (op.cit.): *Memorie op de coopmanschappen die men wt Oost Indien naer het vaderlandt sal brengen & in Patania souden mogen ingekocht worden 30-4- 1615.*

[116] W.P. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. 7, The Hague, 1952, p. 51 (Hendrick Janszoon aan Coen, dd. 25-11-1615):

A few months later, in January 1616, Coen wrote to the VOC directors that porcelain had been purchased, 'half, one third and one quarter dishes', 'but they are badly painted'.[117] He expected another similar amount to arrive from China, 'which has been made in advance, will be brought by the junks arriving at the end of February', but he foresaw that better and finer porcelains could be obtained thereafter, as there was enough money to buy these.[118]

However, in April 1616, the VOC directors decided to lower the sum for purchasing porcelain from 10,000 real's to 1,000 or 2,000 or at the most 3,000 real's.[119] They give as reason that 'the porcelain has become expensive, suffers damage on the return journey and does not sell well'.[120] Besides, 'the Chamber of Zeeland, Delft and Hoorn have enough supplies'. The directors had heard that at Bantam things proceeded very disorderly with regard to the loading of porcelain, because, 'when it is brought alongside the ships by the junks, the boats or barks, it is stowed and piled up so high one upon the other that much is broken and gone to pieces'.[121] Therefore, in the future, 'it must be seen to that the porcelain is put orderly into the junks or others, so that when it is brought aboard, there are no broken pieces otherwise the porcelain comes over so unsuitable that no less than half, as an average, of broken ware is brought to the market here'.[122] (Appendix 5, List 15)

'Van China zijn in Patani geen jonken verschenen, op één na, die eigenlijk voor Japara bedoeld was … die anders niet en brenght als groff ende wat fijn porceleyn.'; p. 57: '*T retour voor 't patria, dat hier rechtevoort, buyten hetgene op Jappon gesonden, noch bij de logie is, importeert seer weijnich, is ontrent de 17 hondert realen van achten aen porcelijn'.* The Spanish coin, *real de a ocho,* was used in Asia as the currency to purchase merchandise. It was used from the 16th till the 18th century in the Dutch East Indies, where the population called them *Real Batu* (or *pasmat).*

[117] Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 168, (Coen aan Heeren XVII, dd. 05-01-1616): '*Porceleyn, te weten meest halve, derde en quadre schotels gaet hiermede een goede partye, die almede op schult hebben moeten aennemen. Sy sijn, nae ons dunckt, slecht van schilderye. Nietegenstaende 't groot verlies welck de Chinesen dit jaer daervan gehadt hebben, soo sullen met de naeste joncken, die in 't laetste van deze maent ende February worden verwacht, noch een partye diergelycke brengen, welcke op vooraet in China gemaeckt sijn, maer daerna, soo het ons aen geen gelt gebreeckt, sullen fijn en schoon porceleyn te verwachten hebben*.'

[118] Ibid.

[119] Colenbrander (ed.) 1922 (op.cit.), vol. IV, p. 346: '*schrijven datmen niet veel porceleijn en sendt alsoo de Camere van Zeelandt, Delft ende Hoorn noch genoegh geprovideert sijn'.*

[120] Ibid., '*alsoo deselve seer duer vallen, groote laccage onderwege lyden ende alhier tot villen pryse sijn ende cleinen afftreck hebbe'.*

[121] Ibid., '*dat het tot Bantham seer onordentlijck in 't affladen van 'porceleyn, met dat men 't selve in de joncken, sloepen oft barcken, daer men 't mede aen boort van de schepen brenght, soo hooch op malcanderen stout ende opset, dat het seer veel breekt*'.

[122] Ibid., '*soodat darop voortaen moet gelet worden, dat men 't porceleyn ordentelijck van malcanderen sette in de joncken oft andersints, daer men 't mede aen boort brenght, opdatter geen gebroocken goet in de schepen en compt; en dat het porceleyn soo ongeschickt overcompt, dat men hier niet min als de helfft d'een door d'ander gebroocken goedt aen de marckt en crijght.*'

Another document states that 'If indeed porcelains are sent [they] should be packed in the pepper because the cloves cling too much which causes great damage to the porcelains'.[123] This remark provides additional information on the packaging of porcelain in this period. For example, the salvaged finds of the *Witte Leeuw* reveal that this request was put into practice; most of the broken pieces were found amidst large quantities of peppercorns.[124]

The cargo lists of the return ships of 1616 present information on the quantity shipped to the homeland that year. The *Dolphijn* had 7,679 pieces on board; the *Mauritius* carried a total amount of 23,023 pieces and the Rotterdam 28,833 pieces of porcelain.[125] The cargo of the ship the *Hart*, dated January 15th, 1616, that sailed from Bantam to Delft contained 3,730 pieces.[126] The total amount of porcelain that arrived in the Dutch Republic in 1616 would have been only around 59,535 pieces, probably the result of the restricted amount ordered by the directors.

Still, in 1616, Coen wrote that elephant tusks had been were traded for porcelain.[127] This comprised of 'one-half, one third and one quarter [sized] saucers, butter dishes, and fruit dishes'.[128] He added that 'the Chinese will not bring any more as there is enough for this coming year that has been made in advance'. Coen also explained the procedure of ordering porcelain. (Appendix 5, list 16)

> You are herewith informed that the porcelains are made far inland in China, and that the assortments which are sold to us and in these Native Quarters, are ordered and paid for in advance, for in China assortments like these are not in

---

[123] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 228, *Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam, 1602 - 1629 , 1 februari 1616: ' Is goetgevonden met den eersten naer Indien te schrijven datmen niet veel porceleijn en sendt alsoo de Camere van Zeelandt , Delft ende Hoorn noch genoegh geprovideert sijn, ende qualijck tot redelijcken prouffijte kan vercocht werden Ende indien eenigh porceleijn gesonden werdt datmen deselve niet anders dan inden peper en packen alsoo de Nagelen te seer setten ende vast backen ende daer deur groote lackage inde porceleynen vallen'*.

[124] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.).

[125] Nl-HaNA (Collectie Hugo de Groot, Supplement, 17e eeuw) 1.10.35.02, inv. nr. 40, fol. 322: '*Dolphijn: '7697 stucken porceleynen'; Mauritius: '23023 porseleyn ~~pont~~ p porceleynen'*. According to Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 28, there were also 220 'enamelled fruit dishes' and '180 white and painted fruit dishes', and 'enamelled cups' on the list. This may be a misinterpretation as in this period no enamelled porcelain was common as an export product for Western merchants. The cargo list of the *Rotterdam* that arrived at Goeree (Zeeland province) on September 28th, 1616 shows a quantity of 28,833 pieces of porcelain.

[126] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 28, mentions that the *Hart* had 730 pieces costing 590 florins; Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 231 only mentions that the total value of the cargo of the *Hart* was 39,707 guilders.

[127] Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 213: *'De oliphantstanden [uit patria aangevoerd] hebben wy alle aen de Chinesen verhandelt, ende dat meest tegen porceleynen, te weeten, vlackgoet, de tanden gerekeeckent a 55 ende 60 realen 't picol, ende de porceleynen cent per cent min dan voor desen gecocht sijn'*; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 175.

[128] Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 224.; Van Gelder 1924 (op.cit.), p.175: '*Touscherende de porceleynen, vooren is geseyt hoe meest alle de tanden aen porceleynen sijn verhandelt te weten 1/2, 1/3 ende 1/4 ps. schotelen boterschotelen ende fruytschaelen*'.

> use. Once these lots have been made, the Chinese are obliged to export and sell them, however much money they lose thereby. Therefore, if I am well informed, this kind of assortments will neither be contracted for nor made any more before the Chinese again meet with a ready demand, or solicit it when your honours advise it.[129]

This statement clearly shows that Western shapes, 'a type not used in China', were now made to order, and had to be paid for in advance. Apparently, the Chinese merchants did not want to risk producing items that were unsuitable for their own markets. Such items would mostly have been Kraak- panelled flatware of all sizes, *clapmutsen* and *cameelskoppen.*

In 1617, Coen assured the VOC directors that porcelain would only be sent for the sum of not more than 1,000 to 3,000 real's per year as was ordained by the directors previously.[130] There seems to have even been a surplus, 'there is enough porcelain in Bantam, which can be sold with 100% profit'.[131] (Appendix 5, list 17) He continues to explain that the largest-sized dishes that are in stock 'can be sold in Arabia and Surat with profit' (*sy connen met avance in Arabien en Suratten vercocht worden*).[132] Regarding the problem of breakage, Coen said that the fault lies with the officers who surveyed the shipments, 'Some are too proud to survey and the lower ranks would rather have a drink'.[133] He also complained that the inventory lists are not properly signed so that the quantities do not correspond with the bills and 'even the broken pieces, often at the bottom of the packs, are listed and also shipped off with the rest. It should not cost that much effort to control the loading of porcelain onto the ships'.[134] This letter is a rare example of some of the numerous problems concerning loading the packs of porcelain into the return ships before departure.

---

[129] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), pp. 175-176: '*waerdoor bij de Chinesen in eenige jaren niet meer sal worden gebracht, tenwaere dit aenstaende jaer noch een weinigh, welcke ick hoore mede op voorraet gemaeck sij*.'
[130] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 176.
[131] Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 267: J.P. Coen to the Directors, 22 augustus 1617; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), pp. 176-177: '*Wij hebben tot Batam noch een partye, doche sullen se eerlangh, soo wy begeeren, met cent per cent advance wel weder vercoopen connen*'.
[132] Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.).
[133] Ibid., '*onder correctie de hooffden van de schepen die sulcke overbrengen met het cognossement, welck de heeren telcken reys toegesonden wort, aen te spreecken, anders en sal der nimmermeer op gepast worden. Het ware eenige grooten d'eere te na om daerop te letten, ende de cleenen drincken liever een croesken*'.
[134] Ibid., '*is het eenighe als vooren niet alleen te veel moeyte omme waer te emen dat se in de prauwn, schuyten ende t'scheep wel gehandelt worden, maer selffs te veel werck omme te letten, dat hun geen gebroocken goet voor heel worde gereeckent*'.

In 1617, there was apparently a general lapse in deliveries from China, especially silk, as it was a bad harvest year.[135] Coen reported that all kinds of samples, patterns and designs for porcelain in demand in the Dutch Republic had been given to the Chinese, but what was sent back was based on old models.[136] This statement is the first one mentioning the use of samples and patterns sent to be copied.

In 1618, the ship *Zwarte Leeuw* was sent from Patani to Bantam. Its cargo list shows details of how porcelain was packed, and shows the quantity per cask or straw bundle, information not always available. Items were packed in various ways, in *cannassers/canassers* and *corven* (wicker baskets or cases made of bamboo, also used for transporting sugar), *vaetgens/ balieen/balijs* (tubs or crates, usually made of wood) or *bossen, paxkens* (bundles, usually wrapped with straw). It was not always the case that one batch would contain exactly a certain number of items; the method of packing could change over the years and the number of pieces could vary according to the size of the items per basket, bundle or jar/pot in which they were packed. (Appendix 5, List 18)

This cargo included '900 fine quality butter dishes' (*fijne boterschotels*) packed in 30 casks (*vaetgens*) and 65 straw bundles (*Byesen Bonden*).[137] Other dishes were packed according to size, noted as the 'first, second, third and fourth sort'.[138] For example, '48 large dishes of the first sort' were packed in 4 casks, meaning 12 dishes per cask. Also, '940 dishes of the second sort were packed in 18 casks and 38 straw bundles' (*schotels vande tweede soorte)*; '475 dishes of the third sort' (*vande derde soorte*) in 4 casks and 19 bundles' and '120 dishes of the fourth sort (*vande vierde soorte*) in 8 straw

---

[135] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1066: *Memorie op de Coopmanschappen soo van Chijneesch als andere waeren die hier In patanij ofte ontrent gelegen plaetsen In gekocht ende voorde Comp.e geprocureert soude connen warden: 'nu In 2: a 3 jaeren geen joncken en sijn geweest de selve alhier commende de Chijneesche Coopmanschappen weijnich onder ofte inde den voor genoemde prijs syn ofte ten waere Inn Chijnna een extraordinaris quaet Jaer voorde syde waere geweest ende deselve daer deur tott watt hooger p[rijs] te Rysen'.*

[136] Ibid.,'*mede van de porceleijnen alderh[ande] fatsoenen int vaderlandt dienstich te mogen becommen, waer toe haer monsters, patroonen ofte fatsoenen mede geve hebben maer all[ ] heeft toot noch toe weijnich gevoordert wandt sendende meest haer oude fatsoenen.*' Fatsoen is an old word for: shape/model/sampel (Voorbeeld, ontwerp, model' from WNT (Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal).

[137] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069: *Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637: 'Laus Deo adij 15 october A.o 1618 in Patana Factura cargasoen Swarten Leeuw'.*

[138] These terms have been used before: '*Porceleyne, te weten meest halve, derde en quadre schotels'*. Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 168. It cannot refer to the quality as that was mentioned as 'coarse' and 'fine'.

bundles'.[139] There were, furthermore, '55 large porcelain bowls packed in 4 casks' (*55 stx grote porseleynen commen in 4 vaetgens*); the same document even lists the porcelain that had been broken.[140]. The *Zwarte Leeuw* was attacked by the English just outside the harbour of Bantam on December 14th and was burnt. The complete cargo, including the porcelain mentioned above, was lost.[141] Nevertheless, the list provides a good insight as to what was available in Patani to be purchased from the Chinese merchants, mainly dishes of various sizes and large bowls.

In 1618, the VOC directors sent an order to purchase, '15-20,000 fine quality butter dishes as well as 8 to 10,000 fruit dishes yearly.[142] (Appendix 5, list 19) Details are given: 'Coarse dishes should not be sent, neither the large and half-sized types nor the small *pimpelkens* (brandy cups) because the country is flooded with these'.[143] Furthermore, all sorts of 'small cups like camel cups, half sized camel cups, third- and fourth-sized ones'.[144] The exact required shape is even described: 'these cups must have rims and steep sides and not everted ones as the normal camel cups have because the types with steep sides are worth four times more than those with everted ones, [we] will want large amounts of these'.[145] I have referred to this order previously.

Another rare request was for 'octagonal porcelain dishes, which can be pieced together with other shaped ones to form one large platter'.[146] An identical set, also called a 'condiment set' and illustrated in Figure 5.8 was salvaged from the *Bin Thuan*

---

[139] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069: '*48 groote schotels vande eerste soorte verpackt in 4 vaetgens*'. It would amount to 15 pieces for one bundle.
[140] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069 (op.cit.): '*696 stx de 3 de parten synde 6 stx gebroken en gepact in 69 biesen bonden*'.
[141] W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*. vol. 1, Oxford 1906, p.156: 'Almost every basket and hamper [of the *Zwarte Leeuw*] had been broken open by the sailors, who also stole half of the porcelain.'
[142] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 178: Memorie van Bewinthebbers der O-I Compagnie waarnaar zich de commiezen bij het doen van hun inkoopen hebben te richten, dd. 30 November 1618; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 313, Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1614 – 1795, 1614 nov. 21-1617 apr. 20: '*Jaerlicx goede pertije van 15 ofte 20,000 stucx fijne boter schotelen als mede 8 oft 10,000 fruijt schalen*'.
[143] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p.178: '*Porceleijnen Van groove soorten en dienen voor eerst gen gesonden nochte oock vande grote en halve groote schotels ende cleijne Pimpelkens alsoo t Landt daer aff vervult is*'.
[144] Ibid., '*ende cleijne Coppen Soo Cameels Coppen, halve Cameels Coppen derde deels ende vieren deels*'.
[145] Ibid., '*doch dienen dese Coppen te sijn met randen oft steijle kanten ende niet omleggende gelijck de gemijne cameels Coppen ordinaerlyck plegen te wesen alsoo de soort vande steijle kanten wel een vierde paert meerder waerdich sullen wesen als de omleggende canten ende sullen oock in groote pertijen connen werden vertiert*'. (*Omleggen* or *verbuigen* means everted). I have discussed this in chapter 3.
[146] Ibid., '*Soo aldaer te becomen sijn een soort van Achtcante middelbare porcelijne Schotels daermen andere cleijne cantige schotelkens aen can voegen op ijder een van de canen sulcx dat op een Tafel staende ende aen malcanderen gevoegt sijnde de gedaente van een schotel verthoonen*'.

shipwreck, discovered off the coast of Vietnam in 2004, mentioned previously.[147] It is surprising that the Dutch would have ordered this shape, as it is not one regularly used in Western regions, but usually intended for Southeast Asian customers.

Figure 5.8. A 'condiment set' from the *Bin Thuan* shipwreck. Catalogue Christie's Australia March, 2004, nrs. 90-93. An octagonal centre piece painted with the god of longevity, *shou lou*, with 8 separate triangular pieces each painted with one of the eight immortals; overall diameter: 30 cm.

In a meeting of the VOC directors, in May, 1620, it was noted that, as they have not received any porcelain for a while, all sorts ordered in a previous letter were again in demand, 'porcelain of the finest sort with exception of small pots, but [we need] large dishes, large and middle sized butter dishes, 'camel' cups, *clapmuts*, etc, a good quantity as we have not received any porcelain for a while from the "Indies".[148] However, 'small wine cups are absolutely not needed' (*wij begeeren gantsch geen pimpetjens*).[149] (Appendix 5, List 20) Demand remained focussed on flatware and small bowls, and no brandy cups were requested.

In December 1621, the *Gallias* transported 36,067 pieces from Patani to Batavia.[150] The cargo was then loaded onto the *Gouda* for the return journey from Batavia on January 21st, 1622, and arrived at Texel on September 24th of the same year.

---

[147] *The Bin Thuan Shipwreck*, Christie's sale catalogue, Australia, March 1-3, 2004, pp. 11-14. Cat.nrs. 90, 91, 92, 93; 271 and 272.

[148] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 179: *Annotatien van Arend van Buchel: "Gelezen op de Vergadering van HH Zeventien een lijst van koopmanschappen die men uit de Molukken, Coromandel en van elders verwachtten: 'porcelleyne van de fijnste van alle soorte uytgesondert de Cleyne potkens, wel groote schotelen, banketschotelen, groote en middelmatige boterschotelen, cameels koppen, Clapmutsen etc. meenende eene goede quantité te kunnen vertieren alsoo in een wyle geen porcelainen uyt Indië hier sijn overgecomen';* NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01(Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 256 (Dagboek Arend van Buchel), fol 52.

[149] Van Gelder 1924 (op.cit.), p.179; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1075, *Kopie-uitgaande stukken van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam,1614 – 1634*.

[150] Ibid., *'36067 stucx porceleyn uijt de galiasse'.*

As the inventory was made up of three lists: 24,002 pieces, 2,309 pieces and 36,067 pieces of porcelain, a total amount of 62,378 items, it may have included several other cargoes of porcelain.[151] (Appendix 5, List 21) The list shows further details on quantity and packaging, such as 'packed in casks/tubs' (*tobben*), and bundles (*paxken*).

An example of porcelain partly from captured booty and partly by way of purchase is shown on the cargo list of the *Arnemuyden*, which captured the Portuguese ship *Santa Crux* sailing from Macao to Malacca in November 1621. It included, '3 bundles of various sorts of porcelain, 13 porcelain pots with 'candied' sugar and 114,392 pieces of various sorts of porcelain'.[152] This is quite a remarkable quantity and illustrates that the Portuguese were able to purchase a much larger amount of porcelain than the VOC during this period.

The *Schoonhoven,* which arrived in the Dutch Republic in September 1622, only contained, '480 items of porcelain, 2 large cooling basins, 45 large barrels and 10 smaller ones with porcelain, 1 chest and a tub with porcelain, 7 corgees with porcelain dishes, 120 corgees with cups, 66 corgees with small bowls and 6 large corgees with bowls, 8 'smoke pots', 22 flasks, and 3 flower pots'.[153] (Appendix 5, list 22)

Another ship, the *Leeuwinne* arrived in 1622 with 6,361 porcelain items.[154] (Appendix 5, List 23) This was followed by an exceptional quantity of 90,390 items arrived in the Dutch Republic on September 26th, 1622 with the *Westvriesland*.[155] Such a large quantity may again have been the result of partly captured cargoes; VOC ships were continually prowling the South China Seas in search for heavily laden Chinese junks to Manila.

---

[151] Ibid., '*Carga vanden Schepe Gouda gecomen uyt Oostindien ghearriveert in Texel op 24 september,1622 - des morghens Godeloff: 24002 stucx porseleynen/2309 stucx poreleynen/36067 stucx porseleynen'.*
[152] Ibid., '*Notitie van de goederen die tJacht Arnemuyden met een portugies schip genaemt S.t Crux. 114392stx diverse sorteringe van porceleyne. 39 casks and 785 packs'.*
[153] Ibid, fol. 176: '*Carga van de Schepe Schoonhoven*: *480 stucx porceleynen, 2 grote porseleyne coelvaten, 45 tobben met verscheyde porceleynen, 10 ditto cleyne tobben, 1 kistg, een vaetgen porseleyn, 7 corga porseleynen schotels, 120 corgas porseleyne coppen, 66 cargas porseleyne cleyne commen, 6 groote Corgas porseleynen commen, 8 Roock potten, 22 flesschen, 3 bloempotten*'. As one 'corgee' would have contained 20 items, a sub-total would have been around 4,560; the barrels would have contained more items.
[154] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1076, (1622 apr. 9 - aug. 28), '*Factura Leeuwinne 6-9-1622 van Batavia naar patria 6361 stucx verscheyde sorteringe van Porceleijn in 409 bos'.*
[155] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1075, (op.cit.).

Conclusion of this chapter.

This chapter has reviewed two important phases during which Chinese ceramics were purchased and transported to the Dutch Republic. The first one covers the years 1595-1602, the period when individual private companies *(voorcompagniëen)* travelled to Asia in search of pepper and spices and returned with only minor quantities of porcelain. During this period, Chinese porcelain also arrived as booty of two captured Portuguese ships, the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina.* The speculative amount of 100,000 items or '30 lasts' of porcelain from the booty of the *Santa Catarina* mentioned by Hulsius cannot be justified from other documents and accounts relating to the capture of this ship.

The second part covers the first twenty years of the officially established VOC Company in Asia, from 1602 until 1622. Even though Chinese porcelain was continually in demand, relatively few commissions for it characterize this period. However, some included specific instructions as to the requested shapes for the first time. Besides all sizes of flatware, there was demand for shapes as saltcellars, mustard pots, jugs with handles and pots for preserves were now also ordered. However, the concept of 'made to order' had apparently not yet been put into practice for these shapes; the Dutch had to make do with Chinese shapes for Western usage. Flatware was continually most in demand and, just as the *clapmutsen* and *cameelskoppen,* would have been of the Kraak-panelled type.

The charts in Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10 below give an overview of estimated amounts of porcelain items on shipping lists of VOC cargoes during the first 20 years in Asia. It shows that during the first ten years the number of porcelain items listed was limited. The reason was that the flow of merchandise from China was uncertain; Dutch merchants had to wait when the deliveries from China arrived to Patani or Bantam, what and how much was brought. The first large amount was in 1614, listed on the cargo list of the *Zwarte Leeuw,* with 4,277 baskets of porcelain, a total of 85,540 items, and the *Gelderland* with 69,057 items. From 1614 to 1622 the amounts were variable but mostly decreasing; the reason may have been the problems concerning the situation at Bantam where the VOC was involved in struggles with the local population as well as with the English merchants.[156] In 1622, there was a sudden increase in the quantity, as

[156] Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p.39: 'The English East India Company had supplied local rulers with weapons and in 1617 the capture of English ships led to direct conflict.'

shown by the cargo of the *Westvriesland* with 90,390 porcelain items. Perhaps this was in response to the large commission dated 1618 and the letter from the directors of 1620, or from captured cargoes, or both.

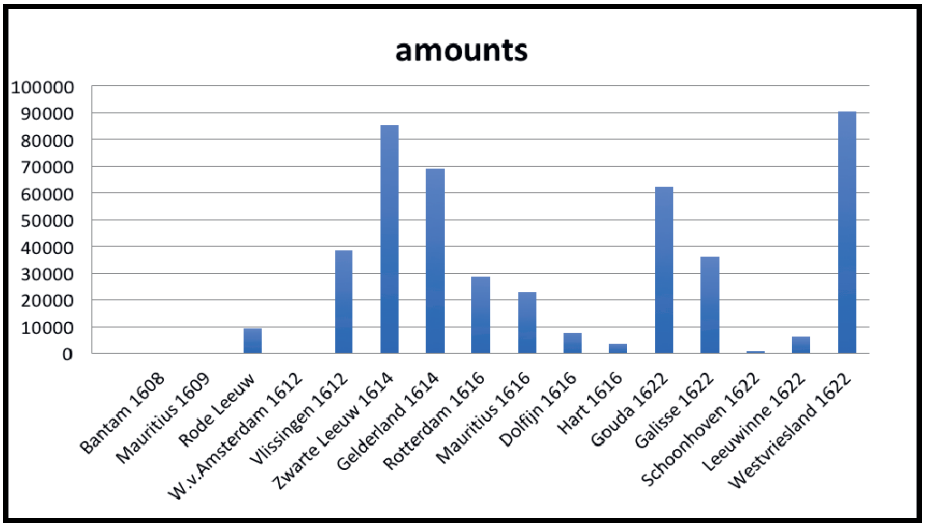


Figure 5.9. Chart showing the estimated quantities of porcelain items on ships' cargo lists from 1608 to 1623.

Name of ship	Date of cargo list.	Amounts of porcelain items on cargo lists.
Bantam	1608	272
Mauritius	1609	215
Rode Leeuw	1610	9,227
Wapen v. Amsterdam	1612	25
Vlissingen	1612	38,641 + 370 large dishes
Zwarte Leeuw+Ter Veer	1614	85,540
Gelderland	1614	69,057
Rotterdam	1616	28,833
Mauritius	1616	23,023
Dolfijn	1616	7,697
Hart	1616	3,730
Gouda	1622	62,378
Galiasse	1622	36,067
Schoonhoven	1622	900
Leeuwinne	1622	6,361
Westvriesland	1622	90,390

Figure 5.10: List of ships with cargoes to the Dutch Republic, 1608-1622.

CHAPTER 6. Distribution of Chinese porcelain by the VOC from 1622 until 1655.

Introduction.

In this chapter I demonstrate that the years from 1622 to 1655 were the most significant period regarding the purchase and distribution of Chinese ceramics by the VOC. In this period, Chinese production took place under effective direction of Dutch demand. However, production of Western shapes took place only after 1635, when samples and models were being sent to accompany orders. The Chinese then came to understand what kind of shapes were in demand, and junks regularly delivered porcelain from the Fujian coast to the VOC post on Formosa, Fort Zeelandia, and from there to Batavia. After 1650, supplies diminished.

Documents show that deliveries of fine porcelain were mainly shipped from Fuzhou (*Hocheo* in old Dutch), and coarse ware from the bay of Amoy (*Aymoy* in old Dutch) to Fort Zeelandia. Both sorts were then shipped onto destinations as Batavia but also to other VOC trade posts: Hirado in Japan, Mocha, present-day Yemen on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula, and Gamron, present-day Bandar-e Abbas on the Persian Gulf. Deliveries to these regions show the broader network of porcelain shipments, another important aspect of the maritime distribution of ceramics by the VOC, dealt with at the end of this chapter.

This chapter is divided into three sub-periods as each one was characterized by different conditions under which the VOC operated to purchase and distribute ceramics. The first is from 1622 to 1634, when there were regular conflicts between VOC officials and Chinese authorities to settle trade agreements. The VOC first attempted to take over the Portuguese stronghold of Macao in June 1622, under the command of Cornelis Reijersen. Having failed, he was ordered to find a spot on one of the Pescadores islands to build a fort, as this was close to the Fujian coast.[1] In 1624, however, the Chinese forced the VOC to abandon this and divert to Formosa to establish a trade post.

[1] On March 26th, 1622, J.P. Coen wrote to the VOC directors about the islands, stating that their position 'is situated adequately opposite" Chincheu", although they are sandy, infertile and lack wood and stone'. H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vols. I-V, The Hague, 1919-1923. vol. I, 1919, p. 715: 'In de Piscadores ofte op Lequeo Pequeno sal 't na ons beduncken gedaen moeten worden. Wy verstaen dat in de Pescadores een uut der maten goede rede is, ende alsoo dese eylanden alderbequaemst nevens Chincheu leggen, sijn hiertoe meest genengen, doch 't staet ons seer tegen dat dese eylanden geheel sandich, onvruchtbaer, sonder hout ende steen sijn'. The name *Chincheu* or *Chinchew* was used by the Dutch for the Jin river.

Communcations concerning trade with the Fujianese authorities took place by way of Chinese interpreters or intermediaries, as the Dutch did not speak Chinese.[2] Several VOC documents show their names, of which several were adapted to the Dutch language. One of the first negotiators was Li Dan, also known as 'Captain China'.[3] He was one of the mediators between the Dutch and the Chinese authorities, and played a double role.[4] In 1625, Li Dan died and his trade or rather smuggling entreprise was taken over and expanded by Zheng Zhilong, also known as Nicolas Iquan.[5] The VOC officials in Taiwan engaged his privateering, and even supplied ships and crewmembers.[6] In 1628, after various conflicts, Iquan was given an official title by the Chinese authorities with the task to clear the Fujian coast of pirates.[7] The VOC took

---

[2] See: J.L. Blussé, 'No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, February 1996, pp. 51-76; J.L. Blussé, 'The Batavian Connection: The Chinese junks and Their Merchants'. *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* Zwolle, J. van Campen, and T. Eliëns (eds.), Amsterdam, 2014, pp. 97-109; T. Andrade, The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662', *Journal of World History,* vol.15, no. 4, 2005, pp. 415-444; T. Andrade: 'Chinese Under European Rule: The Case of Sino-Dutch Mediator He Bin', *Late Imperial China*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1-32; p. 8: 'He Bin inherited his powerful position as translator from his father, whom the Dutch knew as Kimtingh. Kimtingh appears initially to have been involved primarily in translating communications between Dutch officials and Taiwanese aborigines'.

[3] T. Andrade. 'How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century.' *The China Quarterly*, no. 203, 2010, pp. 725-763.

[4] James K. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Businesss Networks, and Sojourning Communities: Hokkien Merchants in Early Maritime Asia'. *Journal of Chinese Overseas* no. 6, 2010, pp. 157-215; p.184: 'Like their fellow villagers in Java, the Hokkien merchants in Taiwan changed their role and became to some extent the intermediary traders for the VOC. Two groups of Hokkien merchants could thus be identifed in accordance with their wealth and social status. While one group consisted of influential and well-to-do merchants such as Li Dan, Xu Xinsu (許心素) and Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), alias Iquan, the other was made up of individual and small merchants'.

[5] Andrade 2005 (op. cit.), p. 428: 'Europeans referred to Zheng Zhilong as Iquan, based on the Southern Min pronunciation of the characters *yiguan,* an appellation often used by the inhabitants of Fujian Province for the first-born son'; he was also the father of Zheng Chenggong (named Coxinga by the Dutch).

[6] J.L. Blussé, and J.de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee.* Franeker, 1983, p. 219: 'Iquan was first one of the pirates who were sent out by the Dutch to capture vessels leaving the Fujian coast. He abandoned this to become appointed admiral by the governor of Fujian but continued to play a double role'; see also J.L. Blussé, 'Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan. The Rise of Cheng Chih-lung, alias Nicolas Iquan' in E.B. Vermeer, *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Century*, Leiden 1990, pp. 245-264; T. Mostert and J. van Campen, *Zijden Draad. China en Nederland sinds 1600.* Amsterdam, 2015, p.63. (English edition: *Silk Thread*). T. Andrade: *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Victory Over the West.* Princeton, 2011, p. 31

[7] Cheng Wei-chung, 'War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas 1622-1683'. *TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian European Interaction*, vol.16, 2013, pp. 47-49; p. 48: 'In accordance with the petition, which was approved by the emperor, the court exonerated Iquan of his alleged crime on condition that he pacify the waters off the coast of China in the following three years. If he succeeded, he would be granted a certain rank and be formally appointed a naval officer'.

advantage of his status to sign a temporary trade deal for supplies of silk, sugar and other goods.[8]

There were several more years of conflicts before the VOC again dealt with Iquan who promised that Chinese traders could supply the Dutch in Taiwan.[9] Consequently, the second period, between 1634 to around 1644, (the end of the Ming dynasty), was the high point of the purchase and distribution of Chinese ceramics. In this relatively short period major alterations in the demand, supplies, and shipments of ceramics took place.

The last period covers the years 1644 to 1655. It shows a gradual decline in the deliveries of porcelain from China to Formosa. There were regular complaints from VOC officials at the head office of Batavia about the quality of the porcelain and the decrease in quantities. From 1644, Fort Zeelandia was informed about the circumstances on mainland China; famine, wars, uprisings against higher taxes all affected the porcelain trade.[10] Deliveries continued, though not as regular or plentiful as during the previous years. In 1662, Zheng Chenggong (also known as Coxinga), attacked Fort Zeelandia and the Dutch were defeated; their presence and trade possibilities on the island were then terminated.[11]

---

[8] Andarde 2005 (op.cit.) p. 432 and note 64: 'Accort getrocken tusschen Pieter Nuyts, Raedt van India ende Gouverneur over t'eijlandt formosa ende tfort Zeelandia ter enee zijde ende Iquan, overste Mandarijn van t Provincia van Aimoijen, Admiral vande Chineesche Zee ter andere, 1 October 1628, VOC 1096: 124–125'. See also Blussé, "Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan?" pp. 257–259; Chin 2010 (op.cit.), p. 128: 'According to the three-year contract, Zheng Zhilong had to deliver to the Dutch annually the following commodities: 1,400 piculs of raw silk at 140 tael per picul; 5,000 piculs of sugar at 3 reals per picul; 1,000 piculs of preserved ginger at 4 taels per picul; and 5,000 pieces of silk goods at 14 to 19 mas per piece. The total price amounted to 300,000 reals'.

[9] T. Andrade, 'Commerce, Culture, and Conflict. Taiwan under European Rule, 1624-1662'. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2000; p.50: 'In exchange he expected that "the officials *[degrooten]* of China will grant to the company permanent free public trade." As it turned out, the Dutch managed, after some hostilities, to establish a modus vivendi with Iquan, even as they struggled to maintain their relationship with officials in China. Indeed, they had litde choice. Iquan grew gradually more powerful as the Ming dynasty faltered'. NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv.nr. 1114: *Originele missive van Hans Putmans uijt het Fort Zeelandia aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 28 October 1634*.

[10] T. Brook, *The Troubled Empire. China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties,* Cambridge, Mass., 2010; J.D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (2nd ed.), New York, 1999.

[11] Zheng Chenggong was given the name Coxinga or Koxinga by the Dutch when he was their negotiator earlier on. See for more information on this subject: T. Andrade, 'Commerce, Culture, and Conflict: Taiwan Under European Rule, 1624-1662', Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 2000; J. Clements, *Coxinga and the Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Sutton, 2004; Andrade 2005 (op.cit.), pp. 415-444.

The first period, 1622-1634.

In October 1622, after failed negotiations with Chinese authorities, Reijersen followed Coen's orders and began plundering villages along the Fujian coast.[12] Chinese were imprisoned and taken to Penghu Island where many were forced to build a fort on the Feng Gui Wei peninsula with disastrous consequences.[13] (Figure 6.1)

Figure 6.1. Map of the harbour of Makung and the Dutch Fortress at Penghu Island, ca. 1623. *Blaeu-Van der Hem Atlas*, V, XLI, sheet 6. Austrian National Library.

On May 23rd, 1624, after two years of attack and counterattack, the Chinese Governor of Fujian organised a fleet with ten thousand men and two hundred ships. He surrounded the island of Penghu, attacked the fort and forced the VOC to abandon it on August 1.[14] Martinus Sonck, who had replaced Reijersen on Penghu Island, then sailed to Formosa, as the Chinese authorities did not consider this island part of the Chinese empire in that period.[15] In 1624, a small fort was built on a sandbank at the entrance to

[12] See for an account of these incidents, *Het Journaal van Bontekoe. De Gedenkwaardige Beschrijving van de Reis naar Oost-Indië van Schipper Willem IJsbrandtsz. Bontekoe uit Hoorn, in de jaren 1618 tot en met 1625*, (bewerkt door L.H. Nijgh), Schoorl, 1989. Cheng Shaogang, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662: een Vergeten Geschiedenis*, Ph.D dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1995, p. 38: 'After his demands were officially refused by Shang Chou-tso on 29 September, Reyersen took up arms against China. In the following month, he dispatched eight ships, under Cornelis van Nieuwenroode, to attack Chinese junks in the bay of Amoy'.

[13] Mostert en Van Campen 2015 (op.cit.), p. 59. More than 1150 prisoners were kept, most used to build the fort. When this was completed in September, the 571 people who were still alive were shipped to Batavia but most died before arrival due to the horrendous circumstances on board. Archaeological research has recently been carried out amongst the remains of the fort and published: Tai-kang Lu, 'Dutch Colonial Period Trade Ceramics Found at the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago', *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, Taipei, 2001.

[14] For more information on this subject, J.E. Wills Jr., 'Relations with Maritime Europeans, 1514–1662', *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, part 2, 1998, pp. 333-375.

[15] It was named *Ilha Formosa* by the Spanish who had set up forts in 1626 at the north end of the island at Tamsui and Keelung. These were taken over by the Dutch in 1642 and rebuilt as Fort Noord Holland and Fort Antonio.

Taiyuan harbour; four years later a stronger and larger one was constructed and was named Fort Zeelandia. (Figures 6.2 and 6.3)

Figure 6.2. View of city and Fort Zeelandia on Taiwan. (*Stadt en Casteel Zelandia op 't Eiland Taywan).* Anonymous, ca. 1670; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye, op de kuste en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670).

Figure 6.3. Plattegrond van Tayouan en fort Zeelandia. (Map of Tayouan and Fort Zeelandia). Paper and watercolours assigned to J. Vingboons (ca. 1665-1668). Austrian National Library, inv.nr. Van der Hem 41.04.

The VOC had to deal with numerous problems concerning their trade post at Fort Zeelandia. As the entrance canal to the warehouses of the fort was narrow and shallow, and therefore unsuited to large vessels, smaller ships were used to transport the

merchandise to the larger ones waiting at open sea.[16] The VOC also bought, rented and used captured Chinese ships to transport merchandise.[17] Some of these would sail directly to Batavia, where commodities from other trade posts were collected and these would then be loaded onto the ships of the return fleets to the Dutch Republic.[18] For example, the return fleet of 1623 had good quantities: 63,931 items are listed.[19] (Appendix 6, list 1) The ship *Walcheren* alone had 10,845 items.[20] (Appendix 6, list 2) Others could proceed directly to different destinations, for example Cambodia, Siam, and Surat and from there to Persia.[21] Furthermore, the VOC was in need of Chinese merchandise to trade with Japan, but numerous incidents hindered this.[22] Consequently, VOC trade between Formosa and Japan was suspended until 1632.[23]

---

[16] R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters. The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595 -1660*), Amsterdam, 2010, p. 59: 'The largest VOC ship type was sent to load large bulk cargoes from China and Japan. These ships arrived in the region in July/August, but had to leave before the end of October, for commercial rather than nautical reasons. Otherwise it was very difficult to get the cargo from China and Japan to Batavia in time for the return fleet that left around New Year. This transport system required a large number of cargo ships of different sizes'.'

[17] Blussé et al., 1986-2000 (op.cit.), vol.1, p. 61: '*Jonken/*Junks sometimes carried cargo between Taiwan and Batavia or Siam, but were mostly used around Taiwan itself by the VOC'; Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 59: 'Captured Chinese ships were also pressed into service by the VOC, as were other Asian-built ships that were bought or hired in the region. In VOC correspondence, they are all called *jonken,* which does not necessarily mean that they were all of the type now known as junks. It is remarkable that of a fleet of five VOC ships sailing together to the same destination near Taiwan, the three so-called *jonken* had predominantly Chinese crews, whilst there were no Chinese crew on the other two'.

[18] Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 59, 'The vessels from Formosa departed around October for Batavia and had to be there in time for loading the return vessels, which departed around the end of December or January. They usually arrived around the end of the summer in the Dutch Republic before the autumn and winter storms of the Atlantic Ocean commenced'.

[19] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1077, *Factura's van de schepen Mauritius, Walcheren, Delfshaven ende Alckmaer, Fort Batavia desen primo Februarij anno 1623*.

[20] Ibid., fol. 290.

[21] VOC posts in Persia were Esfahan from 1623-1638 and Gamron from 1623-1766. Aden (Yemen) had an office from 1614-1620 and Mocha one from 1620-1650.

[22] Andrade 2010 (op. cit.), p. 10: 'In 1625 Batavia ordered the governor of Taiwan to prevent the Japanese from trading. (Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier to Governor of Tayouan Martinus Sonck, letter, May 13th, 1625). This, however, was a foolhardy policy. The company's position in East Asia depended upon Japan. The company's office in Hirado, established in 1609, was one of its most profitable, yet it was constantly menaced because of Portuguese and Spanish influence in the shogun's court. If the company tried to restrict Japanese commerce in Taiwan it risked angering Japanese traders'. In 1628, Pieter Nuyts (1598-1655), the Dutch governor on Formosa at that time was taken hostage after he had imprisoned Japanese merchants for not paying their taxes M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz., *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630*, The Hague, 1962, p. 167: 'In 1628 he had imprisoned Japanese traders who refused to pay the Dutch tolls. The Japanese head merchant, Hamada Yahei took Nuyts as hostage claiming the return of his confiscated ships. 6 Dutch hostages were then taken to Japan, Nuyts was held in house arrest from 1632 to 1636 after which he was sent to Batavia and then back to the Dutch Republic. Trade was only renewed in 1632 after Nuyts had been sent to Japan to be tried'.

[23] Mostert and Van Campen 2015 (op. cit.), p. 63, 'The Chinese still continued their shipments to Japan but these were limited'. Andrade 2010 (op. cit.), p. 14: 'The loss of the Japan trade was a serious blow to the company. As the Governor- General of Batavia (the highest Dutch official in Asia) wrote, "the pantry is closed". Officials reflected seriously on their options. On the one hand, they felt that the company had a

Despite the ongoing, tiresome negotiations with the Chinese during this period, the directors in the Dutch Republic sent orders. On September 17th, 1622, a commission was sent to Batavia by way of the ship *Makreel*. Governor-General P. de Carpentier, Coen's successor in Batavia, then sent the order with requests for silks and porcelain on to Martinus Sonck, then head of the post at Penghu Island, where it arrived on June 11th, 1624.[24] (Appendix 6 list 3) This was the first order sent during that relatively unstable period.

The list shows that demand focused on a variety of flatware: '400 dishes of the largest size, 2,000 one size smaller, 4,000 another smaller size; 4,000 'double' butter dishes (*dubbelde boterschotelen*)'; 25,000 'single' butter dishes (*enckelde boterschotels*); 9,000 fruit bowls/dishes, (*fruytschalen*); 3,000 half-sized ones; 1,000 '*clapmutsen*', 8,000 saucers (*saucieren*); 5,000 table plates (*tafelborden*).[25] These terms have already been discussed in Chapter 3, illustrating the various Kraak-panelled types. Bowls were less in demand although one specific instruction included, '8,000 camel cups with straight edges' (*cammeelscoppen met opstaende canten*).[26] Just as in 1620, brandy cups (*pimpelkens)*, 'from which one drinks brandied wine', were not in favour.[27]

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* dated May 8th -15th, 1625 state that on May 13th, 'the fifth junk arrived on time from China with around 400 people bringing fine porcelain and various other goods'.[28] Cargo lists of return ships to the Dutch Republic between 1625 and 1630 provide insight as the quantities transported to the Dutch

---

legal right to collect tolls from the Japanese who traded. On the other hand, without trading privileges in Japan, the Dutch colony in Taiwan was not worth the cost of upkeep. The governor of Formosa and his council members wrote to Batavia, urging the Council of the Indies to retain the Taiwan factory. They argued that if Taiwan were abandoned, the Portuguese and Spanish would take over'. They refer to '*Governor Hans Putmans to Governor-General Jacques Specx, letter, 15 October 1630, VOC 1101: 412–23'* and *'Governor Hans Putmans to the Kamer Amsterdam, letter, 10 October 1631, VOC 339–43'.*

[24] Colenbrander (ed.) 1922 (op.cit.), vol. IV, p. 564: '*Heeren XVII aan Coen 17 september 1622 per Makreel naar Azië, aankomst 20 juni 1623*'; H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek: Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland,* vol. X, The Hague, 1924, pp. 165-193, pp. 180-181.

[25] Ibid., '*van de grootste sorteringe, een slach cleender, noch een slach cleender*'.

[26] This issue has already been dealt with in Chapter 4; they may have meant a bell-cup shape.

[27] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1083, *Copie van de instructie van den gouverneur-generaal Pieter de Carpentier voor de heer Martinus Sonck ende den raedt in Pekouw in dato 11 Junij 1624: 'Van verscheyde sorteringen van rouwe ende gewrochte syde, gout, radix China, porceleyn ende andre waeren hebben door capiteyn China monsters geeyscht, die wij verwachten'; 'Translaet van de missiven van capteijn China aen gouverneur Sonck ende Pedro China; translaet van de missiven van Siompijn en capteijn China aen gouverneur Martinus Sonck, October 1624'.*

[28] J.E. Heeres (ed.) *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, 1624-1629,* The Hague, 1896, p. 150: May 13th, 1625: *'Item op dato arriveert alhier van China de vijffde joncke gemant met omtrent 400 coppen, medebrengende fijn porceleijn ende verscheijden andere waren'.*

Republic during that period of instability. The shipping list of the *Hollandia* that left Batavia on January the 28th, 1625, lists 9,790 pieces of porcelain.[29] The return ship *Schiedam*, dated December 26th, 1626, at Batavia, lists 12,814 fine porcelains 'packed in pepper' as part of its cargo.[30] (Appendix 6, list 4) The indication 'packed in pepper' refers to one of the methods used by the VOC to transport fragile ceramics dealt with earlier.

In 1627, there were several return ships from Batavia to the Dutch Republic with relatively large amounts of porcelain, including items from captured ships. The *Frederich Hendrick* contained 31,011 pieces of different sorts, again 'packed in pepper'; another one, the *Wapen van Delft*, listed: '9,440 various porcelains partly captured, partly bought at Chin Cheo' (the Chincheo River).[31] The following return fleet from Batavia to the Dutch Republic departed on November 5th, 1628, and included about 15,200 pieces of porcelain.[32]

In 1629, another order was sent by the VOC directors, first to the headquarters at Batavia, and from there on to Formosa. Hans Putmans, who governed Fort Zeelandia from 1629 to 1636, received a long and detailed list of requested porcelain items.[33] (Appendix 6, list 5) Flatware of various dimensions was most in demand: '600 'whole' dishes, 4,000 half-, 6,000 one-third sized, 8,000 one-quarter sized'. It also included, just like the previous order of 1624, an order for '10,000 camel cups with straight sides', as well as a 'quantity of fine teacups'[34]. The use of the term teacups is recorded here for the

---

[29] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1082, *Cognossement en factura's anno 1625;* The Hollandia departed from Batavia on 28th of January 28th, 1625; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1087: *Factura's van de cargasoenen geladen in de schepen de Eendracht en het Wapen van Hoorn in dato 25 October 1625'.*

[30] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1088, *Factura's en cognossement [van de goederen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Schiedam, in 't Casteel Batavia 22 en 26 December 1626: 'twaelff duysent acht hondert stucx sorteringe fyne porceleyn... synde .... los in de peper geset.'*; Ibid., *Factura's en cognossementen [van de goederen en coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Leijden, in 't schip Thoolen en in 't schip 't Wapen van Enckhuijsen, actum in 't Casteel Batavia 12 December 1626.* The *Thoolen/Terthoolen* had 10.000 porcelain items on its shipping list.

[31] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1091, *Cognossementen van de schepen Hollandia, de Nieuwe Galliasse, 't Wapen van Delft, Groot Hollandia en Frederick Hendrick anno 1627*; only two ships contained porcelain: *Cognnossement Frederick Hendrick: 31011 stucx diverse sortering porselyn in de peper gestuwt; Factura Wapen van Delft: 9440 stucx porselein soo verovert als in Chin Cheo gekocht.*

[32] The ships *Prins Willem, Nassouw, Vlissingen, Der Veer,* and *Delffshaven* departed on November the 5th, 1628 from Batavia; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1095, *Cognossementen [van] de goederen in het schip de Leeuwinne en het schip Nassouw, 17 en 3 November anno 1628 in 't Casteel Batavia*.

[33] Hans Putmans was governor from 1629-1636. Colenbrander (ed.) (op.cit.), vol. V, The Hague, 1923, p. 506: '*Memorie voor Taiwan April 24th, 1629*'; see also: NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1097, *Copie missiven na diverse quartieren 17 November 1628 tot en met 23 November 1629: '600 stucx heele schootels, 4.000 stucx halve ditto, 6.000 stucx ⅓ part ditto, 8.000 stucx ¼ ditto*'.

[34] Ibid., '*10.000 stucx cameelscoppen met opstaende canten*'; '*goede perye cloecke theecopkens*'

first time which indicates that drinking tea must have already been known even though it was as yet not the custom in the Dutch Republic in that period.[35]

Despite this extensive order, there are no reports of any porcelain deliveries to Fort Zeelandia from China during the year 1629. The situation around Formosa and the Pescadores still remained unfavourable for the VOC, due to the conflicts between two Chinese intermediaries Zheng Zhilong (Iquan) and Li Kuiqi (Quitsicq).[36] On November 3rd, 1629, the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* noted that no ships had arrived from either Japan or from the coast of China because of the conflict. The VOC officials also complain about the internal situation on the island; 'In short, the circumstances on Teyoan are now very somber and bad'.[37] Finally, in December 1629, a message was sent to Formosa with the announcement that the conflicts between the two rivals mentioned above had ended and there were promises of trade possibilities.[38]

---

[35] Tea became a regular consumption in the Dutch Republic only from around the second half of the 17th century. 'The word "Te" is from the Amoy tê of southern Fujian province. The ports of Xiamen (Amoy) and Quanzhou were once major points of contact with foreign traders. Western European traders such as the Dutch may have taken this pronunciation either directly from Fujian or Formosa where they had established a port, or indirectly via Malay traders in Bantam on Java. The Dutch then spread this pronunciation of tea to Western Europe. This pronunciation gives rise to English "tea" and similar words in other languages, and is the most common form worldwide. Cha is from the Cantonese *chàh* of Guangzhou (Canton) and the ports of Hong Kong and Macau, also major points of contact, especially with the Portuguese, who spread it to India in the 16th century.' 'The word was used by a Venetian, Giambattista Ramusio, in: *Delle navigationi e viaggi* written in 1545. In 1610, VOC merchants returned to the Dutch Republic with some green tea and not knowing then what to do with it, marketed it as a medicinal drink.' From: http://onh.nl/nl-NL/verhaal/244/eten-en-drinken-in-de-gouden-eeuw (visited January, 2020); see also V.H. Mair and Er Ling Hoh, *The True Hhistory of Tea*, New York 2009. 'The Dutch word *thee* is derived from Malayan *teh* and came directly from Chinese (Amoy dialect) *t'e*, which corresponds to Mandarin *ch'a*. The term *cha* was already known by the Portuguese'; see also: *Delle navigationi e viaggi* written by a Venetian, Giambattista Ramusio, in 1545.

[36] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, A. fol. 390: 'Primo novembris. Niet gepasseert. Saeten gantsch sonder scheepen uyt Japan ende de apparentie was oock cleyn van eenigen handel uyt China te sullen in corten becomen, (fol.390) … vermits Iquan (uyt A y m o y door Quitsicq gedreven ende in H o c h e o bij den combo (soo men secht) gevlucht was ende Quitsicq houdt Aymoy vast in, rooft, steelt ende brandt daer omher, gelijck te vooren Iquan gedaen heeft, waerdoor geene coopluyden ofte handelsjoncquen hun herrewaerts tot ons durven begeven. Hij selfs houdt ons vast met schoone praetgens slepende. Onderentuschen becomen geen handel met d'ingesetenen deses eylandts, sijn alomme in oorlooghe vervallen'. See also: Andrade 2005 (op.cit.), p.433: 'According to Chinese sources, Kuiqi was worried Zhilong would sell him out to Chinese authorities and therefore rebelled. By late 1629 Kuiqi had gathered a fleet of more than four hundred junks, which he used to drive Zhilong from Xiamen. As a consequence, trade to Taiwan evaporated. Dutch officials deliberated. Which side should they take? On the one hand, Zhilong had been monopolizing Tayouan's China trade. On the other, Kuiqi was capturing Taiwan-bound junks and jeopardizing Dutch profits. Both sides made overtures to the company. The company decided to support whichever side would help achieve free trade'. Blussé 1990 (op.cit.), p. 258.

[37] Ibid., *'In somma den standt van teyoan staet jegenwoordich gantsch sober ende slecht*'.

[38] Ibid., vol. 1, A. fol. 392. December 11th, 1629: '*Den 11 dito uyt de Piscadoris gescheyden ende op 12 dito in de revier Chincheo gearriveert, alwaer datelijck een mandorijn, van Quitsicq gesonden, ons aen boort quam omme d'heer gouverneur te willecommen met een brieff van gemelte Quitsicq , meldende ten principalen, hoe den oorlooch tusschen Iquan ende hem een eynde genomen hadden ende hij nu onlangs van*

As circumstances remained precarious, the VOC officials went to the Bay of Amoy themselves to purchase goods.[39] An entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* of March 1st and 2nd 1630, notes that during an inspection tour, '[Chinese] merchants came on board with porcelain, alum [and other items]'.[40] On March 10th it is reported that the junk *Aymoy* had departed from Fort Zeelandia for Batavia 'fully loaded with porcelain'.[41]

In May 1630, another memorandum was sent from Batavia to Governor Putmans in Fort Zeelandia that includes several specific demands.[42] It stated: 'we would like to have a large assortment of dishes and fruit bowls according to the order sent by the honourable merchants'.[43] Also, '[we are] sending some samples of porcelain captured from ships sailing from Macao which can be shown to the Chinese [to be copied]'.[44] This is one of the first mentions of porcelain to be copied, in this case samples of already existing items, part of a booty from a captured Portuguese vessel and, whatever they may have been, they were apparently attractive or useful enough to be reproduced for the Dutch market.

VOC officials had become more particular with regard to their orders. An assortment apparently of good quality and bought directly from the Chinese in the Bay

---

den combon mandorijn gemaeckt was, oversulex ons beloovende handels genouch / te sullen versorgen, hebbende al lange naer des heeren gouverneurs compste in de reviere Chincheo verlangt etc.'; Ibid., *December 14th, 1629: 'Per de joncque bequame eene missive van Iquan uyt Tsuntchieu, daerbij ons anschreeff, den handel voor ons bij den hayto hadde geobtineert ende dat voor eenen langen tijt; soude daeromme met een onser scheepen daer comen om te handelen, alsoo de cooplieden door de menichte der roovers naer Teyouan hun niet en derven transporteeren; hem soude daerdoor groote eere geschieden, oversulcx ons in alles voorde[lig] ende gedienstich te sullen sijn presenteerden'.*

[39] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 234, *januari 28th, 1630: 'den oppercoopman Traudenius met de joncken Middelburgh, Tancoya ende Tampzui in Anhay met 't resteerende capitael zal verblijven omme 'tselffde in 't belooffde fijn porceleyn ofte, bij faulte desselffs, in goede witte poeyersuycker te benefitieeren; Ibid., 30 ditto. Vertreckt d'heer gouverneur Putmans met het jacht Catwijck naer Tayouan, blijvende volgen gearresteerde resolutie den oppercoopman Traudenio met de joncquen Tancoya, Tampsui ende Middelburgh midtsgaders weynich capitael hier liggen omme nae Anhay te gaen ende aldaer parthije fijn porceleyn ende suycker te becoomen tot ladinge van voornoemde jacht, soo 'tselve in 't jongste deses mousons mede nae Batavia retourneert'.*

[40] Ibid., vol. 1, A. fol. 400: *'Zijn eenige coopluyden met porceleyn, aluyn etc. aen boort gecomen'.* Alum (aluminium sulfate) was used to fix a dye on textiles.

[41] Ibid., *'Vertrect van hier naer Batavia d'joncque Aymoy, volladen meest met porceleyn'.*

[42] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 855 : *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden: 'Aan Putmans in Taijouan met Assendelfft 17-5-1630'.*

[43] Ibid., *'begeeren wel groote pertije voor nederlandt gesorteert wegens den eysch van Coopmanschappen uE mede gegeven pierings fruytschaelen'.*

[44] Ibid., '*senden eenighe monsters van Porceleyn uijt Maccause Navetten verovert die uE connen dienen omme aende Chinesen te thonen'.*

of Amoy four years ago was requested: 'we would like a similar assortment to that which [chief merchant] De Wit had bought, a good lot at the River Chincheu in 1626'.[45]

The return fleet that left Batavia on March 8th, 1631, included the ship *Middelburgh* with 24,628 pieces, the *Leeuwinne* with 24,300 items of porcelain (*ghemeen porceleyn*), the *Leeuwarden* with 20,747 pieces, and the *Wassenaer* with 3948 pieces and 6 large bales with fine porcelain (*Grove balien fijn Porcelyn*) on its cargo list. The *Egmont* had 6 large bales with fine porcelain (*groote baelen fijn porcelyn*).[46] This amounted to more than 73,623 pieces that were transported to the Dutch Republic by one return fleet, a substantial but not an overwhelming quantity.

Deliveries directly from China to Formosa still remained uncertain. On July 10th, 1631, an entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* states that a junk arrived from 'Anhay' (Anhai) with a message that the negotiator Iquan will reside in Amoy and that he will make sure that sugar and porcelain can be bought'.[47] In the following year, several shipments of porcelain from Formosa to Batavia were recorded. For example, the shipping list of the *Seeburch* dated October 15th, 1632, listed 4,400 pieces of porcelain for Batavia.[48] On November 11th, 1632, the *Grootenbroeck* sailed with 490 pieces of 'fine' dishes, sized 'one–third' (*drielingen*) to Batavia.[49] The return fleet of seven ships to the Dutch Republic in 1633 departed with '2,000 fine dishes', and '1,128 fine plates packed in 42 wicker cases'.[50] The cargoes included furthermore, '17,378

---

[45] Ibid., '*de Wit heeft anno 1626 een goede sorteringh porceleijn inde Reviere van Chincheu gecocht, diergelycke sorteringh begeeren nochwel.'*

[46] N.J. van Wassenaer, *Het eenentwintischste deel of 't vervolgh van het Historisch verhael aller gedencwaerdiger gheschiedenissen, die in Europa, als Duytschlant, Vranckryck…in Asia…in Africa voorgevallen syn van october des jaers 1631 tot octobri, des jaers 1632*. Amsterdam 1635. pp. 3-4.

[47] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, B. fol. 591: July 10th, 1631: *'Compt alhier een joncxken uyt Anhay met advijs van Iquan, meest complementos sijnde, doch onder anderen roert aen, dat binnen corten tijt in Aymoy residentie nemen sal ende dat volck gecommitteert hadde om goede partie witte poeyersuycker ende fijn porcceleyn op te coopen*'.

[48] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1105, *Factura van de coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in de jachten Seeburch ende Assendelft, October anno 1632*: '*4400 Stux fyn Poercelyn te weeten: 300: Stx halve schotels -540: Stx. Drielingen- 440: Stx quaarten- 640: Stx ditto- 2480: Stx Pierings*'.

[49] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1109, *Cognossement vant jacht Grootenbroecq in dato 9 November 1632: 'Vierhondert t'neegentich stx: fijne porceleijnne schootels genaempt drielingen'*. By *drielingen* is meant one-third sized.

[50] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 856, *Lading retourvloot eind 1632: 'Aankomst 7 retourschepen onder Specx, juli 1633 met als gezamelijke lading o.a. 25396 stucx Porseleynen in soorten, 93 porseleyne potten met confit., 20 balen met groote porseleynen'.* See: Jan van Hilten, *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c., Amsterdam, July 16th, 1633: 'Ladinghe van seven Oost-Indische Schepen, ses comende van Batavia, ende een van Suratta, te weten: dese navolghende, Prins Willem, Hollandia, Zutphen, AEmelia, Rotterdam, Hoorn, ende Amboina, onder 't commandement van den Heer Generael Specx'.* This was an announcement in a Dutch newspaper; the complete cargo list is given and includes an 'alive, white elephant', the first time an elephant had been taken to the Dutch Republic.

items and 20 bales with porcelain from captured ships'.[51] (Appendix 6, list 6) These additional 17,378 items obtained from booty were more than what was bought by the VOC that year.

On January 2nd, 1633, several junks departed from Amoy and on the 3rd, five junks arrived at Formosa with various products including coarse porcelain.[52] A balance of the stock was made in the same month at Fort Zeelandia: a total of 10,408 pieces was not an overwhelming large amount.[53] A junk arrived at Formosa from the Chinese coast on March 23rd, with 'a little fine and mostly coarse porcelain'.[54] The wares are, exceptionally, described in some detail: '120 pieces fine porcelain, half as well as one third [sized] *schaffschotel*, 1,000 coarse butter dishes, 440 painted pieces as well as white coarse camel cups, 40 flasks'.[55] Several rare terms were used such as '*schaffschotel'*, which may be a Germanization for a large serving dish.[56] As the term coarse is used for 'white coarse camel cups', these were apparently not of the fine quality produced in Jingdezhen and may either have come from Dehua or another local kiln site in Fujian province.

The complicated situation between the intermediaries, the Chinese officials and the Dutch continued. Cheng Zhilong (Iquan) kept insinuating all kinds of promises. 'In March of 1633 Zhilong sent a letter to Putmans saying that the "king's court" had decided to provide eight passes yearly to Chinese merchants that would allow free trade with the Dutch so long as the company did not try to trade in China. It was good news, but Putmans and his colleagues were skeptical: "the Chinese have now for years tried to keep us satisfied only with frivolous and sweet words."'[57]

---

[51] Ibid., '*17378 Ps. verscheijde sorteringe verovert porceleyn, 20 grootte Balijen met d.o, 30 veroverde porceleijne potten'.*
[52] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, D fol. 210, '*comen van Aymoy hier ter reede vijf jonckjens geladen met rijs, swarte suycker, grof porceleyn ende andere cleynicheden alsmede weynige sijde stoffen'*.
[53] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1109, *Balance van den heer Hans Putmans Taijouan p.mo Jannuarij 1633: 'aen porceleijn stucx 10408, .f. 502=16=6'.*
[54] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, E. fol. 573, *March 23rd, 1633: 'arriveert een joncke uyt China, geladen met weynich fijn ende meest groff porceleyn als andere clynicheden'*.
[55] Ibid., '*120 stuckx fijn porceleyn, soo halve als drijelinge schaffschootels, 1000 stuckx grove boterschootels, 440 stuckx geschilderde als witte groove cameelscopkens, 40 stuckx vlessen'*.
[56] http://www.dbnl.org/ : '*Schaffen: opdissen; eten; het middagmaal nuttigen'*.
[57] Andrade 2004 (op.cit.), p.437, note 84: Letter from Governor Hans Putmans to Governor-General Jacques Specx, 9 November 1632, VOC 1109: 195–197.

There were still very few commissions sent to Asia, but the items and quantities required were mostly specified. The focus remained on flatware, all sizes, as well as the known *cameelscoppen* and *clapmutsen,* which would all have been produced in Kraak style. Cargo lists also included some new items as 'cups painted with characters', teacups and 'bell cups'.

Nonetheless, deliveries continued; in April 1633, two junks arrived at Formosa with fine porcelain *(partije fijn porceleyn)*.[58] In May and June 1633 junks arrived with coarse porcelain (*groff porceleyn'*).[59] The cargo list of the *Middleburgh* with commodities to the Dutch Republic included 25,345 porcelain items.[60] (Appendix 6, list 7) It also gives information as to packaging the porcelain, and here we again see the quantities of each item per package: '170 large dishes were packed in 17 round wooden tubs; 2,570 half-sized *schaff* dishes of which 1,200 are packed in 60 wicker baskets and 1370 packed in bundles of straw, each containing 10 pieces'.[61] Cups and bowls were, due to their fragility, packed in wooden tubs or casks: '1,985 fine cups in round wooden tubs and 1,325 teacups [packed] in 3 wooden tubs'. More details are given: 'baskets made from bamboo contain 20 pieces each; 20 pieces packed in straw; (bundles) each (with) 15 pieces, bundles each with 10 pieces'.[62] (Figure 6.4)

Figure 6.4. Dishes packed in straw. Dejima Museum, Nagasaki, Japan. Photo by author.

[58] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, E. fol. 574, April 10th, 1633: '*Comen twee joncxkens van de suyt ende seven uyt China, waeronder eenvan Bendiock ende een van Sidnia, inhebbende acht à 10 picol rouwe sijde, weynich sijde stoffen, partije fijn porceleyn, aluyn ende poursuycker als andere grove waren*'.
[59] Ibid., fol. 576, (May 22nd and 23rd),1633); fol. 577, (June 18th, 1633), '*dij 22 ende 23 ditto. Ariveerde een joncque van de custe van China, geladen met groff porceleyn'.*
[60] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1113: '*Facture vande coopmanschappen dwelck door ordre vande E, H.r gouuern=r Hans Putmans Int schip dat godt bewaer ghenaempt middelburch voor 't patria gescheept. 25345 stx- fijn porselijn monteert f 7749/19/; Actum Int Comptoir Tayouan den 22en octob.r Aº 1633*'.
[61] Ibid., '*170 Groote Schootels a 1 r.a Ider bestaende In 17 houte ronde baliens'; '1200 stx- bestaende In 60 stx van bamboese gevlochte Corven); (1370 stx- bestaen In 137 halue Corgien Int stroo gepackt Ider van 10 stx'*.
[62] Ibid., '*1985 stx- Clock Copkens bestaende In stx ronde houte Balies 1325 stx- Thee Copkens bestaende In 3 Houte Balies; 3850 stx Cleijne pimpelkens bestaen In 3 ronde houte balies'; 'van bamboesen gevlochten Canasters Ider van 20 stx-; In stroo gepackt Ider van 20 stx-; Bossen Ider van 15 stucx, bossen Ider van 10 stucx*'.

The 'pirate wars' continued. Finally, In October 1633, after more conflicts with Iquan, new terms of trade were negotiated.[63] The result was that, during the following period, 'Each year four or five richly laden silk junks and eight or so smaller junks bearing porcelain and less valuable cargos arrived in Taiwan'.[64]

The second period of porcelain deliveries, from 1634 to 1644.

This period is the most significant one concerning Dutch demand for porcelain, as Chinese production now took place under effective direction of the VOC. Consequently, production of Western shapes expanded; Chinese junks regularly delivered porcelain from the Fujian coast to the VOC post on Formosa, Fort Zeelandia. During this period, the return fleets carried the largest quantities of porcelain to the Dutch Republic. Orders (*eischen*) were first sent from the VOC directors in Amsterdam to the head office in Batavia with outgoing ships; from Batavia, these were sent on to the trade post Fort Zeelandia. There, VOC officials negotiated with Chinese intermediaries, who then sent them on to merchants at production centres. After completion, the items were delivered to south Chinese coastal ports to be shipped by junks to Formosa. As previously mentioned, they were packed in various ways; on arrival, deliveries were checked and the quantities registered.

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* provides information on daily events at the trade post: the arrivals and departures of ships, including those from the Chinese coast and their cargoes.[65] Since there were no fixed amounts per package, and these would differ over the years, it is difficult to obtain exact quantities or descriptions of the types

---

[63] Andrade 2005 (op. cit.), p. 439: 'Zhilong promised that three Chinese traders would be given licenses to trade in Taiwan so long as the Dutch kept away from China. This was not the free, "unlicensed," trade for which they had fought, but it was better than what they had enjoyed before. The Dutch had been unable to overcome Zhilong, but they had shown they could be a threat when provoked, especially when they allied with other pirates. This threat likely persuaded Zhilong to grant better trading conditions. ('letter from Governor Hans Putmans, October 28th, 1634'); NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv.nr. 1114: Originele missive van Hans Putmans uijt het Fort Zeelandia aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 28 October 1634.

[64] Ibid., p. 440 :'. The Dutch used the threat of violence and new pirate alliances to keep pressure on Chinese officials in order to maintain this trade.' Note 97: 'See Generale Missiven, H. Brouwer, A. van Diemen, P. Vlack, and J. van der Burch, Batavia, 15 August 1634, in Cheng "De VOC en Formosa," pp. 130–131'.

[65] J.L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, W.E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.), *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662*, The Hague, 1986-2000; these can be consulted on: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/voctaiwan/index_html_en (visited January, 2020): 'The best sources for studying this period are the daily registers as they give a clear picture of everyday life in and around the fort. They also offer a wealth of information about scouting expeditions, conversions to Christianity, education, trade, relations with China, Chinese immigration and the eventual expulsion of the Dutch. Indeed, as far as the history of Taiwan in the 17th century is concerned the daily registers are practically the only source available'.

of the ceramics delivered in each shipment. However, the only distinction made was between fine porcelain (*fijn porceleyn, porselyn*) and coarse porcelain (*groff…*) or not even that, just porcelain. The fine porcelains produced in Jingdezhen and some kilns in Fujian province were transported to Fuzhou and the junks from the Amoy bay area mainly delivered coarse porcelain from the Zhangzhou kilns.[66] These kilns had direct access to waterways and the port of Yuegang ('moon harbour') on the Jiulong River. (Figure 6.6)

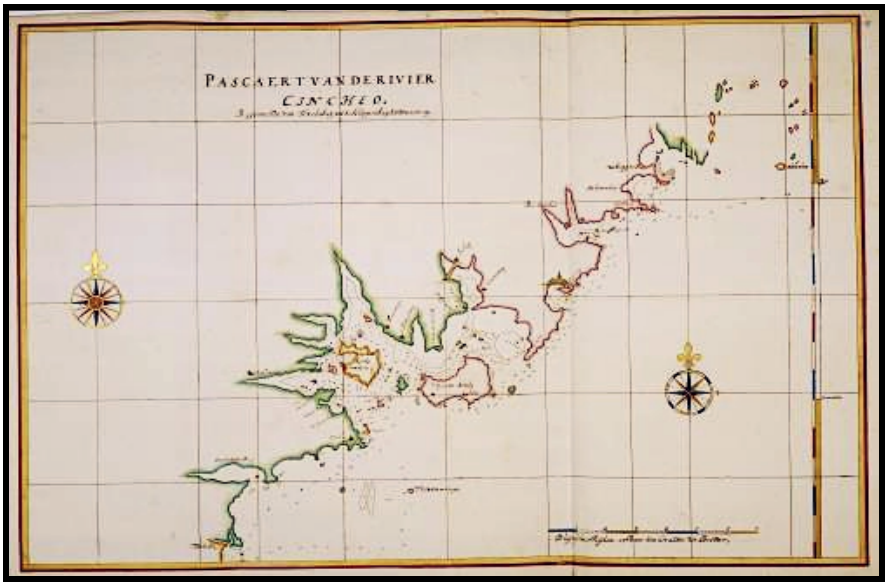


Figure 6.6. Bay of Amoy/Chincheo River. '*Pascaert van de rivier Chincheo. / Beginnende van Texelsbaij, tot de klippenbaij, Noordwarts op'. Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem (toegeschreven aan Vingbooms 1665-1668*)'. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv.nr. Van der Hem 41:17. [67]

Fuzhou on the estuary of the Min River was the nearest port from where fine porcelain produced in Jingdezhen and other kiln sites was transported. (Figure 6.6)

[66] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 847: '15 dec: Arriveeren alhier van Aymoy 5 joncquen, t'samen medebrengende 900 picol poeyerzuycker, 8 ä 9 picol rouwe zijde, 600 paar zijde coussen ende pertij groff porceleyn.' Ibid., fol 849: '25 ditto. Arriveeren alhier d'navolgende joncquen namentlijck: 1 ditto van Hoccheo, vol-laden met diverse sorteringe fijn porceleyn, 1 ditto van Aymoy met 400 picol poeyersuyc-ker, perti potten Chineese gember ende 200 bossen grove porceleynen commen'.
[67] As previously mentioned, in VOC documents written as: *'riviere Chanchieu /Rivier Tchincheo'.*

Figure 6.7. '*De stad Hockzieuw en de stad Nanta (titel op object)'.* Anonymous. ca. 1670-1700, Rijksmuseum inv. nr. NG-1988-13. Paper, ink, watercolours. On the right a ship with the Dutch flag.

Entries in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dating from the beginning of 1634 show that regular deliveries of merchandise from the Chinese coast had finally commenced after trade negotiations had been settled. On February 21st, 1634, three junks arrived with tubs containing fine porcelain (*balijeen fijn porceleynen*).[68] An entry dated February 27th states that another negotiator 'Hambuan' promised that 'within a few days porcelains and silk goods will arrive'.[69] Another report from Fort Zeelandia stated that two junks, one loaded mostly with porcelain and the other junk with items as silk, ginger and porcelain would depart for Formosa.[70]

In 1635, around 17 junks arrived from Amoy to Fort Zeelandia; an entry dated March 19th even expresses appreciation that 'as yet we have not received such a good supply from China'.[71] Consequently, deliveries to Batavia increased and the quantity

[68] Blussé, et al. (eds.) 1986-2000, (op. cit.), vol.1, F. fol. 46: February 21st: '*Arriveeren 3 joncxkens, een van de zuydt ende twee van de rivier Chincheo medebrengene"..canassers ende balijeen fijn porceleyn'*.

[69] Hambuan was another negotiator for the VOC and was also named Gampea in Dutch sources. Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, F. fol. 46: *'bracht tijdinge, dat Hambuan metgoede parthije ditto zijdewaaren ende porceleynen binnen 2 a 3 daagen ten uuyttersten stondt te volgen ende confirmeert, dat drie passen aen verscheyden coopluyden, om den handel met ons in aller vrijheyt t'excerceeren, bij den combon verleent waaren; van onse gevangenen verlossinge t'obtineeren wisten niet seeckers te seggen, alles op gemelte Hambuan refererende'.*

[70] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1631-1634*, The Hague, 1898 p. 282: '*arriveert alhier (Batavia) het jacht Perdam sijnde op primo Martij passado van Taijowan gedepescheert, en brenght vandaer mede een retour monterende als per facture. De somme van .... ende bestaende inde naervolgende coopmanschappen te weten....6263 stucx porceleijn'.*

[71] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, G. fol. 239: '*19 maart: Met dese bovengemelte 4 joncquen is ons alhier toegebracht over de 500 pl rouwe zijde, goede partie stuckgoederen als fijne porceleynen,*

that had arrived in the Dutch Republic that year was noted: '219,072 items of various sorts' in a communication, sent from the directors in Amsterdam in July 1635.[72] (Appendix 6, list 8) It included information concerning demand in other European countries during this particular period: 'the porcelains were well-received, especially large and medium dishes, flasks and pots. The demand for them increases in the Dutch Republic as well as France', especially for 'half, one-third and one-quarter dishes, shallow with flat, wide rims and should be of fine material and well painted'.[73] Flatware was favoured, not only for the Dutch, but also for other European customers. [74]

There were, however, also complaints: 'the bell cups with ears are nice but the ears are proportionally too small, [they] should be made somewhat larger and more in proportion'.[75] This could refer to those retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck', which shows that, as the Chinese did not understand the function of 'ears' or handles, they were produced in their own style. (Figure 6.8)

Figure 6.8. Various bell cups from the Wanli shipwreck, (ca.1630-1635), h.:ca. 8.0 cm.[76]

---

monteerende den incoop ongeveer en 120.000 r. van 8,'. 'sulex dat de Compagnie voor desen noyt in zoo corten tijt zoodanigen toevoer uut China heeft gehadt'.

[72] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden. sept 1634 - dec 1635: '3 July 1635 Missive Batavia naar Taiwan*: *Aangekomen 9 september Buijren*, *12 december Huijsduijnen*, *2 April Venhuijsen*, *7 April Bredamme, 9 meij met de wanckan… ontfangen ptije in Junio 16=C & vierendertich wesende 219 Θ 072: stucx diverse sorteringen& daer en boven 52: Balien & canasters met noch 75 porceleijne potten vol confituren'.*

[73] Ibid., *'De porceleijnen sijn wel getrocken geweest, bijsonder de groote en middlebaere schotelen, flessen ende potten. De genegentheijt neempt daerin toe soowel in Neerlant als oock in Vranckrijck.'*

[74] Ibid.; '*De principaelste consumptie nu in europa bestaet in halve, ⅓ ende quaer schotels, ondiep met vlacke breede rande*'; Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), pp. 10-12.

[75] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857 (op.cit.). '*De Clock copkens met ooren sullen aengenaem wesen maerde oorckens sijn naer proportie te cleen/sullen wat grooter & proporsioneler dienen gemaeckt.'*

[76] S. Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus (eds.) 2007 (op.cit.), pp. 154-155.

The order continues with explicit details, 'the new assortment of dishes or table plates need to be [of a] finer [quality] and nicely painted; they look too much like the earthenware that is made in Holland; these plates should have a smooth and glazed base, without an edge or rim, suitable to move over a cloth on the table'.[77] This was rather an extraordinary request as it was customary in China to produce flatware with an unglazed, raised foot rim. Archaeologists in Jingdezhen have indeed recovered a few fragments without a foot rim such as shown in Figure 6.9, proof that these indeed were produced, but it was apparently not a standard item.[78]

Figure 6.9. Two examples of pieces with a flat foot rim. Diameter shard ca. 8 cm. Found at kiln sites at Jingdezhen. Photos by author. Collection Cao Jianwen, Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Research.

The new shapes now ordered by the VOC were all Western ones, and being unfamiliar to the Chinese potters, models were indeed required to have them produced: 'all new shapes will bring profit such as beer tankards, bowls with ears, salt cellars, candlestick holders, pour- and wine jugs according to the models we give along'.[79]

We also see in this lengthy document again specific instructions regarding the designs: 'All the large cups, bowls, pots, bottles and long-necked bottles flasks, bell cups, etc. should be painted exotically and skilfully with Chinese figures, [and with] water, landscapes, pleasure-houses'; 'their boats, birds and animals, all this is well liked in Europe'.[80] These specifications clearly show that these designs were intended to be

[77] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857 (op.cit.), *'dese pierings moeten onder den bodem glat & verlaest sijn /sonder rant off kantjen bequaem om over d'amelaeckens op tafel leggende te schuijven alle soorte van pierings voor Nederlant dienen soo fijn van porceleijn met dunne bodems gemaect'*.
[78] A few dishes without a base rim were also amongst the salvaged porcelain from the *Mauritius* that sank in 1609, (see Appendix chapter 4, list 5).
[79] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, '*oock alle andere nieuwe & rare Porceleijnen als bierbeeckers / commekens met ooren / soutvaten / kandelaers / scheijnck[den & wijn kannen / volgens de modellen hier nevens gaende'*.
[80] Ibid., '*met Chinese Personagien moeten te gaerde wateren/lantschappen plaijsier huijsen'. 'hun vaertuijch vogelen ende gedierte alle dit is in Europa gansch aengenaem.'*

applied to open shapes, identical to items of what is presently called 'transitional ware'.[81] (Figure 6.10)

Figure 6.10. A tankard decorated in 'transitional style'. Groninger Museum, inv.nr. 19510321; h.: 20 cm., d. 7.5 cm.

However, 'Dutch designs, flower or leaf work, like the long necked bottles [that have] now arrived with the junk Batavia, should be excused entirely, will not fetch half their price, because the Dutch designs on porcelain are not considered strange [exotic] or rare'.[82] (Figure 6.11) This is repeated in later orders dated 1638 and 1639. It has often been assumed that porcelain decorated with tulips was a specific request from the VOC for the Dutch market. As we see from the above letter though, this was not the case; the 'tulip mania' of the years 1634 to early 1637 in the Dutch Republic apparently did not affect the request for its decoration.[83] The only items with a panel motif that were decorated with this type of flower are of a later date; the 'Hatcher cargo' dated to 1643 includes a few items with such flowers.[84]

[81] S. Valenstein, A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics, New York, 1988, p. 200, describes this as: 'Transitional wares is almost completely in Chinese taste, and there is very little foreign flavor to it. However, the forms of many pieces were adapted to Western demands: The Dutch were supplying Chinese merchants with wooden shapes they wanted copied'.
[82] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, '*Nederlantse schilderije blom of off loffwerck / gelde nu gecomen langhalse flessen met de Joncke Batt.a moet geheel geexcuseert werden/sal geen half gelt haelen/ vermits de Nederlantse schilderije op porceleijn niet vreemt noch raer wert geextimeert*'.
[83] See, for example: M. Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. London, 1999. 'The date was 5 February 1637, the day flower fever reached such a pitch of frenzy in the United Provinces that once worthless bulbs truly threatened to supplant precious metals as objects of desire. The day the tulip completed a journey which had begun hundreds of years before and thousands of miles away.' (Prologue)
[84] C. Sheaf, and R. Kilburn, (eds.) [1988] *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes, The Complete Record.* Oxford, 1988, p. 41, plate 48.

Figure 6.11. Vase decorated with Chinese figures and a tulip-like flower on the neck. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.nr. AK-RAK-1989-14-A. h.:36 cm.

Cargo lists of porcelain sent to Batavia in October 1635, with the ships *Gallias, Texel, Swaen* and *Noortwijck,* provide more information as to what was transported from Fort Zeelandia.[85] (Appendix 6, list 9 and list 10) The cargo list of the *Gallias* is very detailed and shows the exact amounts for each shape. It is even possible to compare most terms listed to actual fragments retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck' dating to the same period, around 1630-1635, which I illustrate in the table in Figure 6.12. The 'Wanli shipwreck', also contained a large quantity of bowls, all Chinese shapes and of various dimensions; these may have been intended for other regions. Such a mixed cargo was typical of those shipped from Formosa to Batavia, where they were divided and transported to different destinations.

The table shows that the flatware produced and transported in this period was for the most part decorated in Kraak-panelled style; the painting is finely executed and there are numerous rare designs, not seen on fragments from earlier shipwrecks. Several have Chinese landscapes, Chinese figures and other decorations; this had already been noted in the previous year: 'finally some [ships] arrived with a good batch of porcelains of different old sorts and some [with] new designs with Chinese figures'.[86]

---

[85] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116: *'Restanten vande Porceleynen tsedert ul= mart tot ul= July volgens de loopende Negotie Boecken Van Tcomptoir Tayouan op dato Bevonden ende tsedert met de Scheepen Galias, Texcell ende Noortwijck meest altsamen na 28-10-1635 v Zeelandia naar Batavia Versonden'*; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p.183 : '*restanten van de Porceleynen sedert ult. Maart tot ult july 1635 van 't comptoir Tayouan op dato gevonden en sedert met de schepen gallias, texel en noortwijck (meest) altsmaen naar Batavia gesonden.'* The shipping list of the *Swaen* states 71,572 fine pieces; 171 'water pots' (*urinoir*) and pots for preserves; the *Noordwijck* had 94,866 pieces on board.

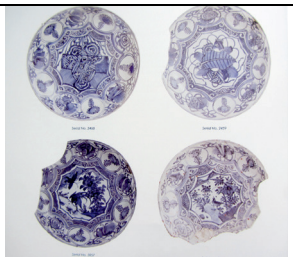
[86] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, '*Eijndelinge eenige met goede partije alderhandt oude sorteringe ende eenige nieuwe schilderijen met Chineese figueren van Porceleijnen verscheenen doch noch geenige van onse Patroonen hun alle over tweeJaren mede Gegeven, wat noch In toecomende doen sullen leert den tijt,*

High bowls called ‘bell cups’ (in Dutch *Clock kopcens*) are included, the first ones salvaged from a shipwreck.

Figure 6.12. Cargo list of the *Gallias* from Formosa to Batavia compared to items salvaged from the ‘Wanli shipwreck’.

Cargo list from Formosa to Batavia of the *Gallias.*		Images from: *The Wanli shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*. (Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.).
Large dishes *(heele groote fijne Schootels)*	2535	
½ size dishes (*dittos halve*)	6845	d. 35.0 -37.0
1/3 size dishes (*dittos drielingen*)	10,817	d. 29.0-32.0
¼ size dishes (*dittos quarten*)	9985	d. 20.7-22.0

veel betercoop als die Ingecocht is zall voor eerst niet dienen naer getracht alsoo alreets over sommige sorteringe beginnen te clagen daeraen verlooren hebben’.

Plates: table plates and fruit dishes (*pieringe taeffelborden ende fruyt schaalen*)	56,960	 d. 28-29 cm. d. 20-21 cm.
½ size bowls (*halve fijne commen*)	7982	d. 14.-14.5 cm. d. 12 cm.
Full size bowls (*heele)*	1625	d. 21-22.6 cm.

¼ size bowls (*quarten)*	10	d. 9.0-10.0 cm.
Whole-half- and ¼ size camel cups.*(Cameels Coppen soo heelen halve en quarten)*	17,528	d. 12-16 cm.; h. 6.3 cm.
Long-necked flasks (*langh halsde flessen)*	422	h. 17.5-29.0 cm.
Bell cups (*Clock kopcens*)	13,025	d. 7.9-8.1cm.; h. 7.2-8.3 cm.
Small pouring jugs (*fleskens kannetgiens ende snelletiens - Nieuwe sorteringe*)	735	h. 9.5-14.0 cm.
Large covered pots	18	h. 51.0 cm
½ size pots	23	h. 23.5
Smaller pots	66	
Full-size *clapmuts*	50	Not included
½ size *clapmuts*	1200	Only 1 found - d. 21.0
¼ size *clapmuts*	225	Not included

Small saucers	950	d. 13.7-14.5
Covered cups	57	d. 9.0-14.8 cm.; h. 8.0-14.5 cm.
Flat small bowls	5100	d. 6.3-7.3 cm.
Large coolers	6	d. 36.0 -36.4 cm.

The route taken by ships sailing to Batavia was along the Malaysian Peninsula and therefore the so-called 'Wanli shipwreck' may even have been one of the ships or junks that delivered cargoes from the Formosa roadstead to the headquarters on the tip of Java Island. (Figure 6.13)

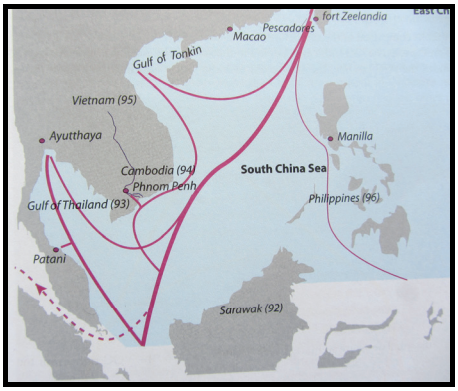


Figure 6.13. Map showing routes taken by VOC ships in the northeastern region Asia.[87]

The VOC continued with requests for Western shapes. In October, 1635, Governor Putmans reported that models had been made, '[we] have had a turner and 2 or 3 painters working for more than 2 months to turn and paint jugs, wash-basins, cooling-tubs (*coelvaten*), dishes, mugs, saltcellars, mustard and water pots, also various cups of a good fashion'.[88] (Appendix 6, list 11)

The results were not satisfactory. VOC officials noted that the Chinese warned that of the large wares 'hardly an eighth or a tenth part remains whole and straight during firing, so that large pieces will be extraordinarily expensive'.[89] Consequently, only '5 large water basins or pots [the size] in which small children can be washed or [in which] clean water can be kept' were sent as samples, selected out of thirty to forty pieces; 'the others had firing cracks, red spots or were lopsided or crooked'.[90] Figure 6.14 illustrates what such a basin might have been. It is surprising that such items were misfired, as Chinese potters should have been accustomed to producing such large sizes.

[87] Map taken from R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660)*. Amsterdam, 2010, fig.3.2, p.43.
[88] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116 (op.cit.),'*Hebben eenen draijer ende 2 a 3 conterfeijters meer als 2 maenden om cannen, lampetschootels, coelvaten, schalen, beeckers, zoutvaten, moster ende waterpotten, oock verscheijden copkens van goet fatsoen te laten draieijen ende schilderen, sulcx dat wij vertrouwen de naeste besendinge rare stucken zullen brengen'*.
[89] Ibid., *'doch clagen seer dat het extraoirdinari fijn ende groot goet qual(lijck) een achtste ofte thiende part int backen heel ende recht blijft, zulcx dat groote stucken extraoidinarij dier sullen vallen'*.
[90] Ibid., '*watervatten ofte potten hiernevens om cleijne kinders in te conne wasschen ofte anders clear water daerin goet te houden*'; '*dander hadden altsamen backscheuren, roode plecken ofte waren scheeff ofte crom*'. Posssibly these were rejects.

Figure 6.14. A large, deep fish bowl decorated with pond scene; underglaze blue and overglaze colours (wucai) d. 55.2 cm.; h. 37.8 cm. Inscription on interior edge: *Da Ming Longqing nian zhi* (reign of Longqing – 1567-1572). British Museum inv.nr. PDF.778 (Percival David collection.)

Putmans also assured the VOC director that the Chinese merchants promised to bring a good and fine assortment based on samples, 'the models all turned from wood and painted with all kinds of Chinese figures have been given and confirmed by the Chinese to be copied so that a good quantity of fine quality will be brought the coming year'.[91] A further increase in quantities can be seen by the entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* during the following year, 1636. A sequence of arrivals took place from the Fujian ports: Amoy, Anhai, and Fuzhou.

From 1637 onwards, a regular pattern of deliveries emerges. In the table below (Figure 6.15) I have compiled the entries in the *Dagregister Kasteel Zeelandia* that refer to shipments of ceramics by Chinese junks from these ports to show what was delivered in that year. The table shows that from the port of Amoy, mostly coarse porcelain, and from Fuzhou for the most part fine porcelain items were shipped to Formosa. Quantities are only given by way of packaging and quality without further specifications, except for the large pots, which were listed separately.

[91] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116 (op.cit.): '*alle van hout meest gedrayet ende met alderhande chineesche figueren geschildert zijn medegegeven, twelck verclaert hebben altsamen te connen naermaken ende belooft ons met den naesten toe te brengen, dat UEd. Groote ende schoone pertyetegens 't aenstaande jaer heeft te verwachten'*. C. Viallé has already dealt with the issue when wooden samples were sent for the first time: C. Viallé, 'The Records of the VOC Concerning the Trade in Chinese and Japanese Porcelain between 1634-1661', *Mededelingenblad van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst*. vol. 22, 1992, pp. 5-34; p. 8.

Figure 6.15. Table with dates of departure and place of departure of Chinese junks with cargoes of Chinese ceramics to Formosa, 1637.

Date (1637)	Harbour from where junks departed	Reference in *Dagregister Kasteel Zeelandia.*
January 20th	Fuzhou	'Fine porcelain 'packed in 700 cases, 150 crates and 110 large porcelain pots' (*700 cannassers, 150 balijs, 110 groote porceleyne potten*); '9-10,000 bundles coarse porcelain (*9 a 10.000 bos groff porceleyn)'.*[92]
Same day	Fuzhou	'From Fuzhou a junk fully laden with fine porcelain, consisting of: 700 cases and 150 crates *(van Hocchieu een ditto joncque, volladen met fijn porceleyn, bestaende in: 700 cannassers, 150 balijs, 110 groote porceleyne potten*)'.[93]
January 21st	Amoy	'Arrives here from Aymoy a junk with the following goods namely 700-800 crates of coarse porcelain.' [94]
February 5th	Fuzhou	'1[junk]from Fuzhou with 300 crates and 200 cases with porcelain'.[95]
March 6th	Amoy	'Arrives here from Aymoy a junk with 800 bundles coarse coarse porcelain, 66 fine porcelain pots'.[96]
March 7th	Fuzhou	'Arrived here from the Chinese coast de following junks, namely 1 from Fuzhou with 400 crates and 500 cases of various fine porcelain. [97]
March 10th	Amoy	'From Aymoy together bringing 600 cases, 200 crates fine porcelain.'[98]
March 11th	Amoy	'From Amoy…3000 bundles coarse, 200 cases and 17 crates with fine porcelain'[99]'.
March 13th	Amoy	'From Amoy…with 1300 bundles coarse porcelain'[100]
April 3		'Returning porcelain that are unsuitable for the Company'.[101]
May 4th	Amoy	A junk returns to the coast of China, coming from Amoy with dried deer meat and 'some useless and undesirable porcelains for the Company'.[102]

[92] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 854.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., I. fol. 856. *'arriveert alhier van Aymoy een joncque, inhebbende d'naervolgende goederen, namentlijck*: 7 a *800 balijs groff porceleyn'.*
[95] Ibid., *'1 ditto van Hoccheo, inhebbende: 300 balijs, 200 canassers porceleynen*'.
[96] Ibid., I. fol. 863.*'6 ditto, Comt alhier van Aymoy een jonxken met 800 bossen groff porceleyn, 66 stucx fijne porceleynen potten*'.
[97] Ibid., '*Arriveeren hier van de Chineese cust de naervolgende joncquen, namentlijck: 1 ditto van Hoccheo, inhebbende 400 balijs ende 500 cannassers diverse sorteringe fijne porceleyn.'*
[98] Ibid., I. fol. 866, '*van Aymoy, gesamentlijck medebrengende 600 canassers, 200 balijs fijn porceleyn'.*
[99] Ibid., '*van Aymoy, inhebbende: 3.000 bossen groff / 200 canassers fijn porseleyn 17 balijs ditto*'.
[100] *Ibid., 'van Aymoy, medebrengend… 1.300 bos groff porceleyn'.*
[101] Ibid., I. fol. 872-873: *'3 ditto. Retourneren na de cust van China 2 handeljoncquen, hebbende alhier verscheyde fijne ende grove waeren van zijde, zijde stoffen, suyckeren, porceleynen etc. aengebracht, uutvoerende 't meerendeel der / daervoren ontfangene contanten mitsgaders per-thij coper, loot ende eenige uutschot stoffen ende porceleynen, ondienstige sorteringe voor de Compagnie'.*
[102] Ibid., vol.1. fol. 877: '*4 mei 1637, Retourneert een handeljoncque na de cust van China, tot Aymoy*

May 15th	Amoy	'2 junks arrive from Aymoy with…130 cases with fine porcelain'[103]
August 4th		'Demanded for the next return [shipment] from here [Formosa] various assortments of porcelain according to the samples'.[104]
October 29th	Anhai	'From Anhai 4 junks with 250 crates of fine porcelain as well as 130 cases'.[105]
November 2nd.	Fuzhou	'A junk coming from Fuzhou with 320 large porcelain pots' [106]
November 13th and 17th	Fuzhou	Deliveries continued during the whole month of November, '350 bales', '650 cases', and 'large porcelain pots' are mentioned.[107]
November 28th	Amoy	'Arrive here from the Chinese coast …2 junks from Aymoy loaded with 50 crates, 82 cases [porcelain] and 32 porcelain pots''. [108]

Deliveries to Batavia increased; on October 21st, *De Keyserinne* departs with 24,190 pieces of fine porcelain to Batavia.[109] An entry dated November 13th mentions that 112,755 pieces of fine porcelain has been loaded onto a large [Company] junk, the *Goede Hoope,* to be sent to Batavia.[110] This large amount summarizes the success of the year 1637. Regular supplies and larger quantities continued to be shipped to Fort Zeelandia during the years 1638 and 1639.

Entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dated January 1638, record that twelve junks had arrived with both coarse and fine wares, packed in bundles and

---

thuyshoorende, uutvoerende 5 picol gedroocht hertevlees ende eenige ondienstige ende niet bij de Compagnie begeerde porceleynen'.

[103] Ibid., I. fol. 878: '*Zoo verschijnen oocq weder van daer namentlijck 2 joncken van Aymoy, inhebbende…130 canassers fijn porceleyn'*.

[104] Ibid., I. fol 901: August 4th, 1637: '*Eyst in retour-met d'aenstaende van hier derwarts te doene depêche…diverse sortering porceleynen, conform de gesondene monsters*'.

[105] Ibid., I. fol 912: *'Arriveeren alhier van Anhay 4 handeljoncquen, medebrengende als volcht: 250 balijs ende \fijn porceleyn 130 canassers'.* Anhai is located in the south part of present-day Quanzhou on the coast, indicating that this was also a port from from goods were exported.

[106] *een joncq comende van Hochieuw aengebracht: 320 stucx groote potten porcelyn*'.

[107] Ibid., K. fol. 435: (*dd 2 nov.; 17e nov. 1637)*: '*Op dato arriveert alhier van Hochieuw een handelsjonck met fijne porceleynen, namentlijck 650 canassers ende 350 balijs'.*

[108] Ibid., K. fol 437, *'arriveren alhier successivelijck van de Chineese cust de naerbeschreven joncke, te weeten 2 handeljoncken van Aimoy geladen met 50 balijs, 82 canassers en 32 potten porseleinen'.*

[109] Ibid., K. fol. 427: '*21 oktober 1637*: *Het fluitschip De Keyserinne***,** *gestouwd en afgeladen, licht het anker op de achtermiddag en vertrekt naar Batavia. Het cargazoen bedraagt met de ongelden f. 124704.11 en bestaat volgens de facturen uit: 1.973 t. 7 maes Chinees gout, 34.523 catty spialter, 7.275 catty chinesche tarwe, 261.497 catty poeyersuycker, 1.800 stux lanquyns… 24.190 stux fijne porceleynen'*.

[110] Ibid., K. fol. 435; November 13th: '*is besloten de grote jonk met 112.755 stuks fijn porceleyn, 882 pl Chinese zijde en 4.522 cattys wanckians, bedragende tezamen f. 20012.—.8, te verzenden.*'; K. fol. 449: December 25th, 1637: '*2 5 dito. Vertrecken in compagnie directelijck 't fleuytschip Rarop ende de joncq De Goede Hoop met een cargasoen, bestaende in porceleynen, lanquijns, cangangs ende gout-draet tot den Indijschen handel, te weeten: monteert t'samen 155066.9.2'.*

cases.[111] Then, on February 13th, the *Oudewater* departed to Batavia with a cargo of 78,232 items of fine and 9,826 items coarse porcelain.[112] On March 9th, a junk arrived from Amoy with '3,000 bowls and 3,000 dishes of coarse porcelain'.[113] In April junks arrive with '200 bales and 100 pots'; on April 14th 1638 with '30 bales and 20 cases with porcelain' arrive from the Amoy region; on May 16th, a junk arrives from Amoy with 2,500 bundles of porcelain and on May 20th one from Fuzhou with 60 bales.[114] The items are again unspecified.

However, we do know what was in demand. An extensive memorandum dated April 14th, 1638, was sent to Batavia from the directors in the Dutch Republic explaining the sales opportunities in the Dutch Republic.[115] (Appendix 6, list 12) It commences with complaints about the porcelains and gives instructions to order better ones according to the accompanying samples:

> And because for some years now we have received a good quantity of mainly coarse porcelain with which the country has been rather flooded, this should be moderated in future, because if this continues they will drop to a very low price and render the Company little profit…Therefore, in order to create a new desire and a good sale it will be most necessary that from now on we are sent the very best, finest and rarest and diverse assortments conforming to the aforementioned samples as well as other kinds that are practicable.[116]

Even though samples had been sent previously, the order shows that it was important to follow the instructions. The long list is preceded by the remark: '[We are sending] also various samples of porcelains with a memorandum of the quantity that can be consumed annually if they conform to the samples. This case with porcelain samples nr… [unspecified] goes with the ship Amboyna'. [117] A large number of these

---

[111] Ibid., K. fol. 451. January 4th, 1638: '*2 jonken uit Anhay inhebbende 60 balijs porcelynm 340 canassers ditto...de andere ...zijne ladingen bestaende: 313 balijs porccelijn, 270 canassers dito';* Ibid., fol. 452: January 7th, 1638: *'van Aimoy een jonck ...geladen met : 24 balijs porcelyn, 240 canassers dito'.*
[112] Ibid., K. fol 463: February 13th, 1638: '*Op dato verzeylen van hier in compagnie a droicture naer Batavia 't jacht Oudewater met een cargasoen, bestaende in 78.232 stucx fijne ende 9.826 stucx groove porceleynen'.*
[113] Ibid., K. fol. 466: '*een handelsjoncq van Aimoy medebrengende 3000 commen en 3000 schootels groff porcelyn'.*
[114] Ibid., K. fol. 470, fol. 471 and fol. 475. In June junks arrive with 44 crates and 1000 bundles of porcelain, and on July 16th, another 100 bales. Ibid., K. fol. 477 and fol. 484.
[115] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, April 14th, 1638. For the complete text see Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), pp. 15-19.
[116] Viallé 1992. (op. cit.), p. 15.
[117] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.), *Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1620 sep. 9 - 1627 feb. 11);* the Amboina departed on April 15th, 1638 from Texel and arrived on December 7th, 1638 in Batavia; the first ship that departed for Formosa from Batavia was on May 2nd , 1639, a year later, with the same

samples consisted of items that been sent previously: '300 large Chinese beakers, and some bottles and high flowerpots, very nicely painted like the three pieces brought by the aforementioned Governor'.[118] Some samples were even broken: '*zijnde een gebroocken booter Schoteltgen*'.[119] The items to be copied comprised of, '200 salt cellars like the accompanying wooden sample'; '200 candleholders like the accompanying sample of turned wood…and the mustard pot of ribbed wood'.[120]

This list again shows that Western shapes were in demand and specific instructions for the designs were included. Just as in 1635, the request was especially focused on designs with Chinese figures: 'a double butter or quarter sized saucer with a Chinese painted on it'; 'a fruit dish …with a Chinese painted on it'; 'a small mustard saucer well painted with a Chinese'; 'a butter dish with a Chinese on it'.[121] Figure 6.16 illustrates such a dish, retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck'.

Figure 6.16. Fragment of a dish from the 'Wanli cargo', d. ca. 36 cm.[122]

The list continues with 'a double butter dish with strange long legged animals'.[123] We cannot be sure what exactly was meant by this description but it may refer to rather sloppily painted deer. (Figure 6.17)

---

order. NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 863: *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden. 1639 jan. 18 - dec. 14): 'Instructie voor Breda, Rogh en jonck Middelburgh: 'Dit kasgen met porceleijne monsters N.o ... gaet met schip Amboyna*'.

[118] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.)*: '300 Zoo grote als Chinese beeckers, en eenige flessen ende hooge blompotte, heel schoon geschildert gelijck voorn- Gouverneur drie stx mede gebracht heeft.'*

[119] Ibid., listed as Nr. 11.

[120] Ibid., '*200 Sout vaten, gelyck het nevensgaende Monster van hout*'; '*200 kandelaars gelijck het nevens gaende Monster van houdt gedraijt… en den Mostaart pot van houd geribt'.*

[121] Ibid., '*een dobbelde booter of quart schotel met een chinees daarin geschildert*'; '*een fruijtschael, de groote van een encaelde boterschootel of piering aardich geschildert emt een Chinees daarinne*'; '*een cleen most schaaltgen seer aardich geschildert met een Chinees daarinn*'; '*een boterschotel met een Chinees daer in*'.

[122] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op.cit.), serial no. 7950.

Figure 6.17 Fragment of a dish excavated at *Liujiaxianong* site, Jingdezhen.
Photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

Also listed were '8,000 fruit dishes the size of a butter dish with a flower pot' ('*sijnde een fruijtschael met een blompot vande groote van een boterschootel*').[124] (Figure 6.18)

Figure 6.18. Dish excavated in Macao near the remains of the cathedral, d. 20 cm.
Macao Museum, photo by author.

A rare request on the list concerns the term 'Caraek porseleyn', which I have dealt with in Chapter 4. 'Ten-sided table plates …also decorated with all types of Chinese paintings, perfectly painted just as the *Caraek* porcelain and flasks just arrived'.[125] I suggest that the term 'Caraek' here may refer to porcelain from previous shipments; I have only come across a ten-sided dish with panels in the Topkapi Palace museum collection (see Figure 4.61)

Another intriguing request on the same order of 1638 states: '[we want] 5,000 pieces at 2 guilders each being a butter dish/saucer of which a stork stands on the base/on the tree'.[126] (Figures 6.19 and 6.20) The document could read 'a butter dish on which a stork stands on the tree' or: 'a butter dish of which a stork is depicted on the

---

[123] Ibid., '*een dobbele boter schootel met rare lang beenich gedierte*'.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., '*Sijn 10 Cantige Tafelborden waer van mede ge-eyscht warden mede met Chinese Schilderijen te cieren altemael raar ende pefect uytgehaelt en geschildert gelyck het Caraek porceleyn en nu Jongst overgecomen vlessen zijn geweest.*'
[126] Ibid., *'Daarvan als boven zal connen &tiert worden 5 Θ stx a 2 gł ijder zijnde een booter Schootel daar een oijevaer achter opde boom state.'*

bottom'. In other words, the word 'boom' (tree) here may have meant *bodem,* bottom or base.

Figure 6.19. Dish from the 'Wanli wreck', d. ca. 30 cm. cat.nr. 2629.[127]

Figure 6.20. Dish from the 'Wanli wreck', d. 30 cm. cat.nr. 7949.[128]

In that case, it would refer to dishes with an egret mark on its base. This appears only sporadically as a base mark on Kraak-type dishes and speculation on its use has not been conclusive. It may have been a mark used by a certain workshop in Jingdezhen, but the variety in the quality and decorations cannot confirm this. Besides, the egret mark had already been used before the Kraak-panelled wares were produced as illustrated by dishes from the Topkapi Museum. (Figure 6.21)

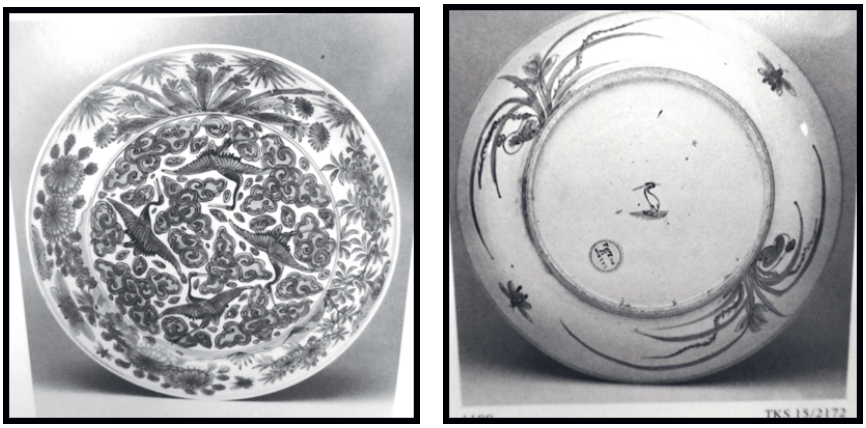


Figure 6.21. Dish with cranes among clouds, the base with an egret mark, second half of the 16th century, d. 17cm. Topkapi Palace museum, inv. nr. TKS15/2172, front and back.

[127] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), p. 178.
[128] Ibid., p. 232.

The memorandum ends with specified details on the colours as well: 'the quality and whiteness of the material (probably the glaze) should be of a more yellow or egg-white colour than bluish'.[129] Furthermore: 'when making these porcelains, the prettiness of the designs should be observed and they do not have to be tied to these but may use any Chinese-style of painting, [but] not too blue or pale and not too spaced or compact, to which special attention should be paid'.[130] The total amount ordered was for 157,100 pieces.

Such details give us a great deal of information about the taste in porcelain in the Dutch Republic of 1638. The precise details on the colour and designs and the requested new porcelain shapes indicate that the taste is becoming more extensive, with a preference for new Western shapes in contrast to earlier orders, where the focus was mostly on flatware, cups and jugs in general.[131] Nevertheless, flatware continued to be produced with Kraak-style panels.

The accompanying letter that was sent on to Formosa on May 5th, 1639 again stressed the necessity to carry out the order according to the requested quantity and quality of the porcelains and to hand over the samples to the Chinese merchants with instructions to produce finer quality. It also stated: 'close attention should be paid to the painting and especially note that all Dutch flower work should be omitted'.[132] This is the second time that we come across the request to 'omit all Dutch flower work'.[133]

We see again from the entries in the *Dagregisters* that there were continuous supplies of both fine as well as coarse types of porcelain, now mainly arriving from the southern port of Amoy. As mentioned, the figures listed on these cargo lists to Batavia

---

[129] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.): '*dat dese deucht en wittigheyt van Stoffe eer wat na den gelen off Ey witte als blauwen treckende'*) (Apparently, the hue of the overglaze was too bluish).

[130] Ibid., '*Midtsgaders de aardigheijt vande Schilderyen Int maken van dese Porceleynen geobserveert werde En zullen haar echter aan dese schilderije alleen niet hoeven te binden maar op elcke sorte wel veelderleij Schildeijen volgens haer Chinese Maniere en gebruyck mogen maken als maar d'Schilderije wel aardicvh ende niet al te blauw oft alte bleeck midtsgaders niet al te dicht nochte oock niet al te wijt vanden andren gestelt werd, daer op sonderlinge dient gelet.*'

[131] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1111, *Copieboeck van uitgaende missiven aen diverse quartieren van 29 December 1633 – 20 December 1634*, *Missive Brouwer naar Taiwan July 24th, 1634*: '*T'fijn porceleyn was in Neerlant wel vercocht, ende contineel in begeerte, oversulcx sullen groote partije uijt China verwachten van diverse soorte, ende bij liberen handel dienen uE raere Porceleijnen te procureeren, als pieringhs met platte randen gelijck hollantsche tinne taeffelborden, schenckannen, drinck'beeckers'.*

[132] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 863, *Batavia's uitgaande brievenboek 1639: 'dat op de schilderije wel geleth endevoor al dat alle Nederlands blomwerck daerop te schilderen naegelaeten wort'*; Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 22.

[133] The earlier one is dated 1635, Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 22 ,'Dutch paintings, flower, or leaf work, like the long necked bottles now arrived with the junk Batavia, should be excused entirely, will not make half its price, because the Dutch painting on porcelain are not considered strange or rare'.

indicate that a more precise counting must have taken place at Fort Zeelandia when the deliveries from coastal China arrived. For example, the *Hollandia* departed in October 1638 from Formosa to Batavia loaded with '12,467 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 33 bales and 190 wicker cases and 9 flowerpots packed in one bale'.[134] (Appendix 6, list 13) The list gives details according to size or type, whole and half-sized dishes, bowls, another example of how packaging took place. Even the wine jugs (*wyncannen*) are divided according to those with spouts and without ('*52 stx met pijpen in 1 Balij, 30 stx sonder pijpen'*); the bottles are also specified: '115 bottles of which 33 are 'Persian-shaped' (*33 stx persiaens*) and 82 'gourd shaped' (*82 stx calbas*).[135]

Orders from the Dutch Republic continued to be sent, along with samples of the required shapes. On June 30th, 1639, the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* mention that the VOC officials had received the letter brought by the ships *Breda* and *De Roch* and that the samples sent from Batavia were given to the merchants Joctay and Jusit.[136] This is repeated in another entry dated November 11th.[137]

In July 1639, the *Zuthphen* arrived in the Dutch Republic but there were still complaints about the quality: 'the flatware is quite bad and was sold at any price'. The request emphasizes again that the Fort Zeelandia officials should pay attention when they purchase the wares and see to it that the samples are copied.[138] Nonetheless, shipments of porcelain to Batavia from Formosa all were substantial: in 1639, the *Breda* (94,656 pieces), the *Petten* (71,787 pieces) and the *Den Otter* (116,390 pieces).[139]

---

[134] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), K, fol. 495: '*19 oktober: ä droiture na Battavia vertrocken de gecochte Chinese joncque genaempt* Hollandia*, volladen wesende met 93.575 catty candijsuycker, 12.467 stucx fijne sorteringe porceleynen'.*

[135] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1130: '*Factura van de joncqh genaemt Hollandia gaende van hier rechtdoor naer Battavia. Taijouan 17en October 1638'.* By 'Persian-shaped' is meant a bottle with a long neck of which the top has an onion shape; this particular shaped bottle was not retrieved from any known VOC ships. The 'Hatcher cargo' dated to 1643-1645 has several.

[136] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol. 2, L. fol. 701, *.20 juni 1639: 'soo sijn op dato aen de Chinese coopluyden Joctay ende Jusit overgelevert ende ter hant gestelt de become monsters, ons to dien eynde van Batavia toegesonden, welcke coopluyden conform deselve aengenomen hebben de gerequireerde quntiteyt te levern ende heeft sich den tolcque Cambingh als borger geconstitueert, datons deselve monsterds wederom ter hant sullen worden gestalt'.*

[137] Ibid., vol. 2, M. fol. 39, *11 november: 'De monsters van porcelaynen, die U.E. ons hebt gelieven toe te senden, hebben aen Jusit ter hant gestelt, die met d'selve te maecken, geoccupeert blijft.'*

[138] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 314*: 'Eysch retouren 1639. Porceleijn met Sutphen overgecomen heeft tamelijck gerendeert, doch het plat goet is seer slecht geweest, ende wert dese waere bij de stock vercocht tot dieverse prijs, de raerste ende fijnste soorteringe is hier best begeert'; 'Int opcoopen derselve Diennen uE haer so veel mogelijck te conformeeren met de memorie ende monsters uE voor desen toegesonden, waer toe ons voor alsnoch gedragen'.*

[139] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), M. fol. 42, *11 december,"Vertrecken van hier a droitturo naer Battavia...de schepen Breda, Petten ende Den Otter, zijnde vollande met de navolgende …in 't schip Breda: 94,656 stucx porcelaynen…. ; in 't fluytschip Petten :…71,787 stucs porcelaynen… ; Den Otter :…..116,390*

Complaints concerning the quality are repeated in the following year, 1640: 'the porcelain brought by the *Maria, Hardewijck*, *Breda* and *Petten* are welcome but the flatware is quite bad' (*doch het pladt goet is seer slecht geweest*). The order also states that: 'you should see to it that when purchasing it, that they should follow the samples and models sent to you by the *Zutphen*'.[140]

Further large quantities continued to be delivered from Formosa to Batavia in 1640; the *De Gracht* left for Batavia in January with '107,399 fine porcelain items and another lot of 395 pieces fine porcelain (*107,399 stucx fijne porceleynen….395 stucx fijne porceleynen*)'.[141] The *Castricum* together with the company junk *Middleburg* departed on March 19th to Batavia with 104,061 wares of diverse shapes.[142] In December of that year the *Broeckoort/Broucoort* arrived in Batavia from Taiwan with '65,730 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 315 bales and 130 cases (*65730 fyne porcelijnen in 315 balien en 130 canasters*)'.[143] There were also several shipments to Persia during these years, which will be dealt with in the last section of this chapter.

Information about supplies of porcelain from the Chinese coast to Fort Zeelandia during the years 1641-1642 is scarce but some shipping lists provide an insight.[144] In January 1641, the *Haarlem* left for the Dutch Republic with 32,160 items of fine

---

stucx porcelaynen…'; The *Petten* came from Hirado to Batavia where it arrived January 1st 1640, together with the *Breda*. (both in Taiwan from November 11th, 1639 to December 10th, 1639); *Den Otter* left Hirado October 31st, 1639 stayed at Taiwan from November 11th – 30th, 1639, from there to Paliacatte and then to Batavia where it arrived June 1st, 1640.

[140] NL-HaNA 1.10.30. (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 237: '*Bevindingen retouren 1640*: *Porceleijnen P.r maria, harderwijck, breda, ende Petten becommen heeft tamelijck gerendeert, doch het pladt goet is seer slecht geweest de raerste ende bijnste soorteringe sijn hier best begeert Int opcoopen derselver dienen u E haer soo veel mogelijck te conformeeren met de modelle ende monsters u E voordesen Per zutphen toegesonden, daer toe ons voor als noch refereren'.*

[141] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, M. fol. 52, *29 januari, 1640*: '*Vertrect van hier a droitura naer Battavia 't fluytschip De Gracht… 107.399 stucx fijne porceleynen, 395 stucx fijne porceleynen*. Volker 1954 (op. cit.) p. 46, mentions: 'Van der Grafft: 44229 fine pieces: including…29 Persian flasks, 92 flower pots, 84 'urine' pots, 129 beakers, 79 wine jugs, 193 'snellekens', 50 covered cups, 480 half-sized bowls, 816 table plates, 240 fruit-dishes, 5630 small saucers, 10,600 clapmuts, 13,198 cammeelscoppen, 6745 octagonal small cups but also 63,570 coarse pieces '(large and food dishes/bowls/covered cups/rice/tea cups/small saucers).

[142] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), M. fol. 52, *19 maart, 1640*: '*Vertreckt 't fluytschip Castricum ...sijnce in Castricu…104,061 stucx porceleyn'.* Volker, 1954 (op. cit.) p.47: 'Castricum: 604 Pear-shaped flasks, 204 'snellekens', 50 candlesticks, 10,660 octagonal coffee cups, 3176 rummers, 27870 'clapmutsen', 3175 wine dishes, 22,020 cammeelscoppen, 33,140 cups with feet'.

[143] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), *13 december, 1640*: M. fol 63; NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640.

[144] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, p.4: '*Aanvullende informatie voor de periode 25 januari 1641-25 februari 1643. Met uitzondering van het voorgaande extract dagregister van de Eerste Landdag (d.d. 11 april 1641) en het navolgende dagregister (13 september tot 12 november 1642) door Lamotius, zijn geen dagregisters uit deze periode'*.

porcelain: 'packed in 1551 bundles; another 44 bales with fine porcelain, 825 pieces in 5 cases and 17 porcelain pots with sugared 'radix china'.[145]

Batavia still received sufficient amounts of porcelain: on the 16th of February, the *Roch* arrived from Formosa with '7119 pieces in one bale, 151 cases and 725 cases (*cassen*) as well as 4020 fine porcelains packed in 150 cases and 344 fine cups'.[146] The cargo list of the *Walvis* and *Zeehaen* from Formosa to Batavia, dated November 1641, lists 143,629 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 946 bales and 926 cases.[147]

The total sum of the return ships to the Dutch Republic of December 1641 and January 1642 was '204,618 various items of fine and coarse porcelain' (*204618 st diverse sortteyringe fynne ende groeve porceleynen*).[148] This mixture is rather puzzling as there have previously been numerous complaints regarding the coarse quality of wares. One of the return ships, the *Breda*, contained 39,854 pieces of both fine as well as coarse porcelain 'packed in 74 bales and 21 cases from the booty of a captured Portuguese vessel'.[149] No further details are given but it again shows that the VOC continued to capture Portuguese vessels, which had considerable amounts of porcelain on board.

From 1643 onwards, in spite of the continuation of deliveries of large quantities from the ports of Fujian of both coarse and fine types of porcelain, there is a gradual decline in quality.[150] In February, the large amount of 129,036 pieces of fine porcelain, packed in 602 bales and 228 cases, was transported to Batavia from Formosa on the

---

[145] NL-HaNA 1.11.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640. *januari 9, 1641*, *'vertrek het retourschip Haarlem naar patria met o.a 32160 p fyne porcelijnen van diverse sorteringe in 1551 bossen, costen f 3387:13:4, 44 balien met fyne porceleynen f 1795, 825 porcelijne ... in 5 canasters, 17 porcelijnen potten met geconfyte radix chine*'.

[146] Ibid., *januari 29 1641*, '*Roch uit Taiwan aan in Batavia met 7119 porceleynen bestaande in 1 balie, 151 canasters en 725 cassen; 4020 fyne in 150 canasters facture f 1443:13, 3964 grove in 725 cassen costen 571:13, 1 groot coelvat in een canaster f 52, 344 fyne copgens f* 17:11'.

[147] Ibid., Shipping lists of the *Walvis* and *Zeehaen* dd. November 1641 from Taiwan to Batavia: '*143629 P fyne porceleynen bestaende in 946 balis ende 926 canassers compt samen f 21571'.*

[148] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 230: *Specificaatie van de koopmanschappen geladen in de retourschepen Oliphant, De Vogel Struijs, Vereenichde Provintien, Nieuw Seelandt ende Breda; Walvisch en Snoeck; alsmede Nieuw Amsterdam em Wesel resp. uit Batavia vertrokken 13 December 1641*:*'29 December 1641 en 11 Januari 1642: 204618 st diverse sortteyringe fynne ende groeve porceleynen'.*

[149] NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640, *december 13, 1641*: '*39854 p fijne ende grove porceleynen bestaende in 74 balis, 21 canassers ....met een Portugees scheepken verovert'.*

[150] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1: C. fol. 277: '*19 februari dito. Arriveeren alhier uyt China drij joncken, een van Anhay ende 2 van Kemuy… 1400 bossen groff porceleyn'*; Ibid., C. fol. 288, (3 april): '*Heden arriveert alhier van Hoccieuw met sijnne joncke den Chineesen coopman Jousit, inhebbende 350 balijs fijn porceleyn';* Ibid., C. fol. 291:(14 april): '*Des achtermiddachs arriveert alhier van Hocksieuw noch een jonck met porceleyn'.*

Lillo.[151] However, an entry in April states that some of the porcelains that were inspected were 'very bad, coarse, black and badly painted'.[152]

Another entry, dated April 16th informs that the porcelain from two junks included bad and coarse quality, especially the flatware; therefore, two assortments had to be made, the flasks, pots, *clapmuts*-type, 'camel cups', and mustard pots were of a better quality.[153] The merchant Jousit blamed the weather and the season as these pieces were produced 'in the cold winter instead of during June and July, which are the best months of the year because the weather is dry, and the painting can be finer and better'.[154] This may have been an acceptable explanation but another reason is that between 1637 and 1643 there were periods of drought, famine and epidemics in China. According to Brook, 'A severe epidemic struck the Yangzi valley in 1639'; 'in 1642, then resumed annually, devastating communities all the way from Jiangnan in the south to the border in the north.'[155]

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dated April 25th, 1643, again show that the VOC officials were not pleased with the deliveries and expressly supplied all merchants, Jousit, Siongo and Ticklim, with samples so as not to be dependent on a single person. The entry ends with: 'let it be God's will and no Chinese "excuses" (*geen Chineesche praetgens mogen wesen*)'.[156] (Appendix 6, list 14) A long list is given to the merchant Jousit with specific instructions to deliver these exactly five months from now and that the porcelains should be 'fine, exotic and well painted' (*om deselve, fijn, curieus ende nedt geschildert, van nu in vijf maenden preciselijck alhier te leveren*).[157]

---

[151] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 185: '*129036 fine porcelyen bestaende in 602 balien en 228 cannasters*'.
[152] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 291, *april, 1643:'Wijders sijn meest den geheelen dach doende geweest met de porceleynen be-sichtigen, die heel slecht, groff, swart ende qualijck geschildert bevonden*.'
[153] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 292, 16 april, 1643: '*Op dato waeren doende de twee joncken met porceleynen te openen, dan al mede groffachtich ende qualijck geschildert bevonden, soodat twe sorteringen daarvan mosten maecken, insonderheyt schootelwerck, doch flessen, potten, clapmutsen cammeelscommen, mosterpotten ende diergelijcke cleen werck was reedelijck…'*
[154] Ibid., '*twelcq toequam, soo den coopman Jousit seyde, vermits 'tselve in de winter en coude gemaeckt was, dan dat 'tgeene nu in junij en julijj, dat de bequaemste maenden van 't jaer, omdat drooch weder is, daertoe sijn, vrij beter, fijnder en curieuser geschildert sal wesen*.'
[155] Brook (op. cit.) pp. 250-252. He names this period the 'Chongzhen slough' after the reign of he last Ming emperor Chongzhen (1628-1644).
[156] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 301, *25 april*: '*Heden waeren dapper doende de memoriën ende de monsters van de porce-leynen te revideeren ende die aen de coopluyden Jousit, Siongo ende Ticklim te be-steeden om niet geheel aen een persoon te dependeeren, die gesaementlijck belooffde 'tselve van nu in 5 maenden, fijn ende curieus geschildert, precis te leveren, dat Godt geve alsoo uytvallen en geen Chineesche praetgens mogen wesen'*.
[157] Van Gelder 1924 (op .cit.), p. 186.

This list shows that all types of drinking vessels were especially favoured, such as 'camel cups' and octagonal cups in four sizes. Teacups with specific designs are mentioned for the first time: '10,000 decorated on the exterior with 4 flowers (*theecopkens buyten met vier bloemkens*), with roses, bell-shaped (*clocqcopkens*) and 30,000 brandy cups (*pimpelkens*)'. As before, salt and pepper holders (*sout en peeper vaetjens*), butter pots, and butter pots with lids (*bootercoppen met dexels*) were ordered, as well as various types of flasks (*peer ende calbasflessen*).[158] The instruction was to deliver these 'well painted' and within five months' time.

This list is different from the one given to Ticklim.[159] (Appendix 6, list 15) Most items are flatware of various sorts and sizes: dishes, fruit bowls, *clapmutsen*, plates with 'foliated rims' (*gekartelde kanten*), table plates with 'flat sides' (*platte canten*) and three types of saucers. All kinds of Western shapes are included: 'jam pots, butter cups with lids, mustard pots and pepper and salt cellars' (*confijtpotten, bootercoppen met dexels; mosterdpotten; sout en peeper vaetjes*).[160] Here again the amounts ordered are quite remarkable: '12,000 of each type of plate and 15,000 saucers'.[161]

The shapes on orders given to these Chinese merchants, as well as those listed on bills of lading from 1638 on, can be compared to most items salvaged from the ''Hatcher cargo'', dated to around 1643-45. As I show in the table in Figure 6.22, they are of good quality; flatware and the *clapmuts* shape was still produced, all with the Kraak-panel design. We also see from this shipwreck that shapes such as butter pots with lids (*bootercoppen met dexels*), various types of flasks (*peer ende calbasflessen)* are painted in transitional style. This differs from items retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck', dated to around 1630-35 shown above that do not include shapes as 'tall beakers' or 'rolwagen' shapes.

---

[158] Ibid.

[159] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 187: '*memorie van de porceleynen den coopman Ticklim besteed, on desleve, fijn, curoies ende net geschildert, van nu in 5 maenden precise alhier te leeveren'*. NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1146: '*Memoriën van porselein, Tayouan, 25 april 1643*'.

[160] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 187.

[161] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 301. There was also rivalry between these Chinese merchants. Jousit complains that only he should have the samples, but Tecklim states that he will deliver a better quality than Jousit in five months' time *27 april*: '*Item, ten aensien vermercken den coopman Jousith tot het brengen en aenbe-esteeden der porceleynen sich seer onwillich thoont ende d'Ed. heer generael expres-selijck ordineert omme den eysch naar de monsters sooveele mogelijck geresorteer-der te voldoen, dat men hem aen een persoon niet alleen binden, maar veele daartoe gebruycken sal, dat men partije derselver den coopman Tecklim, die dese animeeren,,s(achtervolgende Haere Ed. gegeven ordre) een kist geit onder sufficante borge ter handt stellen sal, temeer gemelt coopman aenneemt vrij beetere porceleynen als Jou-sith jonghst gelevert heefft, in 5 maanden naar desen precijs aen de merckt te brengen, gelijck alles breeder op dato in 't resolutiebouck naar te sien staeth'.*

Figure 6.22: Table with items salvaged from the 'Hatcher cargo' shipwreck dated to ca. 1643-45.[162]

Flatware: dishes with Kraak-panelled design	
Clapmutsen and *kendi*	
Large bowls with panels; some small boxes and 1 small *clapmuts*	
Bowls: six-sided and with pierced design. (*halfdoorsneden copkens*)	

[162] Sheaf and Kilburn (eds.) 1988 (op. cit.), and Christie's Amsterdam, 1984.

Vases (*groote beekers/ groote peer ende calbasflessen)*	
Kendi type pouring vessel.	
Large pots (*grootepotten)*	
Pots with covers. (*confijtpotten*)	

Wine pots (*heele wijnkannen met tuyten)*	
Flasks (with panel design) *(groote peer ende calbasflessen)*	
Small bowls, cups with feet, saucers. (*copjens met voetjens)*	
Pots without spouts (*mosterd potgens*)	
Zhangzhou ware	

The situation on mainland China was becoming more and more unstable. An entry dated May 1643, states that the merchants reported that the revolt against the Emperor was increasing and that nearly half his kingdom had been lost. Consequently, the silk had not been harvested and fabricated yet and sugar was scant and extremely

expensive.[163] Nevertheless, the VOC officials continued with their orders. Several entries show requests for porcelain as well as other merchandise: 'we wrote in Chinese to the merchants Jocxim, Noing and also Jousit to help delivering the requested silks…and porcelain according to the sent samples'.[164] (Appendix 6, list 16)

In July, Governor Maximilian Lemaire on Formosa stressed that Jousit must deliver the porcelains on time for the return ships to the Dutch Republic and sent another letter to him.[165] There were other setbacks: on September 30th, the *Vliegende Hart* was fully loaded with sugar, porcelain and textiles ready to depart for the Pescadores, where the merchandise would be transhipped onto the *Salamander* for Batavia.[166] Due to a severe storm the ship crashed onto the cliffs of an island and was wrecked, losing the merchandise as well as 32 lives.[167]

In November 1643, letters were sent again to the merchant Jousit stating that he should not fail to fulfil his promises to send the ordered merchandise within 20 days and that several ships are laying waiting. In other letters, sent to Jousit and Ticklim, the VOC officials doubt whether the ordered porcelains will arrive on time.[168] The return fleet from Batavia to the Dutch Republic that departed in December had nonetheless quite a considerable amount of porcelain: 129,000 pieces. It was noted that the flatware

---

[163] Ibid., vol. 1. C. fol. 360, *1 mei*: '*De coopluiden rapporteerden vermits de nieuwe zijde noch niet geteelt ende soodanige goede stoffen als g'eyscht mede niet gemaeckt sijn, dat noch wel ongevaar 6 weecken aenloopen sal, eer weder eenige fijnne goederen sullen connen comen. Soo seggen oock dat de revolte jegens den coninck in China hert toeneempt, sijn stat van verre omsingelt ofte genouch belegert ende bijnae de helft van sijn rijcke quit is. Item de zuyckeren qualijck aldaer geslaecht, schaers ende uyttermaten dier sijn'.*

[164] Ibid., vol. 1, C. fol. 366, *5 mei*: '*soo ons jonghst door d'Ed. heer generaal aengesonden was, met alle gelegentheyt van tijt tot tijt in 't beste derselver mocht werden voldaen. patria, soo ons jonghst door d'Ed. heer generaal aengesonden was, met alle gelegent-heyt van tijt tot tijt in 't beste derselver mocht werden voldaen*'; '*Schreven oock met een voorlooper in 't Chinees aen de coopluyden Jocxim en-de Noing, oock Jousit, dat wilden helpen besorgen den eysch van zijde, zijde stoffen, suycker, radicx, gember ende porceleynen, naar de nevens seynde monsters, voor 't patria'.*

[165] Van Gelder 1924 (op .cit.), pp. 187-188, *Brief van den president Maximiliaan Lemaire op Formosa aan den coopman Jousit iy China 28 juli, 1643:'doch de porceleyneen ons soo tydigh wilt toeschicken dat deselve noch desen jaere naer Hollant mofen seynden*'.

[166] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 412: *30 september 1643*: *'Soo geraeckte oock de fluyt 't Vliegende Hart geheelijck volladen met suyckeren, porceleynen, zijde ende stoffen, die sigh vaardigh maeckten o m o p overmorgen t'zeyl te gaen'.*

[167] W.P. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. II (1639-1655) Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 112, The Hague, 1964, p. 208 : *december 22, 1643 :'de weynige zijde als zijdewaren, 91,556 p. porceleyn, geconfyte gember etc. volgens nevensgaende memorie incoops bedragende f 62 210.17.- per 't fluytschip 't Vliegend Hert uyt Tayouan na de Piscadores gesonden omme aen den Salamander over te geven, omtrent de Kerckbaye ten ancker comende, van sodanigen vreeselijcken storm is overvallen, dat, van alle zijne anckers spillende, tegen de klippen van 't Roverseyland gemorselt ende totalijcken vergaen sij, met verlies van 32 zielen*'.

[168] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol 422: *november 3*: *'Van gelijcken schreven oock aen Jousith ende Ticlimom d'aenbestede porceleynen. Godt geve alles tijdigh comenende ende de scheepen be-l o open mach, waeraen, vermits den tijt vast verloopt, eenichsints beginnen te twijffelen'.*

was of 'good quality and well and exotically painted'.[169] This means that the production was still continuing and that the delivered porcelain was even of the same quality as items from the 'Hatcher cargo'. Nonetheless, from 1644, quantities gradually decreased.

The decline of quality and quantities of ceramic supplies from 1644 to 1655.

In January 1644, the VOC officials again learn of the circumstances in China when a junk arrives from Anhay with 5000 bundles of porcelain.[170] The Chinese merchants recounted that in China wars had broken out inland and that it was difficult to buy commodities in Anhay as these were scarce.[171] They explained that due to the famine in China and especially around 'Jousou' (Raozhou meaning Jingdezhen), many people who had made their profession of the porcelain production have died.[172]

The following day two junks arrive from Fuzhou with 1200 bales of porcelain and 600 bundles of coarse wares and another three from Quemoy with 100 bundles of porcelain.[173] The merchants Jousit and Ticklim who accompanied these shipments state that another 'porcelain junk' will follow. They confirm that the 'porcelain makers had died because of famine, but hope for the better and that the deliveries of porcelain will be better and finer.[174] In other words, the VOC officials knew of the famine that was taking place, but they still continued to rely on deliveries of porcelain, even counting on better quality.

---

[169] Coolhaas (ed.) 1964 (op.cit.), p.208 (December 22th, 1643):*'De porceleynen [in de retourvloot naar patria] bestaende uyt 129.000 st. diverse sorteringh, gaen verdeelt in de schepen 't Hoff van Zeeland en de Provintiën. Vertrouwen wel bevallen sullen, principalijck 't schotelwerck en pierings, die curieus, wel geschildert ende fijn van aerde zijn'.*

[170] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-200 (op. cit.), vol. 2. D. fol 35: '*januari 13 dietto. Tegens den avont arriveert een jonck van Amhay , inhebbende 5000 bos porcolayn, 80 packen ende canassers met divarsche stoffen ende coopmanschappen'.*

[171] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 36: '*14: Item datt i n China grooten oorloch binnenslants ontstont, daerom het spoedich incoopgans moeylick viell…doch dat alles daer ende in Anhay schars voor geit te becoomen was'.*

[172] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol 47, (8 maart): '*Clagen de coopluyden dat ten aensien van den grooten hongersnoot in China ende insonderheyt ontrent Jousou veel volcx die daervan professie maecken, gestorven ende verloopen sijn'.* Jousou was a name used for Jingdezhen by the Dutch as this name was also used by the Dutch delegation that travelled from Canton to Beijing in 1656. See: Johan Nieuhoff. *Het gezantschp der Neerlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aand den Grooten Tartarische Cham, den tgenwoodigen Keizer van China.* Amsterdam, 1665, pp. 89-91.

[173] Quemoy is the old English name for an island group off the southeastern coast of mainland China. Coxinga used it as a base to liberate Penghu from the Dutch.

[174] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, D. fol. 48: '*Rapporteerden de coopluyden Jusit ende Tecklim, die parsoonlick daermet quamen, dat met den eersten noch een porcolaynjoncq stont te volgen';* '*Confirmeren dat de porcolaynmaeckers door hongersnoot veel verloopen ende gestorve waeren, doch verhoopten eerlangh beeterschap ende dat het porcolayn oock hoe langer hoe beter ende fijnder souw gelevert worden'.*

Throughout 1644, junks still continued to deliver merchandise including porcelain that was shipped on to Batavia.[175] An entry dated April 5th states that they had been busy sorting out the deliveries of porcelain and that the latest batch by Ticklim was the finest and better painted according to the samples than those of the merchant Jousit.[176] On April 21st another shipment arrived from Fuzhou.[177] A few days later, further shipments arrive, one with 300 bundles of coarse porcelain of which the officials complained that the porcelain was 'worse than the foregoing deliveries' (*die maar tamelijck ende vrij slechter door den banck gevonden als de voorgaande*).[178]

Chinese merchants now warn that the porcelain production will take longer. When Ticklim and Jousit were given orders of 'a good quantity of porcelain according to the samples from the homeland', the VOC officials were informed that they could deliver them only after seven to eight months but promised 'finer, lighter and nicely painted ones'.[179] The list of porcelain ordered on May 12th, 1644, was quite outstanding and here one wonders if the VOC officials had any idea what was happening on the mainland of China.[180] The order was for 200,000 items. Jousit told them that he would travel

---

[175] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 50: '*Maart 12 dietto, Vandage losten de porcolaynen soo met de coopluyden Jousit ende Tecklim nu joncxst uuyt Hocksieuw aengecomen waere;14 dieto…. begonnen de porcolaynen te oopenen ende oock te ontfangen*'; *18 dietto:'vandaech gaaven de jonck de H o o p sijnne ladingh in die / bestont in candij-suycker, annijs, groove porcolaynen alls ander cleenichheden, die volcomen deeden gereetmaecken om op 20 off 21 deser sonder fault naer Batavia te vertrecken'*; vol. 2, E , *20 maart tot 11 augustus 1644,* fol. 286: *Maart 24 'Dagelijcx waeren noch dapper doende met de porceleynen te ontfangen, dat om alles wel te besien veel tijts en moyten naer sich sleepten'*; vol 2, E. fol 299 (mei): '*Adij 5en dito. Heden maeckten de prijsen der porceleynen, requenden met de coopluyden aff*'.

[176] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 290: *5 april: 'Vandage geraeckten eerst met den ontfanck der porceleynen ten eynde, hebbende door 't semmelen van d'aenbrengers alsnu ende dan eenen dach stilgestaen, sijnde de laeste, bij den coopman Tiglim aengebracht, de fijnste ende nae de monsters beter geschildert als die van den coopman Jousit'*.

[177] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 297, *21 april: 'Vandage losten de porceleynen dees dagen van Hockcheo aengebracht…'.*

[178] Ibid., '*24, 25 ende 27 april ditto gearriveert ende vertrecken d'onderstaande vaartuygen, te weten 3 jonckgiëns naar de cust van China…. 1 dito van Tiaboy ende 2 dito van Hapouw met 300 sacken rijs, 300 picol sout, 17 picol suycker, 30 canasters meel ende 300 bossen groff porceleyn, tesamen gemandt met 113 persoonen. Alle dese voors.dagen sijn doende geweest met de porceleynen te ontfangen, die maar tamelijck ende vrij slechter d o o r den banck gevonden als de voorgaande.'*

[179] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 299, *12 mei*: '*Heden , alsoo de coopluyden Jousit ende Ticlim op haar vertreck naar China stonden, besteeden hun wederom goede quantite porceleynen aen, alle naar de vaderlandtse monsters, die niet voor de seven a acht maanden verclaarden te sullen connen leveren, als wanneer belooffden d'selve fijnder, lichter ende netter geschildert als voor desen te voldoen , dat verhoopen alsoo uytvallen sall, temeer dewijle hun sulcx seer serieuselijck tot verscheyden maelen met die volgens den last van Sijne Ed . wel te betaelen, gerecommandeert hebben'.* Memorie dd. 12 mei 1644 van de porceleinen op formosa aanbesteed aan de kooplieden Jousidt en Ticklim*: 'yder int bysonder, om desleve fijn ceurieus ende neth geschildert naer de behandichde vaderlantsche monsters te maken, te weten*'. A list can be found in NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1147: '*Aenbesteede porceleijnen Taiwan 18-05-1644'.*

[180] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*. Leiden, 1954, p.95.

directly to *Jousow* (Jingdezhen) to make sure that the porcelains would be produced and delivered on time.[181]

On September 7th, the VOC officials made a decision to load the ship *Dolphijn* with, among other merchandise, 170 bales of porcelain and '100 round preserve pots'.[182] The entry dated September 10th states that they were busy loading the ship *Noortster* with porcelains to be sent towards the Pescadores islands and from there to Batavia.[183] It is clear from the descriptions that coarse porcelains dominate the entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* during this period; many deliveries came from the Amoy Bay region and this would imply that the items had been produced in the Zhangzhou kilns.[184] There is even an inventory that mentions a list of 'captured goods', which included a large amount of 28,950 coarse porcelains, probably destined for a Southeast Asian region: dishes, saucers, teacups, coarse flasks and 'borbory boxes' (betel nut boxes) (*28950 stx grove porceleyn: schootels, saucietiens, thee copkens, grove flessen, borborydoosen*).[185]

In November, porcelain and other goods were loaded on the *Saayer* and the *Castricum* bound for Batavia.[186] According to Volker, two ships arrived at Batavia with 'fine porcelains'.[187] These cargo lists show that it was certainly not the end of the deliveries of both coarse and even good quality porcelain. For example, at the end of March 1645, the officials at Fort Zeelandia were engaged in inspecting 'the fine

---

[181] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, E. fol. 349 :'*Op heden bequamen vier brieven van Anhay uyt China, den eersten van den coopman Jousit, waarbij ons advijseert dat op sijne aencompste in China datelijck nae Jousouw opgereyst was geweest ende d'aenbesteede porceleynen te maecken rede in 't werek gestelt ende die jegens den bestemden tijt vastelijck te verwachten hadden'*.

[182] Ibid., vol. 2, F. (*9 aug-11 nov.1644*), fol. 172: '*dd.. sept..7 dito. Op dato is achtervolgende op gisteren genomen resolutie in den Dolphijn geladen boven de 705 kisten suycker…. 170 baliën met porceleynen… ende 100 groote, ronde confituirpotten. daermede jegens den middagh vol ende van de brugh op stroom raecte'*.

[183] Ibid., vol. 2, F. fol. 174, *september*: '*Adij 10 dito. Goet weder, den wint west. Bleven besich met de Noortster met porceleynen te cargeren*'.

[184] Ibid., vol. 2, F. fol. 188, *oktober*: '*17 ditto…2575 bos groff porcelyn...;* fol. 189*: '22 dito: 1 joncq uit anhay met ..540 bos groff porcelyn';* fol. 191*: 'op dato… uit Aymoy met 1100 bossen porceleyn'*. F. fol. 191. *november*: '*15 dito: jonckgiens van verscheyden gewesten uyt China...2090 bos groff'*.

[185] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1147, fol. 532: '*Inventaris veroverde goederen: 28950 stx grove porceleyn: schootels, saucietiens, thee copkens, grove flessen, borborydoosen'*. Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 53, note 14, defines these as: 'Boreh boreh are all kinds of unguents the face and body is dashed with, be it as a remedy or an embellishment.' The term 'betel boxes' for keeping betel nuts in is now often used.

[186] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, F. fol. 206, *4 november*: *'Den wint als vooren ende claer weder. Bleven besich met de fluyten Castricum ende den Sayer van haren ballaststeen t'ontlossen ende deselve gereet te maecken omme met suyekeren, porceleynen ende andere coopmanschappen wederom te cargeeren*'; F. fol 207:*'10 dito: Bleven noch al porceleynen in den Zayer voor Neerlant laden*'.

[187] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 52, states that the Saayer arrived at Batavia with 202,332 pieces and before that the Haarlem with 146,564 pieces. Whether these were all of 'fine' quality is not known. He does provide a list of those from the Saayer, noting only that they are 'fine porcelains.'

porcelain that had just arrived'.[188] In August there was a delivery of 1600 pieces and in September 250 bundles of coarse porcelain.[189] The next entry, dated September 10th, reports that merchandise was being loaded onto the *Haen* that would proceed to the roadstead at Penghu Island with 'a good quantity of porcelain for the homeland' (*om aldaer goede quantiteyt porceleynen voor 't vaderlandt*).[190]

All commodities were then to be transferred onto the *Zutphen* for Batavia. The cargo included 261 bales with porcelain, 13 large cases, 45 small cases, 76 packs and 76 cases. The officials ordered them to be placed underneath in the hold and to take special care to handle the porcelain carefully.[191] However, only 133 of these bales were destined for the Dutch Republic.[192] There are several other reports of porcelain being loaded onto ships bound for Batavia without further descriptions, but a quantity of '100 bales' could not amount to much.[193]

Shipments of 'fine porcelain' that had until now been destined for the Dutch Republic had clearly decreased. The porcelain still being delivered to Formosa during these years was of a coarser type, but kilns in the Zhangzhou region were also producing fairly good quality ware, as items from the above-mentioned *Bin Thuan* wreck illustrate.[194] In the past 10 years, numerous kiln sites have been discovered at the Dongxi area, Zhangzhou region and fragments of fine quality porcelain have been excavated dated to the end of the Ming/beginning Qing dynasty.[195] (Figure 6.23)

---

[188] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2. G. (15 maart tot 18 november 1645), fol. 660: '*24 dito: Begonnen oock de jongst aengecomen fijne porceleynen te visiteren ende ont-fangen 25 dito: Waren noch al doende met de meergenoemde fijne porceleynen'.*

[189] Ibid., G. fol. 735: '*Vandage arriveren hier ter haven uyt diversche quartieren van China..250 bossen groff porceley'..*

[190] Ibid., G. fol. 744, (september 10): '*Bleven noch vast geoccupeert met den Haen de laetste suyckeren als andere goederen in te geven, die wij hoopen op morgen buytengaets sal loopen om aldaer goede quantiteyt porceleynen voor 't vaderlandt'.*

[191] Ibid., '*Voor Nederlandt in 't retourschip Sutphen te laden, 'tgene volcht: 778 grote kisten met poeyersuycker, 261 balijs porceleyn. item 13 groote cassen, 45 cleene dito's, 76 packen ende 66 canassers, welcq tesameilyk ter oorsaeck der ingepackte coopmanschappen op een droge plaetse (om onderstal- licheyt te vermijden) ordineerden te bergen, mitsgaders de suyckeren niet te storten ende de goederen in 't generael*'; '*doch besonderlijck de porceleynen, sacht te laten handelen, opdat d'E. Compagnie (door nonchalance) in geen schade quame te vervallen'.*

[192] Ibid., G. fol. 750-751: '*Alsnu sonden derwarts 1450 grote kisten met poeyersuycker en-de 133 balijs met porceleynen voor Nederlant'*. Volker 1954 (op.cit.), p. 54 mentions: 74,949 pieces.

[193] Ibid., G. fol. 760: '*10 dito…oo creegh oock den Meerman sijne competentie, die, 581 groote kisten met suycker, 110 balijs porceleynen ende partije sappan (om alles aen Louijse over te geven) ingenomen hebbende'.* G. fol. 762: '*2 dito. 's Morgens is het jacht den Leeuwercq met 381 groote kisten poeyersuycker en-de 100 balijs porceleynen voor Henriëtte uytgeseylt ende spoedich op de reede gecomen'.*

[194] *Proceedings of the Nanjing International Symposium of Dongxi Kiln Relics, March 2nd, 2017* (only in Chinese).

[195] Ibid.

Figure 6.23. A mixture of items excavated from the Dongxi kilns, Zhangzhou region. Photo by author.

After the summer of 1645 and into 1646, the situation on mainland China clearly continued to affect the VOC trade. According to Weichung Cheng, there was also a disruption at the ports along the Chinese coast.[196] 'The governor of Taiwan, François Caron, complains that 'the war in China will prove an obstacle to the junks from Chang-chou, An-hai, Ch'üan-chou, and Fu-chou visiting Japan'.[197] The Manchu troops had crossed the border of Fujian in October 1646, and the Ming loyalists who tried to rebel against them, were forced to retreat.[198]

The VOC officials on Formosa were aware that commodities from the mainland were running low.[199] Nevertheless, there were sporadic shipments between Formosa and China even if the quantities of porcelain had decreased: '1470 pieces and 10 bales of fine cups', '1700 bundles of large dishes, 7700 large porcelain dishes and 2400 cups'.[200]

---

[196] Cheng Weichung, War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683). PhD. dissertation, University of Leiden, 2012, p. 241: 'After the summer of 1645, there was an interruption in the maritime trade between Fu-chien and Chê-chiang. The junks departing from Fu-chou, Chang-chou and An-hai with their destination Nanking were forced to redirect their course to Nagasaki'.

[197] Ibid., 'This is of great concern. Rumours have reached us that the war in China will prove an obstacle to the junks from Chang-chou, An-hai, Ch'üan-chou, and Fu-chou visiting Japan. It will hinder the supply of goods offered on the market in Nagasaki, and the price might rise somewhat higher'. He refers in note 2 to 'VOC 1161, Missive van Pieter Antonissen Overwater naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, 31 Jan. 1646, fo. 682'.

[198] Ibid., p. 247: 'According to François Caron's report, the An-hai troops under Iquan's command finally retreated on board his ships when the Manchus headed for An-hai Castle'; Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, H.: '*27 februari tot 10 november 1646*, fol. 387: '*aeruyt licht aff te meten zij dat de slapheyt i n de negotie niet zoozeer d o o r de quaetwillicheyt van Equan als wel ter oorsaeck van de verstoppinge der wegen (vermits de sware oorlogen i n dat rijck) voor en comt*'.

[199] Cheng (op. cit.) p. 263: 'All other commodities shipped to Taiwan by the Dutch, such as lead, cloves, myrrh, amber, wax, camphor and sappanwood, were sold out by the end by the year'.

[200] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, H. fol. 389: '*4 oktober.Van de Chinese cust comen alhier ter haven 13 joncquen….1470 stucx ende 10 balijs fijne k o pkens*'; H. fol. 390: '*ende 1700 bos groote schootels.; 5 ditto: E n d e comen van de Chinese cust alhier ter haven 3 joncquen met 211 persoonen, inhebbende 'tgene volcht: 2640 potten Chinees bier, 34 sacken boonen, 40 picol sout, 293 brieven taback,*

The flatware would have come from the kilns of Zhangzhou as that kiln area was still in production; 'cups' may have been produced in the region of Dehua.[201] According to Viallé, these would have been sold to the Chinese population on Formosa or used by the VOC officials themselves.[202] As the Chinese population on Formosa was increasing with every arrival from the coast, the porcelain may indeed have also been used for the daily consumption there.

This scenario continued until 1647; Chinese junks arrived now and then at Formosa, mostly with provisions and sometimes with coarse porcelain, dishes and/or cups.[203] According to Volker, there was one large shipment to the Dutch Republic in that year: 123,337 pieces of 'fine porcelain' were part of the cargoes of the return ships, *Haarlem*, *Oliphant*, *Schiedam* and seven others.[204]

The last years of the annotations of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* still mention deliveries. Throughout 1648, 1649, 1650, and into 1654 we see the same pattern: from time to time a junk arrived with usually coarse porcelain but surprisingly there is also mention of bales or cases with 'fine porcelain'.[205]

An entry from March 1654 states that: 'a certain porcelain merchant from Anhay

---

7700 stucx groote porceleyne schootels, 2400 dito's k o pkens; vol.2, H. fol.572*: item dat graen in China vermits de oorlogen tot hoogen prijse gecomen is ende niet apparent (tensij men den uytvoer derwaerts openstelle) alhier enige winsten daerop te doen'.*

[201] Porcelain made in the Dehua kilns is known for the white glazes.

[202] Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 25, refers to 'VOC 1164'.

[203] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, J, *14 maart tot 11 november 1647,* fol. 555: '*Van de Chinese cust verschijnt alhier een joncqje…….ende 200 bossen grove porceleyne kopkens'*; J. fol. 571: '*23 en 24 dito. Ende comen van de Chinese cust wederom alhier ter haven 2 joncken, ijser pannen, 460 bossen grove porceleyne kopkens;* J. fol. 580:*.20 dito: Ende comt van de Chinese cust wederom alhier ter haven een joncqje… 500 bossen porceleyne copkens, 3000 stucx deckpannen;* J. fol. 598: *3 ditto: 3 junks…30 potten sijroop, 4000 stucx grove porceleyne copjens';* K. fol. 445, *februari*: *14, 15- 16 dito. 56 joncken met... 4315 bos grove pierings. 19 en 20 dito: 6500 stux grove porceleyne koppen*; fol. 446*: 21-25 dito: 20.500 grove porceleyne schootels'.*

[204] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 56. However, on p. 59 he claims the year 1657, 'as the definite end of shipments of fine Ming porcelain and porcelain with a predominantly Ming character for the European market'. Viallé disagrees with this; see Viallé 1990 (op. cit.), p. 25, who refers to 'VOC 1160'.

[205] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 3, (1648-1655) A*, 25 february tot 2 nov. 1648*, fol. 303*: '500 stx grove porceleyne copkens, 2000 stx. cleine d.250 schotels';* A. fol 329*: '200 stx. fijne porceleyne copkens';* A. fol. 373*: '2 balien met porceleyn; 3000 stx. groove porceleyne, soo kopkens als pierings';* vol. 3, B. (10 maart tot 20 oktober 1650), fol. 1043*: '350 bos groff porceleyn;* fol. 1045*: 44 stucx porceleyne beeckers';* in 1650: B. fol.1050, to Pehu*:' 2500 stucx groove porceleyne coppen;to Manil';* vol. 3, C. (*19 februari tot 16 augustus 1651*), fol. 694*: '9400 stucx groff porceleyne schotels;1651?: 5 canassers met grof porceleyne copkens*; vol. 3, C. fol. 711:*'julius 1 en 2: va n de Chinese cust verscheenen alhier binnen acht joncken gesamentlijck 2000 stucx groote groff porceleyne commen'.* ; C. fol 725*: 'Van de Chinese cust arriveerden alhier ter rheede vier joncken gesamentlijck.. 14 canassers met fijn porceleyn en /9 packen nevens.'* vol. 3, D. (16 aug.- 21 nov., 1651), fol. 306: (october*):'4 jonckjes met weinich groff porcelijn.';* D. fol. 319*: 'uyt China te weten van Emoy …vier Chinese jonckjes met…1500 bossen grof porcelijn';* vol. 3, E (27 feb. -18 nov.1654). fol. 364: *'Ende waren op gisteren alhier aengekomen twee joncken van dexelve cust van China….ende medebrengende…46 balien fijn porceliijn'*; E. fol. 413*:'5 joncken arriveerden ..127 cattys fijn porcelijn'.*

named Cinko had heard that the company was interested in a good quantity of porcelain and that he and his brother would like a list of requests together with the samples and that they would personally travel to Bansay (Japan) to where the porcelain is made and to have it manufactured and sent to Formosa'.[206] This report shows that there were no more deliveries from mainland China for the storehouses at Fort Zeelandia. [207]
The fort was surrendered to Zheng Chenggong in 1662, whereby all deliveries to and from Formosa were terminated. (Figure 6.24)

Figure 6.24. The Dutch fleet anchored in Amoy bay, November 1663 to fight against Zheng Chenggong. Anonymous. Print dated to 1670. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv.nr. RP-P-OB-75.339.

[206] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.) vol. 3, E. *27 feb.-18 nov. 1654*, fol. 363, *17 maart: 'Van seekeren Chineesen porcelijn coopman uyt Anhay genaemt Cinko ontfing ooc den heere gouverneur een briefken door denselven aen Sijne E. geschreven, meldende onder / andere dat hij hadde verstaan dat de E. Compagnie wel goede partije porcelijn begeren soude in welcken gevalle hij versocht dat hem 'tselve met sijnen broeder (brenger deses briefs) door een letterken mochte werden gedaen weten ende met eenen hem toegesonden de monsters van het bloemwerc ende behoorlijcke lijste van den eysch, sijnde hij van meninge cort na hun nieuwe jaer selfs in persoon te vertrecken na Bansay seer nabij de plaetse daer 't porcelijn wort gemaect, omme aldaer in sulcken gevalle sodanich als het van hier conde werden begeert te laten maken en metten eersten herwaerts na Tajouan te bestellen'.*

[207] Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations*, *1637–1700*, Leiden, 2007, p. 177: 'Chinese mechants maintained their regular export of coarse Chinese ware, produced mainly in Fukian and Guangdong, to the insular South-East Asian market. This too was to suffer from the political upheavels of dynastic change. From the early 1660's, the traditional flow of coarse Chinese porcelain to this vast market stagnated in the wake of the political changs in southern China. Finally having to succumb to the superior power of the Qing, the last-ditch Ming loyalists in southern China were defeated. In 1662, the Zheng abandoned their foothold on the coast of mainland China and withdrew to Formosa. Pursuing a policy of isolation and then pacifying Formosa, the Qing dynasty closed the door for China's foreign trade and removed its subjects from the coastal areas. The traditional flow of coarse Chinese porcelain to the South Seas, which had been regularly maintained by the Zheng family, was disrupted, causing a severe shortage of coarse Chinese wares on the regional market. Whereas Chinese fine porcelain had been amply supplemented by fine Japanese products, coarse Chinese ware was then substituted by Tonkinese ceramics. Coarse Tonkinese ceramics were now widely exported on the regional markets until the early 1680's'.

Summing up, I have given an overview of the deliveries of ceramics from the Chinese coastal ports to Formosa that took place between 1622 and 1655. There were several phases, each with different circumstances. The first phase was a period characterized by regular conflicts between VOC officials and Chinese authorities to settle trade agreements; therefore, shipments with porcelain were irregular and involving relatively small quantities. The second period, between 1635 to around 1645, (the end of the Ming dynasty), was relatively short, but significant in that the quantities were at their highest. Above all, major alterations in shapes and designs of porcelain took place due to continuous orders sent to Formosa accompanied by samples of items in demand in the Dutch Republic, but also elsewhere in Europa. The last period covers the years 1644 to 1655. It shows a gradual decline in the deliveries of porcelain from China to Formosa can be seen; they continued, though not as regular and not as plentiful as during the previous years. A short but new increase occurred during the years 1643 to 1647; two shipments contained around 129,000 items.

We may conclude that Dutch demand for porcelain was fully established from 1635 when orders with models to be copied were sent. Even though the exact period when Chinese potters decided to use the flowing decoration of the 'transitional style' cannot be exactly established, it appeared on Western shapes, other than flatware. All types of Kraak-panelled designs continued to be applied to dishes and saucers.

Figure 6.25 and 6.26 give estimated quantities that were on cargo lists of return ships transported to the Dutch Republic. The chart shows clearly that between 1623 until 1633 the quantities transported to the Dutch Republic were, in general, quite limited. In June 1634, a letter mentions a total sum of 219,072 items porcelain items having arrived in the Dutch Republic.[208] This was clearly the first peak, which continued during the years 1636 and 1637, but was of short duration; thereafter they slowly diminish. The last shipment with porcelain for the Dutch Republic is dated 1647, still with 123,337 items.

[208] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, (Uitgaande brieven Batavia sept 1634 - dec 1635). Missive Batavia naar Taiwan, 3 July, 1635. '*Alle de cargasoenen door uE ons met deselve schepen als mede over Siam toegesonden / sijn ons God wel geworden*.'

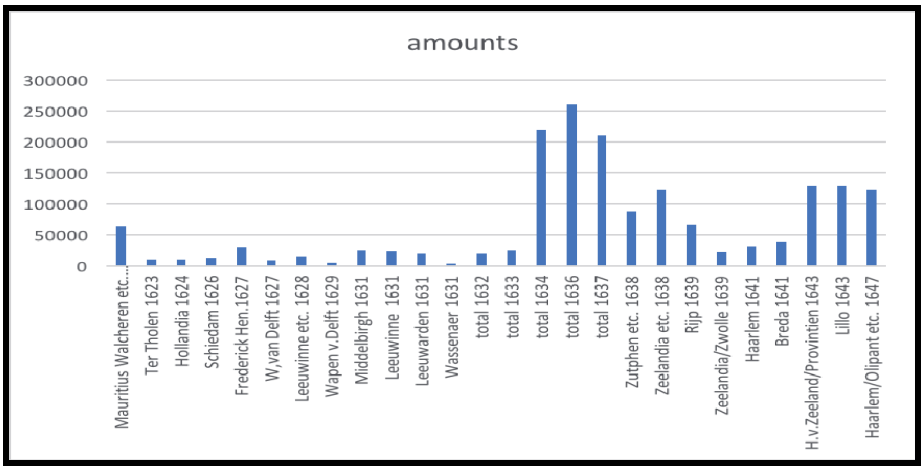


Figure 6.25. Estimated amounts of porcelain delivered to the Dutch Republic, 1623-1647.

Name of ship.	Date of cargo list.	Number of ceramic items.
Mauritius	1623	63,931
Walcheren	1623	10,845
Ter Tholen	1623	10,000
Hollandia	1624	9,790
Schiedam	1626	12,814
Frederick Hendrick	1627	31,011
Wapen van Delft	1627	9,440
Leeuwinne, etc.	1628	15,200
Middelburg	1631	25,345
Leeuwinne	1631	24,300
Leeuwarden	1631	20,747
Wassenaer	1631	3,948
Total amount	1632	20,490
Total amount	1633	25,396
Total amount	1634	219,072
Total amount	1636	259,380
Total amount	1637	210,219
Zutphen	1638	88,840
Zeelandia	1638	122,652
Rijp	1639	66,673
Zeelandia/Zwolle	1639	22,652
Breda/ Wesel, etc.	1640	102,094
Haarlem	1641	32,160
Breda	1641	39,854
Hoff van Zeeland/ de Provintiën	1643	129,000
Lillo	1643	129,036
Haarlem/Oliphant	1647	123,337

Figure 6.26. Table with ships' names, year of departure from Batavia and estimated amounts of porcelain.

Chinese ceramics shipped to other destinations by the VOC.

As explained briefly in chapter 5, as of 1620, the VOC had set up a series of shipping networks within Asia. From around 1635, the Asian trade network of the VOC ran at a profit and the company as a whole benefited.[209] Over the years, numerous trading posts or offices were established in various regions of southeast and western Asia as well as Persia and present-day Yemen. Consequently, two shipping systems developed, a European-Asian shipping route and an inter-Asian one. The complexity of these systems and the number of trade posts (*comptoiren*) is such that it is not possible to discuss them fully here; there is already a sufficient number of publications on this subject.[210]

The inter-Asian routes were divided as follows: one route went directly east from Batavia to the Spice Islands. This included the island groups of Banda, Ambon and the Moluccas. Most of the spices from there (nutmeg, cloves and mace) were first brought to Batavia and then loaded onto the return ships to Holland. A portion was used for trade with the Asian destinations. Another route was the northeastern route to western Asia: Ceylon, the east coast of India (Coromandel coast), Siam, (Thailand), Vietnam (Quinam), and Cambodia. The western quarters (*wester-quartieren*) included Surat, Gamron (Bandar-e-Abbas) and Mocha (Al-Mukhā) as primary destinations. The eastern route led to Formosa and Japan. (Figure 6.27)

[209] Parthesius 2010 (op.cit.), p. 172: 'Profits in the intra-Asian network could be made because of the insight and overview of VOC employees in the network. They knew how to utilise the available capital most efficiently, where shipping capacity was available to send the products for a timely and safe arrival at another location; and where it could be used as multiplier of commercial success. The structured way in which this information was exchanged at all levels of the organisation and to the far-off corners of the network must have given the VOC an advantage over their competitors'.

[210] For a general overview see: J. Landwehr, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1800.* Leiden, 1991. See also M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'A Comparative Study of the Administration and Trade of the Dutch and English Trading Companies in Asia during the First Half of the Seventheenth Century', in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, M.E. van Opstall, and G.J. Schutte (eds.), *Dutch Authors on Asian History: A Selection of Dutch Historiography on the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Dordrecht 1988, pp. 430-453. See also: http://www.vocsite.nl/boeken/index.html?of=60 (visited January, 2020).

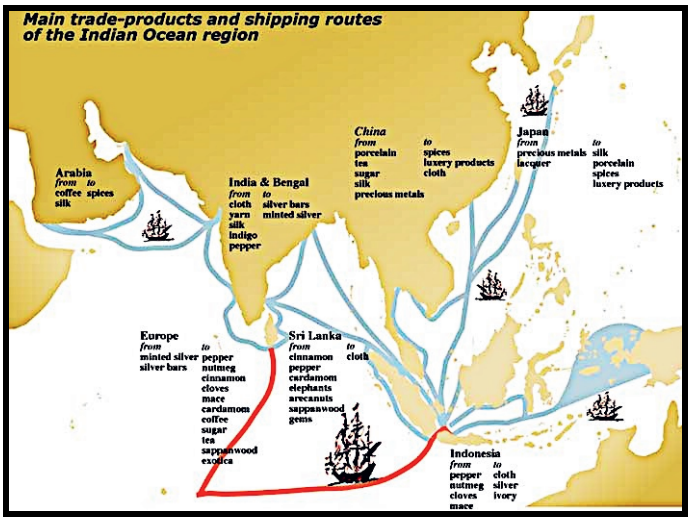


Figure 6.27. The main VOC shipping routes in Asia.[211]

The inter-Asian network worked, in short, as follows. The VOC bought merchandise from China with Japanese silver. Chinese goods were then shipped to various ports and were traded for local commodities. For example, Indian textiles were especially in demand in various regions in the Indonesian archipelago where they were then traded for the spices and pepper that were in demand in other areas, or shipped to the Dutch Republic.[212] The VOC offices and forts spread over Asia and the Middle East were therefore dependent on each other for purchasing and exchanging merchandise. In 1648, the Governor-General and the Council of the Indies in Batavia referred to this system when they stated: 'the soul of the Company must be looked after carefully because if the soul decays, the entire body would be destroyed'.[213]

[211] From: https://maritimeasia.ws/maritimelanka/images/maps/productroutes_700x522.jpg
[212] Parthesius 2010 (op.cit.), p.39: 'The VOC's administration in Batavia endeavoured to dispatch a fleet around New Year for arrival in the Netherlands in the European summer. This was not an easy task since they had to deal with many variables, such as gathering the return cargo, planning the supply from the various trading posts and allowing enough capacity to ship the goods to Batavia. Shipping was organised in such a way that the various routes were synchronised; however, delays could easily occur as shipping routes were often subject to the monsoon. It frequently happened that the return fleet was delayed, waiting for other vessels to arrive from their various departure points. In the end, final decisions were based on economic considerations above regulations: to keep a fleet waiting created extra costs and risks, so sending the ships off on time was the usual choice. However, if cargo for Europe arrived too late from an Asian destination, storage in Batavia until the next return fleet meant more expenditure. The net result was that, although it was forbidden, ships were dispatched to Europe in the few months after the fleet had departed almost every year'.
[213] O. Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720,* Princeton, 1985; on p. 118 he refers to 'NL-HaNa inv.nr. VOC 317, f.120v. (Board of Directors to Batavia, 22.9.1648)'.

The Interinsular region.

The VOC also transported ceramics to other Southeast Asian regions. According to Terpstra, 'earthenware brought by the Chinese to Patani was also in demand in the Moluccas and Banda, but then mostly coarse and mediocre (quality), large dishes, medium-sized (dishes) and small cups, with or without covers'.[214] An example of such inter-insular trade can be found in the report dated September 9th, 1605, written by Jacob Buys, a head merchant who had been stationed at the new VOC office at Batu Sawar on the Johor River.[215] In December 1605, Buys passed on the commodities of that post to his successor, Cornelis Francx, but he apparently kept some as personal possessions.[216] A list was drawn up with quite a substantial amount of porcelain under the heading 'Chinese wares': 21 fruit dishes (*21 fruit schalen*), 300 mustard dishes (*300 most schalen*), 14 coarse dishes (*14 stucx grove schootels*), 534 red painted cups (*534 Roode geschilderde Copkens*), 38 ointment flasks, (*38 salf flessen*), 342 white cups (*342 witte coppen*), 662 large painted cups (*groot geschilderde coppen*), 131 butter dishes (*131 boter schotels*) and 490 '*manco Crang'*.[217] We see here several descriptions: '*Most schalen*' could be small saucers to serve mustard. The 'red painted' and 'large painted cups' are most likely to be Zhangzhou ware, a type favoured in Southeast Asian regions; what is meant by '*manco Crang*' remains a mystery. Otherwise this list is a good example of ceramic items already available and purchased by the VOC during the first years in Asia.

Cargo lists of ships trading in this region mostly list coarse porcelain. For example, the *Gouda* loaded in 1608 at Batu Sawar, listed '9292 coarse porcelain

---

[214] Terpstra 1938 (op. cit.): p. 130, '*het door de Chineesen in Patani gebrachte aardewerk ooc zeer getrocken is in de Moluccos en Banda, maer meest groff en middelbaer, te weten groote platteelen, middelbare en cleene coppen, die overdect syn, oock die nyet overdect syn*'.

[215] P. Borschberg, 'Batu Sawar Johor: A Centre for Regional Trade in the 17th Century'. Paper presented at the Second Nicholas Tarling Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, (*Between Classical and Modern: Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period, ca. late 14th to late 18th Century*), University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, November 3rd-4th, 2011, p. 15: 'The first Dutch Admiral to arrive in Johorese waters, Jakob van Heemskerk, had left one Jacob Buys (sometimes also Buyzen) behind to man a newly-established factory at Batu Sawar'.

[216] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226, *Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam 1602 – 1629*: '*Porcelynen bevonden in de kist van Jacob buijs niet doen volgen maer te behouden voor de Comp.Maendach ix Julij [1607]'; 'Inventariseren kist met percelynen van Jacob Buijs*'.

[217] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1054, *Stukken betreffende Patani, Calicut (Malabar), Siam, Japan en Johor (1607-1613*: '*Originele ende copie calcula van uit staande schulden voor rekeninghe van de oude en de nieuwe vereenichde Comp. overgelevert bij Jacob Buis aen Cornelis Francx coopman in dato 9 December 1605'*.

dishes'.[218] We also know from a VOC report from October, 1608, that, '150 and a quarter bundles with coarse porcelain bowls' had arrived at Sukadana (the former capital of the Malay kingdom in west Kalimantan province on Borneo) from Patani: (*aangevoerd van Patani o.a. 150 ¼ bonden grove porcelijne commen f 59,12*).[219] The cargo list of the *Vliegende Draeck* dated January 8th, 1610, lists 300 porcelain dishes that had been transported from Sukadana to Sambas, another VOC trade post on Borneo.[220] A month later, on February 3rd, 1610, the *Griffioen* departed from Bantam to Amboina and Banda; the cargo list listed 'two martavan pots destined for the northern Moluccas'.[221] The term 'martaban' has generally been used for certain types of strong storage jars as noted on an shipping list of the *Cleene Zonne* as 'Martabaos'.[222] It is known that all types of such 'martaban' were favoured in Asia.[223] They were retrieved from most Western shipwrecks indicating that they were used on board as storage jars for food and water.[224] (Figure 6.28)

---

[218] There are two cargo lists of the ship Gouda. NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 627, *Factuur van de goerderen geladen in het schip Gouda in Batu Sawar (Johor) 1608, juli 20.* NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv.nr. 633, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Gouda, gaande van Patani naar de Republiek 1608 : '9292 grove porceleyne schotels'*.

[219] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 618, *Rekening van inkomsten en uitgaven, Sukadana, 1608, Kasboek Suckidana vanaf 20 oktober 1608*: '*aangevoerd van Patani o.a. 150 ¼ bonden grove porcelijne comme'.*

[220] The cargo list of the *Vliegende Draeck* from Sukadana for Sambas, Borneo dd. 01-08-1610: '*300 porcelain dishes costing 14 florins'.* NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 621, *Factuur van de goederen door Samuel Blommaert aan de koopman Pieter Aertsz. in Sambas gezonden met het schip Vliegende Draak 1610 jan.8.*

[221] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 611, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Griffioen, gaande van Bantam naar Ambon en Banda 1610 feb. 3.*

[222] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 648, *Rekening van onkosten gemaakt door Jacob Dircksz. Cortenhoeff voor het schip Arakan, liggende voor Masulipatnam 1612 juli 14*; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 654, *Factuur van de goederen geladen in de schepen Kleine Zon en Ternate, vertrekkende van Atjeh [1610].*

[223] This will be explained below. For more information see: Barbara Harrisson, *Pusaka. Heirloom Jars of Borneo,* Singapore,1986. E. Ströber, *Ming: Porcelain for a Globalised Trade,* Stuttgart, 2012; Borbala Nyiri. *Chasing Dragons through Time and Space: Martabani Dragon Jars in the Kelabit Highlands, Sarawak, East Malaysia.* Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2016.

[224] See for more information on martabans: Pamela Gutman, 'The Martaban Trade: An Examination of the Literature from the Seventh Century until the Eighteenth Century', *Asian Perspectives,* vol. 40. no. 1, University of Hawaii Press 2002; Eva Ströber: 'The collection of Chinese and Southeast Asian Jars (martaba, martavanen) at the Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden, the Dutch Republic'. https://www.princessehof.nl/img/uploads/jars_research_Eva. (visited January, 2020)

Figure 6.28. A large martavan jar from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck, 1613.
Inv.nr. OKS 1977/120. [225]

According to Volker, 'In the year 1636 porcelain, mainly coarse, is shipped each month from Batavia to Bantam, Cirebon, Jepara, Tegal, Pekalongan and Jortan, all on Java. Then to the islands of Bali and Amboina, to Jambi, Indragiri, Silebar, Palembang, Sumatra's westcoast and Acheen on Sumatra, and to Sukadana, Martapura and Banjermasin, all on Borneo'.[226] The *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* gives several examples; in May 1636, it was noted that amongst gifts to the Regent Tommagu of Tegal by the VOC were '3 large beautiful, fine porcelain dishes' (*3 groote schoone fijne porceleijne schotels*).[227]

There are several entries dating from 1637 with details; in January, the VOC ship *Langerack* captured the Portuguese vessel *Jesus Marie Joseph* on its way from Macao to Malacca.[228] Volker provides the shipping list dated January 14th with all types of porcelain: besides fine dishes, large dishes, bowls of all sizes, and teacups (20,600), there are several types of pots, some filled with preserves or sugar.[229] However, the Chinese carried out most of the inter-insular shipments. For example, on January 8th a

[225] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 226-227. (this inventory number has been changed)
[226] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 196.
[227] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1898, (op.cit.), p. 99.
[228] Ibid., p. 19. Colenbrander only states that the cargo contained 'coarse porcelain', '*achterhaelt ende verovert wiert,… estaende desselffs cargo…. bij haer aenden commandenr overgelevert, eenighe sijde stoffen, suijcker, groff porseleijn'.*
[229] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 197.

Chinese junk sailed to Japara with 'some porcelain' and one to Bantam from Batavia.[230] On January 18th, 1637, a junk departed for Banjarmasin (a harbour on the southern tip of Borneo in South Kalimantan) and another to Darmaijo, both with coarse porcelain.[231]

Another entry mentions that a junk arrived from Cambodia with 9,000 pieces of coarse porcelain of various shapes (*9000 stucx groff porseleijn van diversche sorteringe*).[232] In April, a Chinese junk transported 12,500 pieces of coarse porcelain to Bali; 400 coarse pieces were shipped to Grisse and to Catte, 400 fine dishes as well as 1,000 coarse porcelain items.[233] These entries in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* clearly show that the customers on the Indonesian islands preferred coarse porcelains, even from Cambodia. In February, the chief merchant of the King of Aceh in Indrapora received 11,300 pieces of coarse porcelain that were traded for a special type of herb (radia).[234]

In 1641, plates and dishes are again ordered in Aceh, but 'not bowls and dishes of less good quality, or large rice bowls and teacups'. There is also a mention of large food platters and double food platters and 300 'red' food dishes. These would most probably have been Zhangzhou ware with red decoration.[235] Volker maintains that the porcelain that was brought to Aceh could be sold with profit to the 'Moors', a name coined by the Dutch for traders from Bengal and the Indian coasts who were importing porcelain from Aceh.[236] He supplies more data on the coarse wares shipped to that area: in 1645, the shipping list of *De Liefde* from Malacca for Jambi shows 13,355 coarse porcelains that included 'red-painted' ware next to 'white, blue, and blue and white cups'.[237] These were most certainly Zhangzhou ware. In 1648 mention is again made of 200 'red plates' and 1,000 coarse 'blue' porcelain bowls, another example of a shipment of red enamelled and blue decorated Zhangzhou. In that same year 12,572 pieces are

---

[230] Colenbrander 1898 (op. cit.), p. 17.
[231] Ibid., p. 26.
[232] Ibid., p. 18.
[233] Ibid., p. 116: '*4 april: Soo vertreckt mede naer Balij een Chijnees jonckjen met 12500 p. Groff porseleijn'*; p.127: '*10 april: 400 p. groff porseleijn*; p.132: 14 april: 340 p. *fijne porceleijne schottels, 1000 p. groff porseleijn'.*
[234] Ibid., p. 133: '*voerende 11300 p. groff porcelijn… waermede den sabandaer des eonincx van Atchien in Indrapoara sijne missieve met voornoemde radia Facke alhier ontfangen wordt beantwoort'.*
[235] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 200.
[236] Ibid., p. 201. (Volker refers to p.13, 'Ph. Baldeaeus, *Nauwkeurige beschrijving van de Oost-indische kusten Malabar en Choromandel,* Amsterdam, 1672'). Apparently, their cargoes were sold at a profit to the Moors, for Aceh proposes to Batavia that if the Company could decide to 'feed' the trade of the Moors from Aceh it would be possible to sell them all sorts of fine and coarse porcelain for a total costprice of 2000-4000 reals.
[237] Ibid., p. 202

shipped to various interinsular ports.[238] This coincides with what was noted in the Zeelandia registers as 'coarse' ceramics.

Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia.

Another route used by the VOC was the northeastern route to Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), the east coast of India, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia. From 1605, the VOC had set up a trade post on the east coast of India, known as the Coromandel coast, with the principal aim to purchase cotton textiles to be sold in the Indonesian archipelago, but also to secure its position against its European competitors. Masulipatnam was then the head office, followed by Paleacatte to the south, where Fort Geldria was built. Ceylon was an important region for the VOC to purchase cinnamon and trade ivory. (Figure 6.29)

Figure 6.29. Map of the northeastern part of the Indian Ocean regions, India, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula. (*Kaart van het noordoostelijk deel van de Indische oceaan. (Noorder deel van de Indise Zee*) Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem., inv. nr. Van der Hem 38:25. (Ascribed to Johannes Vingboons, ca. 1665-1668.) Austrian National Library.

In 1612, the *Ter Goes* departed from Bantam to the Coromandel Coast and Aceh with 31,272 coarse pieces of porcelain.[239] In 1616, Hans de Haze, head merchant

[238] Ibid., p. 203.
[239] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 645; *Factuur van de lading van de schepen Ter Goes en Duifje,*

between 1616 and 1620, sent a complaint to Bantam that a third part of the porcelain which had arrived at Masulipatnam was broken and was therefore thrown overboard.[240] In 1619, he announced that: 'coarse porcelain, the equivalent amount of a chest of money may be sent.'[241] There are also shipments directly from Formosa to the Coromandel Coast: in 1641, the *Lis* arrived with 2796 'porcelain cups with feet that had been ordered according to a sample'.[242]

Even though there are only few mentions of porcelain to this coastal region, there are several documents referring to martavan jars, already mentioned above. The term can be misleading as it has been associated with jars made in the vicinity of Martaban, an export port on the coast of what is now called Myanmar (Gulf of Siam, Burma). The *Itinerario*, compiled by J. van Linschoten, provides a description:

> In this city large earthenware pots are made, which are called martavanas in Indian; they are transported in large numbers through the whole of India; the reason that so many are transported is that in India they are used in houses and ships instead of jars: because there are none of such from Portugal; these come in their place to preserve oil, water and wine and such things, and it stays very well in them and it is a great comfort to the travelling man; because they also appear in Portugal ; as they are used on ships from India, for water and oil etc.[243]

---

gaande van Bantam naar Atjeh en Coromandel 1612: '*In Jacatra Inn genomen het naevolgende 31272 stucks grof porselyn van diverese sortering costen tot diversche prijse als by factura hier neffens gaende*'.

[240] Colenbrander and Coolhaas (eds.) 1919-1953 (op. cit.), vol. 7 (1952), p. 99. *Hans de Haze van Masulipatnam 05-06-1616*: *'De porcelynen van Jacatra gescheept, syn 1/3 part gebroken …waarvan meer als een boot vol overboort gesmeten syn' . gel. U.E. door Jan Tijszen eens voor desen is geadviseert, derhalven dient vortaen bij U.E. volck ofte schippers aldaer in't laden wat beter sorge gedraegen te werden, want anders te groote schade geeft'*; pp. 130-134 refers to NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1063*: Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637; 1616 juni 23 - aug. 4)*.

[241] Ibid., '*Hans de Haze aan boord van de swarte beer voor masulipatnam 21 juni 1619: groff porceleyn mach UE oock de waerdeye van een kist gelt senden'.*

[242] NL-HaNA 1.1101.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640: '*Factura Lis bij vertrek van Taiwan naar Cormandel: o.a. 2796 st.x porceleyn copkens met voetgens tot een monster in 8 balien en 3 vaten kosten f 218:18'.*

[243] J.H. van Linschoten, *Itenerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschrijvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen*. Cornelis Claesz., Amstelredam, 1596. (reproduced in Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. II, The Hague, 1910.), p. 23: *Van Aracan/Pegu ende Sian: 'ende Stadt van Martavan, welch is het euterste van Pegu ende beginsel van Sian; In dese Stadt worden veel vandegroote aerder Potten ghemaekt/bienen in Indine Martavanas noemt;worden in groote menigchten ghevoert gheheel indien deur; zijn van alle soorten groot en cleijn;daer zijnder daer wel twee pijpen nats in gaen moghen;d'oorzaek datter zo veel vervoert werde/is om datmense in Indien ghebruijct in alle huyssen ende schepen in de plaets van vaten: want daer zijn dan die van Portugael komen daeromme dien dese Potten inde plaets om Oly/wijn/Water ende diergelijcke dingen te bewarem ende blijfter seer goet in/ende is een groot gherief voor den resende Man;comen noch veel in Portugael: want ghebruijkende op dedie schepen van Indien/voor Water en Olie, etc.'.*

Pegu was the harbour from where these stoneware jars were transported to various regions in Southeast Asia but they were also shipped to Batavia from the VOC post on the eastern coast of India. (Figure 6.30)

Figure 6.30. Map of the region Pegu, North Bengal. (*'Kaart van Bengale, van P. Palmeris tot Martavan (Pegu)'*). Catalogus Leupe, NL-HaNa_4.VEL_257. Graaff, Isaac de, ca. 1695, drawing on paper.

For example, in 1640, the *Haerlem* arrived at Batavia with 116 pieces of 'large as well as small martavans' (*116 stx groote als cleyne martabanen*).[244] The following year, the *Nieuw Amsterdam* arrived at Batavia with 50 martavans.[245] In April, an entry of the Batavia registers reported that a shipment had arrived at Paliacatte from Pegu with 200 large martavans and 150 small ones, which were delivered by the 'Moor' merchant Mierchalis.[246]

Around 1608, the VOC had also set up trade contacts with the Kingdom of Siam (present-day Thailand) in the old capital, Ayutthaya. There was direct trade between Batavia and Thailand, large in volume though small in value, mostly in rice and wood. Some VOC ships would continue along this route to Taiwan with deerskins and products

[244] J.A. van der Chijs (ed), *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandst India. (1640-1641),* The Hague, 1887, p. 102: '*Den 29en do [11-1640] arriveert 't schip N. Haerlem [in Batavia] vande cust Choromandel met een cargasoen van ... 116 stx groote als cleyne martabanen'.*

[245] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandst India. (1641/42*), The Hague, 1900, p. 261 (December 1641): '*26 ditto arriveerde [in Batavia] tschip Nieuw Amsterdam den 3 October door d'heer Gardenijs van de Cust Choromandel herwaerts affgevaerdicht met .... 50 p. Martavanen'.*

[246] Ibid., p. 300: '*Met den Moors coopman Mierchalis jacht uijt Pegu ... 200 p. groote martavanen, 150 p. cleijne'.;* p. 301: '*Per tselve van masulipatnam naer Bellesoor gevoert..6 cassen met porseleijn'* (a ship on its way to Persia stopped at Masulipatnam with 6 cases porselein).

from the tropical forest, mainly Sappan wood, which was their most important cargo for trade with Japan. There are not many records that indicate shipments of ceramics to this region. One example is a request from Siam in 1637 for an assortment of porcelain to be made according to the samples.[247] In December of that year, a ship dropped off a cargo at Siam on its way to Batavia that included the requested porcelain (*fluttschip over Siam alvoorens voor Batavia affgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen....van 't geeysche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen*).[248] (Figure 6.31)

Figure 6.31. Map of Siam, Vietnam and Cambodia. *Kaart van de kusten van Siam, Cambodja en Cochin-China.* Drawing/aquarel on paper, Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem, inv. nr. Van der Hem 41:13. (Assigned to Johannes Vingboons, ca. 1665-1668.). Austrian National Library.

Besides Chinese and Japanese traders who were allowed by the Ngugen lords to trade in north Vietnam and by the Trinh lords in south Vietnam, the Dutch were also allowed to set up trading posts. In the south, the VOC opened a post at Hoi An in 1636, in the north, at Pho Hien in 1637, and in 1645 at Thang Long (present-day Hanoi). The policy of the VOC was to trade ceramics for raw and woven silk for Japan, which was prohibited to carry out overseas trade from 1639 (*Sokuku* policy). [249]

[247] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 901: *4 aug. 1637: 'Eyst in retour met d'aenstaende van hier derwarts te doene ...diverse sortering porceleynen, conform de gesondene monsters'.*
[248] Ibid., vol.1. K. fol 449: *14 dec. 1637*: '*fluttschip over Siam alvoorens voor Batavia affgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen....van 't geeysche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen; p.359: eist van Vliet voor Siam van Taiwan:diverse sortering porcelijnen conform de gesonden monsters.*
[249] Bui Minh Tri, 'Vietnamese Ceramics in the Asian Maritime Trade in the Seventeenth Century'. Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp.16-1 to 16-17

Only a few examples of porcelain deliveries by the VOC from Formosa to Quinam (Vietnam) are given here. In February 1636, shipments from Formosa included fine porcelain.[250] On April 28th, 1637, the ship *Grol* arrived in Quinam from Formosa with 29,575 pieces of coarse porcelain and 85 fine pieces.[251] In May 1638 a Chinese junk sailed directly from the Jiulong River to Quinam with coarse porcelain.[252] In 1640, six junks arrived in Quinam with coarse wares.[253] Several years later in February 1648, there is a report that a junk, owned by the Chinese merchant and interpreter Khimtingh, will depart to Quinam with a cargo including 2000 bundles of coarse porcelains (*den Chinesencoopman en tolck der E . Comp. Khimtingh, ophebben-cde 50 koppen en weervoerende: 100 picol swavel,2 d . thee en 2000 bos grove porceleynen*).[254]

Sometimes vessels bound for Batavia went via other ports. For example, on February 16th, 1639, the junk *Zeelandia* sailed to Batavia via Tonkin with a large quantity (9,158 pieces) of coarse, as well as 11,400 'half fine porcelains'.[255] (Appendix 6, list 17). The coarse porcelains included large dishes, a smaller size, white and blue and 4,750 red and green serving dishes (*4750 schaft schotels, root en groen*). These were without doubt Zhangzhou ware and may have been intended either for Tonkin or Batavia and the inter-insular customers.

In 1635, the VOC set up a trading post at Lauweck in Cambodia situated halfway along the Mekong River in 1635. There are only a few examples of shipments with ceramics; for example, in 1637, the ship *Noortwijck* was wrecked and the 65,589 pieces of porcelain were lost.[256] In 1641, there is a delivery of 4,000 large coarse dishes to

---

[250] Colenbrander (ed.) 1900 (op. cit.), p. 235: '*en voorzien van suiker, fijn porselein, rouwe zijde en senes zetten de schepen in gezelschap van het schip Grol de reis naar Quinam voort*'. (He refers to: 'VOC, 1120, fo. 232-238; *brieven van gouverneur Putmans aan gouverneur-generaal Brouwer*').

[251] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) *Dagh-register gehouden int casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India anno 1636,* The Hague, 1899, p. 151: '*28 april 1637: met d° Grol aenden oppercoopman Abraham Dnijcker in Quinam toegesonden… 29575 p. groff pors-leijü; Item noch tot een proeve voor Toncquin in handen vanden coopman Carel Hartsingh… 85 p. fijne porseleijn'.*

[252] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol.1, K. fol 473: '*12 mei 1638. zijnde 9 dagen geleden uyt de riviere Chanchieu na Quinam verseylt, geladen wesende met groove procelaynen'.*

[253] Ibid., vol.1, M. fol.56: '*januari 1640…Ses joncken waern uyt China in Quinam met grove waren als porceleynen…aengelant'.*

[254] Ibid., vol. 3, A fol. 274, *february 25 - november 5,1648*: *'Soo vertreckt oock onder onsen passé een jonckje naer 't rijcq van Quinam toe-behoordende den Chinesencoopman en tolck der E. Comp. Khimtingh, ophebben-cde 50 koppen en weervoerende: 100 picol swavel, 2 d . thee en 2000 bos grove porceleynen*'.

[255] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1130, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1640*: '*factura van de joncq genaemt Zeelandia. Over Tonquin naer Batavia gerenseigneert Taijouan 16 february 1639'*.

[256] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol.1, M. fol. 440, *november, 1637*: '*Uyt missive door den oppercoopman Jan Dircxs van Galen, het opperhoofd van 's Compagnie's ommeslag in Cambodja, aan gouverneur Van der Burch geschreven, is het schip Noortwijck op 19 februari door een fout van de loods voor*

Cambodia by a junk owned by Chinese merchants.[257] In 1643, the Chinese merchant Samsoe, called Jan Soetekauw by the Dutch, carried out a delivery of 125,305 pieces of both fine and coarse porcelains.[258] Another cargo with 117,250 pieces of coarse porcelain was transported to Cambodia from Formosa, again by a Chinese junk in March 1644.[259]

Japan.

The VOC established its first trade post in Japan at Hirado (usually written as *Firando* in Dutch documents) in 1609, after Shogun Ieyasu granted permission.[260] (Figure 6.32) In 1612 a letter is sent to Patani in which goods for Japan were requested.[261] These included a good amount of all sorts of porcelain (*alsmede goede Ptije porcelyn van alle Soorteringe*). In 1614 Jan Joosten Lodestyn ordered porcelain that he had promised to sell to the 'gentlemen' at Edo, the old name for Tokyo.[262]

---

de rivier Pa trapan ver-zeild en gestrand. Een gedeelte van de lading is met het schip verloren gegaan of gestolen. De hiervolgende goederen zijn geborgen: 40 halve fijne schotels, 923 fijne kwart schotels, 572 drielingen en 5.005 pieringhen (tezamen 6.5589 stuks fijn porselein)'.

[257] Ibid., vol. 1, M. fol.66, *19 jan. 1641*: *'vertrect van hier naer Cambodje de joncque van de coopluyden Peco ende Sitsicq (jan Soetekauw)…4000 grote grove schotels'*.

[258] Ibid., vol. 2, C. fol. 288, *3 april 1643*: *'1 dito naar Cambodia, sijnde de jonck van den Chineesen coopman Peco, in-hebbende een cargasoen van voor de Compagnie ondienstige waeren ter somma van 1769 5/8 r. van achten, bestaende in 117.250 stucx diversche sorteeringe van groove porceleynen, namentlijck…'*

[259] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 47, *4 maart, 1644*: '*vertreckt de jonck van, alias Jan Soetekauw, naer Cambodja, inhebbende een cargasoen … bestaende in 125.305 stucx porcolayn, bestaende in 10.627 bos ende drie baellies, 305 fijnne porcolayn in 3 bali's'.* See Appendix 6, list 20.

[260] C. Viallé: 'Tot schenckagie daar het te pas comen sal', *Aziatische Kunst,* nr. 23/2, Juni, 1993, pp. 2-21.

[261] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1053, *Kopie-uitgaande stukken van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam 1614 – 1634, 1614 nov. 13 - 1615 nov. 5.*: '*Als in copie verhaelt so sal u.l. alle de syde & syde laeckenen laeden Int voornoemde Jacht [Hasewind] naer Jappan alsmede goede Ptije porcelyn van alle Soorteringe wt wysende een prys courant u.l. by S.r Segerse.Gelaeten'*.

[262] F.C. Wieder. 'De Reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Straat van Magalhaes naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598 - 1600.' *Publications Linschoten Society*, vol. 24. The Hague, 1925, p. 94: (Jan Joosten van Loodensteijn from Edo requests on 2-11-1614 goods to be sold there.),'*…en fyne groote schootelen en andere porceleynen…voorts en wilt niet na laeten en sendt mijn porceleijn, want ick hebbet allen die heeeren belooft, dat het comen sal, en Ul hebt mij oock belooft dat ick van als genoech hebben sal'.*

Figure 6.32. The Dutch trade post at Hirado (*Firando*), by Arnoldus Montanus, in Atlas Jappanensis, 1669.[263]

The incidents that had taken place between 1629 and 1632 concerning the taxes levied on Japanese traders at Formosa and the imprisonment of a group of Japanese merchants by Pieter Nuyts have have already been mentioned.[264] Even though trade between Japan and the VOC on Formosa was suspended for several years, Chinese junks continued to transport merchandise. For example, an entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* mentions that on August 12th, 1632, it was confirmed that the junks owned by Hambuan (*Hambwans*) and Injeeywattinghs (unknown name) were allowed to depart for Japan. The remainder of the junks departed with merchandise including coarse porcelain (*groff porceleyn*).[265] Coarse porcelain was even shipped to Japan from Siam (Thailand); a junk on its way to Japan from Siam that stopped at Formosa on June 20th, 1633, departed on September the 12th with wood, deerskins and 1,000 pieces of large

[263] *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de Kaisaren wan Japan: vervatende wonderlyke voorvallen op de togt der Nederlandtsche Gesanten: beschryving van de dorpen, sterkten, steden, landtschappen, tempels, Gods-diensten, dragten, gebouwen, dieren, gewasschen, bergen, fonteinen, vereeuwde en nieuwe oorlogs-daaden der Japanders [...] Getrokken uit de Geschriften en Reisaentekeninze der zelver Gesanten, door Arnoldus Montanus t'Amsterdam.* Jacob Meurs, 1669.

[264] Nuyts had imprisoned Japanese traders. In 1630 there were again negotiations but trade was only renewed in 1632 after he had been sent to Japan to be tried. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630,* The Hague, 1962, p. 167.

[265] Blussé et all (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1. C. fol. 235 (1632): '*12 augustus: De resolutie over 't equipeeren van Hambwans ende Injeeywattinghs joncquen nae Japan werdt op dato geconfirmeert ende haer toegelaten te moogen vertrecken. Op dato vertrecken dienvolgende de resteerende Chineesche joncquen nae Jappan, ahebbende gelaeden 't naervolgende: . . . stucx hertevellen, . . . picol rouwe zijde, . . . picol suycker, . . . groff porceleyn, . . . zijde waeren*'.

coarse dishes (*grote groove schootels*) as well as 5-600 smaller sized ones (*5 a 600 clyne ditto*).[266]

A memorial of 1635 provides specific data on the porcelain that was delivered by the *Amsterdam*, the *Wassenaer*, *Grol* and the *Venhuysen* to Japan.[267] The total amount was '135,905 pieces of coarse porcelain' (*135905 stucx Groff porcelijn*) that included '38,865 blue and white painted bowls' (*38865 stux d:o blauw ende witte geschilderde Commen*), '1,100 blue and white painted dishes' (*1100 stux blau ende witte geschilderde schootels*), '650 the same but one-third sized' (*650 stux dittos drielingen)* '450 of the same but green-and-red painted' (*450 stux dittos groen ende roodt geschilderde schootels*), '190 pieces of the same but smaller' (*190 stux dittos wat celynder*), and '94,350 rice and teacups' (*94350 stux dittos Rijs en thee kopkens*).[268]

This list is an example of what types and sizes of porcelain were in demand in Japan in that period; not only 'coarse ware', but also 'blue and white' and 'red and green' are mentioned, all produced in the Zhangzhou kilns. In 1638, a letter was sent from Japan that these had been sold.[269] There was then still hope that porcelain could be delivered regularly if the Chinese did not do this themselves (*vertrouwen in toecomende de porceleynen ende aluyyn vermits het menichvuldich aenbrengen door de Chinesen ende op soodanige ruyge waren als voor desen in |Japan niet t'advanceeren is, sullen connen werden geëxcuseert*).[270]

However, regular shipments from Formosa to Japan by the VOC terminated around 1640, when the Chinese intermediaries preferred to deliver their merchandise

---

[266] Ibid., fol. 577: '*juni 1633: 20en dito arriveren alhier 2 joncxkens van Gijlem geladen met 5000 stucx hartevellen voor reeckeningh van de Compagnie. Op dato vertreckt de joncke, den 12en september passado alhier (doordien zijnne reyse naer Japan niet conden voirderen, vermits 't mousson heel verloopen was) uut Siam ter reede gecomen naer Japan, geladen met 200 picol sappanhout, 25.000 stucx Chiamse hartevellen, 1000 stucx grote groove schootels, 5 a 600 a cleyne ditto, 50 a 60 picol alluyn, swarte zuycker, 12 picol witte zuycker'*.

[267] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637, 1634 dec. 5 - 1635 dec. 29: '*Sommarium vande Cargasoenen deesen jare anno 1635 zeedert de 18=en augusto tot ult-o d-o met de schepen Amsterdam, wassenaer Groll ende wtt Tayouan naar Japan versonde te weten…'*

[268] Ibid.

[269] Blussé et all (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol., K. fol. 458 (6 februari 1638): *'uit de missieven van president Couckebacker aan gouverneur van der burch wordt vernomen. "De porceleynen sijnde roode ende groene groote geschilderde schootels van 8 r. 't cento tot t. 20. ende die van 4 ende 5 r. 't cento tot t. 13, de groote blauwe ende witte schootels van 9 r. 't cento t. 15.5 ende ditos van 6 r. tot t. 7.5. vercocht; gelijck mede de roode ende groene commen van 6 r. t. 6.5 ende blauw en witte dito's van r. 4 incoops t. 5, de roode ende groene geschilderde drielingen dito van 10 r. 't duysent t. 10 ende de pieringes van 10 r. 't duysent t. 30 't duy-sent gerendeert hebben vertrouwen in toecomende de porceleynen ende aluyn vermits het menichvuldich aenbrengen door de Chinesen ende op soodanige ruyge waren als voor desen in Japan niet t'advanceeren is, sullen connen werden geèxcuseert'*.

[270] Ibid.

themselves directly from the Chinese coast instead of via Formosa.[271] Indeed, Volker gives numerous examples of porcelain shipments by Chinese junks from Fuzhou.[272] Furthermore, after 1641, the VOC lacked sufficient cash to pay the Chinese merchants for the goods to be sent to Japan.[273] In 1644, the VOC post at Hirado was closed and Dutch merchants were confined to the artificial island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki.

Porcelain deliveries to Gamron (Bandar-e-Abbas) and Al-Mukhā (Mocha).

The Arabian and Persian regions were important markets for Chinese porcelain.[274] The VOC directors had placed Gamron together with Mocha under VOC jurisdiction of the governor of the western districts at Surat that had been established in 1616. 'Correspondence chiefly took place between the governor of Surat and the main office at Batavia. From December to May, shipping along the Asian coast between Surat and Persia could be carried out in both directions. VOC ships travelled this route with products from other parts of Asia, and also as traders between these ports, even regularly transporting freight for local traders or authorities. From Persia, some VOC ships would sail on to Mocha in Arabia'. [275] (Figure 6.33)

---

[271] Lisa van Oosten, *Formosa en de inter-Aziatische handel: een onderzoek naar de Nederlandse handelsrelatie tussen Formosa en Japan in de zeventiende eeuw*. MA-scriptie, Universiteit Utrecht, 2009, p.47: *'Nadat de handelaren zelf in Japan geweest waren, werd het duidelijk dat er meer geld te verdienen viel door de bemiddelaar (de VOC) buiten te sluiten*.' See also: Ho Chuimei, 'The ceramic trade in Asia, 1602-82' in H. Kawakatsu and A.J.H. Latham (eds.), *Japanese Industrialization and the Asian Economy*. Oxford 1994, pp. 35-70; S. Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662: Een vergeten geschiedenis. Deel 2*, Leiden, 1995.
[272] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), pp. 121-124: 'In 1642: Chinese junks to Nagasaki from Fu Chou with 130 teapots; in 1643 Chinese junks to Nagasaki with 11 barrels of porcelain and from Fu Chou teapots; in 1644 Chinese junks from Fu Chou: teapots, and coarse porcelain; 13 junks with 802 teapots; in 1645 around 229,000 pieces are shipped and in 1646 70,000 pieces.'
[273] Cheng 1995 (op. cit.), p. 198: 'In 1641 there was no money at Formosa to pay the Chinese for their wares. They were asked to wait for the ships that had just left from Batavia and carried the money. In 1642 it was remarked: **'***Den afftreck in des Compagnies coopmanschappen seer sober te wesen';* p. 204*: 'Soo waren oock de Chinesen niet te bewegen de geeyschte zijdewaren ende porceleynen nae Tayouan te brengen, onaengesien de goede toeseggingh ende belofte van alles nae sijn deucht rijckelijck te betalen.***'**
[274] VOC posts in Persia were Esfahan from 1623-1638 and Gamron from 1623-1766. Aden (Yemen) had an office from 1614-1620 and Mocha one from 1620-1650.
[275] Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 46.

Figure 6.33. Map of the region of the Persian Gulf. By Isaac de Graaff, ca.1695. Nationaal Archief VEL0221.

During an early visit to Mocha in 1616 the VOC official Pieter van den Broecke described a local specialty: 'cauwa', coffee.[276] This was important as coffee cups were ordered in large quantities, and were therefore part of the VOC porcelain distribution. A letter that was sent to the directors by Governor-General Coen already indicated that the largest sized dishes were saleable in Arabia and Surat.[277] These were mostly coarse ware shipped from Achin/Acheh on the coast of north Sumatra. According to C. Brouwer, every year the Dabhol merchants, Indian merchants from the seaport of Dabhol, sent a vessel directly from Achin to Mocha with supplies including porcelain.[278] (Figure 6.34)

[276] Coffee: cova= cauva/cauwa: kahweh (Arabic=qaweh); Commelin 1646 (op. cit.), p. 33. '*Kahauwa,* a kind of black bean resembling *Boontje-Holwortel* of which they make black water that they drink'; C.G. Brouwer, *Cauwa ende Comptanten. De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Jemen 1614-1655. (Cowa and cash: The Dutch East India Company in Yeman 1614-1655)*, Amsterdam, 1988.
[277] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1058 (Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam;1614); Colenbrander and Coolhaas (eds.) 1919-1953 (op. cit.), vol. 1, (1919), p. 267 (J.P. Coen to the VOC directors August 22nd, 1617): *'De heeren behoeven met de porceleynen niet verleghen te wesen want daer en sal vooreerst geen quantiteyt overcomen ende soo noch eenighe van die aldergrootste schotele over hebben, sy connen met avance in Arabien en Suratten vercocht worden'.*
[278] C. G. Brouwer, 'The Porcelain Trade in al-Mukha During the Early Seventeenth Century According to Dutch Accounts'. *Vormen uit Vuur,* no.175, 2001 (special issue), p. 32: 'One such Dabhol Achinman, owned by a certain Agha Rasa, made the harbour of al-Mukha on 24 April 1616, having completed a sailing voyage of 80 days. Its cargo included 'porcelain and other commodities.'; note 90 refers to: 'W.Ph. Coolhaas, 'Pieter van den Broecke in Azië', *Publicaties Vereniging Linschoten*, vol. 63-64. The Hague 1962-1963, pp. 174-175 and p. 100'.

Figure 6.34. View of the harbour of Mocha (al-Mukha). July 1616. Adriaen Matham, 1646. Print, Rijksmsueum, inv.nr.RP-P-OB-75.460

Brouwer explains that the customers were mostly Turks and Arabs and gives an example of the *haji* (pilgrims doubling as traders), who left Syria each year for Mocha to purchase merchandise brought by foreign ships.[279] 'In the early part of November they left al-Mukha, returning home by the end of March 1671. [The merchant] Nur al-Din brought with him a lot of pepper and porcelain, purchased from the Dutch –who had arrived with the *Nassau* – at an amount of no less than two thousand *daalders*, i.e. about fl.3,000. Caffelas or caravans such as those of which Ibrahim and Nur al-Din were members, comprising over six hundred heavily loaded camels in 1616, called at al-Mukha year after year'.[280]

In 1620, the *Wapen van Zeelandt* was bound for Surat and Mocha but deposited its supplies in Aden.[281] The VOC official De Milde recorded in 1621 that two types of cups were most in demand: coffee cups and sherbet bowls.[282] According to Brouwer, the

[279] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.), p. 34.
[280] Ibid., note 98 refers to: 'Staten General, eerste afdeling, nr. 6891: "Report by Hagi Abrahim concerning a Dutch ship in the Red Sea, drawn up by Pauw, 28 March 1617".'
[281] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr.1071 (Factura [van de goederen en de coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip 't Wapen van Zeelant, 15 Junij 1620 tot Jaccatra]). The ship left Bantam on June 15th for Aden where the merchandise was put ashore; P. van de Broeck travelled on to Mocha. Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.) p. 29; Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 69: 'The cargo list of 't Wapen van Zeeland from Batavia for Surat and Mocha, dated June 15th, shows a mixed lot: 3168 fine porcelains captured with the Sampson off Patana, valued at 736 florins, or about 0.23 florin apiece, and 3220 fine porcelains carried from Japan to Batavia by the "Vliegende Bode"'.
[282] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.) p.27.

latter are bowls for drinking sugared or rose water.[283] He also mentions that cups 'are most desired when they have a blue mark drawn like a character on the bottom'.[284] The request for porcelains with a blue seal mark indicates that the customers knew the value of such pieces. An authentic imperial seal mark was only applied on porcelain for the Imperial court but such marks were imitated, also on export ware.

In 1629, shipments to Persia included 4,000 pieces of porcelain.[285] An inventory made of the goods of Governor Visnich in Gamron dated April 4th, 1630, provides an overview of what types of porcelain was stored at that period.[286] It includes: '11 porcelain bottles' (*Boven in de bottelerye: 11 porceleyne flessen*), '33 gorgeletten' (*gorgelets/kendi*), '537 small saucers' (*pierkens*), '98 cups and 4 larger sized', '20 camel cups', '51 tableplates' (*tafelborden*), '49 dishes', (*49 stucx schotels, soo groote als andere)*, '17 pieces of the same (from Isfahan)' (*Sphans wereck*), '17 cups with feet' (*copkens met voeten*), '15 small saucers' (*clyne pierkens*), '448 wine cups' (*pimpekens*), 'a quantity of broken porcelain' (*Een partye gebroken porceleyn*). In the kitchen, there were 10 dishes and 16 tableplates.[287]

Substantial deliveries only started to take place after 1634 when supplies from the Chinese coast to Formosa had increased. A report was sent from Persia to Batavia dated June 1634 with orders for merchandise that included, '4-5,000 corgees of porcelain cups with round feet, straight sides to drink 'cova'.[288] This shape is identical to the description of a bell cup (*clockcopken*) mentioned above.

---

[283] Ibid., p. 28. He refers to H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)*, The Hague, 1918, *"'copgens om canobe uut te drincken; commen om sorbet uut te drincken" (*in Arabic: sharba*)'*.

[284] Ibid., p. 45. See also M. Tuchscherer (ed.), 'Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XVe-XIXe siècle)'. *Cahier des Annales Islamologiques,* nr. 20, Cairo, 2001, p. 283: 'Cups with 'chinese characters' at the bottom of the base, called paijtaght cups in al-Mujkha are the most sought after'.

[285] H. Dunlop (ed.) 1930 (op.cit.), vol. I, pp. 312-313: '*Generale corte facture van alle comptanten ende coopmanschappen door den E. Directeur Jan van Hasell geladen in de schepen Tholen, Brouwershaven, Buiren, Bommel, Weesp ende Beverwijck, gaande naer Parsia'*. 31 December 1629. p. 313: '*4000 stucx porcelijn'.*

[286] Ibid., p. 339: '*Inventaris van goederen te Gamron in Visnich's huis gevonden, 4 april, 1630'.*

[287] Ibid.

[288] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.), p. 480; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1111 (Copieboeck van uitgaende missiven aen diverse quartieren van 29 December 1633 - 20 December 1634): *'ende Camers persi[a?] eijsch 4 a 5 duijsent Corges porceleijne copkens met ronde voetjens den cant recht opgaende om kani ofte tee uijt te drin[cken'.*

A letter dated august 15th, 1634, states that 686 pieces had been sent to Surat and Persia, among which 10 full-sized dishes were intended for the 'King of Persia'.[289] These were shipped in the *'s-Hertogenbosch:* 'two bales with porcelain following samples: Nr. 1 with 214 large 'bell' cups and 212 of a smaller size; Nr. 2 with 10 very beautiful dishes'. [290]

In 1635, after selling a quantity in advance for good prices, an order by the Arabs (*d'Mooren)* was sent for 'fine ware, well painted' (*fijn goet, wel geschildert*). These included large dishes, bowls in bundles of 20 each, teacups according to samples, long necked bottles and pouring vessels.[291] On December 26th, 1635, Gamron reported to Surat that they have unloaded 3779 bundles of coffee cups, 40 flasks, 10 bundles of half-sized bowls and 15 ¼ sized bowls from the ship *Hoff van Hollandt*.[292]

The year 1636 seems to have been quite profitable for the porcelain supply to Persia, especially coffee cups. A note from Isfahan, however, stated that these were 'a bit too coarse and if very fine sorts would be sent, then we could make an enormous profit'. The value is mentioned, but it was also remarked that there were also damaged or broken pieces (*gescheurt, gebarsten ende gebroocken waren*). It was estimated that: 'annually 10,000 corgees (each with 20 pieces) of coffeecups could be sold as well as 1000 sets of dishes and plates and 1000 various bowls'.[293]

In 1637, Gamron ordered 8-10.000 corgees of porcelain teacups, 400 corgees of fine bowls and 500 large fine dishes.[294] A report to the directors in Amsterdam dated January 25th, 1637 included the cargo list for the ship *Amalia* with 4,542 pieces of

---

[289] Ibid., (Particuliere missive van gouverneur generaal Henrick Brouwer aen de heeren zeventienen en aen de particuliere cameren in dato 15 Augustus 1634): '*686 stx porceleijn tot monsters soo voor surate als persia daer onder 10 stx- hele schootels voor den Coninck in P[ersia?'.*

[290] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.), pp. 510-511. *'Twee balien met porceleyn tot monsters, namentlijck no.1 daerinne 214 ps groote clockcopkens…212 ps. cleene ditto; No.2 inhoudende 10 ps heele schoone schotels*'.

[291] Ibid., p. 542: '*Geeist uit Perzie 1635: Porceleynen, met de jongste scheepen gesonden, tot verscheyde pryzen met goede avance vercocht, ende wert fijn goet, wel geschildert, by d'Mooren geesyt te weeten: Groote schuttels Commen in bossen van 20 st. yder bos Tee coopgens gelijkc het monster (door Overschie gesonden)'.*

[292] Ibid., p. 550: '*uut 't Hoff van Hollandt: 17,000 in 4 kisten, no.1:2:3 ende 4 a 50 stuyvers…3779 bossen cawa copkens nevens partye losse ditto; 40 vlessen-10 bossen halve commen…15 ditto quarten.. porseliijn'.*

[293] Ibid., p. 565. '*Overschie uit Gamron, aan Gouverneur-generaal en Raden, Batavia 25 Maart 1636: 'Wat de koffiekopjes betreft, die zijn wat te grof. Als zij eens zo fijn gezonden werden, zoude buitengewone winst gemaakt worden. Deze van dit jaar alhier gelicht ende costende ons per factuur f 1436:18:8 hebben gerendeert f 20634:4:- behalve noch de grote partye die uytgeschoten sijn, overmits gescheurt, gebarsetne ende gebroocken waren. men zoude in Perzie jaarlijks omtrent 10000 corgie (twintigtallen) van die kopjes kunnen verkoopen, benevens 1000 stellen schotels en borden en 1000 stuks diverse kommen'.*

[294] Ibid., p. 589: '*Eysch van Coopmanschappen soo deselve in 1637 in Gamron sullen kunnen vertiert werden 8 à 10. 000 corgie porceleyne theecopkens, de corge 6 a 7, 400 corgie groote commen, schoon, de corgie 50 a 60, 500 stux groote schoone schotels yder stuk 25 ??larynen'.*

various sorts of porcelain (*4543 stx alderhande fijn porceleyn*).[295] In a letter dated February 15th, 1638 to Gamron, it is stated that that some porcelain should be given as a present to the Grand Vizir at Isfahan.[296]

Orders for Gamron and Mocha were usually sent directly to Formosa and then transmitted to the Chinese merchants.[297] The deliveries were either sent to Batavia or shipped directly to that region, usually first to Surat where the cargoes were divided, some shipments to Gamron and others to Mocha.[298] For example, fine porcelain that was sold in Gamron in April 1638, included 13,178 bowls in 3 sizes, 6,338 camel cups, 8,710 teacups as well as various sizes flatware.[299] We see here again the preference of bowls, including tea- and bell cups; the latter used for coffee, but some flatware was also delivered.

A shipment that arrived at Mocha in 1638 with the *Rarob* contained 128,975 pieces.[300] The *Bredamme* and *Santvoor*t shipped a total of 140,388 porcelains from Formosa.[301]

---

[295] Ibid., p. 605. '*Van Arent Gardenijs, Expres commissris t/r Gamron, a/b Middelburch, aan Bewindhebbers, Amsterdam, 25 januari, 1637'.*

[296] Ibid., p. 643: '*Van Nicolaes jacobsz. Overschie, Gamron aan Adriaen Adrianensz, Adriaen van Oostende en Govert van Bredehoff, 15 februari, 1638. Te Ispahan moeten zij aan den Groot-Vizier te geschenke geven, radix China,…3 stukken kamerijsch doek en eenig porcelein'*.

[297] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I, fol. 862: '*Missive van de koopman Hambuan [maart 1637]: Op U.E. recommandatie hebbe de fyne, grove porceleynen voor Persia geëyst op mijn aencomst in China na all quartieren daer deselve te trecquen sijn aenbesteet en alsnu sooveel doenlycq opgesamelt waervan nu perij fijne sortering per de joncq van Jocho gewert, en de reste grove dito saen binnen 4 à 5 daegen aldaer oocq te verschynen. U.E. gelieve alle d'zelve tot soodanigen prijs te betaelen, zulcx voor desen gecontracteert is'.*

[298] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1126, *Originele missive aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 30 December 1638*: '*14,0388 stx fijne porceleynen costende f 12780.6.- Met de jachtenen Bredam en Santvoort rechtstreeks van Taiwan naar Suratte in 1638'.*

[299] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.) p. 653. Letter from A. Adriaensz in Gamron to Governor General and Council in Batavia, dated April 27th, 1638. '*Wyder soo hebben tsedert onsen lesten meede een eynde gemaeckt van 't fijn porceleyn dat vercocht is als volcht: 440 groote schottels…461 dito drylingen…136 groote commen, 13,178 commen van dry soorte, 6338 cameelcopkens, 8710 theecopkesn….,1307 clockcopkens…ende 583 soussierkens'.*

[300] W.Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren 17 der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague 1960-1997; vol. 1, 1960 (1610-1638), p. 677, letter from Van Diemen to Directors, 22 december, 1638: '*25 juli*: *van hier rechtdoor derwaarts uyt te setten de fluyte Rarob. Dienvolgende is geroerde fluyt op 3™ augusti passato vertrocken met een cargasoen, monterende fl. 51 157. 10. 12, bestaende uyt 4650 p…. Chinese ende Bengaelse poeyersuyckeren, 10 000 1Ê giroffelnaghelen, 20 000 ffi notcnmuschatcn, 30 sockels foelie ende 128 975 stux diversche sorteringh porceleyn onder de directie van de coopluyden Pieter van den Broecke ende Arent van Zeiler 2) met ordre geseyde goederen in Mocha tegen contant ende eonighe g'cyschte coopmanschap-pen over te setten om daermede onsen soboren staet in Suratte te secunderen ende calculeren, dit cargasoen in Mocha sal renderen fl. 400 000*'.

[301] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1126, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1639*: *'Met de jachtenen Bredam en Santvoort rechtstreeks van Taiwan naar Suratte in 1638, 140388 stx fijne porceleynen costende f 12780.6.-* '.

A report dated December 18th, 1639 from Formosa stated that the ships *Banda, Galiasse* and '*t Vliegend Hert* will transport merchandise to Surat and Persia. This included the remarkable amount of '548,000 pieces of ordered porcelain.[302]

On August 29th, 1640, the *Snoecq* and the *N. Zeelandia* left from Batavia via Surat to Persia with 88,233 pieces. These included various sized bowls, dishes, saucers, large pots for preserves, octagonal cups, various types of teacups, some with red flowers, some with feet, white pieces, coarse ones, with and without flaring rims and small tasting dishes.[303] (Appendix 6, list 18)

The *Zantvoort* departed for Persia on December 12th, 1640, with 19,800 items of porcelain.[304] (Appendix 6, list 19) The list shows that a large amount was coarse porcelain (*groove warmoes Coppen, groote groove schotelen, groove saucierkens*), but the majority consisted of flatware and all sorts of cups were of fine quality. On December 27th, 1640, the *Pauw* left Formosa for Surat via Malacca with 4,262 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 12 bales and 39 wicker baskets; the *Witten Oliphan*t listed 72,320 pieces of various sorts packed in 54 bales and 341 baskets.[305] The extensive list again provides detailed information on the packaging; it states that each package had a wooden tag with its contents.[306] (Appendix, list 20) The shipments on these ships specify only 'fine porcelain'. These included 3,978 fine teacups (*tsia copjens*), 1,978 cups with feet (*1078 Ps copjens met voetjens*), and 6,025 wine saucers (*6025 Ps wijn schaelties*). Furthermore, all sorts of flatware: 13,354 saucers and another 19,200 plates (*pierings*).[307]

In 1643, a cargo list of the *Uytgee*st that arrived in Persia shows 126,730 porcelains coming from Batavia. Formosa reports on December 14th that a large cargo of

---

[302] Coolhaas (ed.) 1964 (op. cit.), vol. 2, (1639-1655), p. 37: December 18th, 1639.
[303] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: '*Factura Snoecq en N. Zeelandia 29-8-1640 van Batavia over Souratte naar Persia Int schip N: Zeelandia'*.
[304] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1135: '*Notitie van de Coopmanschappen van poincte gale int jacht Zantvoort gescheept ende alhier in Gamron becomen 19800: P soo groff als fijne porcelijne te weetten…'*
[305] NL-HaNa 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640: '*sorteringe fyne nporceleijnen in 54 balien en 341 canassers'.* On December 27th, 1640, the *Pauw* sails from Taiwan via Malacca to Suratte with: '*4262 p fyne porceleynen bestaende in 12 balien en 39 canasters, costen f 667:19';* Ibid., *'Olifant met 72320 stucks diverse'.*
[306] Ibid., '*Ijder balij inhoudende als daerop geschreeven staet ende ijder canaster als opt aenhangende houtjen te zien is'.*
[307] NL-HaNa 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: *'Factura schepen witten Eliphant ende de pauw mitsgaders de fluijt den Otter geladen in taijouan voor persia door de straet van Malacca over goa naer souratte gedepecheert Int schip den witten Eliphant leggende ten ancker in sualijs Chom ady 14=en April 1641 73320 Ps fijn porceleijn gepackt in 154 houte balijs ende 384 Canasters ijder balij inhoudende als daerop geschreeven staet ende ijder canaster als opt aenhangende houtjen te zien is 3978 Ps fijne tsia copjens in 11 balijs'.*

porcelain will be shipped for Surat and Persia in the *Waterhont.* Another order from Persia was for 120 tea- or coffee cups and 1,000 pepper and saltcellars.[308] In November, the *Vrede* departed to Surat and from Gamron to Bassora (al-Basrah, on the coast of present day Iraq) with again, a large amount of 159,713 pieces of fine porcelain. (*159713 stx fijne Porceleijnen bestaende in 76 balen.*) [309] (Appendix 6, list 21) These large quantities indicate that the manufacture of fine ware had as yet not ended in China.

However, during the following years quantities as well as quality diminished. According to Volker, a document dated March 24th, 1645, states that 12,355 corgees of coffee cups and fine plates have been sold.[310] Again there are complaints that large amounts were broken and that amongst the coffee cups many were coarse. A letter dated November 27th from Formosa states that 35,873 porcelain teacups will be sent by the *Schiedam.* The following year there is a complaint that the goods, on arrival, 'are so basely assorted and moreover so badly mixed up in the barrels'.[311]

Summing up, during a relatively short period, from 1634 to 1643, a diversity of ordered items was transported to the ports of Gamron and Mocha, mainly drinking vessels, but also flatware. The quantities are quite exceptional. Most Middle Eastern customers were well to do and had a traditional appreciation for fine porcelain, as Arabian and Chinese traders had already transported this to these regions for hundreds of years before the arrival of Western merchants.[312] Therefore the quality also had to be higher than the coarser ware delivered to Southeast Asian destinations.

Ceramic artifacts excavated at some VOC trade posts.

In the past decades, archaeologists have been active in Asian regions, and ceramic artifacts have also been discovered at former Dutch trade posts. Their findings are of value to add to the knowledge of the VOC trade in ceramics in the 17th century. Some examples follow.

---

[308] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 190.
[309] The VOC had a trade post from 1645-1646 in Bassora (al-Basrah). Nl-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: '*Factura Vrede van Taiwan over Malacca naar Suratte en Persia November 29th, 1644: 159,713 stx fijne Porceleijnen bestaende in 76 balen*'. (This should be 276 bales).
[310] Volker 1954 (op. cit.) p.96.
[311] Ibid., p. 102.
[312] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.), pp. 6-7, for an overview of the Arab traders to this region.

Indonesia.

Takashi Sakai has studied porcelain found in the Wolio Castle ruins, Southwest of Buton island, Southeast Sulawesi. Around 4952 base shards have been excavated at this site. 'The fort or castle is thought to have been built around the first half of the 17th century and has many traces of Dutch period. The ceramic shards are from different centuries and from the 17th century there can be discerned: Zhangzhou (33%), Japanese \Hizen ware (27%), and the rest Southeast Asian ware such as Thai ceramics are accounted for. The amount of trade ceramics to Indonesia by the VOC in the second half of the 17th c. would have been about 170,000 per year. In the case of the Wolio site, the Dutch would have used porcelain from Japan (Hizen ware) and some Chinese ware as private trade goods as well as gifts to the Sultan of Buton to maintain friendship'.[313]

Batavia (Jakarta). In 1619, the Dutch destroyed the town of Jayakarta under leadership of governor general J.P. Coen. Coen then designed and rebuilt a new city with a western face, straightening natural canals and constructing new upright canals and named it Batavia. Many changes have taken place and the original structure is hardly traceable but archaeologists have found two locations with traces to the Dutch period.[314] One is close to Pasar Ikan in Sunda Kelapa, the location of an old harbour and the other on the west side. In 1980, research was carried out when a canal was being dug between Krukut and Besar river. Of the 4,973 sherds, only around half could be identified. (Figure 6.35) 'Artifacts were earthenware (local), pipes (Dutch clay pipes), coins (Spanish/Dutch/Chinese) and metal objects. Of the Chinese porcelain shards, about half the finds are of pieces for daily use (plates and bowls) from different periods. Less than 5% are from the Ming period and include Zhangzhou ware. Then there are European ceramic shards, Japanese, Persian, Vietnamese and Thai'.[315]

[313] Takashi Sakai 'Porcelain found in the Wolio castle ruins, Indonesia and Its Distribution' Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp. 11-1 to 11-9.
[314] Sonny C. Wibisono, ' From Jacatra to Batavia, The Changes of the city plan and a special Note on the Archaology of Pasar Itan.' Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp. 12-1 to 12-16.
[315] Ibid., p. 12-10.

Figure 6.35. Ceramic sherds found at East Klimantan, Kutei Lama (left); Banten West, Java (middle row), and Onrust Island, Jakarta Bay (right row). Photo by author at the conference of Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, October 31st to November 2nd, 2007.

Pescadores.

Tai-kang Lu has researched the finds at the site of the fort built by the VOC on the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago.[316] 'Most of the blue and white porcelain shards found were part of dishes and bowls, some of the Kraak-panelled type. Zhangzhou type ceramics were also found, as well as stoneware pots known as 'an-ping' jars. European wares included stoneware bellarmine jugs (*baardman*), used by the Dutch mostly for alcoholic beverages. (Appendix 6, table 22)

Figure 3.36. Fragments of Kraak-type dishes found at Feng-guei-wei, Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago. Photo from Tai-Kang Lu.[317]

[316] Tai-kang Lu, *Dutch Colonial Period Trade Ceramics Found at the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago*, *Monthly of Chinese Art* (Published by the National Palace Museum, Taipei,2001), pp. 116-134; Trade Ceramics Excavated from Feng-kui-wei, P'eng-hu." *Field Archaeology of Taiwan*, 2004, pp. 89-98. Recognizing the Chinese Export Ceramics in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties through the Unearthed Trade Ceramics Found in Taiwan and Overseas Area." *The International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilization*. Hong Kong: The Chinese Civilization Centre, City University of Hong Kong. pp. 235-252.
[317] Ibid., fig.3-2.

Taiwan.

In 2003 and 2005, excavations have taken place at the former Fort Zeelandia. The results have been documented extensively and a summary given at the Taipei conference.[318] Many types of export ware were discovered as well as ceramic wares used by the Dutch (bellarmine jugs/delftware). Several shards of kraak shards were found at the early site of the fort when it was under construction from 1624. Some Kraak-panelled shards are identical to those found the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (Appendix, table 23)

Figure 6.37. Fragments of kraak-panelled dishes found at the site of Fort Zeelandia. Photos by author.

Japan.

Hirado. Numerous shards of Kraak-type porcelain as well as Chinese shapes as bowls and cups have been excavated at the former Dutch post. They include crow cups, *klapmuts*, plates with and without rims and some with exceptional designs. Most are identical with the types from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) (Appendix, table 24)

Nagasaki/Deshima.

Archaeological research has been done at several sites in Nagasaki.[319] Several have revealed all kinds of trade ceramics from China, (Jingdezhen ware and Zhangzhou ware), and wares from Thailand and Vietnam. Ceramics found at the Dutch trading post Deshima, opened to the Dutch from 1640, include Kraak-panelled from Jingdezhen, but also from Arita. (Appendix, table 25)

---

[318] Liu Yi-chang, Chung Kuo-feng, Wang Su-chin, and Yen Ting-yu. 'The Spatial and temporal relations between stratigraphy- features. Artifacts found in the 17th century strata in the fort Zeelandia site'. Paper given at symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.

[319] Kawaguchi, Yohei, 2007, Archaeological results of Nagasaki in the 16-18th centuries. Paper presented at thesymposium Exchange of Material culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.

Figure 6.38 a+b. Fragments of Chinese porcelain excavated from sites in Nagasaki.
Photo by author.

Edo (Tokyo)

Since the 1970's around 1000 sites have been excavated in present day Tokyo. The western artefacts are of a limited number but of course of interest as they contain Beardman jars, glass and parts of clay pipes. At several sites, Jingdezhen ware of the first quarter of the 17th century for daily use was found and finer type of porcelain of the next quarter of the century was found. These include kraak type plates and saucers, klapmuts as well as Zhangzhou ware. These would have been brought by the VOC by way of Hirado and Deshima, possibly as 'gifts' but also as private trade goods.[320]

Conclusion of this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse how the VOC orders for porcelain and the supplies of Chinese ceramics evolved between 1624 to around 1655 and that only in the last period, by sending specific orders and samples, the Dutch effectively began to direct production of Western shapes in China.

The first period, between 1624 and 1634, was one of instability due to the serious conflicts between the VOC and the Chinese authorities and their intermediaries of the coastal provinces. What was obtained by the VOC was limited and mainly came from captured ships.

The second period, from between 1634 to 1644, is characterized by stable trade conditions. This relatively short period comprises in fact the height of all the porcelain deliveries of the first half of the 17th century from China. The documents concerning this period, mainly the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia,* provide a large amount of data about

[320] Hideki Horiuchi, The Material Cultural Interaction from an Archaeological Point of View, the artefacts excavated from Edo sites focused on trade ceramics. Paper given at symposium: Exchange of Material culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.

the supplies of Chinese ceramics to Formosa. I focussed on the arrivals of the junks with ceramics from the coastal ports of southern China to Formosa and their frequency to show the types of ceramics that were delivered. As each arrival was noted in the Fort Zeelandia registers, we can make a division between qualities delivered, generally categorized as either 'fine' or 'coarse'. Fine porcelains were mainly transported from the port of Fuzhou in Fujian; coarse porcelains produced in Zhangzhou kilns were delivered to present-day Xiamen, named Amoy in the VOC documents. During this period, a mixture of these was shipped from China by junks to Formosa and from there to Batavia. The chart, (Figure 6.11) shows that between 1631 and 1635 there were only a few arrivals of junks to Fort Zeelandia. From 1635 we can see that supplies were delivered on a regular basis and quantities increased; the height of the deliveries occurred during 1637-1639.

Detailed information of VOC orders with the required shapes and designs for porcelain gives insight into what was requested between 1634 and 1644, and is testimony to the buying power of the Company. Details to the shapes accompanied by samples such as drawings, wooden models to be copied, were sent on a regular basis.

In the last section, I have shown to which various other destinations Chinese ceramics have been transported by the VOC. Regions such as Arabia and Persia were important markets for porcelain judging by the large quantities of items mostly of fine quality, shipped to those regions between 1634-1644. Shipments to various other destinations as the Indonesian archipelago, Cambodia, Vietnam and Japan, consisted mostly of coarse ware. The role of the VOC in supplying these markets is a substantial contribution to the overall distribution of Chinese porcelain during the first half of the 17th century.

The end of the fine porcelain shipments occurred when wars, famine and natural disasters diminished supplies from Jingdezhen from around 1644, the end of the Ming dynasty. Throughout 1648, 1649, 1650, and into 1654, a junk would occasionally arrive at Formosa, usually with coarse porcelain, but there is also mention of bales or cases with 'fine porcelain'. The report dated March 1654 is testimony that there are no more deliveries from mainland China for the storehouses at Fort Zeelandia from that date.[321] Production was now diverted from China to Japan. In 1662, the fort was surrendered to Zheng Chenggong and all deliveries to and from Formosa terminated.

[321] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.) vol.3, E. (27 feb.-18 nov. 1654), fol. 363.

Summary and overall conclusion of this dissertation.

The aim of this thesis is to give a systematic interpretation of the maritime trade and transportation of Chinese ceramics in a historical perspective from the ninth-century Tang dynasty up to the middle of the 17th century. The focus is on Dutch demand for porcelain, which types of porcelain were ordered and what the Dutch East India Company (VOC) transported. I found that most orders were sent between 1634-1644, a relatively short period and porcelain deliveries peaked between 1638-1644. This was the result of effective Dutch demand for porcelain. The VOC plays an essential role in this process because Chinese ceramics were not only shipped to the Dutch Republic itself, but also throughout eastern and western Asia.

For this study, I have drawn on three distinct areas of research: maritime trade and archaeology, Chinese export ware, and the history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). I have used maritime archaeology to analyse the types of export ceramics that were transported overseas from China. I argue that objects salvaged from shipwrecks show that during the pre-Western period of trade in Asia, ceramics were for the most part shapes intended for the Chinese domestic market, but gradually came to include items to suit the preferences of a certain region and/or clientele.

From the same perspective, I have sought to demonstrate that after the arrival of the first Western merchants in Asia, the Portuguese and the Spanish, only slight adaptations such as the application of a heraldic or religious decoration were made. However, it seems that there was no mass production of shapes destined specifically for the Iberian markets. Items from the *São João* (1552) and the *São Bento* (1554) shipwrecks are illustrative of porcelain available to the Portuguese in that period; these were for the most part bowls and some flatware, all regular Chinese domestic shapes. A significant change can be seen from the *San Diego* shipwreck of 1600, which revealed flatware with a panel-decoration not retrieved from earlier shipwrecks. In later years, this type became known as Kraak porcelain, the core subject of this dissertation.

From an etymological perspective, I argue that the term *carrack/ kraken* was used by the English and the Dutch only to describe a specific type of North European trading vessel used from early 15th century in the North Sea regions. When people from this area were confronted with Iberian ships resembling those they were acquantied with, they used the general term for trading vessels, *carracks/kraken.*

From an art-historical perspective, I conclude that the Dutch did not use the term Kraak in combination with porcelain for Chinese porcelain at the beginning of the 17th century. The combination only starts to appear regularly during the second half of the 17th century, but then with the meaning of old or antique porcelain. As has been the case regarding other export ware, Kraak is a Western label, comparable to 'transitional ware', *famille verte, famille noire* and *famille rose*. I suggest that the principal decorative feature, panels or cartouches, which distinguishes this type of export ware from others produced during the same period, should preferably be chosen as the reference point to describe Kraak porcelain. Terms like 'blue and white panel-decorated Chinese porcelain made for export', or simply, 'panel-decorated Kraak porcelain', 'Kraak-panelled porcelain', all serve the purpose.

I have used archaeological data from Jingdezhen to illustrate that items for the domestic market were produced and fired in the same kilns as Kraak-panelled porcelain, using the same types of materials. I illustrate the shapes that are for the most part foreign to the Chinese, using the typology made for the items retrieved from the *Witte Leeuw*, as they represent the majority of Kraak-panelled ware. My reinterpretation of dating Kraak-panelled porcelain is to correct the idea that this type of porcelain was produced as early as 1570. This analysis is again based on shipwreck finds since these are of a fixed date, contrary to those from museum or private collections of which the provenance is uncertain.

From a historical perspective, I demonstrate that Dutch demand for porcelain only gradually developed. This analysis is mainly based on VOC orders and cargo lists. Commissions were initially sent to Asia irregularly; the focus was on flatware and shallow bowls. However, as far as I know, there are no orders for items to be decorated with a panel pattern. VOC shipwrecks from 1609 and 1613 are illustrative of what was transported to the Dutch Republic. At this stage, their contents are a mixture of Kraak-panelled porcelain and Chinese domestic ware. I analyse and illustrate the quantities on cargo lists by several tables to show the fluctuation in shipments of porcelain by the VOC.

In 1624, the VOC established a trading post on Formosa (present-day Taiwan), which remained in operation until 1662. Historical documents such as the *Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia* show that ceramic shipments from China to Formosa are mostly listed generally as either 'coarse' or 'fine', without further detail. From 1634,

deliveries became more constant; orders increased and contained more specific instructions as to shapes and designs, often accompanied by samples to be copied. These included Western items as beer tankards and candlestick holders, but the designs should be non-Western, Chinese figures and landscapes and no Dutch flowers. Such items have been categorized as 'transitional wares'. I analyse, again by way of a table, that the peak in the quantities transported by the VOC occurred during a relatively short period, between 1635-1645. It is therefore not surprising that illustrations of Dutch interiors dating prior to this period do not depict large numbers of Chinese porcelain.

The dissertation has presented a comprehensive analysis of the history of Chinese export ceramics based on archaeological finds, combined with the art-historical aspects of one particular type, Kraak porcelain. I arrived at a sharper definition and a clearer chronology of this specific type of porcelain, the main sort produced for Europe. Dutch demand for porcelain was decisive in stimulating the porcelain production in China; Western shapes were in demand and quantities rose, be it only during a relative short period. Items from shipwrecks are helpful to show what was transported during this period. The VOC was the main company ordering and storing Chinese porcelain and distributed it within Asia and to Europe during the first half of the 17th century. This gave the Company an exceptional place in the history of Chinese export ware.

Nederlandse samenvatting.

Deze studie is een onderzoek naar de Nederlandse vraag naar Chinees porselein in de eerste helft van de 17e eeuw. Voor dit onderzoek heb ik gebruik gemaakt van drie onderzoeksvelden: de maritieme archeologie, de kunstgeschiedenis van het Chinees export-ceramiek, en de geschiedenis van de VOC in de betreffende periode (een aspect van de Europese expansie in Azië). Het boek als geheel bedoelt een totaalbeeld te geven van de handel in Chinees exportceramiek tot het midden van de 17e eeuw, waarin al deze aspecten aan bod komen. In het inleidende hoofdstuk leg ik de structuur en methodologie uit die is gebruikt voor het proefschrift. Dit hoofdstuk bevat tevens een uitleg over de bronnen die zijn gebruikt.

In hoofdstuk 2 vergelijk ik archeologische vondsten uit scheepswrakken en productiecentra van ceramiek om aan te tonen welke soorten werden gemaakt voor overzeese gebieden gedurende de Tang-, Song-, Yuan- en de vroege Ming-dynastieën. Archeologische vondsten uit Portugese en Spaanse scheepswrakken geven aan dat er geen porseleinen voorwerpen speciaal werden vervaardigd voor deze markten. Pas aan het einde van de 16e eeuw kan worden vastgesteld dat bepaalde vormen zijn bestemd voor Westerse afnemers; deze zijn afkomstig uit het scheepswrak van de *San Diego* (1600). Het betreft hier porseleinen borden en kommen met een specifieke decoratieve indeling, bekend in de kunstgeschiedenis als Kraakporselein.

In hoofdstuk 3 benader ik het onderwerp Kraak vanuit de kunsthistorische invalshoek: wat voor soort porselein wordt bedoeld met Kraak, hoe is deze term ontstaan en gebruikt en waar past het in de classificatie van exportporselein. Daarnaast heb ik willen achterhalen waar de term 'Kraak' etymologisch vandaan komt aangezien de Portugezen deze term niet gebruiken voor hun schepen. De meest aaneemlijke verklaring is dat er al vanaf het begin van de 15e eeuw, de term werd al gebruikt voor een standard soort handelsschip in de Noordzeegebieden. Toen een vergelijkbaar type door Portugezen bemand schip werd gekaapt, gebruikten de Engelsen en de Nederlanders tevens hetzelfde woord. De kunsthistorische typologie van Kraak wordt verduidelijkt d.m.v. tekeningen en uitleg over de Nederlandse termen die gebruikt werden voor deze vormen. Hiermee geef ik aan dat dit het type porselein is dat vooral de Nederlanders bestelden, zoals dan weer blijkt uit VOC-scheepswrakken.

In hoofdstuk 4, 'A reinterpretation of dating Kraak panel-decorated porcelain', behandel ik de datering van dit type porselein. Aan de hand van vondsten uit

scheepswrakken kan men vaststellen dat porseleinen voorwerpen met een paneel-decoratie pas voor het eerst werden gemaakt tegen het einde van de 16e eeuw en niet eerder. Hiermee geef ik aan dat een aantal eerder aangedragen chronologieën onjuist zijn.

Het historische aspect komt vooral aan de orde bij de geschiedenis van de VOC en de voorafgaande compagnieën. In hoofdstuk 5, 'The start of Dutch trade in Asia and shipments of Chinese porcelain, 1596-1622' geef ik aan hoe de Nederlanders in aanraking kwamen met Chinees porselein en hoe zij dit gingen bestellen en vervoeren. Het doel is om aan te tonen dat gedurende de eerste helft van de 17e eeuw, bestellingen en levering van porselein aan grote fluctuaties onderhevig waren: er zijn jaren waarin scheepsladingen aanzienlijke hoeveelheden bevatten, maar ook jaren met nauwelijks enige aanvoer. De aanvoer vanuit China was niet constant.

Dit veranderde toen de VOC de handelspost op Formosa mocht opzetten, het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 6, 'Deliveries of Chinese porcelain to the VOC trading post of Fort Zeelandia on Formosa from 1622 until around 1655'. Met gebruikmaking van publicaties zoals de Kasteel Zeelandia-registers en ander archiefmateriaal toon ik aan dat de grootste aantallen zijn geconcentreerd in een opvallend korte periode, 1634-1644. Deze periode kenmerkt zich ook als een waarin de bestellingen meer details bevatten wat betreft versieringen (*met Chinese Personagien moeten te gaerde wateren/lantschappen plaijsier huijsen).* Hetzelfde gold voor de vormen: (*oock alle andere nieuwe & rare Porceleijnen als bierbeeckers/ commekens met ooren / soutvaten / kandelaers / scheijnck[den & wijn kannen / volgens de modellen hier nevens gaende*). Zulke Westerse vormen waren een nieuwe uitdaging voor de Chinese porselein industrie.

Al direct in de eerste helft van de zeventiede eeuw speelde de Verenigde Oostaziatische Compagnie een multifunctionele rol. De Compagnie bestelde porselein voor de thuismarkt, en transporteerde het niet alleen naar de Republiek, maar ook naar gebieden binnen Azië, Arabië en Perzië. In het laatste gedeelte van dit onderzoek, wordt hieraan ook aandacht aan besteed. Ook geef ik een kort overzicht van archaeologische opgravingen op enkele plekken van VOC-posten.

Dit alles maakte dat de VOC in deze periode een bijzondere rol vervulde in het verspreiden van Chinees porselein.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

1. Archives:

Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling, NL-HaNA: 1.11.01.01.

Admiraliteitscolleges, NL-HaNA: 1.01.46

Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, NL-HaNA: 3.01.14.

Staten-Generaal, NL-HaNA :1.01.02

Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC): NL-HaNA: 1.04.02.

Voorcompagnieën, NL-HaNA: 1.04.01.

2. Published archival collections and the history of the VOC.

Blussé, J.L, M.E. van Opstall and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.) [1986], *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1641*, vol. I, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie nr. 195, The Hague.

Blussé, J.L, W.E. Milde, Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.) [1995], *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1641-1648*, vol. II, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie nr. 229, The Hague.

_____. [1996], *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1648-1655*, vol. III, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie nr. 233, The Hague.

Blussé, J.L, N.C. Everts, W.E. Milde, Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.) [2000], *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan1655-1662*, vol. IV, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie nr. 241, The Hague.

Bruijn, J.R., de, F.S. Gaastra, I. Schöffer, and E.S. van Eyck van Heslinga. (eds.) [1979], *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries.* The Hague.

Chijs, J.A., van der (ed.) [1885] *Nederlandsch Indisch Plakaatboek,* Part I: 1602-1642, Batavia,

_____. [1887], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1640-1641*, The Hague.

Colenbrander, H.T. (ed.) [1898], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1631-1634*, The Hague.

_____. [1899], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1636*, The Hague

_____. [1900], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1641-1642*, The Hague.
_____. [1902], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1643-1644*, The Hague.
_____. [1911], *Korte historiael ende journaels aenteyckeninge van verscheyden voyagiens in de vier deelen des wereldts-ronde, als Europa, Africa, Asia ende America gedaen*, werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging III, The Hague.
_____. [1919], *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol. I, The Hague
_____. [1920], *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol. II, The Hague
_____. [1921], *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol. III, The Hague
_____. [1922], *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol. IV, The Hague
_____. [1923], *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vol. V, The Hague
Commelin, I. [1646], *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Facsimile Publication, Amsterdam, 1969).
_____. [1646], 'Voyagie naer de Oost-Indien onder Admiraelschap van Piether Both, ghedaen by den Capiteyn Paulus van Caerden', *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. I, no. 9, Amsterdam.
_____. [1646] 'Twee voyagien ghedaen naar de Oost-Indien', *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. I, no. 9, Amsterdam.
_____. [1646] 'Voyage gedaen naer de Oost-indien onder Cornelis Matelief de Ionge', *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. II, no. 13, Amsterdam.
_____. [1646] 'Voyagie gedaen naer de Oost-Indien onder Paulus van Caerden', *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. II, no. 14, Amsterdam.
_____. [1646] 'Voyagie gedaen naer de Oost-Indien onder Pieter van den Broeck', *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. II, no. 16, Amsterdam.
Coolhaas, W.P. (ed.) (1960), *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol I, (1610-1638) Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP), no.104, The Hague.
Coolhaas, W.P. (ed.) [1962], *Pieter van den Broecke in Azië*, Part 1, Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. LXIII, The Hague.
_____. [1963], *Pieter van den Broecke in Azië*, Part 2, Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. LXIV, The Hague.
_____. [1964], *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. II (1639-1655) Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 112, The Hague.

Dunlop, H. (ed.) [1930], *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzie, eerste deel 1611-1638*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 72, The Hague.

Foreest, H.A., van, and A. De Booy (eds.) [1980], *De Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck, 1599-1604.* Part 1. Linschoten-Vereeniging LXXXII, The Hague.
_____. [1981] *De Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck*, *1599-1604*. Part 2, Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. LXXXIII, The Hague.

Heeres, J.E. (ed.) [1896], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1624-1629.* The Hague.
Hullu, J. de (ed.) [1903], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1644-1645.*The Hague.
_____. [1904], *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1656–1657.* The Hague.
Hulsius, L. [1605], A*chte Schiffart: Kurtz Beschreibung was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern in den Ost Indien, die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre, als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. und 1603 zugetragen. Zusammen gezogen durch Levinum Hulsium*, 1605, Frankfurt.

IJzerman, J. W. [1926], *De Reis om de Wereld door Olivier van Noort 1598-1601*. Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. XXVII, The Hague.

Japikse, N. [1926], *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*. Vol. 9. 1596-1597. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 62. The Hague.

Keuning, J. (ed.) [1938], *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600*, part I. (*Voorgeschiedenis en uitreeding gevolgd door het reisverhaal van J.C. van Neck*). Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. XLII, The Hague.
_____. [1940], *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600*, part II. (*De overige journalen omtrent de reis van J.C. van Neck; De heenreis van W. Warwijck tot Bantam*). Linschoten Vereeniging vol. XLIV. The Hague.
_____. [1942], *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600*. (*Het tweede boek, Journael oft Daghregister,* Amsterdam 1601), Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. XLVI. The Hague.
_____. [1949], *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600*. (*journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden; De reis naar Ternate*). Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. L, The Hague.

Linschoten, J.H. van [1596], *Itenerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschrijvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen.* Cornelis Claesz., Amstelredam, 1596. (reproduced as: Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. II, The Hague, 1910.)

Meilink-Roelofsz, M.A.P., R. Raben and H. Spijkerman, [1992] *De Archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1795)*. Netherlands Algemeen Rijksarchief. Eerste Afdeling.

Pennings, J.C.M. *History of the Arrangements of the VOC Archives.* website: http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/history/history_managevoc.htm

Rouffaer, G.P. and J.W. IJzerman (eds.) [1915], *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597. Journalen, Documenten en andere bescheiden.* (Part 1. *d'Eerste boek van Willem Lodewyckssz.*) Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. VII, The Hague.

_____. [1925] *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597. Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*. (Part 2. *De oudste Journalen der reis*). Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. XXV, The Hague.

Stapel, F.W. and C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer (eds.) [1927-1954], *Pieter van Dam. Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie.* Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën , nrs. 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96, The Hague.

Unger, W. S. [1948], *De oudste reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië*. Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. LI, The Hague.

Volker, T. [1954], *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682.* Leiden

3. Shipwreck data.

Bound, M. [2001], 'Aspects of the Hoi An wreck: Dishes, bottles, statuettes and chronology'. *Toaci,* 2001,

_____. [2004],'Exploring the San Sebastian Wreck off Mozambique', *The Explorers Journal*, Summer, 2004.

Brown, R. M. [1988], *The Ceramics of South-East Asia, their Dating and their Identification*, Kuala Lumpur.

_____. [2002] 'History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia.' *Maritime Archaeology and Shipwreck Ceramics in Malaysia,* pp.42-55, National Museum, Kuala Lumpur.

_____. [2007], 'Discernible Divide: Impact of Portuguese Arrival on Shipwreck Ceramics'. *Proceedings, symposium on the Chinese Export Ceramic Trade in Southeast Asia,* Singapore 2007.

Brown, R. M., and Sten Sjostrand. [2000], 'Turiang: a Fourteenth Century Shipwreck in Southeast Asian Waters'. Vol. 2. *Pacific Asia Museum*, 2000.

_____. [2002], *The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia*. The Siam Society, Bangkok.

_____. [2002], *Maritime Archaeology and Shipwreck Ceramics in Malaysia*, Published on the occasion of the exhibition Malaysian Maritime Archaeology by Dept. of Museums & Antiquities in collaboration with Nanhai Marine Archaeology, Kuala Lumpur, 2002.

Carré, D., J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio [1994], *Le San Diego: un Trésor Sous la Mer, Catalogue*. Association Française d'Action Artistique, Paris.

Christie's [1983], *The Van Gulik collection of fine Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan painting and calligraphy, works of art and Oriental ceramics,* sale catalogue, Amsterdam, December.
_____. [1984], *Fine and Important late Ming and Transitional Porcelain recently recovered from an Asian vessel in the South China Sea,* sale catalogue, Amsterdam, 10-11 March.
_____. [1984], *The Second and Final part of the Hatcher Collection, recently recovered from an Asian vessel in the South China Sea,* Amsterdam, 12-14th June.
_____. [1985], *Fine and Important Late Ming and Transitional Porcelain. The private collection of Captain Michael M. Hatcher, selected from the contents of an Asiatic vessel, which went down in the South China Sea circa 1640,* sale catalogue, Amsterdam, 14th February.
_____. [1986], *The Nanking Cargo Chinese Export Porcelain and Gold,* Amsterdam. 28 april – 2 May.
_____. [2004], T*he Bin Thuan Shipwreck,* sale catalogue Melbourne, March.
_____. [2004], *The Fort Sebastian Wreck, a 16th century Portuguese Porcelain wreck off the island of Mozambique*, sale catalogue Amsterdam, May.
Castro, F. and C. Fitzgerald [2006], 'The Playa Damas Shipwreck, an Early 16th-Century Shipwreck in Panama'. *Underwater Cultural Heritage at Risk: Managing Natural and Human Impacts*, ICOMOS, Paris.
Coleman, P. [2017], 'Unesco and the Belitung shipwreck: the need for a permissive definition of 'commercial exploitation'. *George Washington International Law Review*, vol. 35, nr. 4, pp. 847-874.

Desroches, J.P. [1998], *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires. The Last Voyage.* Catalogue of the exhibition in the Pavilhão de Portugal, Expo 1998, Lisbon. pp. 229-51.
Desroches, J. P., Casal, G., Goddio, F. and Giordan, A. [1996], *Treasures of the San Diego.* Paris.
Dizon, E.Z. [1996], 'Anatomy of a Shipwreck: Archaeology of the15th- century Pandanan Shipwreck', in The Pearl Road: Tales of Treasure Ships in the Philippines, C. Loviny (ed.), Makati City, 1996, pp. 62-93.
Dumas, J. [1981], *Fortune de Mer a l'Ile Maurice.* J. Dumas et Atlas Films S.A., Paris.
Dupoizat, M. [1994], 'The Ceramic Cargo of a Song dynasty Junk found in the Philippines and its Significance in the China-Southeast Asia Trade'. *South East Asia and China: Art, Interaction and Commerce.* R. Scott and J. Guy.(eds.). London.
_____. [2007], 'The Ceramics of the «*Investigator*» Shipwreck'. Paper presented at Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, Singapore.

Esterhuizen, L.V. [2000], 'Chinese Ming Blue and White Porcelain Recovered from 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Shipwrecks on the South African Coast', *Taoci,* 1, October, pp. 93–99
_____. [2001], 'History Written in Porcelain Sherds. The Sao Joao and Sao Bento, two twelfth-century Portuguese shipwrecks'. *Taoci,* no. 2, December, pp. 111-116.
_____. [2005], 'Dekoratiewe Motiewe op Chinese Porseleinskerwe uit Portugese Skeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse kus, 1552-1647; 'n Kultuurhistoriese Studie'. (Decorative motifs on Chinese porcelain shards from Portuguese

shipwrecks off the South African coast, 1552-1647; a Cultural-historical Study.) PhD. thesis at the University of Pretoria.

Flecker, M. [2001], 'The Bakau Wreck: an early example of Chinese shipping in Southeast Asia', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (2001) nr.30/2: pp.221-230.

_____. [2001], 'A Ninth-century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck in Indonesia: First Evidence for Direct Trade with China.' *World Archaeology*, vol. 32 no. 3, pp. 335-354.

_____. [2002], 'The Ethics, Politics and Realities of Maritime Archaeology', *Southeast Asia International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol. 31, pp. 12-24.

_____. [2002], *The Archaeological Excavation of the 10th Century Intan Wreck,* Ph.D. thesis, National University of Singapore, 2001, published in *BAR International Series, nr. 1047*, Oxford.

_____. [2004-2005], 'Treasures from the Java Sea, the 10th-century Intan shipwreck.' *Heritage Asia Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 2, December, pp. 1-4.

_____. [2007], *The Binh Thuan Wreck and her Cargo of Zhangzhou (Swatow) Porcelain.* Singapore.

_____. [2005], 'Treasures from the Java Sea: the 10th Century Intan Shipwreck'. *Heritage Asia Magazine*, vol. 2, nr. 2, December 2004 - February 2005. pp. 25-29.

_____. [2010] 'A Ninth-Century Arab Shipwreck in Indonesia. The First Archaeological Evidence of Direct Trade with China', in R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. K. Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), *Shipwrecked. Tang treasures and the Monsoon winds,* Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 2010, pp.100-119.

_____. [2010], 'Maritime Archeology in in Southeast Asia', pp.34-48*, Southeast Asian Ceramics, New Light on Old Pottery,* John Miksic (ed.), Singapore.

Gardellin, R. [2013] 'Shipwrecks around Indonesia, Part A'. *OCS Newsletter*, no.21.

_____. [2014] 'Shipwrecks around Indonesia, Part B'. *OCS Newsletter,* no.22.

Goddio, F. [1987], 'La Fouille de la Jonque du *Royal Captain Shoal*.' *Dossiers d'Histoire et Archéologie* nr. 113. Paris.

_____. [1994], *Le Mystère du San Diego : Histoire et Découverte d'un Trésor Englouti en Mer de Chine*, Paris.

_____. [1995], *South East Asia and China. Art, Interaction and Commerce*, Sir Percival David colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia. London. R. Scott and John Guy (eds.).

_____. [1996], 'The San Isidro, a 16th Century Trade Vessel.' *San Isidro Wreck '96: Excavation's Preliminary Report and Ceramic Cargo's Study*. Unpublished Site Report. Far Eastern Foundation for Nautical Archaeology (FEFNA), National Museum of the Philippines.

_____. [2001], 'La jonque de Lena et le Vaisseau *Royal Captain', Taoci,* (Revue Annuelle de la Société Française d'Etude de la Céramique Orientale) pp.11-21.

_____. [2002] *Trésor de Porcelaine, l'étrange voyage de la Jonque Lena.* London.

Goddio, F., M. Crick, B. Lam, S. Pierson [2002], *Lost at Sea: The Strange Route of the Lena Shoal Junk*, London.

Goddio, F., J.P. Desroches and M. Crick [1997], *Weisses Gold. Five Junks and their Cargos*, (Exhibition catalogue). Göttingen.

Goddio, F. and D. Fabre [n.d.], *The Ming Dynasty Santa Cruz Junk Shipwreck in the Philippines*. Oxford.
Goddio, F. S., Pierson and M. Crick [2000], *Sunken Treasure: fifteenth-century Chinese Ceramics from the Lena cargo,* London.
Guy, J. [1986], *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries: with a Catalogue of Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai Wares in Australian Collections*. Oxford University Press.
_____. [2007], 'Green, Blue and White: Ceramics from the Belitung Shipwreck and the Nature of West Asian Influence in Early Ninth Century Chinese Export Wares'. Paper presented at symposium Singapore.
_____. [2010], 'Late Tang ceramics and Asia's International Trade. Treasures from the Belitung Shipwreck', *Shipwrecked. Tang treasures and the Monsoon Winds*. Krahl et. al. (eds.), Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C., pp.19-27.

l'Hour, M. (ed.) [1989], *Le Mauritius. La mémoire Engloutie*. Paris.
_____*.* [2001], *The Sunken Treasure of Brunei Darussalem.* Paris.
Howitz, P.C. [1977] Two Ancient Shipwrecks in the Gulf of Thailand: A Report on Archaeological Investigations. In *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 65, July.

Jörg, C.J.A. [1986], *The Geldermalsen, History and Porcelain*. Groningen.

Kenderdine, S. [1995] '"Bai Jiao I", The Excavation of a Song Dynasty Shipwreck in the Dinghai area, Fujian province'. *The International Journal of Nautical Archeology,* no. 24, 1995, pp. 247-266.

Krahl, R, J. Guy, J. K. Wilson, and J. Raby (eds.) [2010], *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds.* Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Nossa Senhora dos Mártires – the Last Voyage. [2004], Catalogue Exhibiton at the Pavilhao de Portugal, Expo 1998, Lisbon.

Liu Ben An, [1995], 'Three Recently Discovered Shipwrecks in China.' *Conference Papers on Sunken Treasures. Underwater Archaeology in China*. Los Angeles, UCLA, Centre for Pacific Rim Studies.

Pijl-Ketel, C.L, van der (ed.) [1982], *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613).* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Sheaf, C. and R. Kilburn, (eds.) [1988], *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes, the Complete Record.* Oxford.
Sjostrand, S. [1997], 'The Xuande Wreck Ceramics', *Oriental Art,* volume XLIII, no.2.
Sjostrand, S. and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus [2007], *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo.* Manila.
Sudaryadi, A. [2011], 'The Belitung Wreck Site after Commercial Salvage in 1998', *Proceedings of the Asia-Pacific Regional conference on Underwater Heritage protections. (*pdf. version)

Tan, Y. [2007], 'The Cirebon Cargo of Yue Ceramic Vessels'. *Asia Art Newspaper*, May 2007.

Liebner, H. [2014], 'The Siren of Cirebon. A Tenth-Century Trading Vessel Lost in the Java Sea'. PhD. Thesis University of Leeds.

4. Dictionaries

Diccionario de la lengua española [2014], Real Academia Española 23 ed. Madrid.

Franck, Johannes [1892], *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.*

Friedman, B. and K. Mossler Figg [2000], *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages, an Encyclopedia*. New York.

Geïntegreerde Taalbank (GTB, online*).*
Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek (MNW)
Oudnederlands Woordenboek (ONW)
Vroegmiddelnederlands Woordenboek (VMNW)
Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (WNT)

Oxford Encyclopaedia of Maritime History [2007, online].

Vercoullie, J. [1890], *Beknopt Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.* The Hague.
Veth, P.J. [2003], *Oost en West: Verklaring van 1000 Woorden uit Nederlands-Indië* [met aanvullingen van H. Kern en F.P.H. Prick van Wely e.a.] (1889/1910).
Vries, J., de et. al. [1992], *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek.* Leiden, Brill*,*

Winschooten, W.A. [1681], *Seeman*, *Behelsende een Grondige Uitlegging van de Neederlandse Konst*, Leiden.

SECONDARY SOURCES.

Addis, J.M. [1968], 'The Dating of Chinese Porcelain found in the Philippines: a Historical Retrospect' *Philippine studies,* vol.16, no. 2, pp. 371-380.
Aga-Oglu, K. [1963], 'Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines'. *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America,* pp. 7-19.
Allan, P. (ed.), *Medieval and Post- Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971–1980*, Exeter Archaeological Reports, Exeter City Council and the University of Exeter, Exeter, Vol. 3, 1984.
Allison, Effie B. 'Chinese Ceramics carried by The Dutch East India Company', *Arts of Asia*, vol. 7, no. 6, November-December 1977, pp. 80–88.

Aken-Fehmers, M., van [2003], 'Delfts Aardewerk, de Allerbeste Nabootsing van Oosters Porselein', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, no. 1/-2, pp. 67-77.
_____. [2002], 'Delfts Aardewerk; de "allerbeste" Nabootsing van Oosters Porselein' *Keramika*, no. 2, pp. 33-40.
Andrade, T., [2000], *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict: Taiwan under European Rule, 1624-1662*, PhD. Thesis, Yale University, 2000.
_____. [2005], 'The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662', *Journal of World History,* vol.15, no. 4, pp. 415-444.
_____. [2006], 'The Rise and Fall of Dutch Taiwan, 1624-1662: a Cooperative Colonization and the Statist Model of European Expansion'. *Journal of World History,* vol.17, no. 4, December 2006, pp. 429-450.
_____. [2007], Chinese under European Rule: The Case of Sino-Dutch Mediator He Bin, *Late Imperial China* vol. 28, no.1, 2007, pp.1-32.
_____. [2010], "How Taiwan became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han colonization in the seventeenth century." *The China Quarterly* no. 203, pp. 725-763.
_____. [2011], *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Victory Over the West.* Princeton N.J.
Andrews, K.R. (ed.) [2017], *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies, 1588-1595: Documents.* London.
Amstel, A. van [2011], *Barbaren, Rebellen en Mandarijnen. De VOC in de Slag met China in de Gouden Eeuw.* Amsterdam.
Auret C. and Tim Maggs, 'The Great Ship São Bento: remains of a mid-sixteenth century Portuguese wreck on the Pondoland coast', *Annals of the Natal Museum*, vol. 25 (1), October 1982, pp. 1–39

Baart, J. M. [2003], Het Hollants Porcelyn 1600-1660'. *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, no.1/2, pp. 56-65.
_____. [2000], 'Het Onstaan van het 'Hollants Porceleyn' ', *Gevonden Voorwerpen, opstellen over Middeleeuwse Archeologie voor H.J.E. van Beuningen*., Rotterdam papers, nr.11, Rotterdam, pp. 50-61
Barnes, L. [2010], 'Yuan Dynasty Ceramics', in: *Chinese Ceramics: from the Paleolithic Period through the Qing Dynasty,* Zhiyan Li, Virginia Bower and Li He (eds.) New Haven.
Bartels, M.H., E.H.P. Cordfunke, and H. Sarfatij (eds.) [2002], *Hollanders Uit en Thuis.* Hilversum.
Barto, J Arnold III and R. Weddle, [1978], *The Nautical Archaeology of Padre Island: the Spanish Shipwrecks of 1554*, London.
Beamish, J. [1995], 'The Significance of Yuan Blue and White Exported to South East Asia.' in *South East Asia & China: Art, Interaction & Commerce.* [R. Scott, J. Guy, eds.]. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.
Bennett, T. [2016], *Treasure Ships of the Philippines: Where to find Manila Ships and Japanese Shipwrecks with Gold Cargo*. (Pdf version online).
Bishop, K. [1997], *China's Imperial Way: Retracing an Historical Trade and Communications Route from Beijing to Hong Kong*. Hong Kong.
Bita, C. [2010], 'Protection of maritime and underwater cultural heritage in Kenya'. Paper presented to the International Conference on Maritime Cultural Heritage, Alexandria, Egypt.

_____.[2011], 'Maritime and Underwater Archaeological Explorations in Kenya: Recent Discoveries'. Paper presented at Manila conference, May, 2011.
Blussé, J.L. [1979], 'Chinese Trade to Batavia during the Days of the V.O.C.' *Archipel,* vol. 18. [Commerces et navires dans les mers du Sud]. pp. 195-213.
_____. [1981], 'The VOC as Sorcerer's Apprentice: Stereotypes and Social Engineering on the China Coast' in W.L. Idema (ed.), *Leyden Studies in Sinology*, Papers presented at the conference held in Celebration of the fiftieth Anniversary of the Sinological Institute of Leyden University, Leiden, pp. 87-106.
_____. [1986], *Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia.* Dordrecht and Riverton USA.
_____. [1989], *Tribuut aan China. Vier Eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese Betrekkingen*. Amsterdam.
_____. [1996], 'No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690', *Modern Asian Studies,* vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 51-76.
_____. [2008], 'Visible Cities. Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans' in *The Edwin O. Reischauer Lectures*. Cambridge, Mass.
_____. [2014], 'The Batavian connection: the Chinese Junks and their Merchants. *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* Zwolle.
Blussé, J.L. and F. Gaastra (eds), [1981], *Companies and Trade. Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, The Hague.
Blussé, J.L. and J.de Moor [1983], *Nederlanders Overzee.* Franeker.
Braat, S. [1996], 'Kraak- en Overgangsporselein. Onduidelijkheid over vertrouwde begrippen'. *Vormen uit Vuur* 158, no. 2, pp. 29-40.
Brankston, A. [1970], *Early Ming wares of Chingtechen.* (1938) Peking.
Brook, T. [2010], *The Troubled Empire*. vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass.
_____. [1998], *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*. Berkeley. Cal.
_____. [2013], *Mr Selden's Map of China: The Spice Trade, a Lost Chart & the South China Sea*. London.
Brown R.M. (ed.) [2007], Southeast *Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, Vol. IV, No. 6, November–December 2007.
_____. (ed.) [2008], *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, Vol. V, No. 3, May–June 2008.
Brouwer, C. G. [1998], *Dutch-Yemeni Encounters: Activities of the United East India Company (VOC) in South Arabian Waters since 1614,* Amsterdam.
_____. [2001], 'The Porcelain Trade in al-Mukha during the early Seventeenth Century according to Dutch accounts'. *Vormen uit Vuur* 175, no. 2. (Special issue).
_____. [2006], '*Al-Mukhā: The Trans-Oceanic Trade of a Yemeni Staple Town as Mapped by Merchants of the VOC, 1614-1640. Coffee, Spices & Textiles*, Amsterdam.
Bruin, de, J. and F. Gaastra (eds.) [1993], *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and their shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*. Amsterdam.
Borschberg, P. [2002], 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisted: the Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch Johor Alliance', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* vol. 33, no. 1., pp. 31-62.
_____. [2003], 'The Seizure of the *Santo António* at Patani. VOC Freebooting, the Estado da India and Peninsular Politics, 1602-1609'. *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol.90, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 59-72.

_____. [2004], 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina off Singapore: Dutch Freebooting, the Portuguese Empire and Intra-Asian Trade at the Dawn of the Seventeenth Century'. *Revista de Cultural International Edition*, nr.11, July, pp.11-25.

_____. [2011], *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese and 'Free Trade' in the East Indies*. Singapore and Leiden.

_____. [2011] 'Batu Sawar Johor: A Centre for Regional Trade in the 17th Century.' Paper presented at the second Nicholas Tarling Conference on Southeast Asian Studies Between Classical and Modern: Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period, ca. late 14th to late 18th Century University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University (VNU), Hanoi, November 3rd -4th.

Boyajian, J.C. [1933], *Portuguese Trade in Asia Under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. Baltimore.

Boxer, C. R. [1948], *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770. Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao*, The Hague.

_____. [1965], *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*. London.

_____. [1969],*The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825.* London.

Bui Minh Tri [2007], 'Vietnamese ceramics in the Asian Maritime Trade in the Seventeenth Century'. *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, October 31st to November 2nd.

Burton, W. [1906], *Porcelain; Its Nature*, *Art and Manufacture*. London.

Bushell, W. [1910], *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain being a Translation of the Tao Shuo*. Oxford (1899).

Calvao, J.R. [1999] *Caminhos Da Porcelana: The Porcelain Route; Dinasties Ming e Qing/Ming and Qing Dynasties*. Lisbon

Canepa, T. [2006], *Zhangzhou Export Ceramics. The so-called Swatow Wares*. London.

_____. [2008], *Kraak Porcelain – The Rise of Global trade in the late 16th and 17th centuries.* (L. Vinhais and J. Welsh, eds). London.

_____. [2012], 'The Portuguese and Spanish Trade in Kraak porcelain in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.' *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*. Hong Kong.

_____. [2014], 'The Iberian Royal Courts of Lisbon and Madrid and their Role in Spreading a Taste for Chinese Porcelain in 16th-century Europe'. In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* J. van Campen and T. Eliëns, (eds.), Zwolle.

_____. [2015], *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with the Western Europe and the New world 1500-1644. A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence*. PhD Thesis, Leiden.

_____. [2016] *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their trade with the Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644.* London.

_____. [2019], *Jingdezhen to the World: The Lurie Collection of Chinese Export Porcelain from the Late Ming Dynasty.* London.

Cameron, N. [1970], *Barbarians and Mandarins, Thirteen centuries of Western Travellers in China.* Hong Kong.

Campen, J. van and T. Eliëns (eds.) [2014] *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*. Zwolle.
_____. [2002], 'Kraakporselein "tot oogen lust en pronkery" ', Keramika, Jaargang 14, no.2, pp. 24–30
Cao Jianwen [2011], 'Early Sino-Portuguese trade and the Origin of Kraak Porcelain Decorating Style'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* Chinese Civilisation Centre, Hong Kong.
Cao Jianwen and Luo Yi Fei [2006], 'Kraak Porcelain Discovered at Some Kiln Sites in Jingdezhen City in Recent Years.' In *Oriental Art,* vol.1. no. 4, pp. 16-24.
Cao Ganyuan [2011], 'Decorations on Blue and White Porcelain at Jingdezhen between 1436-1464 and a Comparative Study of Blue and White Porcelain of the Yuan and Ming dynasties.' *University of Hong Kong Museum Journal,* no. 3, pp. 54-63.
Carswell, J. [1985], *Blue and White Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World.* Chicago.
_____. [1999], 'China and the Middle East.' *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV no.1, spring. pp. 2-15.
_____. [2000], *Blue and White Chinese Porcelain Around the World.* London.
_____. [2001], 'Two Unexplored Wrecks of the 14th century in the Red Sea and Sri Lanka'. *Toaci,* no. 2, December. pp. 51-57.
Carletti, F. [1965], *My Voyage Around the World*. London. (Translation of *Ragiomnamenti del mio viaggio intorno al mondo*. Torino, 1958),
Carvalho, P. [2001-2002], 'Porcelains for the Shah, Ardabil and the Chinese Ceramics Trade in the Persian Gulf,' *TOCS,* vol. 66, pp.47-56.
Casimiro, T.M., [2006] Portuguese Faience in London', *London Archaeologist*, vol. 11, no. 5, pp.115-121.
Casimiro. T.M. and Sarah Newstead. [2019], 'Portuguese Coarse Ware in the North Atlantic Trade (sixteenth to eighteenth century)', *American Ceramic Circle Journal*, 2019.
Catalogue [1971], *The First Annual Exhibition of the Ceramic Art of Southeast Asia,* Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, Singapore.
Catalogue [1975], *The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong Exhibition of Chinese Blue and White Porcelain and Related Underglaze Red*. Hong Kong City Museum & Art Gallery, Hong Kong.
Catalogue [1992], *Ceramic Finds from Jingdezhen Kilns.* Liu Xinyuan (ed.), Exhibition by the Fung Ping Shan Museum and the University of Hong Kong.
Catalogue [2001], *Chinese Treasures in Istanbul*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey.
Catalogue [2012], *Splendors in Smalt: The Art of Yuan Blue-and-white Porcelain*. Exhibition Shanghai Museum.
Chang, Tien-Tse [1969], *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514-1644. A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources.* Leiden.
Cheng Pei-kai (ed.) [2009], *China Westward: Early Sino-Portuguese Trade of Chinese Ceramics,* exhibition catalogue, City University of Hong Kong.

Cheng Pei-kai and A. Fan Mengyuan (eds.) [2012], *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*. Hong Kong.
Cheng Wei-Chung [2012], '*War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683)'.* PhD. dissertation, Leiden University.
Chin, J.K [2010], 'Junk Trade, Business Networks, and Sojourning Communities: Hokkien Merchants in Early Maritime Asia'. *Journal of Chinese Overseas,* no. 6, pp. 157-215.
Chittick, H.N. [1980], 'East Africa and the Orient: Ports and Trade before the Arrival of the Portuguese' in *Historical Relations across the Indian Ocean,* Gent.
Crick, M. [2001],'Les Céramiques Chinoises, Vietnamiennes et Thaïlandaises de la Jonque de Lena'. *Taoci* no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 71-85.
_____.[2010]. *Chinese Ceramics for Southeast Asia. The Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Muller*. Geneva.
Crowe, Y. [2002], *Persia and China-Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London.
Clements, J. [2004], *Coxinga and the Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Gloucestershire.
Clunas, C. and J. Harrison-Hall (eds.) [2014], *Ming. 50 years that changed China,* exhibition catalogue, The British Museum, London.
Cort, L.A. and Jan Stuart, [1993], *Joined Colors: Decoration and Meaning in Chinese Porcelain: Ceramics from Collectors in the Min Chiu Society, Hong Kong*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
Curtis, J. B. [1988], 'Perceptions of an artifact: Chinese porcelain in colonial Tidewater Virginia', in Mary C. Beaudry (ed.), *Documentary archaeology in the New World,* Cambridge, 1988, pp. 20–31
_____. [2008], *Ming Porcelain for the Japanese Market: Ko-sometsuke and Ko-kai.* London.

Dars, J. [1992], *La Marine Chinoise du X-XVI siècle*. Etudes d'histoire maritime, vol 11. Paris.
Dash, M. [1999], *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. London.
David, Percival and Zhao Cao [1971], *Chinese Connoisseurship: the Ko ku yao lun, the Essential Criteria of Antiquities. A translation made and edited by Sir Percial David, with a facsimile of the Chinese text of 1388*. New York.
De Rivera, A. D. [1999] 'The Spanish Market.' *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV no.1, pp. 38-45.
Desroches, J. P., M.A. Pinto de Matos and C.E. Gilbert [1996], *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastacio Goncalves in Lisbon.* London.
Diffie, B., and W. Bailey, [1977] *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*, University of Minnesota Press.
Disney, A.R., [2009], *The History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire Volume 2, Portugal: From Beginnings to 1807*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Dillon, M. [1976], *A History of the Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen.* PhD. Thesis, Department of Chinese Studies, University of Leeds, September.
_____. [1992], 'Transport and Marketing in the Development of the Jingdezhen Porcelain industry during the Ming and Qing dynasties'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.* vol. 35, no. 3 (1992), pp. 278-290.
Dizon, E. Z., and Ronquillo, W. P., [2010], Maritime and Underwater Archaeology in the Philippines. In "*A Passage to Asia": 25 Centuries of Exchange between Asia and Europe,* Brussels: pp. 201-213.

Drossaers, S.W.A. and T.H. Scheurleer [1974], *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes en Daarmede gelijk te stellen Stukken 1567*-1795. The Hague.

Dschingis Khan und Seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen. Exhibition catalogue, Bonn, 2005.

Du, Feng and Su BaoRu [2008], 'Further Study of Sources of the Imported Cobalt-blue Pigment Used on Jingdezhen Porcelain from Late 13th to Early 15th Centuries', *Science in China Series E: Technological Sciences* , 2008, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 249-259.

Ee, Khoo Joo, [1991] *Kendi: Pouring Vessels in the University of Malaya Collection (The Asia Collection).* Oxford.

Erkelens, A. M. [1996], *Queen Mary's Delft Porcelain: Ceramics at Het Loo from the time of William and Mary*. Apeldoorn.

Fahy, B.M. [2010], *Let the Porcelain Talk. The Social Life of Blue and White porcelain in Asia during the Yuan (1279-1368CE) and early Ming dynasties*. PhD. Dissertation, University of Oxford, School of Archaeology.

Finlay, R. [2010], *The Pilgrim Art. Cultures of Porcelain in World History*. Los Angeles/London.

Fock, C.W. [1992], Kunst en rariteiten in het Hollandse interieur', in E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker (eds.), *De Wereld binner Handbereik; Nederlandse kunsten rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735*, exhibition catalogue, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Zwolle and Amsterdam, pp. 296–297.

_____. [1997], 'Frederik Hendrik en Amalia's Appartementen: Vorstelijk Vertoon Naast de Triomf van het Porselein' in P. van der Ploeg en C. Vermeeren (eds.) *Vorstelijk Verzameld; De Kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*. The Hague/Zwolle.

Forrest, C.J.S., [2003], 'Has the Application of Salvage Law to Underwater Cultural Heritage become a Thing of the Past?' *Journal of Maritime law and commerce*, vol. 34, no. 2, U.S.A.

Fragrant Harbour, no.255, vol. XXV, June, 2015.

Friedman, B and K. Mossler Figg [2000], *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages, an Encyclopedia*. New York.

Fruin, R. [1868], *Een Onuitgegeven Werk van Hugo de Groot*. (*An unpublished work of Hugo Grotius*). Leiden.

_____, [1901]. *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften met Aantekeningen Toevoegsels en Verbeteringen uit des Schrijvers Nalatenschap,* vol. 3. Historische Opstellen. The Hague.

Fujian Provincial Museum [1997], *Zhangzhou yao: Fujian Zhangzhou diqu Ming Qing yaozhi diaocha fajue baogao zhiyi [*First excavation report of the discoveries at the Zhangzhoukiln sites in Fujian], Fuzhou.

Gaastra, F. S. [2002], *De Geschiedenis van de VOC*, 4th ed. Zutphen.

_____. [2003], *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline.* Zutphen.

Gaastra, F. S. and J. R. Bruijn [1993], 'The Dutch East India Company's shipping, 1602-1795, in a Comparative perspective', in J.R. de Bruijn and F.S. Gaastra (eds.), *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries.* Amsterdam.

Garner, H. [1977], *Oriental Blue and White* (1954) London.
Gawronski, J. [2012], *Amsterdam Ceramics: A City's History and an Archaeological Ceramics Catalogue 1175-2011*, Amsterdam.
Gawronski, J. and P. Kranendonk (eds.) [2018] *Spul. Archeologische Vondsten Noord-Zuidlijn Amsterdam.* Amsterdam.
Gelder, H.E. van [1924], 'Gegevens Omtrent den Porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie.' *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek: Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland*. vol. X, pp. 165-193.
Gerritsen, A. [2007], *Ji'an Literati and the Local in Song-Yuan-Ming China*. Leiden.
_____. [2009], 'Fragments of a Global Past: Ceramics Manufacture in Song-Yuan-Ming Jingdezhen.' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient;* vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 117-152.
_____. [2012], 'Porcelain and the Material Culture of the Mongol-Yuan Court'. *Journal of Modern History,* vol.16, no. 3, pp. 241-273.
_____. [2014], 'Merchants in 17th-century China'. In J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.) *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* Zwolle.
_____. [2020], *The City of Blue and White. Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World*. Cambridge.
Gerritsen, A. and S. McDowall [2012], 'Global China: Material Culture and Connections in World History'. *Journal of World History*, vol. 23, no.1, March, pp. 3-8.
Gibb, H. [2002], *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, (1929). London.
Gilbert, E. [2011], 'The Dhow as a Cultural Icon: Heritage and Regional Identity in the Western Indian Ocean'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol. 17, no. 1, January, pp. 62–80.
Gould, R. [2011], *Archaeology and the Social History of Ships*, Cambridge.
Green, J. [2000], 'A New Orientation of Ideas: Collecting and the Taste for Early Chinese Ceramics in England'. In *Collecting Chinese Art. Interpretation and Display*, S. Pierson (ed.). London.
Green, J. N., Devendra, S. and R. Parthesius [1998], *Report for the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology Galle Harbour Project 1996*–1997. Fremantle.
Groeneveldt, W. P. [1898], *De Nederlanders in China, Eerste stuk: de eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601-1624).* The Hague.
Gunasekara, A.U, P.L, Premathilake, and R. Silva [n.d.], *A Corpus of Pottery Forms found in Ceylon. Ancient Ceylon*. no. 4, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka.
Gunder Frank, A. [1998], *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Los Angeles.
Guy, J. [1986], *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries, with a Catalogue of Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai Wares in Australian Collections*, Oxford.
Guy, J. [1990], *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth centuries*. Oxford.

Hakluyt, R. and S. Douglas Jackson, [1962], *Voyages in Eight Volumes*, London.
Hall, K. R. [1985], *Maritime Trade* and *State Development* in *Early Southeast Asia*. Honolulu.
Hallett, J. [2010], 'Pearl Cups Like the Moon: The Abbasid Reception of Chinese Ceramics', in Krahl et. al. (eds.) *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds,* Smithsonian Institute, pp. 75–81.
Han, Jianye [2012], The Painted Pottery Road and Early Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges', *Anabasis-Studia Classica et Orientalia*, no. 3, 2012, pp. 25-42.

Harbison, P. [1995] *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People,* Syracuse, N.Y
Harrisson, B. [1979], *Swatow in Het Princessehof.* Leeuwarden.
_____. [1980-1982], 'Kraak Porcelains'. *Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong Bulletin.* no. 5, pp. 28-32.
_____. [1986], *Pusaka: Heirloom Jars of Borneo.* Singapore.
_____. (ed.) [1981], *Kraakporselein, een Introductie met 12 Voorbeelden.* Leeuwarden.
Harrison Hall, J. [2001], *Ming Ceramics - A Catalogue of the late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum.* London.
Harrison Hall, J. and R. Krahl. [2009], *Chinese Ceramics, Highlights of the Percival David Collection.* London.
Hartog, S. [1990], *Pronken met Oosters Porselein*, exhibition catalogue, Gemeentemuseum Arnhem.
Hevia, J. [1994], 'Loot's fate – The Economy of Plunder and the Moral Life of Objects from the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China', *History and Anthropology,* vol.6, no. 4, pp. 319-345.
_____. [2003], *English Lessons*. London and Durham.
Higham, C.F.W. [1996], 'A Review of Archaeology in Mainland Southeast Asia', *Journal of Archaeological Research,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 3-50.
Hirth, F. [1887], *Ancient Porcelain: A Study in Chinese Mediaeval Industry and Trade.* Leipzig and Munich.
Hirth, F. and W.W. Rockhill, [1911], *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi.* St Petersburg.
Hill, J. [2009], *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty, 1st to 2nd Centuries CE*. Charleston, South Carolina.
Ho Chiumei [2001], *The Emporium for the World. Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*. Leiden.
Hobson, R. L. [1923], *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain. An Account of the Potter's Art in China from Primitive Times to the Present Day*. London.
_____. [1923], *The Art of the Chinese Potter from the Han dynasty to the end of the Ming,* New York.
_____. [1962], *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty.* NewYork/Tokyo.
Hochstrasser, J.B.[2007], *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age.* New Haven and London.
Honey, W. B. [1945], *The Ceramic Art of China and other Countries of the Far East*. London.
Hong Kong City Museum & Art Gallery [1975], *The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong Exhibition of Chinese blue and white porcelain and related underglaze.* Hong Kong.
Honour, H. [1973], *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay.* London.
Horiuchi, H. [2007], 'The Material Cultural Interaction from an Archaeological point of view. The Artefacts Excavated from Edo Sites Focused on Trade Ceramics'. *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, October 31st to November 2nd.
Hornell, J. [1938], 'The Curraghs of Ireland'. *Mariner's Mirror,* vol. XXIV, no. 1, January, pp. 74-83.
Hourani. G.F. [1951], *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval times*. Princeton N.J.
Howard, D. S. and J. Ayers.[1978], *China for the West,* vol. II, London.

Hullu, de, J. [1915], 'De Porcelein Handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie en Cornelis Pronk als haar Tekenaar ' *Oud-Holland* , vol. 33, p. 6.
_____. [1917], 'Over den Chineeschen handel der O. I. C. In de eerste dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw.' *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, vol. 73, pp. 32-151. Leiden.
Huang, E. [2008], *China's China: Jingdezhen Porcelain and the Production of Art in the Nineteenth Century.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego.
_____. (2012), 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market: Jingdezhen Porcelain Production as Global Visual Culture'. *Journal of World History*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 115-145.
Huang, May [2009–2010], 'New Finds from Transitional Kiln Sites at Jingdezgen and Two Related Issues', *TOCS* vol.74, pp. 89–101
Huang Wei and Huang Qinghua [2009], 'Shangchuan Island and Early Sino Portuguese Trade in the Sixteenth-century'. In *China Westward: Early Sino-Portuguese trade of Chinese Ceramics.* Pei-kai Cheng (ed.), Hong Kong.
Hulsius, L. [1605], Achte Schiffart. *Kurze Beschreibung / was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern / in den Ost Indien / die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre / als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602 und 1603 zugetragen / wie sie sich etlich mal mit den Portugesern und Hispaniern geschlagen /davon etliche Schiff An. 1604. In Holland ancommen / und was daerauff erfolght*, Frankfurt.

Israeli, R. [1994], 'Medieval Muslim Travellers to China'. *Maritime Silk Route Studies,* 1, pp. 1-13.
Ittersum, M.J. van [2003], 'Hugo Grotius in Context: Van Heemskerck's Capture of the Santa Catarina and its Justification in De Jure Praedae (1604-1606).' *Asian Journal of Social Science,* vol. 31 nr. 3, pp. 511-548.
_____. [2006], *Profit and Principle*. Leiden.

Jacobs, E. M. [1965], *Later Chinese Porcelain.* London.
_____. [2000], *Koopman in Azië. De Handel van de Oost-Indische Compagnie Tijdens de 18de eeuw*, Zutphen.
_____. [2006], *Merchant in Asia. The Trade of the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century*. Studies in Overseas History, vol. 8. Leiden.
Jayasingha, P. and Wang Changsui [2005]. *A Preliminary Study on Chinese Archaeological Ceramics in Sri Lanka.* Colombo.
Jenyns, S. [1953], *Ming Pottery and Porcelain.* London.
Jenyns, S. [1965], *Later Chinese Porcelain*, London.
Jenyns, S. [1955],'The Wares of the Transitional Period Between the Ming and the Ch'ing 1620-1683'. *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 9, 1955, pp. 20-42.
Jiang Jianxin [2012], 'The Dating of Kraak Porcelain and related issues'. In *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* Hong Kong. pp. 313-329.
_____. [2012], 'Society in the Late Period of Ming Dynasty, Jingdezhen and the Producing of Carack Porcelain; On the Producing Years and Related Issues of Carack Porcelain'. *Ceramic Vision*. p. 38.
Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology [1992], *Ceramic Finds from Jingdezhen Kilns(10-17th century)*. The Fung Ping Shan Museum, Hong Kong.
Jörg, C. J. A. [1982], *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*. The Hague.
_____. [1983], *Oosters Porcelein, Delfts Aardewerk: Wisselwerkingen*. Groningen.

_____. [1990], 'Kraakporselein'. *Antiek,* no. 25, pp. 53-64.
_____. [1992]. 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth-Century: Trading Networks and the Private Enterprises'. *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 16, pp. 183-205.
_____. 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise', in Rosemary E. Scott (ed.), *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 16*, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1993, pp. 183–205
_____. [1999], 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch Market'. *Oriental Art,* vol. XIV, no.1, pp. 30-38.
_____. [1999], 'Interasiatic Dutch Porcelain Trade'. *Oriental Art,* vol. XIV, no. 1, pp. 71-80.
Jörg, C. J. A. and J. van Campen [1997], *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: the Ming and Qing Dynasty*. London.
Joyce, P. W. [1908], *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland: Treating of the Government, Military System, and Law; Religion, Learning, and Art; Trades, Industries, and Commerce; Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life, of the Ancient Irish People*. London and New York.
Junco, R. (ed.) [2018]. *Porcelains from the Manila Galleon in Baja California, Mexico, Catalogue*. Instituto Nacional de Antropolgía e Historia, Mexico.

Kaneda, A. [2003], *Japanese Porcelain in a Dutch Archaeological Context: An Archaeological Study of Hizen Porcelain from the Cesspits of Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Delft, and 's Hertogenbosch.* PhD. thesis, University of Amsterdam.
_____. [2007], 'What's the Matter with Porcelain? Japanese Porcelain in Dutch Households'. In *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei. October 31st to November 2nd.
Kamermans, J.A. [1999], *Materiële Cultuur in de Krimpenerwaard in de Zeventiende en Achttiende eeuw: Ontwikkeling en Diversiteit*. Utrecht.
Kawaguchi, Yohei [2007], 'Archaeological results of Nagasaki in 16-18th centuries'. *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, October 31st to November 2nd.
Kintanar, A. [2014], 'Identifying 'Islamic Motif' on Chinese blue and white Porcelain recovered from the 15th century shipwrecks in the Philippines.' Paper presented at the 2014 Asia-Pacific regional conference on underwater cultural heritage.
Kirkman, J. [1958], 'The Great Pillars of Malindi and Mambrui'. *Oriental Art*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 55.
_____. [1954], *The Arab City of Gedi : Excavations at the Great Mosque, Architecture and Finds*. Oxford.
_____. [1974], *Fort Jesus: A Portuguese fortress on the East African Coast*. Oxford.
Kee, Sungin [2007], 'Trade Porcelain and Its Historical Significance for Taiwan'. Paper presented at Symposium on Chinese export trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, Singapore.(unpublished)
Keguan, B.[1991], *Chinese Folk Painting on Porcelain*, Beijing.
Kerr, R. , Allen, P. and J. Martin [2003], *The World in Blue and White. An Exhibition of Blue and White Ceramics dating between 1320 and 1820 from Members of the Oriental Ceramic Society*. London.

Kerr, R. and I. Thomas, [2004], *Song Dynasty Ceramics*. London.
Kerr, R. [2012], '16th and 17th century Chinese Export Ceramics for the Middle East in the Victoria and Albert Museum'. In *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong. pp. 130-146.
Kerr, R., L. E. Mengoni and M. Wilson [2011], *Chinese Export Ceramics*. London.
Kerr, R., J. Needham, and N. Wood (eds.) [2004], *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 12, Ceramic Technology*. Cambridge.
Kessler, A. T. [2012], *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*. Leiden.
Kilburn, R. S. [1981], *Transitional Wares and their Forerunners,* Exhibition cataloque, Hong Kong.
Krahe, C. [2014], *Chinese Porcelain and other Orientalia and Exotica in Spain during the Habsburg dynasty*. PhD. Thesis, University of Leiden.
Krahe, C. [2016] *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain.* Madrid.
Krahl, R. [2005], 'China Ships and Porcelain Rooms: Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East'. *Vormen uit vuur* 191/192, no. 2/3, pp. 38-48.
Krahl, R. and J. Ayers [1986], *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul.* vols. I-III, London.
Krahl, R. and J. Harrison-Hall [1994], *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum.* London.
Krahl, R. and J. Harrison-Hall, [2009], *Chinese Ceramics: Highlights of the Sir Percival David Collection.* London.
Krahl, R., J. Guy, J.K. Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), [2010], *Shipwrecked. Tang treasures and the Monsoon Winds,* Washington.
Kroniek Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht, negende jaargang, 1853.
Kuwayama, G. [1997], *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico.* Los Angeles.

Lam, P. [2002], *Yuan and Ming Blue and White ware from Jiangxi*. Hong Kong.
_____. [2001], 'Dating criteria for Chinese blue and whites of the mid to late 15th century from shipwrecks'. *Toaci*, no. 2, December, pp. 35-47.
Lee Myong Ok. [2016], 'Discoveries from the Sinan shipwreck', *The Silk Road,* no. 14, 2016, pp. 223-225.
Leupe, P. A. [1856], 'Bali 1597, meegedeeld door P. A. Leupe', *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Ned. Indië,* Nieuwe reeks vol.1, pp. 203-234.
Lewis, M. [2009], *China's Cosmopolitan Empire:Tthe Tang Dynasty*. Cambridge.
Liebner, H. [2014], *The Siren of Cirebon, a Tenth-century Trading Vessel lost in the Java Sea*. PhD. dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014. (Pdf version.)
Li Jian'an [2007], 'Chinese Underwater Archaeology along the Maritime Silk Route'. Paper presented at the Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, 2007, Singapore. (unpublished)
_____. [2011], 'Chinese Trade Ceramics from the 13th to 17th centuries: Marine Archaeological Discoveries in China'. *The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal.* no. 3, pp. 77-83.
_____. [2012], China's Underwater Excavations of the 16th-17th Century Chinese Export Porcelain. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong, pp. 77-91.
Li Baoping [2012], 'Discoveries and Interpretation of Ming dynasty Porcelain from Tombs in China'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export*

Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation. City University of Hong Kong, pp. 203-215.
_____. [2010], '*Kraak* porcelain from Tombs and Kiln Sites in China: Discoveries and Associated issues'. Paper presented at the conference Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, University of Warwick, April.
_____. [2014], 'Latest Excavations of Yuan Blue-and-White and Other Ceramics from Jingdezhen and Related Issues', *OCS Newsletter no. 22,* October, pp. 6-10.
Li Baoping and Li Jian'an [2014], 'Chinese Storage Jars in China and Beyond', pp. 73-87. *Chigusa and the Art of Tea,* J. Lusaka (ed.), Washington D.C.
Li Kangying and E. Schottenhammer, [2010], *The Ming Maritime Trade Policy in Transition, 1368 to 1567*. Wiesbaden.
Li Min [2012], 'The Transpacific Extension of Porcelain Trade in the Early Modern Era, Cultural transformations'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong, Kong, pp. 219-234.
Lim Yah Chiew. [2010], "Five Dynasty Treasures: Chinese Ceramics found in the Indonesian Cirebon Shipwreck", Southeast Asian Ceramic Society.
Lion-Goldschmidt, D. [1957], *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain,* Paris.
_____. [1978], *Ming Porcelain.* New York.
_____. [1984], 'Les Porcelaines Chinoises du Palais de Santos', *Arts Asiatiques,* vol. XXXIX, pp. 5-72.
Little, S. [1983], *Chinese Ceramics of the Transistional Period, 1620-1683*. Catalogue of the exhibition at the China Institute, New York.
Liu Yi-chang, Chung Kuo-feng, Wang su-chin and Yen Ting-yu [2007], 'Artefacts found in the 17th-century Strata in the Fort Zeelandia site'. Paper presented at the Symposium Exchange of Material Culture over the Sea. Taipei.
Liu Xinyuan [1996], 'The Kiln Sites of Jingdezhen and their Places in the History of Chinese ceramics'. *Nanjing Museum,* pp. 32-54.
_____. [1999], 'Imperial Export Porcelain from Late Yuan to Early Ming'. *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no. 1, pp.98-100.
Liu Zhaoxiu and Cheng Pei-kai [2012], 'The Excavation of Kraak porcelain in Macao and Related Issues. In *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong.
Liu Zhaohui [2011], 'Changes in Jingdezhen Export Porcelain from 15th to 17th Century: A Study on Archaeological Discoveries in Hong Kong and Macau'. Paper presented at the conference Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300 to 1800, University of Warwick, April.
Lochschmidt, M.F. [2008], *Chinesisches Blauweiß-Exportporzellan. Die Portugiesischen Bestellungen vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1722*. *Eine Neue Chronologie mit Beiträgen zu Form und Dekor,* PhD. Thesis, University of Vienna.
Lou Jianlong [2007], 'A Study of Song and Yuan Export Ceramic Producing Kilns along the Upper Reaches of the Min river'. *Proceedings, Symposium on the Chinese Export Ceramic Trade in Southeast Asia.* Singapore.
Lu Tai-kang, [2001] 'Ceramic Relics from Fengguiwei at Penghu during the Dutch Settlement', *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art,* Issue No. 221, pp. 116-134.
_____. [2004] Trade Ceramics Excavated from Feng-kui-wei, *P'eng-hu.*" *Field Archaeology of Taiwan*, 9(1/2), pp. 89-98.

_____. [2005] 'A study of Imported Ceramics in Taiwan in the 17th Century-Exploring the History of Taiwan from Late Ming to Early Qing Dynasties through the Ceramics', unpublished PhD Thesis, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan.
Lunsingh Scheurleer, D. F. [1966], *Chine de Commande.* Hilversum.
_____. [1974], *Chinese Export Porcelain.* London.
_____. [1979], *Chinees porselein.* Schiedam.
Lunsingh Scheurleer**,** Th.H., C. W. Fock and A.J. van Dissel [1986-1992], *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse Gracht.* Leiden.

Ma, Hongjiao., Zhu, J., Henderson, J., and Li, N. [2012], 'Provenance of Zhangzhou export Blue-and-White and its Clay Source'. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 39, no. 5, pp. 1218-1226.
Macedo, Duarte Ribeiro de [1618-1680], *Obras ineditas de Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo : desembargador dos aggravos da casa da supplicação, cavalleiro professo da Ordem de Christo, e concelheiro da fazenda do Senhor Rei D. Affonso Sexto. Dedicadas ao muito alto, e poderoso Senhor Dom João VI. rei dos reinos-unidos de Portugal, Brazil, e Algarves.* Translated by Henry E.J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society in 1866: A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century. London.
Macintosh, D. [1980], *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain,* Tokyo.
Maggs, T. [1984], 'The Great Galleon São João: remains from a mid-sixteenth Century Wreck on the Natal South Coast'. *Annals of the Natal Museum*, vol. 26, no. 1, December, pp. 173-186;
Marcus, G. J. [1980], *The Conquest of the North Atlantic.* Woodbridge.
Mathers, W.M. 'Nuestra Se.ora de la Concepcion', *National Geographic*, vol. 178, No. 3, September 1990, pp. 39–53.
McElney, B. [1979], *South East Asian and Chinese Trade pottery*. An Exhibition Catalogue of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong.
_____. [1995], 'Identification and Dating of Blue and White Porcelain', *Journal of the Museum of Asian Art,* winter, pp. 1-16.
_____. [2006], *Chinese Ceramics and the Maritime Trade, pre-1700*. Museum of East Asian Art, Bath.
_____. [2011], 'The Early Chinese Ceramic Trade to Europe, and the Americas and the Portuguese involvement therein'. *The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal,* no. 3, May, pp. 9-13.
McKinnon. E. [2007], 'Chinese Ceramics Recovered as Surface Finds at Cot Me and Ujung Batee Kapal, Kecamatan Mesjid Besar, Kabupaten Aceh Besar, AD'. Paper presented at Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, Singapore. (unpublished).
McKinnon, E. and W. Atma Djuana [2005], 'The Jepara Wreck'. *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter,* vol. 3, no. 5, September-October.
MacLeod, N. [1927], *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azië*. Part 1 (1602 -1632); part 2 (1632-1650). Rijswijk.
Medley, M. [1972], *Metalwork and Chinese Ceramics*. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental & African Studies, no. 2, University of London.
_____.[1974], *Yuan Porcelain and Stoneware.* London.
_____.[1980], *The Chinese Potter,* Oxford.

_____.[1992], 'Organisation and Production at Jingdezhen in the Sixteenth Century'. In *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia,* no. 16. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London, pp. 69-83.

Meilink-Roelofsz, M.A.P. [1962], *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630.* The Hague.

_____. [1988], 'A Comparative Study of the Administration and Trade of the Dutch and English Trading Companies in Asia during the first half of the Seventeenth-century'. In *Dutch Authors on Asian History: A Selection of Dutch Historiography on the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.* M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, M.E. van Opstall and G.J. Schutte (eds). Dordrecht.

_____. [1976], *De V.O.C. in Azië.* Bussum.

Miedema, H. [1964], *Kraakporselein en Overgangsgoed, Catalogus, Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof.* Leeuwarden.

_____. [1964], *Martavanen.* Leeuwarden.

_____. [1964], *Swatow.* Leeuwarden.

Miksic, J. [2009], *Southeast Asian Ceramics: New Light on Old Pottery*, Paris.

Milton, G. [1999], *Nathaniel's Nutmeg, or, the True and Incredible Adventures of the Spice Trader Who Changed the Course of History*. London.

Mirabal, A. [2001], *Interim Report of the Marine Archaeological Survey performed in Ilha de Moçambique from May to July 2001*. *Arqueonautas Worldwide,* (unpublished report)

Mirabilia Descripta: The Wonders of the East. Translated from the Latin by colonel Henry Yule [1839], Hakluyt Society, London.

Misugi,T. [1981], *Chinese Porcelain Collections in the Near East: Topkapi and Ardebil.* Hong Kong.

Ming, Wan [2012], 'The Sudden Rise in Popularity of Blue and White Porcelain in the Ming dynasty. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong, pp. 329-343 (in Chinese).

Morgan, P. [1991], 'New Thoughts on Old Hormuz: Chinese Ceramics in the Hormuz Region in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries'. *Iran,* vol. 29, pp.67-83.

Moree, P. [2001], *Dodo's en Galjoenen; De Reis van het schip Gelderland naar Oost-Indië, 1601- 1603*. Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. C. Zutphen.

Morimura, K. [2007], 'The Trade of the Japanese Port City of Sakai with East and Southeast Asia in the 15th-17th Centuries'. In *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei October 31st to November 2nd.

Morton Nance, R. [1922], 'Wicker Vessels', *The Mariner's Mirror*, July 1922, pp. 199-205.

Mostert, T. and Campen, J. van [2015], *Zijden Draad. China en Nederland sinds 1600.* Amsterdam.

Moll-Murata, C. [2008], 'Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Ceramics Industries of Jingdezhen and Delft.' Paper for the *S.R. Epstein Memorial Conference: "Technology and Human Capital Formation in the East and West.* June. Taipei.

_____. [2008], *Tradition and Institution Innovation: A Comparative Study of the Development of Jingdezhen Ceramics Industry*. M.A. thesis, National Sun Yat-sen University.

Needham, J. [2004], *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5.: Chemistry and Chemical Technology. Cambridge.
Niziolek, L, G. Feinman, J. Kimura, A. Respess, and Lu Zhang, (eds) [2018], 'Revisiting the Date of the Java Sea Shipwreck from Indonesia', *Journal of Archaeological Science Reports*, vol. 19,
Nogami, T., [2007], 'On Hizen porcelain and the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade'. *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association*, no. 26, pp. 124-130.

Orillaneda, B. [2007], 'A View of a 15th Century Trading Vessel in the Philippines: The Sta. Cruz Shipwreck'. Paper presented at the ymposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia, 12-14 March, Singapore (unpublished)
_____. [2008], *The Santa Cruz, Zambales Shipwreck Ceramics: Understanding Southeast Asian Ceramic Trade during the late 15th-Century C.E.* Quezon City.
Orillaneda, B. and W. Ronquillo [2011], Protecting and Preserving the Underwater Cultural Heritage in the Philippines: A Background Paper. In *Proceedings of Asia Pacific Regional Conference on Underwater Cultural Heritage*.
Ostkamp, S. [2003], 'De Introductie van Porselein in de Nederlanden'. *Vormen uit Vuur,* 180/181, no. 1, pp. 14-29.
_____. [2007], 'The Introduction of Porcelain in the Netherlands'. Paper presented at Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries. Conference held at Academia Sinica, Taipei. (Unpublished).
_____. [2011], 'De Porseleinvondsten uit Santa Elena, Enkele Scheepswrakken en de Manila Trade', *Vormen uit Vuur* 212/213, no.1, pp. 42-71.
_____. [2014], 'The Dutch 17th century Trade from an Archaeological Perspective.' *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Golden Age*, J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.). pp. 53-79.
Ottema, N. [1942], *Het Kunstambacht en de Volkskunst in Friesland*. Heemschut-serie, deel 19, Amsterdam.
_____. [1970]**,** *Chinese Ceramiek. Handboek Geschreven naar Aanleiding van de Verzamelingen in het Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princessehof te Leeuwarden.* (reprint from 1943). Lochem.
_____. [1953], *De Praktijk van het Porselein Verzamelen*. Leeuwarden.
Orsoy de Flines E.W. [1938], 'Vroeg Ming en pre-Ming blauw-wit Chineesch Porselein in Nederlandsch Indie', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten,* 15e Jaargang, nr. 9, pp. 342-348.

Parthesius, R. [2010], *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660*). Amsterdam.
Parthesius, R., K. Millar, S. Devendra, and J. N. Green (eds.) [2003], *Sri Lanka Maritime Archaeological Unit Report on the Avondster Project 2001–2002*. Amsterdam.
Parmentier, J, K. Davids and J. Everaert [2003], *Peper, Plancius en Porselein. De Reis van het Schip Swarte Leeuw naar Atjeh en Bantam*. Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. CI. Leiden.
Pearce, N. [2001], 'Soldiers, Doctors, Engineers: Chinese Art and British Collecting, 1860-1935', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* (December 2001), vol. 6. pp. 45-52.
_____. [2004], *From Collector to Connoisseur: Sir William Burrell and Chinese Art, 1911-57*. CARP (Chinese Art-Research into Provenance).

Pearson, M. N. [2002], *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore.
Peng Minghan and Yin Qinlan [2002], 'Yuan and Ming Provincial Blue and White from Jingdezhen'. In *Yuan and Ming blue and white from Jiangxi* (P. Lam, ed.). Hong Kong.
Piercy, R, C, M. [1977], 'Mombasa Wreck Excavation, Preliminary Report'. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 331-47.
Piercy, R, C, M. [1978], 'Mombasa wreck excavation, Second Preliminary Report'. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 301-19.
Pierson, S. (ed) [2000] *Collecting Chinese Art: Interpretation and Display*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia vol. 20. Percival David Foundation, London.
_____ . [2004], *Blue and White for China. Porcelain Treasures in the Percival David Collection.* London.
_____ . [2007], *Collectors, Collections and Museums: the field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960*. London.
_____. [2012], 'The Movement of Chinese Ceramics'. *Global History. Journal of World History,* vol. 23, no. 1, March, pp. 9-39.
_____. [2013], *From Object to Concept. Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain.* Hong Kong.
Ping, Ying-chen [2015], Book review: 'Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Golden Age'. *Aziatische Kunst*, vol. 45, no. 1, p.52.
Pijl-Ketel, C. L., van der [1989], 'Een Olifanten *kendi* afkomstig uit het Vondstcomplex van de Oostindiëvaarder de Witte Leeuw'. *Bulletin Rijksmuseum* , vol. 37, pp. 198-200.
_____. [2003], 'De Ceramiek uit de Oost-indiëvaarder de Witte Leeuw'. *Vormen uit Vuur*, 180/181, no.1/2, pp. 42-47.
_____. [2007], 'Chinese Ceramics for the Dutch Market: Porcelain from 17th Century Shipwrecks of the Dutch East India Company'. Paper presented at the Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, 2007, Singapore (unpublished)
_____. [2007-2008], 'Chinese Ceramics for the Dutch market: Porcelain from 17th Century shipwrecks of the Dutch East India Company'. *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society,* vol. 72, pp. 43-51.
_____. [2009], 'Kraak porcelain ware salvaged from shipwrecks of the Dutch East India Company'. In J. Welsh and L. Vinhais (eds.)*, Kraak Porcelain*. *The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries,* London/Lisbon.
_____. [2010], 'Shipments and Shards: Dated finds of trade Ceramics and the Dutch East India Company at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century'. *Field Archaeology of Taiwan,* vol. 13 no. 1-2, December (2010).
_____. [2011], 'Chinese Export Porcelain and the V.O.C.' *University of Hong Kong Museum Journal,* no. 3, pp. 23-31.
_____. [2011], 'Identification of export porcelains from early 17th Century VOC shipwrecks and the linkage to their cultural identification'. *Proceedings of the Asia-Pacific Regional conference on Underwater Cultural Heritage*, *November 8-12.* Manila.
_____. [2012], 'The Appreciation and Value of Chinese Export Porcelain in The Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century'. Paper presented at Symposium, Nanchang University, October (unpublished).

_____. [2012], 'The Distribution and Use of Chinese Export Porcelain for the Dutch Market'. Paper presented at the International symposium on Ancient Ceramics (ISAC) Jingdezhen, October. (unpublished)
_____. [2012], 'Early 17th Century Chinese Trade Ceramics for the Dutch Market: Distribution, Types and Consumption'. In *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*., City University of Hong Kong, 2012.
_____. [2014], 'Kraak Type Porcelain. Some Corrections about the Term, the Shapes and Designs'. Paper presented at the Third Symposium on the Chinese Export Porcelain of the Ming and Ching Dynasties. Shanghai , December 13th.(unpublished)
_____. [2017], 'Supplies of Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Trade Post on Formosa from 1624-1650'. Paper presented at the symposium: Maritime Silk Road – China's Historic sites: the Dongxiyao kiln ruins. March 17-20. Published in the proceedings (in Chinese).
_____. (ed.) [1982], *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*, Amsterdam.
_____ (co-ed.) [2007], 'Avondster Project'. Special Publication Centre for International Heritage Activities, no. 1., Amsterdam.
Pinto de Matos, M. A. [1996], *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Anastácio Gonçalves Collection.*, Lisbon.
_____. [1997], *Azul e Branco da China. Porcelana ao Tempo dos escobrimentos. Coloccao Amaral Cabral*. Lisbon.
_____. [1999], 'The Portuguese Trade'. *Oriental Art,* vol. XLV, no. 1, Spring, pp. 22-30.
_____.[2002/3], 'Chinese Porcelain in Portuguese Written Sources', *Oriental Art,* vol.48.
_____.[2011], *The R.A. Collection of Chinese Ceramics. A Collector's Vision*, London.
Pomper, L. [2015], 'A Possible Source for the Panelling on one type of Kraakware', *Arts of Asia*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2015. pp. 38-47.
Pomper, L, J. Legg and C. B. DePratter [2011], 'Chinese Porcelain from the Site of the Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena, 1566-1587'. *Vormen uit Vuur* 212/213, no. 1/2, pp. 32-41.
Pope, J. A. [1956], *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine.* Washington.
Porten von den, E.P. [1973], *Drake and Cermeño in California: Sixteenth Century Chinese Ceramics*,, Drake Navigators Guild, California.
_____. [2001], 'Manila Galleon Porcelains on the American Coast'. *Toaci*, no. 2, December, pp. 57-63.
_____. [2017], *Early Wanli Porcelains from the 1578 Manila Galleon San Juanillo.* San Francisco.
Pos, A. [2008], *Het Paviljoen van Porselein. Nederlandse Literaire Chinoiserie en het Westerse beeld van China (1250-2007).* Ph D. Thesis, Leiden University. (unpublished)
Puga, R.M. [2002], 'The Presence of the Portugals in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt´s navigations'. *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies,* no.5, December, pp. 81-116.

Qin Dashu [2012], 'Discovery of 16th and 17th century Chinese Porcelain in Kenya'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong.pp. 63-77.
Qin Dashu and H. Kiriama [2014], 'The Maritime Silk Road: The Indian Ocean and the Africa China Exchange Systems in the late - first/ early second Millennium BCE'. *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology*, no.10, New Delhi.

Rao, R.P. [1963], *Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961*, Bombay/New York.
Rawson, J. [1984], *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon.* London.
Rinaldi , M. [1989], *Kraak Porcelain a Moment in the History of Trade.* London.
_____. [1992], The Ceramic Cargo of the Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 57, 1992–1993, pp. 95–96.
_____. [2003], 'Dating Kraak Porcelain', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181 no. 1/2, pp. 30-41.
_____.[2012], 'The Italian Connection- Florentine Traders in the East and the Medici Collection of the 16th and 17th centuries'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation.* City University of Hong Kong, pp. 114-130.
Roberts, M. [2013], 'The Punta Cana Pewter Wreck. A first look at a mid 16th Century cargo from the Caribbean', *Journal of the Pewter Society*, Spring 2012, pp. 3–15.
Rockhill, W. [1914-1915], 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century', Part I: 'T'oung Pao', *International Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1914, pp. 419-447 and Part II: 'T'oung Pao', vol. 16, no.1, 1915, pp. 61-159.
Rouffaer, G. P. and H.H. Juynboll [1914], *De Batikkunst in Nederlandsch Indië en haar Geschiedenis.* Publicaties van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, serie II no. 1, Utrecht.
Ruiter, P. de [2012/2013], *Chinees Porselein in Nederlandse Schilderkunst van de 17e eeuw*. MA thesis, University of Amsterdam (unpublished).
Russell, J.R. [1998], *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move,* London.

Sakai, Takashi [2007], 'Porcelain found in the Wolio Castle Ruins, Indonesia and its Distribution'. In *Proceedings of the Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas: Contacts between Europe, East and Southeast Asia in the 16th to 18th Centuries.* Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, October 31st to November 2nd.
Santos, P.C. [2002], 'Chinese Porcelain at the Former Convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha, Coimbra'. *Fundacao Oriente*, no. 3, pp. 53-59.
_____. [2003] 'The Chinese Porcelain of Santa Clara-a-Velha, Coimbra. Fragments of a collection'. *Oriental Art*, vol. XLIX. no. 3, pp. 24-31.
Sassoon, H. [1980], *Mombasa Wreck Excavation. Interim Report*. National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi.
Sayer, G. R.[1951], *Ching-te-Chen Tao-lu, or the Potteries of China.* London.
Schleldorn, L. [2003], 'Oosters Porselein en Delfts Aardewerk: een Economische Wisselwerking?' In *Delfts aardewerk. Geschiedenis van een nationaal product: De Porceleyne Fles*, T.M. Eliëns, M. Groen, S. Ostkamp, and L.A. Schledorn (eds.), vol.III, Zwolle and Delft.
Schäfer, D. [2011], *The Crafting of the 10,000 Things: Knowledge and Technology in Seventeenth-Century China*. Chicago.

Schilders, R. (ed.) [1604], *Corte ende sekere beschryvinghe van 't veroveren der rijcke ende gheweldighe krake, comende uytet gheweste van China door den Admirael Jacobus Heemskercke*. Middelburg.
Scholten, F.T. and C.J.A. Jörg [1990], 'De Collectie Delfts Aardewerk in het Groninger Museum'. *Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van de Ceramiek*, 140. (Special issue).
Schottenhammer, A. [2016], 'China's Gate to the Indian Ocean – Iranian and Arab Long-distance Traders'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 76 no. 1, pp. 135-179.
Schottenhammer, A. (ed.), [2008], *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, Wiesbaden.
Schulsky, L. S. [1998], 'Chinese Porcelain in Spanish colonial sites in the southern part of North America and the Caribbean'. *TOCS*, vol. 63, pp. 81-98.
Scott, R. and R. Kerr. [1994/1995], *Ceramic evolution in the Middle Ming period: Hongzhi to Wanli (1488-1620)*, Exhibition catalogue 1994-1995, Percival David Collection, London.
Scott, R, and J. Guy (eds.), [1995], *South East Asia and China. Art, Interaction and Commerce*, Sir Percival David colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, no. 17, London.
Seyock, B. [2008], 'Archaeological Complexes from Muromachi Period Japan as a Key Perception of International Maritime Trade in East Asia', inLieb Angela Schottenhammer, (ed.), *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 179-200.
Sgrilli, G. [1905] *Francesco Carletti, Mercante e Viaggiatore Fiorentino*, vol 6., L. Cappelli.
Shankman, D. and Liang, Qiaoli, [2003], 'Landscape Changes and Increasing Flood Frequency in China's Poyang Lake Region', *The Professional Geographer*, no. 55. pp. 434-445.
Shangraw, C. [1999], 'Fifteenth Century Blue-and-White in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco', *Chinese Ceramics, Selected Articles from Orientations, 1982-1998*, Hong Kong, 1999, pp. 103-114,
Shangraw, C. and E. von der Porten [1981], *The Drake and Cermeño Expeditions, Chinese Porcelains at Drakes Bay, California, 1579 and 1595*. Santa Rosa and Palo Alto.
_____. [1997], *Kraak Plate Design Sequence 1550–1655.* San Francisco.
Shiba, Yoshinobu [1970], *Commerce and Society in Sung China*. Ann Arbor, Mich.
_____. [1974], 'The Lower Yangtze Economy and the Trading Networks of Maritime East Asia during the Ming dynasty: the significance of the transitional age of the sixteenth century'. Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo. [occasional paper]
Shen Fuwei, [1966], *Cultural Flow between China and the Outside World Throughout History*. Translated by Wu Jingshu. Beijing.
Silva Jayasuriya, S., de [2008], *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire*, vol.11, London, 2008
Shih Ching-fei [2001], *Experiments and Innovation: Jingdezhen Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oxford.
Smart, E. [1975-1977], 'Fourteenth-century Chinese Porcelain from the Tughlaq Palace in Delhi.' *TOCS*, Vol 41, pp.199-230.
Souza, T.R., de, (ed.) [1990] *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History,* vol.2, Goa University publication series.
Souza, P. de, [2001], *Seafaring and Civilization, Maritime Perspectives on World History.* London.

Souza. G.B. [1986], *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea*. Cambridge.
Spriggs, A.I. [1964], 'Oriental porcelain in Western Panitings 1450-1700'. *TOCS* vol. 36, pp. 73-87.
Stargardt, J. [2014], 'Indian Ocean Trade in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Demand, Distance, and Profit.' *South East Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 35-55.
Sténuit, R. [1978]. 'The Sunken Treasure of St. Helena.' *National Geographic,* vol. 154, no. 4, pp. 562-576.
_____. [2001], 'Les Porcelains du Witte Leeuw' in Ceramiques du fond des mers Les nouvelles decouvertes'. *TOACI,* no. 2, pp. 27-34.
Ströber, E. [2005], 'Representation and Taste in Baroque Court Culture: The Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong.' *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, no.2/3, pp. 48-58.
_____. [2011], 'Large Dishes from Jingdezhen and Longquan around the World. Paper presented at the conference 'Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300 to 1800', University of Warwick, April 2011.
_____. [2012], *Ming. Porcelain for a Globalised trade*. Stuttgart.
_____. [n.d.] *The Collection of Zhangzhou Ware in the Princesshof Museum, Leeuwarden Netherlands,* (pdf version)
Stuart, J. [1993], 'Imperial Porcelain and Court Values'. *Orientations*, vol. 24, no. 8, pp. 24-30.
Subrahmanyam, S. [2010], *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Chichester.
Sweetman, J. and N. Guerin [1983], *The Spouted Ewer and its Relatives in the Far East,* Catalogue of an exhibition of the Barlow Gallery, University of Sussex.

Tai Yew Seng [2011], 'The Ming Gap and the Revival of Commercial Production of Blue and White Porcelain in China.' *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association,* vol. 31, pp. 85-92.
Tan, R. [2005], 'Prosperity in Quangzhou during the 12-14th centuries'. Paper presented at the International conference: *Chinese Export Ceramics and the Maritime trade, 12-15th Centuries.* City University of Hong Kong.
_____. [2012], 'Zhangzhou Ware-Chinese Export Ceramics for the Market in Asia in the 16th-17th Century'. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilisation*. City University of Hong Kong. pp. 150-171.
Tan, R., Li Jian'an, E.Z. Dizon, B.C. Orillaneda (eds.) [2007], *Zhangzhou Ware found in the Phillipines,"Swatow" Export Ceramics from Fujian 16th-17th century.* The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines.
Teeuw, A. and D.K. Wyatt [1970], *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, The Hague.
Terpstra, H. [1918], *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)*. The Hague.
_____. [1938], *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*. The Hague.
_____. [1915]. 'De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië bij de stichting van het fort Geldria te Paliacatte', *De Indische Gids,* vol. XXXVII, 1915, pp. 331-360.
Thomas, G. [2008], 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe'. *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 7, no. 2, Autumn, pp. 1-40.
Tichane, R. [1983], *Ching-te-Chen: Views of a Porcelain City.* New York.

Vinhais, L. and Jorge Welsh (eds.), [2006] *Zhangzhou Export Ceramics. The So-called*

Swatow Wares, London and Lisbon.
Veen, E., van and Leonard Blussé (eds) [2005], *Rivalry and Conflict. European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Studies in Overseas History, no.7. Leiden.
Vezzoli, V. [2011], 'The Fustat Ceramic Collection in the Royal Museums of Art and History of Brussels: The Mamluk Assemblage'. *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis*, *Brussel*, part 82, 2011, pp. 119-168.
Vinhais, L. and J. Welsh (eds.) [2008], *Kraak Porcelain, the Rise of Global Trade in the late 16th and 17th Centuries.* London and Lisbon.
Viallé, C. [1992], 'The Records of the VOC Concerning the Trade in Chinese and Japanese Porcelain between 1634-1661'. *Mededelingenblad van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst*, vol. 22 no. 3, pp.5-34.
_____. [2014], 'Camelcups, Parrot cups and other Chinese Kraak Porcelain Items in Dutch Trade Records, 1598-1623', in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age,* J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.). Amsterdam.
Volker, T. [1954], *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*. Leiden.
Vickers, M., O. Impey and J. Allan [1986], *From Silver to Ceramic*, *The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Works*. Oxford.

Waal, de, D. [2004], 'Raman Investigation of Ceramics from 16th and 17th century Portuguese Shipwrecks.' *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy,* vol. 38, no. 8-9, July.
Wade, G. [2009], 'An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2009, pp. 221–265.
Wassenaer, N.J., van [1635], *Het eenentwintichste deel of 't vervolgh van het Historisch verhael aller gedencwaerdiger gheschiedenissen, die in Europa, als Duytschlant, Vranckryck...in Asia...in Africa voorgevallen syn van october des jaers 1631 tot octobri, des jaers 1632*. Amsterdam.
Watt, J.C.Y. [2010], The *World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2010,
Wan Kong Ann, [2013], 'Examining the Connection between Ancient China and Borneo through Santubon Archaeological sites'. *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 236, April.
Wang, Guanyu [2011], The Interactions between Chinese Export Ceramics and Their Foreign 'Markets': The Stories in Late Ming Dynasty'. Paper presented at the Postgraduate Student Forum held by Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2011.
Waugh, D.C. [2010], 'The Silk roads in History'. *Expedition,* vol. 52, no. 3, The Penn Museum.
Wilson, J.K., and M. Flecker, [2010], 'Dating the Belitung Shipwreck', in R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. K. Wilson and J. Raby (eds.), *Shipwrecked. Tang Treasures and the Monsoon Winds.* Smithsonian Institute, Washington, pp. 35-40.
Wei, Meng [2010], *The Advent of Islam in China: Guangzhou Fanfang in the Tang-Song Era.* Master thesis, Washington University, St. Louis.
Wennekes, W. [1996], *Gouden Handel: De Eerste Nederlanders Overzee en wat zij daar Haalden.* Amsterdam.
Wheatley, P. [1975], 'Analecta Sino-African recensa'. In *East Africa and the Orient. Cultural Syntheses in Pre-colonial Times.* H. Neville Chittick and R. I. Rotberg (eds.). New York and London.

Wibisono, S. C. [2010], 'From Jacatra to Batavia: The Changes of City Plan and Special Note on the Archaeology of Pasar Ikan' in *Field Aarchaeology of Taiwan*, volume 13, no.1/2.
Wills, J. E. [1976], 'De VOC en de Chinezen in Taiwan, China en Batavia in de 17de en 18de eeuw'. In *De VOC in Azië*, M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz (ed.), Bussum.
Wink, A. [1990]. *Al-Hind*: *The Making of the Indo Islamic World*, vol. I, Delhi.
Witteveen, M. [2011], *Antonio van Diemen, De Opkomst van de VOC in Azië.* Amsterdam.
Wood, N., [1999], *Chinese Glazes, their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation,* London.
Wong, G. [1978], 'Chinese Blue and White Porcelain, and its place in the Maritime Trade of China'. In *Chinese Blue & White Ceramics.* Yeo, S. T. and J. Martin, (eds.) Singapore.
Wu Ruoming. [2014], *The Origins of Kraak Porcelain in the late Ming dynasty*. PhD. thesis, Institute of East Asian Art History, Ruprecht-Karls University, Heidelberg.
Wu Chunming (ed.) [2016] *Early Navigation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Maritime Archaeological Perspective*. Singapore.

Xin Jiang Jian [2012], 'Society in the late Period of the Ming Dynasty- Jingdezhen and the Producing of Carack Porcelain and Related Issues of Carack porcelain' *Ceramic Vision*. Jingdezhen.

Yang, Liu [2010], 'Tang Dynasty Changsha Ceramics'. In *Shipwrecked. Tang treasures and the Monsoon winds,* R. Krahl et al. (eds.). Washington.
Yeo, S. T. and J. Martin, (eds.) [1978], *Chinese Blue & White Ceramics.* Singapore.
Yuba, T. [2011-2012], 'Chinese porcelain from Fustat based on research from 1988-2001'. *TOCS* no. 76, pp. 1-17.
_____. [2004], 'Chinese Ceramics at al-Fustat, Cairo, in the 9th-14th Century'. Paper presented at SFECO Conference (Société Française d'Etude de la Ceramique Orientale), Paris, November, 2004.
Yuba, T., and T. Mikami [1982], 'China and Egypt: Fustat', *TOCS,* 1980-81, vol 45, pp. 67-89.

Zhang Wei [2001], 'L'Archeologie Sous-Marine en Chine'. *Taoci* no. 2 December, pp. 21-27.
Zhao, Bing [2007], *Sharmah (South Coast of Arabia) and its Commercial Connexion in the Southeast Asia (10th-12th centuries*).' Paper presented at Symposium on Chinese export trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia. 12-14 March, 2007, Singapore.(unpublished)
Zhao, Bing and Pierre Lombard [2005], 'Ceramique Chinois a Qal'ar al-Bahrein- Fouilles Francaises 1989-2002'. *Taoci,* no. 4, December 2005, pp. 105-116.
Zhao, Hongye [1992], 'Recent Developments in the Legal Protection of Historic Shipwrecks in China'. *Ocean Development & International Law,* 1992, vol. 23, no. 4.

Curriculum Vitae Christine L. Ketel

Christine Louise Ketel obtained a BA in Japanese Language and Literature at the University of Leiden in 1972, and received her Masters Degree in
Art and Archaeology of East Asia at the University of Amsterdam in 1978.
Between 1979 and 1982 Christine was coordinator and research assistant in the department of History of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. This resulted in the publication of *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw (1613)* in 1982, which she edited. From 1993-2003, she had a free-lance contract as conservator of Ceramics and Modern Art at the State Institute of Art Collections, (ICN) Rijswijk, and various other national museums., Christine was a voluntary researcher at the Centre for International Heritage Activities from 2002 – 2010, co-ordinating projects in Sri Lanka, Japan and Tierra del Fuego, Argentine.
She has been invited to numerous international conferences, and presented papers on Chinese ceramics for the Dutch market during the first half of the 17th century, as well as Chinese export ceramics salvaged from shipwrecks.
(China: Jingdezhen, Nanchang, Shanghai, Dongxi, Beijing, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taipei, Jakarta, Manila. Mossel Bay, South Africa, London, U.K., Leiden University)

Publications (summary)
Editor and main author, *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613),* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1982.
Co-editor of 'Avondster Project'. (Underwater archaeological research in Galle, Sri Lanka 2003-2005), Special Publication no. 1, 2007, Centre for International Heritage Activities, Amsterdam.
'Kraak porcelain ware salvaged from shipwrecks of the Dutch East India Company', Contribution to the Catalogue: *Kraak Porcelain*. Jorge Welsh Publications, 2009.
Various articles in *Aziatische Kunst* (Bulletin of the Society of East Asian Art in the Netherlands); *Vormen uit Vuur* (Bulletin of the Society of the Glass and Ceramic Society in the Netherlands; *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, London.

She is currently updating the publication of *The Ceramic Load of the Witte Leeuw (1613)* and setting up a database on shipwreck ceramics.