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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 4. A reinterpretation of dating Kraak panel-decorated porcelain based on shipwreck finds.

Introduction.

In this chapter, I discuss in detail previous chronological dating methods, which are based on different border patterns, mainly on flatware; each motif has been assigned a separate period. I question these dating methods here, because several items have been categorized as Kraak ware and given a date prior to the production of porcelain with the typical Kraak-panel designs. In my opinion, these should not be included in a chronological dating-method for this type of ware; they had been produced during the 16th century for various regions throughout the world, and not specifically ordered by European traders as the Dutch.

Furthermore, I make a distinction between Kraak-type ware that were part of regular shipments containing large quantities of mass-produced items, and individual ones of exceptional quality with exquisitely painted designs. Examples can be found in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul and the Ardebil Shrine collection in the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran.¹ (Appendix 4, tables 11 and 12) The porcelain collection of the Santos Palace in Lisbon mentioned in chapter 2, includes numerous Kraak-type items of exceptional quality.² (Appendix 4, table 13)

Another collection, albeit of a much later date (1715), is that of the Saxon Prince-Elector, Frederick Augustus I, kept at the Zwinger Museum in Dresden. It contains a

¹ R. Krahl and J. Ayers *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul*, vols. I-III, London, 1986; vol. I, p. 16; R. Krahl: 'China Ships and Porcelain Rooms: Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East', *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 38-48; p. 42: 'Generally, Chinese porcelain reached the palace either as gifts and trophies, or some of it was purchased. A certain amount of ware was acquired by the reversion of the estates of deceased statesmen and members of the court, or of those who had fallen from favour'; J. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington, D.C. 1956. 'Jalāl-al-dīn Moḥammad Monajjem Yazdī records that the Chinese porcelains were installed in the Āl-ḳāna of the Ardabīl shrine in 1020/1611 (*Tārīḳ-e'Abbāsī*, B.M. Add. 27.241, fols. 339-42), approximately three years after Shah 'Abbās decided to make his property *waqf*: The collection had been acquired through diplomatic and other gifts as well as through the normal resources of trade. Shah 'Abbās' faithful servitor Qaračāgāy apparently made his contribution, since over ninety pieces, all but three or four of them of the finest quality early 9th/15th-century ware, bear his name'. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ardabil> (visited January, 2020)

² In 2015, an exhibition was held at the Museu de Arte Antigua in Lisbon with all the items, which had again been removed for inspection. Musée Guimet, Paris is in the process of compiling a catalogue. I thank Claire Delery, curator of the museum for providing me numerous images (© RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier) for the thesis and the Appendix.

large number of Kraak-panelled items, most of which are of exceptional quality.³ It is important to distinguish these collections from the mass-produced, mostly medium-quality items transported as cargo, which were salvaged from dated shipwrecks.

Chronologies of panel-decorated Kraak ware.

Three scholars who have made a dating-scheme for blue and white panel-decorated Chinese export porcelain are Edward Von der Porten, Brian McElney and Maura Rinaldi. The first scheme, published in 1973 by Von der Porten, is based on fragments that were found in the area of Point Reyes, Northern California, also known as Drakes' Bay, as it is believed that the Spanish explorer, Francis Drake, landed there in 1579.⁴ A total of 1,297 pieces, including porcelain, stoneware and terra cotta ware were collected and compared to finds from various other ships that were wrecked in the same area.⁵ Von der Porten discussed several possible origins of these shards; one that they came from the encampment of Drake and his crew there.⁶ Another possible origin is the wreck recently established as the *San Juanillo*, dated 1578.⁷ The other shipwreck Von der Porten used for his dating method is the *San Augustín*. That ship left Manila on July 5th, 1595, together with two other vessels and is believed to have reached the Northern Californian shore at Point Reyes, where a storm crashed it onto the beach. Von der Porten maintains that fragments found among the native Miwok Indians, who had made beads from the porcelain shards, originated from trade with the crewmembers of this ship.⁸

However, the fragments found in the vicinity where these three ships were wrecked cannot be used for a precise dating. As Marco Meniketti explains, 'At least three sixteenth-century vessels of European origin are known to have wrecked or deposited

³ Eva Ströber, "La Maladie de Porcelaine." *Ostasiatisches Porzellan aus der Sammlung Augustus des Starken/ East Asian Porcelain from the Collection of Augustus the Strong*, Leipzig 2001; Eva Ströber, 'Representation and Taste in Baroque Court Culture: The Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong,' *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 48-58. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to study the Kraak-panelled group as these are being catalogued.

⁴ E.P. Von der Porten, *Drake and Cermeño in California: Sixteenth Century Chinese Ceramics*, Drake Navigators Guild, Santa Rosa, California, 1973. The exact area where he landed is disputed.

⁵ E.P. Von der Porten, 'Manila Galleon Porcelains on the American Coast', *Taoci*, no. 2, December, 2001, pp. 57-63. Beginning in 1940, all of these sites have been investigated by archaeologists.

⁶ Francis Drake visited that area with the *Golden Hind* before sailing west across the Pacific Ocean. C. Shangraw and E.P. Von der Porten, *The Drake and Cermeño Expeditions, Chinese Porcelains at Drakes Bay, California, 1579 and 1595*, Santa Rosa, California, 1981.

⁷ E.P. Von der Porten, *Early Wanli Porcelains from the 1578 Manila Galleon San Juanillo*. (unpublished monograph of 2017 kindly made available to the author before he passed away in April 2018).

⁸ Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.).

cargo on the Pacific coast, along with another vessel dating from the seventeenth century.⁹ He concludes that ‘Controversy has surrounded the Drake/Cermeño porcelains for a considerable time, as these ceramics have been found in close association, and sorting the porcelains is a refined yet subjective process’.¹⁰ In 1997, Von der Porten together with Clarence Shangraw drew up a new dating scheme, comparing the shards from the Drake’s Bay area to the shipwrecks of the *San Diego* (1600), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and the *Hatcher* wreck (1643) to illustrate the different border patterns on Kraak.¹¹ (Appendix 4, list 1)

Brian McElney, a collector of Chinese porcelain and founder of the Museum of East Asian Art in Bath, U.K, devised a different methodology. He divides Kraak-panelled dishes into nine groups, each with a different border design to which he assigns a date.¹² The third method that was developed comes from Maura Rinaldi. She first groups the porcelain according to their shape and then subdivides each shape following the border pattern groups made by McElney.¹³ (Appendix 4, list 2) In her publication dated 1989, she refers mainly to examples in museum and private collections, but as their provenance is uncertain, most of these cannot be given a precise date. In 2003, she explained that she had only used McElney’s method ‘as a cataloguing device’ but did not provide an alternative chronology.¹⁴

Several authors on the subject of Kraak-panelled porcelain question the unreliability of these chronologies. As Regina Krahl explains, ‘Such clear-cut divisions and developments are rare in Chinese traditional crafts and to make the dating

⁹ M. Meniketti, ‘Initial PXRF Analysis of Chinese Ceramics from Spanish Shipwrecks on the Pacific Coast’, San Jose State University. *SCA Proceedings*, vol. 28, 2014 (pdf. version); p.305: ‘Francis Drake’s vessel, the *Golden Hind*, was not wrecked, but it was careened in the vicinity of what is known today as Drake’s Bay, 25 miles north of San Francisco. During this careening episode, Drake (who would later be knighted) abandoned a considerable portion of the cargo acquired from Spanish ships during his privateering venture, including Chinese export porcelains’.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹¹ C. Shangraw and E.P. Von der Porten, *Kraak Plate Design Sequence 1550-1655*, Drake Navigators Guild, San Francisco, 1997. The same chronology is in Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.), pp. 57-61.

¹² B. McElney, *Identification and Dating of Blue and White Porcelain*, Bath, 1995, pp. 1-16; B. McElney, *South East Asian and Chinese Trade Pottery. An Exhibition Catalogue*. The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1979, p. 36; B. McElney, *Chinese Ceramics & The Maritime Trade Pre-1700*, Bath, 2006, pp. 28-29.

¹³ M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989.

¹⁴ M. Rinaldi, ‘Dating Kraak Porcelain’, *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, no.1/2, 2003, pp. 30-41; p. 41, note 13: ‘In both publications, I underline that the fundamental difference between McElney’s and my classification is that McElney assumed that border designs followed a chronological evolution, thus dishes could be dated following the border designs; I stated that there is no chronological order in border designs and that I was using this type of classification merely as a cataloguing and reference device. I find it necessary to clarify this point as some authors seem to confuse McElney’s and my opposing theories as one and the same’.

essentially dependent on the evolution of a design without supporting evidence from other stylistic and qualitative data is a procedure fraught with problems'.¹⁵ Maria Antonio Pinto de Matos also makes a critical note: 'The chronology put forward by these authors has recently been called into question by Jean-Paul Desroches in his study of the porcelain carried by the Spanish ship "San Diego", which was recovered from the sea in 1993'.¹⁶ Indeed, Desroches considered the chronological border-method unsuitable while cataloguing the *San Diego* finds. He stated that it was not possible to use this method to categorize the Kraak finds from this shipwreck because it contained flatware with several variations of panelled patterns, while the sinking was clearly dated to one year, 1600.¹⁷

As I discussed in the previous chapter, one of the main characteristics of Kraak-type porcelain is the panel motif, and therefore I question the first group described by both McElney and Von der Porten as 'Undecorated rim and cavetto with the underglaze blue decoration being confined to an outlined medallion only'. They date this group to 'c. 1550-1570'.¹⁸ I see no reason for including such a group under their heading 'Kraak porcelain' or 'Kraak plate design sequence' as there are no panelled borders.¹⁹ This also applies to what McElney, Rinaldi and Von der Porten have labelled 'Group 2'. They describe this group as, 'flatware with a blank, unmoulded cavetto. The rim has a continuous design with herons, egrets, ducks, geese and there is a central design that consists mainly of the "deer in landscape" motif'.²⁰ Rinaldi dates this category to 1565 - 1600 and Von der Porten, from 1570 to 1605.²¹ However, as neither group has a panelled border pattern, they should not be included in a Kraak chronology.

¹⁵ R. Krahl and J. Ayers (op. cit.), 1986. vol. II, p. 599: 'Looking at the great number of panelled wares in the Topkapi Saray, one is struck by the very many different manners of painting and levels of quality they present, and at the same time by how little these correspond to the different forms of panelling'.

¹⁶ M.A. Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1996, p. 30: 'McElney and later Maura Rinaldi used the border patterns to determine the chronological evolution of the seven groups into which the various types of objects produced during this period have been divided'.

¹⁷ D. Carré, J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio, *Le San Diego: Un Trésor Sous la Mer*, Catalogue, Association Française d'Action Artistique, Paris, 1994, pp. 300-360; p. 315: '*tous ces types ont été retrouvés et plaident apparemment davantage pour une simultanéité autour de 1595-1600 que pour une chronologie bien étalonnée*'.

¹⁸ McElney 1979 (op. cit.), p. 10; Shangraw and Von der Porten 1997 (op. cit.), p. 8.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 10-11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 76-79.

In Chapter 2, I explain that this particular size and shape was produced from mid-16th century as export ware, and not specially for the European markets. Nonetheless, as it was a type that suited them, they were included in cargoes of Iberian ships, but not in very large quantities.

Here I again present some fragments of dishes without panels from dated shipwrecks, some already discussed in Chapter 2. The *San Juanillo* dated to 1578 had several such dishes, but none have a panelled border.²² (Figure 4.1)

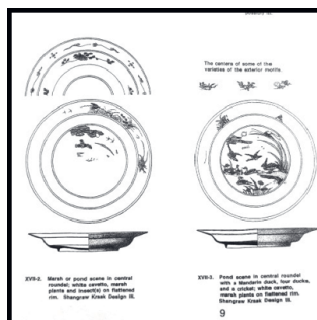


Figure 4.1. Copy of the illustration from E.P. Von der Porten.²³

Further examples of dishes without a panel pattern were excavated from the Santa Elena site in South Carolina dated to 1566-1587, mentioned in Chapter 2.²⁴ The *San Pedro* shipwreck dated to 1595 contained only dishes with a blank cavetto, and none with a panel pattern. (Figures 4.2 and 4.3) There are numerous similar dishes in the Middle Eastern collections, indicating that this type was also transported to those regions.²⁵



Figure 4.2. Fragments of dish rims from the *San Pedro* shipwreck (1595). Inv. nr. IMHA 79.155-9.²⁶



Figure 4.3. Fragments of a dish rim from the *San Pedro* shipwreck (1595). Inv. nr. IMHA 79.155-6.

²² Von der Porten 2017 (op. cit.), pp. 8-9.

²³ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴ L. Pomper, J. Legg and C.B. DePratter, 'Chinese Porcelain from the Site of the Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena, 1566-1587', *Vormen uit Vuur* 212/213, no. 1/2, 2011, pp. 32-41.

²⁵ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op.cit.), inv. nrs. TKS15/ 2548; TKS15/7781/TKS15/2258.

²⁶ Photos courtesy of the National Museum of Bermuda.

These finds show that up to 1595 no porcelain with the typical Kraak panel pattern has been found from these dated sites. The first visible proof comes from the *San Diego* shipwreck dated to 1600, which contained a large number of items decorated with panels as well as dishes without panels.²⁷ (Appendix 4, table 3.)



Figure 4.4. Dishes without a panelled border from the *San Diego* shipwreck (1600), d. 20 cm National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

The next group, 'Group 3' is described as, 'Equidistant pomegranates with central medallion either round or star shaped, dated to ca. 1580-1605'.²⁸ Just as with their previous groupings, this type of 'border pattern' has little to do with the typical panel motif on Kraak porcelain. I have only been able to trace a few such shards to shipwrecks. It is uncertain whether finds from the *Santo Alberto* wrecked at the Hago Hago Morgan Bay area of South Africa in 1593, actually came from that ship; only two shards have such a rim design.²⁹ The *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires*, wrecked in 1606 on the shoal at the entrance of the Tagus River, Lisbon, only has a few fragments with this moulded 'pomegranate design'.³⁰ (Figure 4.6) There is only one piece in the collection of the Santos Palace in Lisbon, and three in the Topkapi Palace collection.³¹ This type of

²⁷ Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit.). The Spanish ship *San Diego* that sank in the bay of Manila was a commercial cargo vessel that had been fully loaded and probably intended to depart for Spanish America. It sank on December 16th 1600, after a clash with the Dutch ship *Mauritius*, one of four ships, which had set out from the Dutch Republic in 1598 for Asia. The complete story can be found in: Olivier van Noort, *Wonderlijcke voyagie, by de Hollanders ghedaen, door de Strate Magalanes, ende voorts den gantschen kloot des aerdtbodems om, met vier schepen: onder den admiraal Olivier van Noort van Utrecht, uytgevaeren anno 1598*. Amsterdam 1618. Even though the Spanish captain (Antonio da Morga) had rammed and entered the *Mauritius* and the Dutch flag was captured, their own ship was rapidly sinking from a cannonball shot by the Dutch.

²⁸ McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p.10; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 81.

²⁹ L.V. Esterhuizen, 'Dekoratiwe motiewe op Chinese porseleinskerwe uit Portugeseskeepswrakke aan die Suid-Afrikaanse kus, 1552-1647; 'n Kultuurhistoriese studie'. PhD. thesis University of Pretoria, 2005, p.103.; 'History written in porcelain shards. The São Joao and São Bento, Two Twelfth Century Portuguese Shipwrecks'. *Taoci*, nr. 2, 2001, pp. 111-116.

³⁰ J. P. Desroches, *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires. The Last Voyage*. Catalogue of the exhibition in the Pavilhão de Portugal, Expo Lisbon, 1998, pp. 229-251.

³¹ Appendix, list 12. Inv. Nr. 24. The central design has a deer in a landscape. Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 82, plate 59. Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv.nr. TKS 15/8162.

design does not resemble the typical Kraak panel pattern, and therefore I consider it irrelevant to date Kraak ware.

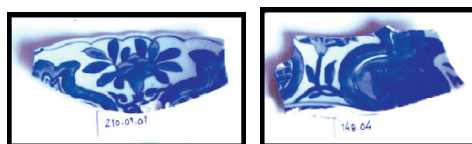


Figure 4.6. Shards with a pomegranate design from the *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606). Photos courtesy of V. Esterhuizen.

McElney describes his 'group 4' as, 'dishes with eight to ten equal panels on the cavetto overlapping onto the rim; the centre is round or star-shaped'.³² He dates this group to ca. 1570-1615, Rinaldi to 1580-1610, and Von der Porten between 1575 and 1610.³³ There are a few large dishes in the collection of the Topkapi Palace Museum and the Ardebil Shrine with this pattern.³⁴ These, as well as a dish in the Santos Palace collection are of exceptional quality, and have twelve broad panels.³⁵ It may well be that this pattern was first applied on dishes specially produced for the Middle East, and then later applied to smaller ones produced for European customers. For example, the *San Diego* shipwreck contained a few small size dishes with this pattern, but then of a much lesser quality. (Figure 4.7)



Figure 4.7. A small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck with single broad panels. d. 12-14 cm. National Museum of Manila. Photo by author.

Numerous Kraak panel-decorated dishes recovered from shipwrecks or land sites belong to the 'group 5', which is described as: 'Dishes with 8 -10 broad panels with

³² McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p 10.

³³ Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 71 and pp. 82-87.

³⁴ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv.nrs.: TKS15/10315, d.34.5; TKS15/3344, d.35.4 cm. Pope 1956 (op.cit.), inv. nr. 29.172-173, d. 44.5 cm.; inv.nr. 29.264, d.31 cm. (decagonal); inv.nrs. 29.203-204, d. 35 cm.

³⁵ Lion-Goldschmidt 1984 (op.cit.), inv.nr. 179 (d. 35 cm.) and inv.nr. 83 (d.19 cm.). The Ardebil Shrine has a similar dish with a diameter of 35 cm.

designs of flowers separated by narrow panels with a single row of dots covering the cavetto and rim. The central design is set off by a circle and most dishes have a deer-in-landscape design; others have waterfowl'.³⁶ (Figure 4.8) Rinaldi and Von der Porten date this group from about 1579 to 1605. The early date of 1579 is questionable, as the earliest dated dishes with this pattern have been retrieved from the *San Diego* and none from sites prior to 1600. (Figure 4.9) The *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601) yielded an identical dish with the same broad and narrow panels as illustrated in Figure 4.10.³⁷ (Appendix 4, table 4)



Figure 4.8. Small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck, d. 14-16 cm. National Museum Manila, photo by author.



Figure 4.9. Small dish from the *San Diego* shipwreck, d. 14-16 cm. National Museum, Manila, photo by author.

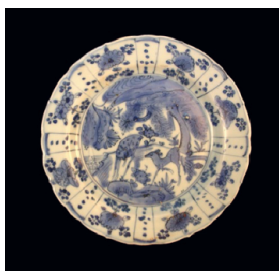


Figure 4.10. Dish salvaged from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601). (no dimensions). Photo courtesy of J. Harbeston.

³⁶ McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 28.

³⁷ R. Woodman, *The Disastrous Voyage of the Santa Margarita*, London, 2008; J. Harbeston, 'Wrecked Spanish Galleon, Project for Salvage Operations on the Manila Galleon Santa Margarita (1601)', *Arts of Asia*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2004, p. 24. It smashed into a reef due to neglect of the crew near the island of Rota, Northern Mariana Islands.

<http://www.iotapartners.org/history-of-the-ship/> (visited January, 2020). The salvage company (IOTA partners) which had apparently worked on the discovery of this vessel got into legal problems with the local government involving the destruction of part of the reef where the galleon was located.

Further evidence comes from the already mentioned *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires*.³⁸ Figure 4.11 shows dishes of identical dimension and shape with a variety of broad panel patterns, with and without narrow ones, all having been produced during the same period. (Appendix 4, table 5).



Figure 4.11 Four dishes from the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* shipwreck (1606), d. 20 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Similar dishes with the broad panels but crudely painted were retrieved from some much later shipwrecks, the *São Gonçalo*, dated 1630, and the so-called ‘Wanli shipwreck’ dated to around 1630-1635.³⁹ (Figures 4.12 and 4.13) These small dishes are crudely painted, an indication that they were hastily decorated and produced in large quantities. As dishes decorated with this type of panel can be dated to various periods, a fixed date for this motif cannot be established. It was, just as other panel patterns, continually applied to Kraak-type dishes during the period when these were produced until around 1645.



Figure 4.12. Dish retrieved from the *São Gonçalo* (1630). Photo by author.



Figure 4.13. Small dish d.14 cm. from the ‘Wanli shipwreck’. (ca. 1630- 1635). Serial No.1985.⁴⁰

³⁸ Desroches 1998 (op.cit.), pp. 229-251.

³⁹ S. Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*, Manila, 2007; C. Sheaf and R. Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record*, Oxford, 1988.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 212.

McElney and Rinaldi describe their group 6 and 7 as, 'dishes with broad panels having a cartouche or oval design and filled with flowers separated by narrow panels with tassels and beads'.⁴¹ Rinaldi dates this group to 1575 -1605 and Von der Porten from 1590 to 1605/1610. He based the 1590 date on pieces from the *San Augustin* shipwrecked in 1595.⁴² However, according to the tests carried out by Meniketti, definite dating is not possible: 'It bears repeating that there is no reference with which to compare. Indeed, other collections are themselves based on the Pt. Reyes materials. Other factors potentially affecting the results include differential absorption of elements from the ambient environment and the depth of penetration of the X-rays on different samples'.⁴³

This typical Kraak-panel pattern consists of large cartouches with a decoration separated by narrow panels with ribbons, trellis, dots or other simplified designs. The background is usually 'filled in' with a so-called 'diaper-pattern'; a central design is framed in various ways and was applied to dishes of various dimensions. (Figure 4.14) It appears on most dishes retrieved from Western shipwrecks from 1600 on and continued to be used until at least 1643-1645, the alleged date of sinking of the 'Hatcher wreck'.⁴⁴ Some 23,000 pieces were recovered from this wreck site.⁴⁵ Flatware is predominant and the panelled type is represented in large numbers and variations that indicate that this type was still being produced in large quantities at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368 -1644). The Middle Eastern collections have numerous dishes of this type. Those in the Ardebil Shrine collection have either a diameter of around 36 centimetres or 45-53 centimetres; there are only a few smaller ones with a diameter of 20 centimetres. The Topkapi Palace Museum has a larger amount, and range from 29-36 centimetres and 45-53 centimeters. All are elaborately painted.⁴⁶

⁴¹ McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 28: 'Group 6: large panels have oval pattern; separated by narrow ones; there is no diaper design'; Group 7 is the same but with the 'diaper' design in narrow panels; the panels are moulded; the broad panels are decorated with symbols and/or flowers. See also Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 92-95.

⁴² Von der Porten even illustrates shards with this type of panel together with those having only broad panels dating them to the 1570s, see Von der Porten 2001 (op. cit.), p. 57.

⁴³ Meniketti 2014 (op. cit.), p.308.

⁴⁴ The *San Diego* (1600), the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606), the *Mauritius* (1609), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613); there are also pieces from the *São Gonçalo* (1630), and the Wanli wreck (ca. 1630-1635) but these are more coarsely decorated.

⁴⁵ Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op. cit.).

⁴⁶ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), Pope 1956 (op.cit.).

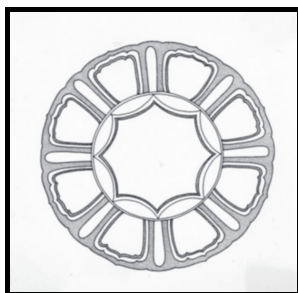


Figure 4.14. Diagram of a standard panel pattern with broad cartouches alternating with narrow panels.⁴⁷

Numerous dishes with this pattern have been retrieved from the *San Diego* as shown in Figures 4.15 and 4.16. The *Santa Margarita* (1601) also carried dishes with this pattern as illustrated in Figure 4.17.



Figure 4.15. A large dish from the *San Diego*, d. 28-30 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.



Figure 4.16. Two dishes from the *San Diego*, d. 20-24 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.



Figure 4.17. Fragments retrieved from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck (1601). Photo courtesy of J. Harbeston.

⁴⁷ C. L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic Load of the 'Witte Leeuw', (1613)*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1982, p. 60.

The shipwreck of the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* dated to 1606 contained a few large dishes with the same design. (Figures 4.18) and 4.19)



Figure 4.18. Dish from the shipwreck of the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606). d. ca. 45 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.



Figure 4.19. Dish from the shipwreck *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606). d. ca. 45 cm. Museu de Marinha, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Identical dishes were retrieved from the VOC ship *Mauritius*, which sank in 1609 in the Gulf of Guinea on its return journey and was excavated by Michel L'Hour in 1985.⁴⁸ The cargo list does not mention any porcelain, but documents show that this ship had taken over part of the cargo from the captured *St. Anthonio* at Madagascar.⁴⁹ It would therefore even be possible that the porcelain was part a private cargo of a Portuguese merchant. Of the approximately 215 pieces, some 165 items were decorated with this distinct panel pattern as shown in Figures 4.20 and 4.21. (Appendix 4, table 6)



Figure 4.20. Fragments of dishes from the *Mauritius* shipwreck (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis. Photo by author.



Figure 4.21. Dish retrieved from the *Mauritius* (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis. Photo by author.

⁴⁸ M. L'Hour, (ed.), *Le Mauritius. La Mémoire Engloutie*, Paris, 1989. The vessel stranded in the bay of the Cabo de Lope Gonçalves and some of its cargo was transferred to another Dutch ship in the vicinity. NL-HaNA 3.01.14 (Oldebarneveld), inv. nr. 3110.

⁴⁹ L'Hour (ed.) 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 233-239.

From the shipwreck of the *Witte Leeuw* (1613), a large quantity of shards most of which had this particular panel-pattern was retrieved.⁵⁰ (Appendix 4, table 7) (Figures 4.22, 4.23 and 4.24)



Figure 4.22. Dish with a cicada on a rock and a dragonfly. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). Inv. nr. 4027. d. 21.9 cm. Photo by author.



Figure 4.23 Dish from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. 50.7 cm. Inv. nr. NG 1977-177-W. Photo by author.



Figure 4.24. Dish from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. 28.4 cm. Inv. nr. NG-1977-167-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Further examples of this pattern come from dishes found at the wreck site of the *São Gonçalo*. Portuguese documents show that the *São Gonçalo* sank in 1630 after goods were taken off the ship due to a fire on board. The discovery of large quantities of shards discovered at the campsite where the survivors stayed at Plettenburg Bay area led to extensive research and shows a large quantity of Kraak-panelled porcelain.⁵¹ (Appendix 4, table 9) They include dishes of various dimensions ranging from 20-22 centimetres to 50 centimetres in diameter; most have either square or cartouche-shaped panels. (Figure 4.25) The quality and decoration are variable; one dish is quite exceptional and has round-shaped cartouches. (Figure 4.26)

⁵⁰ Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.)1982, (op. cit.).

⁵¹ V. Esterhuizen and E. Axelson, 'Relics from the São Gonçalo at Plettenburg Bay', *Antiques in South Africa*, vol. 8, 1980, pp. 37-40.



Figure 4.25. Dish with flattened rim with cartouche-shaped panels from the *São Gonçalo* shipwreck (1630). d. 21 cm. Plettenburg Bay, South Africa. Photo by author.



Figure 4.26. Dish with exceptional type of cartouches from the *São Gonçalo*, d. ca. 20 cm. Plettenburg Bay, Photo by author.

A large number of panel-patterned dishes were salvaged from the so-called ‘Wanli shipwreck’ in Malaysia’s territorial waters.⁵² Much of the ceramic cargo was broken by an explosion and more than 9,000 kilos of porcelain shards were recovered from the site. The publication illustrates the ceramics retrieved from the shipwreck area of which some 37,000 fragments have the distinct panelled pattern.⁵³ (Figures 4.27 and 4.28) The quality of the pieces as well as the designs is variable, ranging from well painted to very coarsely sketched ones. The title ‘Wanli’ for this shipwreck should however be questioned. The reign ended in 1620; a more likely date would be around 1630-35 as there are various types of porcelain items that had not appeared on VOC documentation prior to 1635.⁵⁴

⁵² Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.). Only a small part of the ship has been recovered intact; most of the hull was damaged and a large part of the cargo has been lost, seemingly destroyed by a huge explosion which is likely to have followed a battle between the Portuguese ship and a rival vessel, maybe Dutch. An archaeological reconstruction suggests that when the fire reached the ammunition store, the stern was literally torn off by the resulting explosion, and the remains sank to a depth of 40 meters.

⁵³ Ibid., an overview of the types and amounts is given on pp. 44-45 of that publication.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 154-155.



Figure 4.27. Four dishes from the 'Wanli shipwreck', d. ca. 21.5 cm.; serial nrs. 870/5255/6935/5750.⁵⁵

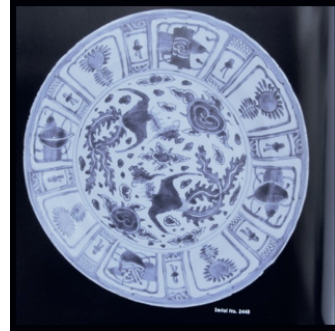


Figure 4.28. Dish with two flying phoenix from the 'Wanli shipwreck', d. ca. 28 cm; serial nr. 2448.⁵⁶

Dishes with an identical pattern were retrieved from the Spanish *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, which left Manila for Acapulco in 1638 and was wrecked on the island of Saipan. According to Rinaldi there are no complete pieces but shards include dishes and bowls with a panelled pattern.⁵⁷ The dishes are of four different sizes, from 20 to 50 centimetres in diameter. (Figure 4.29)

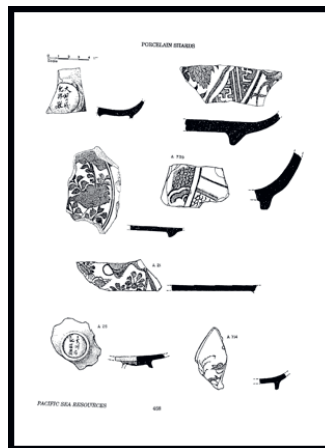


Figure 4.29. Illustration of shards from the shipwreck of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 196-197.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 180-181.

⁵⁷ M. Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*', *TOCS*, 1992-93, vol. 57, pp. 95-96. See also: M. Rinaldi, 'The Ceramic Cargo of the *Concepción*', *Pacific Sea Resources*, 1990, pp. 396-469.

There are no closed forms or *clapmuts*.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Drawings from pp. 468-469.

The above-mentioned shipwrecks show that, from the turn of the century, this particular panel pattern was mostly used on flatware of different dimensions and continued to be used until around 1643-1645, the date given to the 'Hatcher cargo'.⁵⁹ No identical dishes were retrieved from pre-1600 shipwrecks such as the *San Juanillo* (1578) or the *San Pedro* (1595).

A different category as to shape and pattern from the dishes discussed above has been labelled 'group 8' by McElney, Rinaldi and Von der Porten and dated to 'ca. 1595-1645'.⁶⁰ It includes dishes without a rim and a pattern of roundels instead of cartouches or straight panels, which are separated by tiny ribbons. A star-shaped border encloses the central decoration. (Figure 4.30) This dating is again questionable because there are no known fragments of this type from shipwrecks prior to 1609. This particular type seems to have been mainly found in Dutch shipwrecks. The 'Wanli' wreck also listed a large number with various dimensions, from 11 centimetres diameter to large ones of 29 centimetres.⁶¹

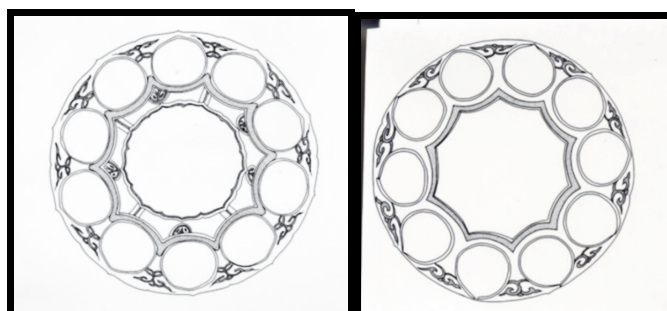


Figure 4.30. Drawings of two types of patterns with roundels on dishes from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613).⁶²

A substantial number, around 70 items of this type have been salvaged from the VOC shipwreck of the *Mauritius* (1609), as shown in Figure 4.31.⁶³

⁵⁹ Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 (op.cit.).

⁶⁰ McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 109-111.

⁶¹ Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007, (op.cit.).

⁶² Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), p. 84 and p. 101.

⁶³ L'Hour (ed.) 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 146-147.



Figure 4.31. Dishes with roundels. d. ca. 20 cm. Musée de la Compagnie des Indes. Port Louis. France. Photo by author.

The fragments of the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck include two sizes of this type of dish. (Figures 4.32 and 4.33)



Figure 4.32. Dish decorated with a frog on a rock. d. 20.9 cm. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). Inv. nr. 5156.⁶⁴ Photo by author.



Figure 4.33. Two dishes with a design of a bird and a goose on a rock. *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613). d. ca. 15 cm. left: inv. nr. 5173; right: inv. nr. 5174. Photo by author.

Dishes with an identical pattern were retrieved from the ship *Banda*, part of a return fleet that left Bantam bound for Holland together with the *Delft*, the *Geünieerde Provinciën* and the *Gelderland*. The fleet arrived at the island of Mauritius at the beginning of March, 1615.⁶⁵ A heavy hurricane crashed the *Banda* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* on the coast destroying each vessel completely.⁶⁶ According to the cargo list of the *Gelderland*, the cargo contained 69,057 pieces of porcelain including ‘half, third and quarter-sized dishes, half-sized *clapmuts*, cups’, identical shapes to those of the *Banda*.⁶⁷ (Appendix 4, table 8) (Figures 4.34 and 4.35)

⁶⁴ Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.)1982 (op. cit.), p. 98.

⁶⁵ J. Dumas, *Fortune de Mer a l’Ile Maurice*, Paris, 1981.

⁶⁶ A large number of shards washed onto the shore came from the other ship that was wrecked on the island of Mauritius during the same storm, the *Geünieerde Provinciën*, but as of yet, these have not been inventoried or published.

⁶⁷ H.E. van Gelder, ‘Gegevens omtrent den porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie.’ *Economisch-Historisch jaarboek: bijdragen tot de economische geschiedenis van Nederland*. Vol. X, pp.165-193, 1924, p 172; T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*, Leiden, 1954, p. 26. The cargo of the *Gelderland* was transferred onto the *Delft* and the *Orangeboom*. Both arrived safely in the



Figure 4.34. A small dish from the *Banda* shipwreck (1615) with roundels on the cavetto. A central design of symbols. d. ca. 14 cm. Frederik Hendrick Museum, Mauritius. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasany.



Figure 4.35. Two small dishes with roundels retrieved from the *Banda* shipwreck (1615). d. ca.14-16 cm. Frederik Hendrick Museum, Mauritius. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasena.

McElney and Rinaldi group a totally different shape of a shallow bowl or *clapmuts* to the same group 8 mentioned above.⁶⁸ This shape has been discussed in the previous chapter. The border is described as having various shapes of cartouches with a *tao tieh* type of mask above them, separated by narrow elongated ribbons as shown in Figure 4.36.

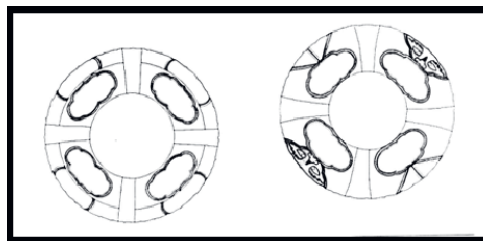


Figure 4.36. Drawings of panel patterns on shallow bowls known as *clapmuts*. Copy from the catalogue of the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613).⁶⁹

Dutch Republic, 1-10-1615 and 13-12-1615; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr.1057, Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam (1615): '*Laus Deo ady 25 octob.r an.o 1614 In bantam facture vant Cargasoen ... Gelderland gescheept ende geladen*'.

⁶⁸ Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), p. 120;

⁶⁹ Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), p. 113 and p. 105.

Rinaldi made a sub-grouping of the *clapmuts*-type illustrating the various border patterns on this category of flatware. The examples shown in her publication are exceptional items and not similar to any of the more simplified ones found in the *Mauritius* or *Witte Leeuw* shipwrecks.⁷⁰ The Topkapi Palace Museum has several exceptionally well-decorated *clapmuts* shapes. These may have been specially ordered for individual customers or used as gifts to rulers in the Middle East as they are of a larger dimension.⁷¹ For example, Figures 4.37 and 4.38 show large *clapmuts*-types from the Topkapi Palace with quite different decorations than those from the above-mentioned shipwrecks.⁷² I again assume that such items were first produced for the Middle East and, when large quantities were ordered by the VOC, a simplified pattern was applied to mass-produced ones.



Figure 4.37 *Clapmuts* type. d. 28.5 cm. Topkapi Palace, inv.nr. TKS15/2793.⁷³



Figure 4.38. *Clapmuts* type, d. 27 cm. Topkapi Palace, inv. nr. TKS15/2502.⁷⁴

The *Mauritius* shipwreck contained several fragments of the *clapmuts*-type, all with a smaller dimension, each decorated with Chinese symbols and ribbons. (Figure 4.39)



Figure 4.39. Small *clapmuts* from *Mauritius* shipwreck (1609). d. ca. 14-16 cm. Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis, France. Photo by author.

⁷⁰ Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 134-137.

⁷¹ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nrs.: TKS15/9340, d. 30 cm.; TKS15/3780, d. 37 cm.; TKS15/2793, d. 28.5 cm.; TKS15/2513, d. 23.5 cm.; TKS15/2514, d. 27 cm.; TKS15/3709, d.: 22 cm.

⁷² Ibid. There are only five of the *clapmuts* type and they all have exceptional patterns and designs. TKS15/9340; TKS15/3780, d. 37 cm.; TKS15/2793, d. 28.5 cm.; TKS15/2513, d. 23.5 cm.; TKS15/2514, d.27 cm.

⁷³ Ibid. It has a silver Ottoman mount on the rim.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

The *Witte Leeuw* had both small and large sized *clapmuts* as part of its cargo. (Figures 4.40 and 4.41) Several are of a very fine thin porcelain and well decorated, but there are also many with a denser body and are coarsely decorated. This variety in quality is due to the workmanship of different kilns, explained before. Most are decorated with a *tao tieh* mask but there are *clapmuts* shapes with other designs and some have a separate band on the rim.



Figure 4.40. *Clapmuts* from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (1613). d. 21 cm., inv. nr. NG-127-6448-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 4.41. *Clapmuts* from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck with a *tao tieh* mask on the rim. d. 21.5 cm., inv. nr. NG-1978-127-6429-W. Photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The *Banda* shipwreck (1615) had several small-sized ones aboard. (Figure 4.42) The fact that they all have identical designs and patterns indicates that these were produced as a series, possibly ordered as a private purchase to be used as tableware. They are mediocre in quality, comparable to the ones from the *Mauritius* shipwreck. Even though the 'Wanli shipwreck' only contained 6, the 'Hatcher cargo' had 73 *clapmuts*-type bowls of 20-22 centimetres diameter and 103 smaller ones of 10-14 centimetres diameter indicating that these were still being produced as late as 1643-45. As far as I know, only few fragments have been retrieved from Iberian shipwrecks;

apparently, the Dutch favoured this shape from the start of their trade, as this typical Dutch term already appeared on an order list dated to 1607.



Figure 4.42. *Clapmuts*-type bowls from the *Banda* (1615). d. ca.14-16 cm. Museum Mahebourg, Mauritius Island. Photo courtesy of R. Jayasena.

The last group that the above-mentioned authors have created, group 9, is described as: ‘flatware and large bowls with only broad panels, decorated with a variety of designs different from the above groups such as landscapes with houses, or figures and are divided by ‘tulip like’ and ‘Iznik like’ flowers’.⁷⁵ Those from the ‘Wanli’ wreck (ca. 1630-35) do not have any such flowers. The authors date this group to 1625-1650, the last period of the production of the panel-decorated type of porcelain. As they have been found in the ‘Wanli’ wreck but not on the *São Gonçalo* (1630), or any of the other earlier dated shipwrecks, a date after 1630 for this type of decoration would be more likely. The ‘Hatcher cargo’ included 44 large bowls and the ‘Wanli shipwreck’ around 25 but they are not of the exceptional quality as those in the Middle Eastern collections.⁷⁶ (Figure 4.43 and Figure 4.44)

⁷⁵ McElney 1995 (op. cit.), p. 11; Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 159-164.

⁷⁶ Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), pp. 100-107.



Figure 4.43. Large bowl from the 'Wanli shipwreck' (ca.1630-1635), d. 36.0 cm. ⁷⁷

Such large bowls may have first have been produced for the Middle East at a much earlier date as the Ardebil Shrine collection has an end date of 1611. The Topkapi Palace museum has five of these large bowls, the Ardebil Shrine collection has only one, and it is exceptionally well decorated.⁷⁸ (Figures 4.44 and 4.45)



Figure 4.44. Large bowl with various designs in cartouches divided by flowers . d. 34.5 cm. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv. nr. 29.380. Photo by author.

⁷⁷ Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op.cit.), serial nr. 6923.

⁷⁸ Pope 1956 (op. cit.), Plate 106. An identical bowl is in the Topkapi Museum: inv.nr. TKS15/2499.



Figure 4.45. Examples of large bowls from the Topkapi Palace Museum.⁷⁹

Included in the category of Kraak-pannelled ware are the small bowls also known as ‘caudle cups’ or ‘crow cups’, already explained in Chapter 3.⁸⁰ These have not been given a chronological dating by McElney or Von der Porten, even though they have been retrieved from nearly all known Western shipwrecks. Rinaldi divides a range of bowls including those without panelling into separate groups of shapes, and dates each group.⁸¹ Here I would again argue that a clear distinction should be made between the exceptionally fine ones and the coarser types. Of the delicate, well-painted ones, only few have been retrieved from shipwrecks, contrary to the much coarser painted mass-produced ones, salvaged in larger quantities.⁸² The Middle Eastern collections contain a number of bowls of various shapes, and with the identical central design of the bird depicted on the mass-produced ones.⁸³ Therefore, this decoration was not a novelty.

The *San Diego* shipwreck has only four bowls of thinly potted porcelain and with very finely drawn decorations but none of the coarser types, an indication that this was a rare item.⁸⁴ (Figures 4.46 and 4.47) The bowl in Figure 4.46, inv.nr. 3855, is identical

⁷⁹ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), inv. nr. TKS15/3825, d. 38 cm. and inv.nr. TKS15/2503, d. 38 cm.

⁸⁰ The name and description have been dealt with in the previous chapter.

⁸¹ Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 138-161

⁸² The *Witte Leeuw* has only one without panels and a few delicately painted ones. Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 141-142; the rest are more thickly potted and crudely painted, similar to those from the *Mauritius* and *Banda*.

⁸³ Krahl and Ayers 1986 (op. cit.), TKS15/2621 (fine quality with a lid, the bird is depicted on the exterior); TKS15/2460 (the bird is in the centre, the exterior has geese. The Ardebil shrine has only a few, but all delicate ones).

⁸⁴ Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit), pp. 340-341.

to one drawn in the logbook by someone of the ship *Gelderland* on its return journey to the homeland in 1601-1603.⁸⁵



Figure 4.46. Bowl on the left: inv. nr. 673, h: 5,4 cm. Middle: inv. nr. 2863, h. 6.3 cm. Right: inv. nr. 3855, h. 7.5 cm.⁸⁶



Figure 4.47. Bowl with panel pattern and a bird on a rock in the centre. inv. nr. 672, h. 7,7 cm. National Museum, Manila. Photo by author.

The secretary of the ship, Symon Jacobszoon Laerle, was especially appointed for writing the entries into the logbook and it is very likely that he also made all the sketches, including the porcelain pieces.⁸⁷ These drawings are the earliest dated sketches of Chinese porcelain brought back to the Dutch Republic; it is remarkable to see how detailed they depict the pieces of the types of porcelain.⁸⁸ (Figures 4.48 and 4.49) They also indicate that such bowls were scarce and exceptional enough to have been drawn. The *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) yielded three different sizes of bowls of which most are of mediocre quality; there is only one exceptional bowl, identical to the one illustrated in the logbook of the *Gelderland*; therefore, this type was not mass-produced.

⁸⁵ P. Moree, *Dodo's en Galjoenen. De Reis van het Schip Gelderland naar Oost-Indie, 1601-1603*, Zutphen, 2001. This ship was part of the second voyage (*Tweede Schipvaart*) of the Moluccan Fleet. There was a battle with the Portuguese and 2 vessels were captured. In 1603 the *Gelderland*, *Zeeland* and *Duyffken* returned to the Dutch Republic.

⁸⁶ Photo from: Carré, Desroches and Goddio 1994 (op. cit), p. 340.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43. Coastal sketches and other new information as to fish, birds, etc. were made by a crewmember as these were important for future expeditions but also for knowledge of distant regions. pp. 298-301. All drawings are to be found in the National Archives in The Hague. Collection Mayer, 1598, inv. nr. 136.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

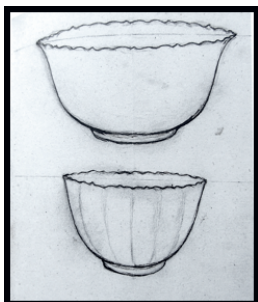


Figure 4.48. Drawing from the logbook of the ship *Gelderland* (1601-1603). Inv. nr. 136.04. (Nationaal Archief)

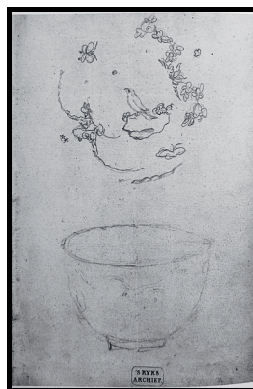


Figure 4.49. Sketch of a bowl and interior design of a bird from the logbook of the ship *Gelderland* (1601-1603). Inv. nr. 136.01. (Nationaal Archief)

The *Santa Margarita* shipwreck dated to 1601 has numerous shards of bowls with white deer on a blue background as well as several fragments of bowls with the standard decoration of a bird on a rock in the centre, all of a coarser type than the above-mentioned ones. Bowls with the deer design were rarely found in later dated shipwrecks, indicating that this design must have gradually disappeared. (Figures 4.50, 4.51, 4.52 and 4.53; photos courtesy of J. Harbeston)



Figure 4.50. Bowl with white deer in panels. d. ca. 14 cm.



Figure 4.51. Base fragment of bowl with white deer on blue.



Figure 4.52. Base fragment of bowl With a bird on a rock



Figure 4.53 Two base fragments of bowls each with a bird on a rock.

It was mostly the coarser type that was salvaged from VOC shipwrecks, as the fragments from the *Mauritius* illustrate. (Figure 4.54) The designs are quite carelessly painted and the potting is of a thicker material than the exquisite ones from the *San Diego*, an indication that such bowls would have been mass-produced from around 1606.⁸⁹



Figure 4.54. Five base fragments of bowls with the bird on a rock design from the shipwreck *Mauritius* (1609). Musée de la Compagnie des Indes. Port Louis. France. Photo by author.

Even though few bowls were of the delicate type, the majority from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) consists of the smaller, coarsely potted and painted ones, as part of the cargo. (Figure 4.57)



Figure 4.55. Finely painted bowl from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). d. 9.4 cm. Inv. nr. 1978-127-9801-W. Photo Rijksmuseum.



Figure 4.56. Finely painted bowl with the panel pattern from the *Witte Leeuw*, d. 12.5 cm. Inv. nr. 1978-127-7755-W. Photo Rijksmuseum.



Figure 4.57. Fragments of five coarser type bowls from the *Witte Leeuw* (1613). d. ca. 12 cm. Photo by author.

⁸⁹ The *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* (1606) does not have any fragments of 'crow cups' but the *Mauritius* (1609), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613) and the *Banda* (1615) have numerous ones.

The *São Gonçalo* (1630), only had a few shards of these bowls (Figure 4.58), as does the wreck of the Spanish *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. (1638). The ‘Wanli shipwreck’ contained only 17 pieces; the ‘Hatcher Cargo’ around 80 small sized ones.



Figure 4.58. Two base shards of bowls with a bird on a rock from the *São Gonçalo* (1630). Plettenburg Bay, S.A. Photo by author.

An exceptional discovery was made in the Gulf of Thailand, near the island of Ko Si Chang in 1987-1988. ‘The date of this shipwreck was established in 1983 through the recovery of a porcelain bowl bearing the Chinese inscription *Da Ming Wanli Nian Zhi* (made in the Great Ming year Wanli). Wanli reigned from 1573–1619. Radio carbon dating of timber samples from the vessel resulted in a reading of 1570±90’.⁹⁰ According to the scholars who published the first report, ‘the islands below the river mouth were called the Dutch Islands, and the principal one, or Si-chang, “Amsterdam”’.⁹¹ The islands appear to have received these names because VOC ships, which frequented that area (Siam) in the 17th century, took shelter there during the southwest monsoon. As will be discussed in chapter 6, several deliveries took place from Formosa (Taiwan) to Southeast Asian destinations, including Siam, present day Thailand, and therefore it is possible that this cargo was one of those.⁹² Hundreds of fragments were found, belonging to bowls, most of a thinner and better-painted quality than mentioned above.

⁹⁰ R. Harper, *Previously Unpublished Data from the Thai-Australain Excavations of the Ko Si Chang One and Two, Ko Khram, Ko Rin and Prachuap Khiri Khan Wreck Sites in the Gulf of Thailand during the 1980's*. Fremantle, 2016, p. 54.

⁹¹ K. Atkinson, J. Green, R. Harper, and V. Intakosai, ‘Joint Thai-Australian Underwater Archaeological Project 1987–1988. Part 1: Archaeological Survey of Wreck Sites in the Gulf of Thailand, 1987–1988’. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol.18, no.4, 1989, pp. 299–315; J. Green, ‘The Ko Si Chang Excavation Report 1983’, *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, vol. 7 no. 2, pp. 9–37. The researchers are inclined to consider the *Ko Si Chang 1* cargo to be destined for a more discerning Southeast Asian customer and not for the European one.

⁹² One example is a request from Siam in 1637 for an assortment of porcelain according to samples. In December of that year, a ship on its way to Batavia from Formosa dropped off a cargo at Siam that included the requested porcelain (*fluttschip over Siam alvorens voor Batavia afgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen...van 't geeyche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen*). J.L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, W.E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.), *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1641*, The Hague, 1986, vol. I, K., fol. 449.

(Appendix 4, table 10) This particular shipwreck merits further research to solve the riddle as to why so many delicate items were shipped to that region. (Figure 4.59)

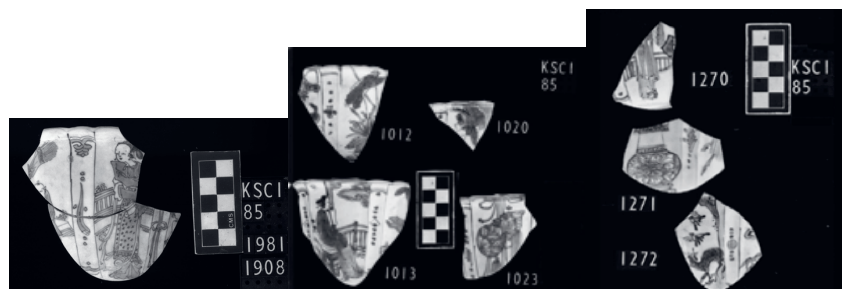


Figure 4.59. Examples of bowl fragments from the Ko Si Chang site, Gulf of Thailand.⁹³

Besides the flatware and bowls discussed above, there are a variety of other shapes with a panel pattern. Rinaldi divides these according to their shapes in the category 'closed forms'.⁹⁴ There are several shipwrecks that contained flasks with and without a panel pattern, dating from different periods. Therefore, it would again be impractical to give these shapes a precise date. For example, the *San Diego* from 1600 has flasks with and without panels.⁹⁵ It is quite remarkable what a variety of shapes these are; several have an onion-shaped mouth, and most are exquisitely decorated. The question arises for which market these were intended, as none similar were found in other Western shipwrecks. Furthermore, fragments from bottles salvaged from the *Nossa Senhoras dos Mártires* (1606), the *Witte Leeuw* (1613), and the *Banda* (1615), are all much coarser.⁹⁶ The 'Wanli shipwreck' cargo from ca. 1630-35 has several *kendi* and gourd-shape bottles, some with panels and some without.⁹⁷

On the whole, nearly all the items in the Topkapi Palace Museum, the Ardebil Shrine and the Santos Palace collections with a panel pattern are of a much better quality and very well decorated. (Appendix 4, tables 11, 12 and 13) When studying these collections, it is possible to see all the various types of the panel pattern. In fact, it is possible to discern a type of evolution in the development of this particular pattern.

⁹³ Photo taken from: Harper 2016 (op.cit.), p.72.

⁹⁴ Rinaldi 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 166-189. Most of the illustrated items in her publication are from either museum or private collections and therefore cannot be given a precise date.

⁹⁵ Carré, Desroches, and Goddio 1994 (op. cit.), pp. 328-337; p. 337 illustrates one of the 30 flasks with panels. There are seven *kendi*, two with a panel pattern. The 'Wanli shipwreck' has 15 *kendi* with panels, pp. 90-91.

⁹⁶ Desroches 1998 (op.cit.), Dumas 1981 (op.cit.) and the *Witte Leeuw*: inv.nr. 1977-115 W.

⁹⁷ Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), pp. 90-95.

Several dishes in the Topkapi Palace Museum have a decagonal shape with ten panels. (Figures 4.60 and 4.61) Then there are dishes with the single or double lined panels, a decorative scheme as yet not applied to dishes produced around the middle of the 16th Century. Finally, there are the large dishes with broad and narrow cartouches, most of which are decorated with elaborate designs. (Figure 4.62) The high quality and often exceptional decoration show that the Chinese paid more attention to individual items produced for the Middle East, which may have been sent as gifts or tribute.⁹⁸ Several similar fine decorated dishes can be found in the Santos Palace collection, which has an end date of 1613, when Don Luiz stopped acquiring pieces. These may well have been obtained via contacts in the Middle East. ⁹⁹ (Figures 4.63 and 4.64) (Appendix 4, table 13)

Apparently, when it came to mass-produced items for European customers, it was convenient for Chinese porcelain producers to use patterns already applied to those destined for the Middle East. As far as I know, there are no known Western orders that request any type of panel pattern on porcelain.

⁹⁸ There are some exceptions: several well decorated dishes with the largest diameter, 50 cm. were also found in the *Witte Leeuw* (1613).

⁹⁹ Lion Goldschmidt 1984 (op.cit.), p.62: 'Les acquisitions des Lancastre se sont interrompues vers 1613 et ne reprendront que beaucoup plus tard, au cours du troisième quart du XVII^e siècle. Cet arrêt des achats coïncide avec le décès, en 1613, de D. Luiz de Lancastre II, passionné comme l'avait été son père par tout ce qui se pouvait acquérir en provenance de la Chine. Il avait même obtenu du roi D. Sebastião le privilège d'un brevet l'autorisant à faire venir des « Indes », à ses frais, les biens qu'il convoitait. Il en a été tout autrement de son fils, D. Francisco Luiz, qui se désintéressa de la collection, ayant choisi de vivre à la cour de Madrid et ce, même au-delà de 1640, date à laquelle le Portugal allait recouvrer son indépendance'.



Figure 4.60. Decagonal dish with deer and crane, Topkapi Palace Museum, inv.nr. TKS 15/ 2287, d. 30.5 cm.



Figure 4.61. TKS15/2264, d.30 cm. Decagonal dish with an eagle on a rock and a small dog. Topkapi Palace Museum, inv.nr. TKS15/3344, d.35.4 cm.



Figure 4.62. Dish decorated with a Chinese warrior on a terrace. Ardebil Shrine collection, inv.nr. 29.202, d.30 cm., Iran Bastan Museum. Photo by author.



Figure 4.63. Santos Palace, inv.nr. 115, d. 37 cm. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Ollivier.



Figure 4.64. Santos Palace, inv.nr. 125, d. 50.4 cm. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais/ Thierry Ollivier.

Conclusion of this chapter.

The principal aim of this chapter was to discuss the chronological groups proposed by three specialists on the subject of Kraak blue and white panel-decorated porcelain. Each of their 'border groups' has been discussed and supported by illustrating fragments of dated shipwrecks. I conclude that a dating on grounds of their chronological border patterns is not reliable. The first three groups they distinguish include flatware without any clear panel pattern on the border, and should not be included in a chronological scheme for panel-decorated porcelain.

I have also discussed the difference between the fragments from dated shipwrecks, which, in general, are of lesser quality than the carefully chosen and well-kept items specially produced and sold to collectors of Chinese porcelain such as the Ottoman sultans of Turkey and Shah Abbas I of Persia. This is the reason that the majority of Kraak-panelled items in the Topkapi Palace Museum and the Ardebil Shrine collections are exceptionally well painted and are quite different from the mass-produced pieces retrieved from Western shipwrecks. I therefore suggest that in the literature on this subject, a distinction should be made between the mass-produced items produced for export and the rarer, exquisite and well-painted ones produced individually and obtained as private purchases. An example is the collection of porcelain housed in the Santos Palace in Lisbon with Kraak-panelled items, mostly flatware, all of excellent quality.

By illustrating and comparing fragments of dated shipwrecks, I conclude that a dating on grounds of border patterns is not reliable, as different patterns were continuously used during the period 1595-ca.1645. A chronological dating should start in the period when the first substantial amount of flatware with the panel pattern was retrieved from a dated shipwreck; the *San Diego* (1600) is the first known cargo containing various types of Kraak-panelled ware. It is, therefore, not possible to establish a precise period when a certain border scheme was used; the patterns overlap continuously during the relatively short period when this particular type was produced for export.