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

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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 Record*. 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' (*Kraakporceleyn*) 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 *kěrahak* 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 koopvaardijship*), 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 kěrahak 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 qorqôra 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 parlée 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. qarâqîr, meerv. van qorqôr. 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: qarâkîr mv. van kurkûr ‘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 Neederlandsche 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, surprized 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 Mozejko 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 Cornwall 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 workmanship [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. Mozejko, *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 Encyclopedia*, New York, 2013, pp. 557-558.

³⁶ The original can be found in: Max Lehrs. *Der Meister WA., ein Kupferstecher der Zeit Karls 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

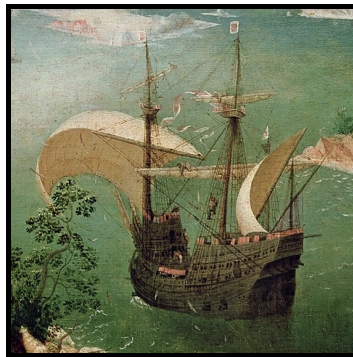


Figure 3.2. A Portuguese *nau*. Painting detail of the Fall of Icarus; attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Elder ca.1560 or a copy. Royal Museums of Brussels.

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*, *grootte 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 acquainted 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 8s. 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, tweekenten, eerst alle de beschadigde goederen, voorts porseleyns Voorder dat men de porseleyn 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*, Wolfgang 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 aantekeningen 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 17^e 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 porseleyne boterschotelen; noch 8 double porseleyn schotelen; noch 2 clapmutsen van porseleyn*'

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 Prinsessehof 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 cameelscommen 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 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 the heading '*Specificatie van de porceleyen*': 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 ‘Kraak’ was used as a general term for an antique item, regardless as to its type or decoration.

The term ‘old kraak’ 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 porceleyn* 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 ‘Kraak 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 *porcelijn* 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 16^e eeuw, in den tijd van Keizer Wan Li dus, aantreffen in de Portuguesche caraque of kraken die zij in de straat van Malakka of elders in het Oost buitmaakten'. 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, klappmutsen 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 porseleinversiering 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%2Cvnmw%2Conw%2Cmnw&uitvoer=HTML&lemodern=%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 kraakporcelain*)'.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 Prinsessehof 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, *Kraakporcelain 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 Prinsessehof 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 Prinsessehof 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 Prinsessehof 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 Jingdezhen*, 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 (*zhuaqi*) 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

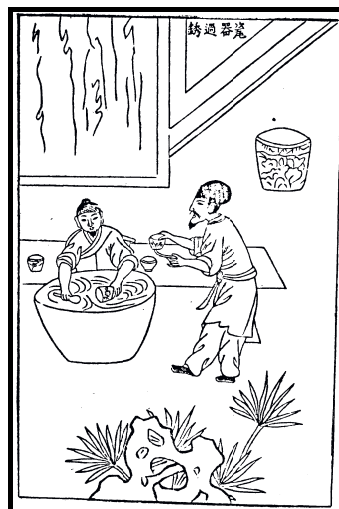


Figure 3.8. Illustration from *Tiangong Kaiwu*, showing the dipping of bowls into the glaze substance.¹¹³

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 saggars/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 Guanying 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'.

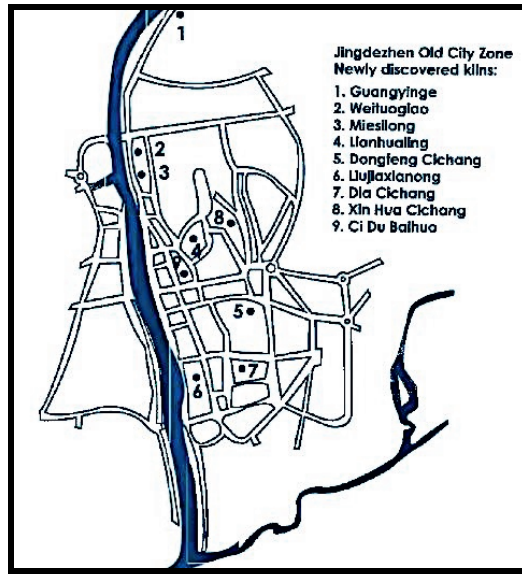


Figure 3.9. Map of Jingdezhen with excavated kiln sites that included panel-decorated porcelain. Courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

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 *Guanyingge* 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 octagonal 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 *Guanying* 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 been 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 *Guanying* 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 *Guanying* 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)

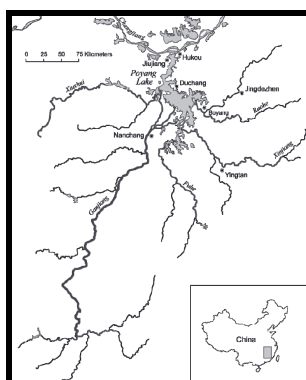


Figure 3.20. Map of rivers to Poyang Lake and Jingdezhen.¹⁵¹

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 Dag-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

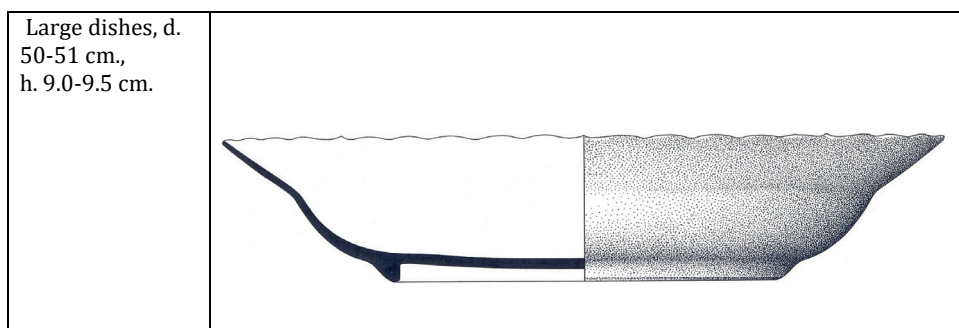


Figure 3.21. Profile drawing of a dish without moulded panels, d. 50-51 cm.

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.

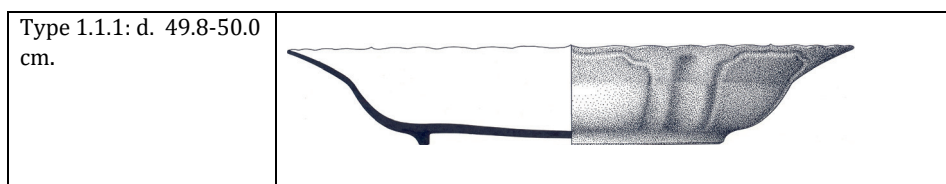


Figure 3.22. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 49 -50 cm.

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 brengen 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 ... breeft 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 stucck/7 dito wat minder a 3 maes'*.

¹⁶³ H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens Omtrent Den Porcelainhandel 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 porceleyn 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.*

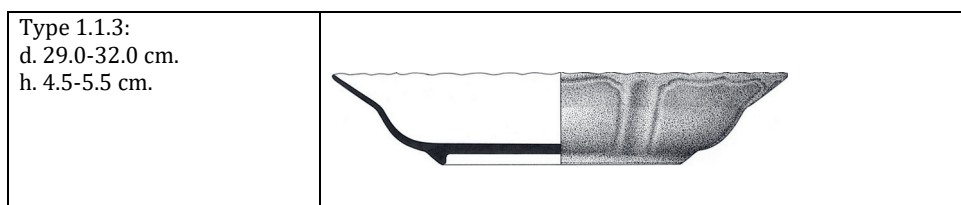


Figure 3.23. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 29-32 cm.

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*.

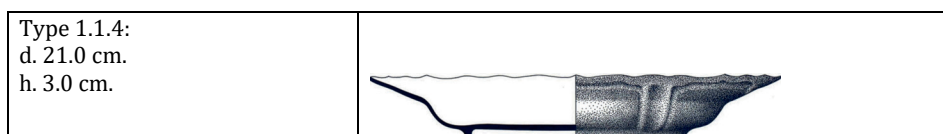


Figure 3.24. Profile drawing of a dish with moulded panels, d. 21 cm.

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. Rijksdienst 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.

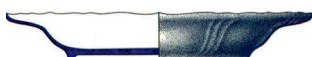


Figure 3.27. Profile drawing of a small dish with moulded panels, d. 14 cm.

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*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *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 inkoop 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 prinsesse...(Louise de Coligny)...lijsten van porcelijen op planken'; 'Derthien fruytschotelen van diversche fatsoen van porceleyn; Tweendeveertich porceleyne confijt- off fruytschotelkens; twaelfff porceleyne fruytschotelen, wat cleynder als de voors. Ende wat cleynder'.
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 porceleyne 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.

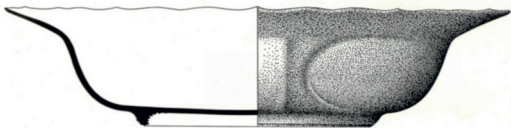
Type 1.3.1: d. 20-24 cm. h. 5.5-6.6 cm.	
Type 1.3.2: d. 12-14 cm. h. 4.5-5.0 cm.	

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* (*clapmutsen*, *halve clappmutsen*) 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.

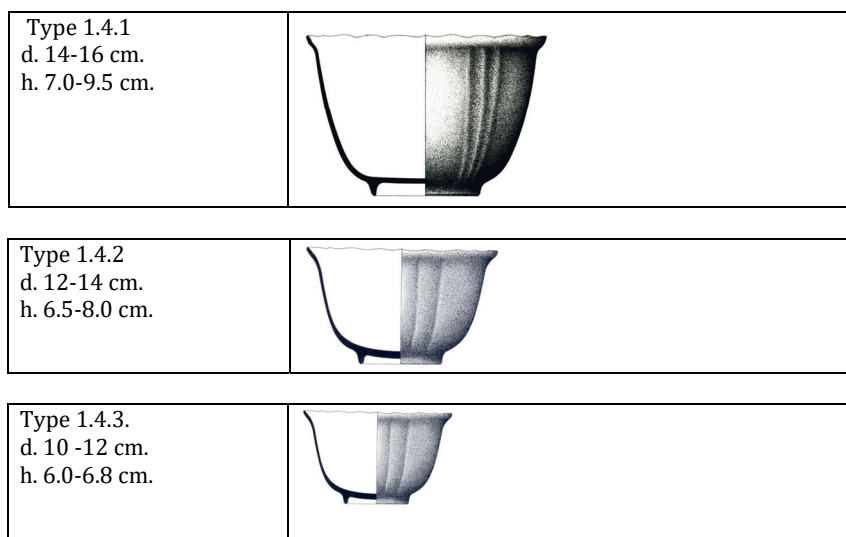


Figure 3.35: Three profile drawings of bowls of various sizes and moulded vertical ribs.

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 *kandeelskop*. 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 *kandeelskop* 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 *kandeelskop* 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 *candeelskop* was written as *cameelskop* 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 dissimil. 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 deduced 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* in 1622 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 inkoop 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, cameelscoopen, 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 (<i>kannekens/ Cannekens met hengsels ende pipen</i>) (Witte Leeuw, type 1.5)	 inv.nr.NG-1977-174-W. h. 19.0 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum  inv.nr.NG- 1977-119W. h. 12.6 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum
Pots (<i>ronde potgens</i>) (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 (<i>olie- en azijn kannetjes</i>) (Witte Leeuw, type 3.17)	 inv.nr. OKA 16388. h. 11.6 cm.

<i>Kendi</i> (Witte Leeuw, type 1.6.1)	 NG-1977-175-W, h. 17.0 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum	
Small saucers (<i>saucierkens</i>) (Witte Leeuw type. 3.1)	 NG-1977-159W, d. 11.2 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.	 Photo by author.
Mustard saucer (?) (<i>most schalen</i>) (Witte Leeuw, type. 3.13)	 NG-1977-168-W, d. 8.8 cm. Photo Rijksmuseum.	
Wine cups (<i>brandewijnkopgens</i>) (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.	



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 gouverneur Hans Putmans Int schip dat godt bewaer gheenaempt middelburch voor ’t patria gescheept*’... ‘3850 stx *Cleijne pimpelkens bestaen In 3 ronde houten 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 Princeshof Museum, Leeuwarden*, (no date); pdf version from: https://www.princeshof.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 items 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. Diameter: ca. 20-30 cm.	 inv.nr. unknown.
 A medium sized dish with a medallion and fretwork border with a <i>qilin</i>.	 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: qarâqîr mv. van kurkûr handelsschip*), meaning a large trade vessel. In Mediterreanean 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. Definitions 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.