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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 5. The beginnings of Dutch trade in Asia and shipments of Chinese porcelain, 1595-ca.1622.

Introduction.

In the previous chapters I have dealt with the types of porcelain produced for export. The main type specifically made for Western customers is Kraak-panelled ware; cargoes were supplemented with Chinese domestic wares. The purpose of chapters 5 and 6 is to analyse Dutch demand for porcelain, how orders were fulfilled, and the quantities transported. Here the emphasis is on the role of the VOC as the main maritime distributors of Chinese porcelain during the first half of the 17th century.

I divide the period of 1595-1655 into three separate ones, as each one shows a different pattern of orders and shipments. The first section covers the years 1595-1602, when individual private companies (*voorcompagniëen*) travelled to Asia in search of pepper and spices and returned with minor quantities of porcelain. During this period, Chinese porcelain also arrived in the Dutch Republic as booty of captured Portuguese ships. I provide details on the seizure and booty of the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina*, as they contained the first quantities of Chinese porcelain to have arrived in the Dutch Republic. In addition, I show that there is no concrete evidence of the exact quantities of porcelain retrieved from these captured ships.

The second part covers the first twenty-odd years of the officially established VOC Company in Asia, from 1602 until 1622. During this period, Patani on the east coast of the Malayan Peninsula and Bantam at the tip of Northern Java were the principal trade posts where Chinese commodities were purchased. Porcelain only gradually became a desired commodity in the Dutch Republic, but relatively few commissions for Chinese porcelain characterise this period. The amounts on the return ships to the Republic were inconsistent; only a few shipments contained substantial amounts such as 60,000 items. It was also a period when the organisation of the VOC in Asia underwent several changes. During the first ten years after the establishment of the VOC in Asia, the Company suffered enormous losses and it was decided by the Board of Directors to place all authority in Asia in one person by the appointment of a Governor-General.¹ The first was Pieter Both (1568-1615) who arrived in Bantam in 1610; Jan

¹ Decisions amongst other issues, on the finance, trade and political events in Asia were made with a Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*). F.S. Gaastra, *The Organization of the VOC in the Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)*, from:

Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) became the fourth Governor General of the VOC in 1618. Coen played a prominent role in reorganizing the activities of the VOC in Asia.² One was the founding of the city of Batavia in 1619 after forcibly taking over what was then the town of Jayakarta. Batavia became the centre of administration of the VOC in Asia until 1795, when the Company closed down due to bankruptcy.

An important adjustment to the structure of the Company was the introduction of an inter-Asiatic system of transporting merchandise. A major problem confronting the VOC was the company's inability to offer goods that Asian consumers were interested in.³ Therefore, an inter-Asian trade system was set up whereby the profits could be used to pay for commodities in demand in the Dutch Republic.⁴ A network of trade posts in Asia as shown in Figure 5.1 was established. A decisive change for the cargoes of Chinese ceramics was the establishment of the VOC post on the island of Formosa in 1624, the subject of the next chapter.

https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf (visited January, 2020): 'It was also the job of the Governor-General and Council to compile the generale eis van Indië (general order from Asia), in which the amount of monies, goods, ships and crews considered necessary for the business overseas was summed up. In the sessions of the Heeren XVII it served as a guideline for decision-making on this subject. The orders from the various establishments were included in the generale eis; the Governor-General and Council were empowered either to reduce or increase each order according to their own insights'.

² H.T. Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vols. I-V, The Hague, 1919-1923.

³ R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660)*, Amsterdam, 2010, p. 32: 'During the first twenty years, the VOC administrators came to recognise the importance of an inter-Asiatic trade and that to make the Asian trade profitable, they had to become involved in that system itself. This forced them to trade in products that were not originally meant for the European market and VOC ships had to sail around the region to trade and collect cargo in various places before the return cargo was finally ready'; p. 47: 'There was an Eastern route from Batavia to the spice islands (the group of islands including Banda, Ambon and the Moluccan islands of which first Ternate and Tidore were visited.) Most of the collected spices were shipped back on the return voyages, a portion was used for trading within Asia'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60: 'The main cargo for Europe consisted of pepper and spices, but numerous other products were also requested. In a general memorandum written in the 1620s the VOC directors in the Netherlands instructed the Governor-General, his council and all the merchants in the trading posts all over Asia to send specific products for which they also specified the quantity as well as the quality. Heading the list was large quantities of pepper.'



Figure 5.1: Map of the actual trade zone (*octrooigebied*) of the VOC, between Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) and Japan; c. 1665. © Nationaal Archief Ref. 4.VEL-312.

As there are a sufficient number of publications on the history of the Dutch East India Company, I only give a short overview here. The first Dutch traders to reach Asia were recruited by the 'Company of Distant Regions' (*Compagnie van Verre*) established by nine Amsterdam merchants in 1594. The 'First Expedition' departed on April 2nd, 1595 and returned in August 1597 with 245 bags of pepper, 45 tons of nutmeg and 30 bales of mace. Accounts of various aspects and incidents during this voyage were taken down by at least nine crew members.⁵ From these accounts we learn how Dutch merchants were invited to buy Chinese porcelain for the first time.

Following this success, several other companies were established; they each financed their own fleets and returned with cargoes of pepper and spices. A total of fifteen expeditions of these private companies (*voorcompagniëen*) took place between April 1594 and May 1601 with a total of 66 vessels participating. However, prices of the commodities in Asia rose as more and more companies arrived to purchase them. Consequently, the Land's Advocate of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1574-1619), was engaged by the States of Holland to negotiate with the private companies to try and

⁵ G. P. Rouffaer and J.W. IJzerman, *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597, Journalen, Documenten en andere Bescheiden, deel I. d'Eerste boek van Willem Lodewyckssz.*, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. VII, The Hague, 1915; *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597, Journalen, Documenten en andere Bescheiden. Tweede deel. De Oudste Journalen der Reis.* Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XXV, The Hague, 1925.

form a coalition. Finally, in 1602 the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company, (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*), VOC for short, was established.

The organisation was administered by seventeen executive managing officers who formed the Board of Directors (*Heren Zeventien*). They represented six main Dutch cities or chambers (*Kamers*): Amsterdam, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Enkhuizen and Hoorn. Each chamber was responsible for equipping their own ships, hiring their crew members and organizing their trading, each keeping their own profit. The aim of the VOC in Asia was twofold: to gain control over the spice trade in the Indonesian archipelago and secondly, to take over the Spanish-Portuguese trade posts.

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

One of the main trade posts to purchase pepper and spices was Bantam, a market port on the western tip of Java. The fleet of ships of the first expedition arrived at the port of Bantam on June 23rd, 1596. There are several reports on porcelain being offered for trade. In the account of the 'First Voyage of the Dutch to East India', it was noted that, 'the Chinese brought all sorts of merchandise like porcelain, silk, silken textiles and other [goods]'.⁶ It continues with, 'They [the Chinese] also bring Porcelains, fine and coarse, of both sorts and when the Chinese have arrived, which (as has been mentioned before) is in January, one can get for one thousand caxas 5 and 6 dishes but not more than that'.⁷ A report concerning the same voyage, notes that on November 7th, 1596, one of the ships of the fleet lay about 6 miles from Bantam harbour near a river entrance to obtain fresh water and provisions; 'and merchants (Chinese) came on board to sell porcelains all from Bantam'.⁸ Bantam was an important harbour market where commodities from all over Asia were traded. (Figure 5. 2)

⁶ Rouffaer and IJzerman (eds.) 1915 (op.cit.), pp. 75-76.

⁷ Ibid., p. 123. 'Van de Chinesen, hare handelinge ende leven: *'Zij brenghen oock Porceleynen fyne ende grove, van beyde soorten, waer ten tyde als de Chinesen aencomen zijn, twelck (als geseyt is) in Januarij is, men om duysent Caxas, 5. ende 6. Schotleen coopen can, ende daer buyten niet meer als twee, ende selden drie.'* In the same account the conversion rate is explained (12 -13 ,000 caxas for 1 reaal of eight), 'de onse kochten 12 of 13 duysent van dese penningen (caxas) om en reaal van achten'. A caxa was a coin made of lead mixed with copper with a square hole in the middle that was made in China. It was the main currency from 1590 used in Bantam as well as other islands. 200 of these pieces strung together formed a *santa* = 9 'denier' called *piti* by the Javanese. The Spanish coin, *real de a ocho*, was used in Asia as the currency to purchase merchandise. It was used from the 16th until the 18th century in the Dutch East Indies where the population called them *Real Batu* (or *pasmat*).

⁸ Rouffaer and IJzerman (eds.) 1925 (op.cit.), p. 45, note 5: '*ende zijn hier noch cooply aen boort gecomen met Porselyn te coop al uyt Bantam*'.

Another account, dated November 11th, 1596, reported that, 'a parao has arrived from Bantam to spy on us and under the pretext of selling us some provisions and porcelains told us that the Portuguese had bought up two boats with nuts [nutmeg]'.⁹ In November 13th, 1596, a report sent from the ship *Hollandia* anchored about 12 miles from Bantam harbour states that, 'Arabian merchants came on board with good intentions and with warnings of attacks'; 'they brought porcelains and some fruits'.¹⁰ These accounts show how before the establishment of the VOC, the Dutch were occasionally offered the chance to buy porcelain in Asia, but had not yet sent any orders themselves.



Figure 5.2. View of Bantam with ships; one is being careened.¹¹ *'Gezicht op de stad Bantam, met schepen op de voorgrond; links van het midden ligt een schip gekanteld in het water'*. Print dated 1676, Rijksmuseum, inv. nr. RP-P-OB-47-460.

During this period, Dutch merchants also noted the presence of Chinese traders on the island of Bali. 'The Chinese also come here to trade, and bring sabers, which are

⁹ Rouffaer and Ijzerman (eds.) 1915, (op. cit.), p. 161: *'Den 11. dito isser een Parao van Bantam ghecomen om ons te comen verspieden, ende onse resolutie te vernemen, onder tdxel van eenighe victuali ende Porceleynen te comen vercoopen'*.

¹⁰ Rouffaer and Ijzerman, 1925, (op. cit.), p. 311, note 2. These Arab merchants (also called Moors by the Dutch) were apparently anti-Portuguese and therefore warned the Dutch. *'Ter deeser plaetse syn ons Arabiese Cooplyuden aen boort gecoomen, die ons een goedt herdt toedroegen ende dickmaelen voor eenighe aenslaeghen gewaerschout hadden; dese selfde brochten porsileynen, ende eenighe fruyten'*.

¹¹ Careening: a ship is laid on its side to be repaired or to clean its hull.

also used here, and porcelains which they exchange for cotton cloth'.¹² Another account stated that 'The King of Bali showed some samples of cloves and a canister with porcelain to be sold to the Dutch'.¹³ The official report of this first expedition to Asia, written in 1597, concluded that the ships returned to the Dutch Republic with 'some specimens of spices from those regions as well as two porcelain dishes, which were presented to the Honourable Gentlemen'.¹⁴

The account of the events of the second expedition (1598-1600), under the leadership of Admiral Jacob Van Neck, mentions that rich cargoes returned with 400 lasts of pepper and 100 lasts of cloves, porcelains and other items.¹⁵ The journal of this expedition noted that the local population was interested in exchanging goods, including porcelain, for pewter wares. 'Thus the people daily bartered with us for pewter and other wares, giving so much victuals for a pewter-spoon as might well suffice one man for a whole weeke. We trucked likewise for various other things, as for porcellan dishes and such like'.¹⁶ This statement suggests that a porcelain object was not as precious to the local people as pewter that, in contrast to Europe, was probably a

¹² Rouffaer and IJzerman, 1925 (op. cit.), p. 200: '*De chinen comen hier oock somylen handelen, ende brengghen sabelen, die zy alhier oock ghebruyjcken, ende Porcelynen, welck zij teghen de Cattoenen lijnwaet vermanghelen*'.

¹³ P.A. Leupe, 'Het Gezantschap naar Bali onder de Gouverneur-Generaal Hendrik Bouwer in 1633', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, vol. 5, 1856, p. 213; '*De koning van Bali toont monsters van kruidnagelen en een canastrer met porceleijn voor verkoop aan de Nederlanders*'. NL-HaNA (voorcompagniën) 1.04.01, inv. nr. 22. A canister is in this case a wicker basket.

¹⁴ N. Japikse, 'Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal, 1596-1609', *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, vol. 9, no. 62, The Hague, 1926, p. 680, 4 september 1597: '*D'heere advocaat van Hollandt, geassisteert met eenige cooplieden, onderwinders ende principale reeders van de drye groote scepen, binnen Amsterdam toegerust ende van dair in 't iair LXXXVIII uuytgevaren na Java Maior ende andere eylanden van Oost-Indien, heeft cortelijck gerapporteert de geschiedenis mette uuytcompste van deselve voyage mette verclaringe van de plaitssen, dair de scepen geweest, getraceert ende gehandelt hebben, ende de redenen van het belet, dat haer in deselve handelinge is geschiet, waerdoere die verscreven scepen heure volle ladinge niet en hebben medegebrocht, hebbende d'heeren Staten gepresenteert eenige speceriën van 't gewas in de verscreven landen, met twee posselyne schotelkens*'.

¹⁵ Jacob van Neck (1564 -1638) was a naval officer and led the Second Expedition from 1598 to 1600 for two merged companies, which became the Old East India Company. See: J. Keuning, (ed.) *Tweede Schipvaart*, part II, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XLIV, The Hague, 1940. In the introduction, p. LXXX, he refers to the original chronicle by Bor, '(VI, Boek 36. fol. 38)', '*want noyt soodanighe schepen, met sodanige rijke ladinghe, binnen Amsterdam ghecomen en zijn; want sy vier hondert lasten pepers in hadden, met hondert lasten naghelen, behalven de macis, noten, muscated ende caneel, porcelynene, zyde ende zijde lakenen ende andere costelijckheyden*'.

¹⁶ Keuning 1940 (op.cit.), 1940, p. 27. The Journal of the vogyage of Van Neck was only available in German and English: '*A True Report of the gainefull, prosserous and speedy voiage to Java in the East Indies, performed by a fletee of eight ships of Amsterdam ... Which set forth from Texell in Holland, the first of Maie 1598*'. It was printed in London in 1599, translated into English and because the original Dutch version has disappeared, this is used here; p. 32: '[on] November 26th [we] arrived at Bantam [in 1598] with the Mauritius/Hollandia and Overijsel'; 'unto us were daily brought aboard in prauwes or Indian boats great quantity of hens, eggs, cocos, bonannos'.

scarce material in those regions. The same report noted that Chinese merchants 'brought various commodities on board as porcelains, silk cloths and silk and others'.¹⁷

After visiting the Moluccas, some ships of the fleet returned to Bantam: 'on August 10th our head merchant Rochus Pieterszoon has gone ashore to buy some more porcelains and other items'.¹⁸ Another report mentions that the local governor presented the Admiral (Van Warwijck) on the ship *Amsterdam* with 125 pieces of porcelain.¹⁹ Gradually porcelain became an interesting item to be purchased and to take back to the homeland.

Hans Brouwer, head merchant on the ship *Gelderland*, part of the same fleet of this second expedition, noted in his journal that they arrived at Bantam on July the 9th, 1599, to buy provisions and some porcelain.²⁰ Several illustrations in the logbook of the *Gelderland* on its return journey in 1601-1602, already shown in chapter 3, depict porcelain items.²¹ These may possibly have been some of the porcelains mentioned by Brouwer.

Rare prints depict a reception by local dignitaries for the Dutch officials during the period of the first voyages. We see from the print in Figure 5.3 that the Dutch are seated on the ground and have in front of them a large banana leaf with food on it. The other print, Figure 5.4, depicts a festive meal given by the King of Ternate for the fleet of Jacob van Neck, which was at that location between 1598-1599. It shows a row of large, presumably ceramic, dishes with food on the table. These illustrations are an example of how local rulers in those regions welcomed the Dutch officials. One feast is quite simple, given by a Bandaese chief; the other by the King of Ternate is elaborate, the guests are seated, there are dishes and drinking vessels, which may even have been brought by the Dutch guests themselves.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁸ J. Keuning (ed.), *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600. Het tweede boek, Journael oft Daghregister*, Amsterdam 1601. Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. XLVI, The Hague, 1942, p. 95: 'Item den 10. Dito [08-1599] is ons onder Comies aen Lant gevaren om noch eenige Porseleynen ende meer andere dinghen te coopen'.

¹⁹ J. Keuning (ed.) *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600. Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden, deel V, 2e stuk: De reis naar Ternate*. Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. V, The Hague, 1949, p. 188: 'Den 14 [01-1600] bij den gouverneur gewest, hefft ons verert 125 stuck porcelajjn, in den ad. [admiraliteit] doen foeren'.

²⁰ Keuning (ed.) 1942, (op. cit.), p. 209, bijlage 4.

²¹ P. Moree, *Dodo's en Galjoenen: De Reis van het Schip Gelderland naar Oost-Indië, 1601- 1603*. Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. C, The Hague, 2001, pp. 175 - 291.



Figure 5.3 Print on paper, dated 1599. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.nr. RP-P-OB-75-393. 'View of a square peopled with men in head cloths. In the centre two people are shown, each with sword and shield. Those sitting on the ground have a banana leaf with a meal in front of them. In the background a fence with seated before it, nine people busy preparing food'.²²

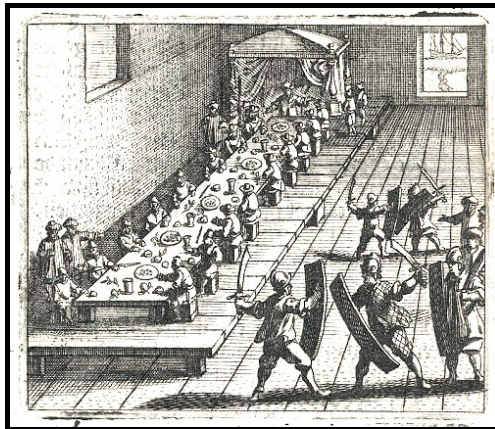


Figure 5.4. The King of Ternate gives a feast for the crew from ships of the fleet of Jacob van Neck. (1598-1599) One of the ships can be seen through the open window. Print on paper. (Anonymous). Koninklijke Bibliotheek inv. nr. 197 J 96.

These reports indicate that porcelain was becoming an interesting article to take back from Asia, but it was still scarce and there are no bills of lading of this period listing porcelain. Consequently, it was also sought after as a luxury item for private purchase. After 1602, strict regulations were introduced as to which commodities were

²² According to the index in I. Commelin, *Begin ende voortgangh, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervatende de voornaemste reysen, by de inwoonderen der selver provincien derwaerts gedaen*, Amsterdam, 1646, the illustration is entitled 'Der Bandesers Gastmalen'.

allowed to be taken back as personal possessions; it was ordered that the value of these could not exceed the equivalent of a month's pay.²³

An example of this is the case of Cornelis van Heemskerck (1573-1618), who had participated as an officer in several expeditions to Asia during the period of the private companies.²⁴ In a letter to the directors of the Old Company (*Oude Compagnie*), one of the private companies, he wrote that he had taken back some porcelain from Asia during the second expedition (*Tweede Schipvaart 1598-1599*), which was confiscated by the directors on his return.²⁵

I am now partaking on the third voyage and have never sent anything to my parents or friends as I only sent over one kris from the first voyage, on the second voyage a parrot was given to me by the local people, I enjoyed its speaking, which I had taught him, not without effort, as well as some porcelain from the governor, both of which were confiscated by your honours, but someone else (Pieter Jans Soet) was allowed to keep (it) and that is why I am sending back a chest with this mark (on it) and what is inside is written underneath: for my father.²⁶

²³ C. Viallé, 'Camel Cups, Parrot Cups and other Chinese Kraak Porcelain Items in Dutch Trade Records, 1598-1623', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, J. van Campen and T. Eliëns (eds.). Amsterdam, 2014, p. 37; she refers to: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 7525: '*Artikelbrief en verordeningen van Prins Maurits voor de schepen varende naar Indië (waarvan tien in 1602 uit Amsterdam vertrokken onder bevel van Wybrand van Warwyck) (f. 1)*': 'No one is allowed to bring any porcelain, wickerwork...which have a value equivalent of a month's pay of the person who brings it with addition of 10 guilders'... 'the directors are obliged to take all lots of porcelain for the benefit of the company which they think are worth more than...'. A later document dated September 7th, 1604, states that possessions of the deceased are not allowed to be sold – especially porcelains and other fine goods'; see: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 99, fol. 148, punt 11, '*Resoluties van de Heren XVII, Vergadering 7 september 1604: Hier wort oock groote disordre bevonden dat op de reyse benefens de meubelen ende klederen vande affgestorvenen oock werden vercocht de porseleijnen off ander frayicheden waardoor de levenden groote meniche van porseleijnen ende andere fraeye dingen ... seggend tselve voorde mast vande goederen ... affgestorven gecocht te hebben sulcx dat voordaen dient ordre daer op gestelt dat mende porseleijnen ende andere fraeye dinghen vande Dooden Behoudt & niet en vercoopt Dat oock de Levenden den eenen aende anderen niet en sullen mogen coopen ofte vercoopen Opdat de visitatie te beter & met merder fundament mach gedaen werden'; 'Is geresolveert dat niemant vant volck varende met de scheepen van dese Comp naer OostIndien vanden minsten tot den meesten sal vermogen iets anders als voor de Comp mede te brengen tsij gecocht gemangelt ofte by vereeringh vercreegen meerder waerdre sijnde als syn dubbelt soldy daervoor hij aengenomen is met expresse Conditie dat den Admirael Coopman Schipper Ondercoopman Sturman ofte Officiant syne mee gebrachte porselynen syde ofte andere waeren van wat qualiteitjt'. This prohibition was repeated later, see J.A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch Indisch Plakaatboek, 1602-1811, Eerste deel 1602-1642*, Batavia, 1885, p. 11: Art. 18 1609. The Governor-General also had to take an oath: 'He may not trade in goods for himself or others, directly or indirectly; no porcelains, nice things, or any other goods', p. 330, article 66.*

²⁴ This ship was part of the same fleet as the Gelderland mentioned above. It is possible that a supply of Chinese porcelain was available in Bantam before the fleet returned to the Dutch Republic, and private purchases were made.

²⁵ H.A. van Foreest and A. de Booy (eds.), *De Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)*, deel II, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. LXXXIII The Hague, [1981], pp. 208-209.

²⁶ NL-HaNA (Voorcompagnieën) 1.04.01, inv. nr. 92: '*op de twede voiage was mij een papegayken ghesconcken doordat ik wadt kennisse met de inwoonders ghemaect hadde meer als andere, hetwelcke ick door de spraeck was ghenietende, die niet sonder groot hooftbreecken bij mij geleert was , ende mede eenich*

The chest with porcelain was sent on the return ship the *Maen*; the value was small but to rule out any suspicions (that it might have exceeded the amount allowed), Heemskerck had written to his father that he could open the chest (for inspection) and if there were problems with the authorities, he would take care of them himself. A detailed list was made of these porcelains, which shows us what kinds of porcelain shapes were available in Asia at that time. These included various types of flatware, including butter dishes (*boter platelen*), fine fruit dishes (*fyne fruyt schalen*), and white, lobed saucers (*witte gecante cecieren*). Furthermore, a variety of cups (*coppen*), cups with covers (*gedeckte coppen*), small fine cups (*fyne cleine copkens*), fine rose cups (*fine roosgens copkens*), one yellow cup with cover (*1 geel overdect coppen*) and three green cups (*3 grone leege copkens*); white cups with blue rims (*4 cleender witte coppen met blaeuwe randen*) and fine white and blue cups (*fyne widt ende blaeu coppen*). The total amounted to three hundred pieces, which is quite a substantial amount for a crew member to have bought at that time. Another chest in Van Heemskerck's possession was sent back on the *Nederlanden* with General Both, whose ships departed from Bantam on January 14th, 1601.²⁷ (Appendix 5, list 1).

These two lists of porcelain items are, in fact, the first detailed descriptions of Chinese porcelain brought to the Dutch Republic prior to the establishment of the VOC. On them all sorts of cups are listed and, for the first time, the term *cameelscop*.²⁸ Flatware, two large dishes, and 12 middle-sized ones are mentioned as well as 40 'butter plates' (*boter platelen*). This list shows all types of porcelain cups and dishes, which were obtainable as early as 1601; not all were of underglaze blue type, as items of white, yellow and green ware was listed, showing that whatever was available, was purchased to take home.

porcleen van den gouverneur, hetwelck beide bij U Lieden aangetast is, niet tegenstaende ander (als Pieter jans Soet) het hare behielden, so ist dat ick als nu in het scip de Maen sende een casken geteekent met dit nevenstaende merck waerin is als volcht ende hier onder geacreven staedt "aen mijn vader".

²⁷ Van Foreest and De Booy 1981, (op. cit.), p. 209: '*Sende noch een klein kasken in het scip de Nederlanden het welck den generael Both tot discretie van zijn bewinthebberen gestelt heeft*'. The *Nederlanden* departed from Bantam 14-01-1601.

²⁸ This has already been dealt with in the previous chapter.

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

In chapter three I have briefly dealt with the capture of two Portuguese ships, the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina*. In contemporary studies, we often come across the suggestion that large amounts arrived in the Netherlands for the first time through the capture of these two ships.²⁹ However, there is some ambiguity about the quantity of porcelain that was part of their booty.

The first ship, the *São Tiago*, was captured on March 14th, 1602, near the island of St. Helena by the ships *Zeelandia* and *Langebark*, both owned by the private Company of Zeeland (*Zeeuwse Compagnie*) just before the VOC was established. The ship was brought to the city of Middelburg, in the province of Zeeland, where the booty was divided.³⁰ Documents relating to this event reveal that the town councillors were presented with packages of porcelain: the treasurer, the bailiff and the captain each received two packages, the accountant three packages; the mayor of Middelburg and the governor of Vlissingen, a city nearby, received some of the 'largest pieces', and five other people each received two packages of porcelain.³¹ The rest was to be auctioned on November 25th, 1602: 'first all damaged goods, then porcelains, cloths, carpets, beds, wall hangings, and woven cloths; furthermore the porcelain that lies in the storage in quantities (lots) of 20 dishes and 10 bowls'.³² There is however no known inventory or auction results with the exact amounts and the only descriptions of the porcelain items given are very general: dishes (*schotelen*), and bowls (*commekens*) without further specification. (Appendix 5, list 2)

²⁹ T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602-1682*, Leiden, 1954. On p. 22, he refers to the booty as 'an untold mass of porcelains' and that the 'profit on the sale was very large' (no reference); H. Garner, *Oriental Blue and White*, London, 1954, p. 19, states that 'the captured carracca had sixty tons of china ware from the Catarina that was sold in 1604'; M. Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain, a Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 1989, p. 34, writes that the cargo of the Santa Catharina, 'included more than a hundred thousand pieces, was sold at auctions in 1604'.

³⁰ W. S. Unger. *De Oudste Reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië, 1598-1604*, Linschoten Vereeniging, vol. LI. The Hague, 1948, p. 190, on October the 7th, four people were selected to divide the goods coming from the ship: 100 pounds of pepper, 50 pounds of cinnamon, 50 pounds of nutmeg, 20 packs of saucers and 10 packs of bowls.

³¹ According to Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 27, one package would contain twenty pieces but he does not give a reference to support this.

³² Unger 1948, (op. cit.), p.189: '*Is geresolveert dat op Maendach [Nt 25 November] zal gaen beginnen te vercopen alle de goederen, tweeten, eerst alle de beschadigde goederen, voorts porseleyns Voorder dat men de porseleyne sal vercopen int packhuys daer die leyt met 20 schotelen ende met 10 commeckens tseffen*'. From: NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 7241: Kopie-resoluties van de Kamer Zeeland, (1602, november 25).

A Florentine merchant, Francesco Carletti, who owned part of the cargo of this ship, filed several lawsuits to have his goods returned or compensated. In his publication on the voyages, which he undertook as a private merchant, he refers to a purchase of five large vases, 'perhaps the largest ones ever to have been taken from here to Europe'.³³ These were all filled with Chinese sugared ginger, 'the best quality'. He then mentions that the porcelain he bought is of a quality and amount that could be bought in Macao at low prices, in an assortment of 650-700 pieces: 'large and small, plates, bowls and other fine pieces do not cost more than 20 or 22 tael'.³⁴ Carletti also describes the quality and the various colours of porcelain produced there and that he bought a service of the blue and white type through the intermediary of the Jesuits who had also sold him the five large vases.³⁵ After numerous letters, the States General of the Dutch Republic finally compensated Carletti with a sum of 13,000 guilders.³⁶ There is no mention of any Chinese porcelain in the Dutch archival documents concerning this

³³ F. Carletti, *Voyage Autour du Monde de Fransesco Carletti (1594-1606)* traduction F. Verrier, Paris, 1999, p. 195; Carletti complained that the porcelain was 'stolen' by the Zeelanders: '*Laquelle porcelain fut achetee par un marchand de Middleburg en Zelande, ou furent vendus tous mes sutres biens, deux grand vases et peutetre des plus grands qui aient jamais ete rapports de ces pays en Europe*'; '*Vases que je rapportais avec trois autres, tous remplis de gingembre confit de Chine qui est le meilleur qui soit*'. See also V. Enthoven, *Zeeland en de Opkomst van de Republiek: Handel en Strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550-1621*, Leiden, 1996, p. 195-199: '*de aanhouding van de Portugese kraak São Jorge door Zeeuwse Oostindiëvaarders (1602) en het 'tot goede prijs' verklaren van de goederen van de Florentijnse koopman Francesco Carletti (1602-1603)*'.

³⁴ A tael was a 'Chinese unit of weight that, when applied to silver, was long used as a unit of currency. Most taels were equivalent to 1.3 ounces of silver'. From: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/tael>. (visited January 2020)

³⁵ Carletti also explains the manufacture of porcelain and that the best may not leave the country. A description follows of items with a 'red decoration' and gilded but he considers the best 'the white with a blue design.' Carletti 1999 (op.cit.), p.196: '*De cette sorte etait le service qu j'achetai, de la plus fine facture que je pus obtenir par l'intermediare des peres de Compagnei de Jesus, qui me firent aussi avoir lesdits cinq vases*'; Rinaldi 2011, (op. cit.), pp. 120-121 and pp. 196-197; T. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer. China and Japan and their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644. A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence*. Ph.D. Thesis, Leiden, 2015, p. 180.

³⁶ M.J. van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*. Leiden, 2006, p. 139: 'Carletti had started legal proceedings to have the verdict reversed. The VOC directors intended to claim the São Tiago for the United Zeeland Company but the Admiralty judges were forced to make special arrangements for Carletti who claimed the silk, musk and curiosities and to give him the money for this. On October 30th, the judges decided that the cargo could be auctioned on account only and refused to dismiss Carletti's claim to at least part of the booty (Resoluties Staten General)'; p.143: 'When the silk cargo was auctioned on Dec. 4th, Carletti even tried to buy some back. As he had been granted Spanish citizenship he lost all his rights. In the end Carletti got 13.000 guilders after 3 years of wrangling'. In December 1603, the VOC directors decided to honour both the grand duke of Tuscany Ferdinand with some exquisite presents (booty from the ship); p. 147: 'An ornate bed of state which had already been intended for him and some bed curtains with the crest of De Medici'. These were then offered to his niece, Maria de Medici, wife of Henry IV of France who refused all gifts. D. Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC*. Middelburg, 1987. p. 29: '*Ter wille van de aanbevelingen van de Staten-Generaal en van de groothertog van Toscane stemden de bewindhebbers er evenwel in toe Carletti 13.000 gulden uit te betalen*'. See also: G. Sgrilli, *Francesco Carletti, Mercante e Viaggiatore Fiorentino*, vol.6, 1905.

affair, but it may be possible that some of the porcelain divided among the provincial officials and ships' officers were Carletti's possessions.

When we add up the pieces given to the provincial officials, a total of more than 1,500 pieces can be accounted for. The remainder of the porcelain was to be auctioned in lots of 20 dishes and 10 bowls, thereby making the total number higher.³⁷ However, without a definite document we can only speculate on the total amount of porcelain that was part of the booty of the *São Tiago*, but it was certainly substantial for a cargo in that period.

There are several documents and publications available that refer to another example of Dutch freebooting, the capture of the *Santa Catarina*.³⁸ (Appendix 5, list 3) It has been maintained that the booty contained an 'untold' mass of porcelain and that this was auctioned in Amsterdam.³⁹ From publications concerning this event we can get more and precise details about the porcelain that was part of the booty of the *Santa Catarina*.⁴⁰

The capture of this Portuguese ship took place when Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck (1567-1607) departed for Asia with a fleet of ships equipped by the Amsterdam private company, the First United Company, also just before the establishment of the VOC in 1602. He arrived in Bantam on February 22nd, 1602, but missed the monsoon to sail to the Spice Islands. Therefore, he first visited Patani from August to November 1602 where he bought 'some tapestries with some porcelains and copperware' (*Cledtjens met eenich porselyn & Coperwerck*) to be traded for spices during his further journey. Van Heemskerck then lay in waiting at the island of Pulau Tioman, in the Strait of Malacca, for over two months, prying on Portuguese ships usually passing by that time of the year.

He was informed that a Portuguese ship had already passed by five days earlier, but on February 25th 1603, Van Heemskerck succeeded to capture the *Santa Catarina* on

³⁷ Unger 1948 (op. cit.), p.189.

³⁸ For an overview (in Dutch) of the documents used for the capture of this ship, see Appendix list 3.

³⁹ Enthoven 1996 (op. cit.).

⁴⁰ P. Borschberg, 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: the Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch Johor Alliance', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2002, pp. 31-62; P. Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese and 'Free Trade' in the East Indies*, Singapore and Leiden, 2003; P. Borschberg: 'The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina off Singapore: Dutch Freebooting, the Portuguese Empire and Intra-Asian Trade at the Dawn of the Seventeenth Century', *Revista de Cultur*, no. 11 (International Edition), July 2004, pp. 11-25; M.J. van Ittersum, 'Hugo Grotius in Context: Van Heemskerck's Capture of the Santa Catarina and its Justification in De Jure Praedae (1604-1606)', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 31 nr. 3, 2003, pp. 511-548.

its way from Macao to Malacca.⁴¹ Around 750 people including women as well as soldiers who were on board were spared and brought to the shore of Malacca.⁴² After a month at Johor, Van Heemskerck sailed to Bantam on April the 3rd with the *Santa Catarina*, arriving there on June the 20th, 1603. The admiral had the most precious goods transhipped from the captured vessel to his own ships, and had several changes made to the Portuguese vessel to enable it to undergo the long return voyage to the Dutch Republic.

The *Santa Catarina* arrived off the English coast in June 1604, in a dilapidated state. It was decided to sail the ship to the town of Emden on the river Eems to the northeast of the Dutch Republic, where it arrived on July 22nd.⁴³ There, the crew had illegally taken some porcelain and sold it in Emden.⁴⁴ After some dispute as to where the remaining goods were to be transported, the cargo was transferred to smaller boats and brought to Amsterdam. The VOC directors ordered that everything was to be put into the storehouse, the *Boshuis*, where the chests, tubs and bales would be opened up for inspection and the contents listed.⁴⁵ An actual inventory has never yet been found.

⁴¹ NL-HaNa (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21, *'Stukken betreffende de bemoeiingen van de Staten-Generaal met het proces tusschen Jacob van Heemskerck, admiraal van de vloot van 8 schepen die 23 april 1601 van de reede van Texel vertrok naar Oost-Indië, en de bewindhebbers van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1605. (Bijlagen, Loketkas, Processen, stukken proces VOC- van Heemskerck': 'syn tseyt gheghaen naer loor al waer wy den vieren twinstichsten tsavons voor de revier van loor ghesedt syn ende verstaen soe van den Cooninck als van pieter opmeer dat voor vyff daghen het eene schip van macauo daer voorby ende doer de strate van sincka puro gepasseert was'.*

⁴² Van Foreest and De Booy 1981, (op. cit.), p. 325: *'Den 26en smorghens sijn ses ofte seven van de prynssepalen uyd de craeck in ons schip ghecomen ende doen hebbe ick de vys-admiraal ende ons schipper in de craeck gesteld ende voors het volck, soo wi best conden, in beide Portugheese jachten gescheept. Indt ondersoecken hebben soeveel naesticheidt ghedaen als moghelyck was, dat se gheen ghoedt souden mede draghen; dan alsoe het volck seer veel was ende wel hondert vrouwen, die om d'eerbaerheid wille soe nau niet conden besocht worden, vrese datter wel wadt achter de handt gebleven is. Daer sijn in beide de jagten over de 750 sielen ghescheept, den capetein heeft mijn bekendt dat om trendt 70 sielen indt vechten doot ghebleven sijn'.*

⁴³ However, as England was no longer in conflict with Portugal in that period, the directors of the VOC were afraid that the English would confiscate the ship. NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1534: *Uitgaande brieven Admiraliteit Amsterdam (1604 – 1605);* NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350: *Resoluties Admiraliteit van Amsterdam: (23 april /25 juni,1604);* NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226: *Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam (14 Juny anno 1604): 'Is geordoneert Datmen anden Commisen leggende in Engelandt op de wacht vande aencomende schepen ende Caraque uyt OostIndien sal schryven, Dat zyluyden hen met geene middelen en laten bewegen Omme de voorß schepen ofte Caraque aldaer op eenighe havenen ofte plaetsen te laten incomen'.*

⁴⁴ NL-HaNA (Admiraliteiten) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350 (*Donderdagh 22en July 1604*): *'Alsoo men wttet schryven vanen heer Aert van Eck verstaet dat het schipvolck van Capt. pieter Willems ende verhouff tot omtrent tw[intigh?] in getale gestelt op de Carake tot versekering desselve ende vande goederen darin geladen souden hebben ver...dert eene goede quantiteyt porceleynen daeruyt te lichten ende te versteken'.*

⁴⁵ R. Fruin, 'Een onuitgegeven werk van Hugo de Groot' (1868). This was first published in the *Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1875 (p. 210) and later included in the publication *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften met Aantekeningen Toevoegsels en Verbeteringen uit des Schrijvers Nalatenschap*, Part III: *Historische Opstellen*, The Hague, 1901, pp. 367-443; p. 383: *'Woonsdag xiiij.en July 1604, Is geresolveert*

Therefore, precise information about the booty of the captured *Santa Catarina* remains speculative, even though several accounts were written about it at the time.

First, there is the official report made by Admiral van Heemskerck while at Bantam, and sent back to the homeland, prior to his own arrival there. He lists the goods in the cargo of the *Santa Catarina* when it left Macao:

According to the Portuguese, the carrack loaded a cargo at Macao consisting of 2000 picol of silk, 400 or 500 chests of velvet silk, 500,000 of sugar, 500,000 pounds of tutenagh [tintinago or spelter], 500,000 pounds of pock wood [wood to treat syphilis] or otherwise radys syna [Radix China, a root which is used as medicine for skin diseases], enough to fill a ship of 30 or 40 last, 500 pounds of red and yellow copper (both processed and unprocessed), 100 picol of camphor, a big chest filled with 300 pounds of musk balls, and an astounding amount of fine and coarse porcelain, [vydtnemende veel groff & fyn] a great quantity of gilded woodwork.⁴⁶

Van Heemskerck also noted which items he had transferred onto his own ship, the *Witte Leeuw* that included some porcelain: 'We also have 9 or ten packs of porcelain on board' ('9 ofte thien packjens Berseleyn').⁴⁷ The porcelain from the *Santa Catarina* had apparently been divided and loaded into several ships for the return journey. The porcelain in one of these, the *Eendracht*, was officially taxed and valued at four hundred guilders when it arrived home in March 1604.⁴⁸ These accounts provide some unusual details as to how the porcelain booty was divided, but a precise quantity is lacking.

dat men de Bewinthebbers vande Oost Indische Compangie sal affeys[sen] een sleutel vant Boshuijs alwaer de goederengecomen uyt de Carake geleyt werden, M[itsgaders] deputeren drie ofte vier uijt den Rade onder de welke de selve zal berusten ten eynde d'open[ing?]van kisten packen vaten ende balen mitsgade[s] d'inventarisatie van alle de voorS goederen zodoenlyck is in presentie'.

⁴⁶ NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21 (op.cit.): 'De ladinghe die de craeck naer het segghen vande portughesen soude in macauo in ghenomen Hebben is voor d eerste 2000 pycol fyne syde vier Ofte vyff hondert cassen syde flueelen ende aghila ofte lingum aloes 500 0 pondt widtte poyer suycker 500 0 pondt tintanagha dat is den specie daer de Cynesen de Caxjens aff maken Isser 500000 # veel pockhoudt oft anders radys syna ick achte een schip van 30 ofte 40 Last vol 500 picol bereydt ~~of~~ ende onbereydt roodt ende gheel cooper canfer so est segghen 100 picol eenen groten kyste daer in ontrendt 300 # muskes in ballen vydtnemende veel groff ende fyn porseleyn met seer veel verghuldt werck van Coetsen tafels ende ander dinghen met veel ghoudt dat wy noch niedt en weeten & moochlyck ons leven niedt weeten en sullen'. (words are often crossed out in the original document).

⁴⁷ Van Ittersum 2006 (op. cit.), p. 36: 'He decided to transfer the prize goods to his own ships, which would allow him to load the carrack with pepper at Johore and Bantam. The White Lion received 1,584 bales of silk, 250 bales of raw silk, 150 barrels of camphor, 540 packs of sugar, 74 chests of silk clothes and aloes and ... nine or ten (packs) filled with porcelain. The Alkmaar took in 1,150 bales of silk, 646 packs of sugar, 226 chests of aloes and silk velour and four barrels of camphor'.

⁴⁸ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226: (Resolutie Kamer Amsterdam, 14 juny anno 1604): 'dat men de Porseleynen gecomen met t' Schip D'eendracht by de Camer van Delft ten convoye sullen werden aengegeven voor de somme van Vierhondert'.

To commemorate the extraordinary capture and booty, a booklet was published under the title: 'A short and accurate description of the taking of a valuable and enormous carrack, coming from the region of China, by the Admiral Jacobus Heemskercke' (*Corte ende sekere beschryvinghe van 't veroveren der rijcke ende gheweldighe krake, comende uytet gheweste van China door den Admiraal Jacobus Heemskercke*).⁴⁹ The booty is described as being worth '60 times 100,000 ducaten' (*Den buyt wordt geschap op tsestichmael hondert duysent ducaten*).

Levinus Hulsius (1546 -1606), published accounts of explorations and voyages during the early 17th century including those undertaken by the Dutch.⁵⁰ In that epoch, these kinds of publications were popular as there were no newspapers or other forms of media. However, it is unknown where Hulsius would have gathered his information from and whether it was reliable. In his account of the capture of the *Santa Catarina*, he mistakenly writes that the ship was left in Zeeland province, because it could not be brought to Amsterdam, as it was too deeply loaded.⁵¹ However, the documents referred to above clearly state that the ship was taken to the River Eems. Hulsius also included a list of the booty, mentioning various types of Chinese silks, spun gold thread, gold-woven cloth, bed curtains with gold; all kinds of embroidered silks and linen fabrics, aromas and drugs, and all kinds of furniture, much of it gilded. This is identical to Van Heemskerck's report. Hulsius thereafter states that there was, 'a countless number of

⁴⁹ This report was published in a unique booklet by Richard Schilder, printed in Middelburg in 1604. Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 383: '*Corte ende sekere beschryvinghe van 't veroveren der rijcke ende gheweldighe krake, comende uytet gheweste van China door den Admiraal Jacobus Heemskercke*'... "*Den buyt wordt geschap op tsestichmael hondert duysent ducaten, waeronder 26 hondert duysent gulden aen Chinese syde neffens groote swaerte van ongefneert ende ongesuyvert gout met velen anderen costelycken waren coopmanschappen ende meubelen sijn, onder anderen een conincklycken stoel met edelgesteenten ende cleynodiën ingeleyt dattet een wonder is daerof te schryven. Die men met groot verlangen dagelijcx verwachtende is*'.

⁵⁰ L. Hulsius, *Sammlung von sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten in verschiedene fremde Länder durch Levinus Hulsius und einige Andere, aus dem Holländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit allerhand Anmerkungen versehen*, Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Oppenheim, and Hanau, 1598-1663.

⁵¹ L. Hulsius, *Achte Schiffart: Kurtz Beschreibung was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern in den Ost Indien, die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünf Jahre, als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. und 1603 zugetragen. Zusammen gezogen durch Levinum Hulsiun*, Frankfurt am Main, 1605. On p. 35-41 he describes the voyage of Heemskerck and the capture of the *Santa Catarina*: '*Diese Kriegsschiff wurden alle darauß gar voll geladen, besetzten folgendes die Cracke mit frischen Volck, und kamen also darmit in Julio 1604 in Texel, ein Schiffhafen in Holland, wol an, da diese Cracke vollendt entladen, und die Güter nach Amsterdam geführt weynd worden. Wie diese Cracke noch geladen war, is sie 27. Schuh tieff ins Wasser gangen, da sie aber gar außgeleret worden, haben sie diß uberauß groß Faß gen Amsterdam bringen wollen, sie haben es aber wegen seine grösse nicht thun können, und ligt auff dise stund noch in der Wielingen, etliche meil von Amsterdam*'.

porcelains of all sorts and kinds, nearly 30 lasts, being over a 1000 Centner'.⁵² There is, however, no mention of '1000 centner' in Heemskerck's report, only that there was 'an astounding amount of fine and coarse porcelain'. The mention of the amount of '30 last' is untraceable in any of the VOC documents.⁵³ Furthermore, Hulsius could not have had access to a list with the exact contents and value of the booty as the Dutch authorities were still in the process of calculating these at the time of his publication in 1605.⁵⁴

The speculative quantity of porcelain Hulsius mentioned at that time has been used in later publications. For example, Volker made a calculation based on 30 lasts, a last being 'two tons of 1000 kilograms each' (2000 kilo x 30= 60,000 kilos). By weighing some pieces of Kraak-panelled type porcelain, each piece weighing about 550 grams, he arrived at a total of about 100,000 pieces.⁵⁵ This large quantity of porcelain has often been quoted in subsequent publications referring to the booty of the *Santa Catarina*. However, a cargo of porcelain would not only have contained the light-weighted Kraak-panelled types; heavy jars and large plates could also have been part of the cargo, as illustrated by the finds from the *San Diego* shipwreck. Without further decisive documents such as the inventory list of the *Boshuis* storehouse, we should consider Hulsius' claim of 50-60,000 kilo's as well as Volker's sum of 100,000 items as hypothetical.

The next issue concerning the *Santa Catarina* is whether and if so, when, there were any auctions selling porcelains from this booty. It must be kept in mind that there was a lot of discussion about whether the goods from the *Santa Catarina* were qualified as 'war booty' or as 'merchandise'. The famous jurist, Hugo de Groot, was engaged to

⁵² Ibid., p. 41-42. 'Ein unzalbare menge Porcellanen geschirr von allerlei arth und gattung/bey 30.last/das seynde uber tausent Centner'. See also: Fruin, 1901, (op. cit.), p. 383, note 3.

⁵³ The first problem is that the last itself, used to describe an amount of cargo, was not a clear dimension. It could be a measure of volume (about 125 cubic feet or 2,7 m³) or a measure of weight (about 4000 pounds or 2000 kilograms). The volume measure was used for light cargoes, where the space the cargo took in the ship's hold was important, while the weight measure was used for heavy cargoes. Certainly, during the VOC's development phase in Asia, the Company's ships mostly transported relatively light products such as spices. However, these products were sold by weight. To facilitate the calculation of the necessary space on board, 3000 pounds were considered a last for pepper and spices. There is no specification for other goods. If we use Hulsius' calculation, the weight would amount to: 90.000 pounds. In Germanic jargon, a 'zentner' is a weight of 100 units, that is 100 pounds or about 50 kilograms so his calculation of 1000 centner would amount to 50,000 kilograms. (in England the term hundredweight was used).

⁵⁴ Hulsius published this in 1605, the final inventory was done in 1608, two years after his death.

⁵⁵ Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 22: 'A "last" is two tons of 1000 kilogrammes each. To estimate the "untold mass of porcelain" I have weighed one carrack porcelain large dish, one plate, one large bowl, one small bowl and one cup. They gave an average weight of 550 grammes and so, the packing deducted, the 'untold mass' will have amounted to about 100,000 pieces, at that time something to wonder about indeed.'

sort out the legal issues concerning this case of privateering by the Dutch.⁵⁶

According to Fruin, the States General gave permission to sell the 'perishable commodities', the silk and textiles, because they could deteriorate.⁵⁷ The Admiralty announced an auction to be held on August 15th and the following days.⁵⁸ However, there was disagreement between the chief of police in Amsterdam and the Admiralty on the auction dates. Finally, the VOC directors decided on September 16th 1604, to auction the porcelain and some of the Chinese treasures from the captured ship on, 'Monday or Tuesday at the latest'.⁵⁹ Documentary evidence of these auctions, what was sold and for how much, has yet to be found.

There are two further references in the accounts concerning the *Santa Catarina* affair that mention quantities of porcelain. Admiral van Heemskerck and his vice admiral, Jan Pauwels, had apparently purchased some porcelain themselves or they may have taken some from the booty. The existing lists provide details. One is that of Van Heemskerck: 'A large round box filled with porcelain' (*Een groote ronde doose voll porselein*), 'another box filled with porcelain' (*Een ditto vol porselein*), 'a wicker basket filled with porcelain' (*Een matten casgevol porseleyn*); 'a lacquered case filled with porcelain' (*Een gelackt kasken vol porseleyn*), and 'a good number of porcelains in his chest' (*Een goede partye porseleyn in zyn kist*).⁶⁰ (Appendix 5, list 4)

⁵⁶ He was commissioned by the VOC to justify the attack on the *Santa Catarina* as Heemskerck was accused of piracy and not privateering. De Groot wrote an extensive treatise on the law of nations and one part concerns the principal of *Mare Liberum*, that all nations were free to use the sea to justify this incident. See Hugo de Groot, *De Jure Praedae, Verhandeling over het Recht op Buit* (1604) Translated from Latin by Dr. Onno Damsté, Leiden, 1934. Hans Blom co-directed a research group on: 'Grotius's *De Jure Praedae* and the Grotian concept of rights' at the Netherlands' Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS, an institute of the Royal Academy of Sciences KNAW) in 2004. See also the publications by P. Borschberg, (2003, 2004 and 2005).

⁵⁷ Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), pp. 388-389: '*Maar de buit was nog niet aan de Compagnie toegewezen; het process er over voor de admiraliteit zou misschien zes weken duren*'. (It would take another 6 weeks before the booty could be owned by the company as there was an ongoing lawsuit).

⁵⁸ NL-HaNA (Admiraliteit) 1.01.46, inv. nr. 1350: (Resoluties Admiraliteit van Amsterdam 1604): '*Bespreking conditien vercopinge syde en andere bederfelijke waren uit de Carake Prijzen en manier van verkoping op maandag naestcomende/Biljetten dienaangaand Opening en visitatie kisten int boshuis*'.

⁵⁹ Ibid., '*Donderdag xvj en September 1604: Is met advis vande Bewinthebbers der Oostindische Compagnie goetgevonden op maendage of ten langsten dynsdage naest comende int boshuys deser stede te beginnen openbare vercopen de meest biedende de porceleynen ende eenige chineetsche fraeijicheden gecomen uyt de carake Admiraal Heemskerck laest heeft innegebracht Alhier alomme affigieren op de naam van de Rade alhier end den voors Bewinthebbers gelyck desen van de zyde is gedaen Ende dat van de selve vercopinghe (te geschieden ter pr[esentie?]) vande Gedeputeerde uijt dit Collegie zal contrebouck gehouden werden bijden Vendumr Sigaar*'.

⁶⁰ NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 12551.21 (op.cit.): *Inventaris vande goederen bevonden inde kiste van Jacob Heemskerck*.

The vice-admiral, Jan Pauwels, had 'a mattress filled with all sorts of beautiful and very fine porcelains', and, 'a seaman's trunk filled with all sorts of beautiful and fine porcelains'. Furthermore, 'an amount of fine porcelains being worth at least 600 guilders'. The total value of just the porcelains was 1200 guilders'.⁶¹ However, neither list gives details on the shapes or amounts; only general terms as, 'a large quantity of fine porcelains' (*ghroote menichte van fyne porcheleynen*) and 'all sorts of pretty and fine porcelains' (*alderhande schoone & seer fyne porcheleinen van allerley soorten*) are given. (Appendix 5, list 5)

Another reference to porcelain comes from documents stating that the VOC directors had sent some gifts to the States General as part of the booty: 'a quantity of the finest porcelains, as well as some velvet, silks and other beautiful items to be sent to Your Honours'.⁶² A detailed list was made because the value of these gifts had to be deducted from the taxes that the VOC had to pay to the State. The gifts included, 'a chest with 729 pieces of porcelain taxed as 1390 (guilders), 15 (shillings)'. Another chest contained '3 eight-sided gilded dishes and 4 round plates'. This document does mention a quantity of porcelain, however without specification on size and colour.⁶³ (Appendix 5, list 6)

The last issue concerning the booty of the *Santa Catarina* is the claim by Hugo de Groot that 'from all over Europe dignitaries came to buy the porcelains'.⁶⁴ Fruin wrote that he could not find more facts: 'I wish I could give particulars about the sale to which, according to De Groot, an incredible multitude flocked from all the lands of Europe'.⁶⁵ He also stated that he could not find any reliable information as at that time no newspapers

⁶¹ Ibid., De goederen van Jan Pauwels vice Admiraal vande vlote van Heemskerck: '*In syn kisten bevonden gevisiteert synde by de bewinthebbereren der oostIndische comp.e in presentie vande gecommiteerde uyt d'Ad'miraliteyt: In een leere Coffe...Een culckter ofte matras datmen tot de bedden ghebruijckt...Voorts was vervult met alderhande schoone & seer fyne porcheleinen van allerley soorten... In een bootsmans Kiste...Daer inne van aldrhande schoone & fyne porcheleinen waarmede het vervult was...Voorts noch een ghroote menichte van fyne porcheleynen wel waerdich wesende ses hondert gulden...In voegen dat alle de porceleynen alleene wel souden beloopden die inde kisten & andersints bevonden syn geweest ter somme van twaelffhondert gull-*'.

⁶² The States General kept only part of these and a list was made of those goods. NL-HaNA (Staten-Generaal) 1.01.02, inv. nr. 4909. Their value had to be reduced from the taxes that the V.O.C. had to pay to the State. Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 397: '*Specificatie van tghene dheeren Staten generael hebben aengehouden vuyt verscheyden koffers ende packen gesonden van Amstelredam by die Bewinthebbers vande OostIndische Compaignie int begintsel van November 1604*'.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 389; note 1 refers to *De Jure Praedae* by Hugo de Groot, p. 314.

⁶⁵ Ibid., '*Ik wenschte dat ik omtrent die verkooping, waartoe naar het zeggen van De Groot uit alle landen van Europa een ongelooftlike menigte samenvloede, wat naders kon meedeelen*'.

or 'blue books' (*blauwboekjes*) were published.⁶⁶ Fruin continued to say: 'The only facts I can communicate, gleaned from the minutes of the Admiralty, is that the sale took place by means of brokers, and at a price the goods could fetch, to be paid by residents of Amsterdam after six months, by foreigners as much as possible in ready cash'.⁶⁷

There was also the case of De Buzanval, the French ambassador to Holland, who organized a 'purchase of porcelain' for King Henry IV of France. De Buzanval was indeed allowed to choose some items from the booty of the *Santa Catarina* for the French King but suggested to the States General that they should present them 'as gifts' to the King.⁶⁸ Consequently, on October 4th, 1604, after the arrival of the captured ship in the Dutch Republic, De Buzanval wrote to the French minister Villeroy that the statesman, Van Oldenbarnevelt (*monsieur Barnfelt*), had assured him there would be gifts. Van Oldenbarnevelt advised Buzanval to go to Amsterdam to make a choice. He consulted Princess Louise de Coligny, the fourth wife of the late William of Orange, and with her assistance he selected 'a fine dinner-service of porcelain, of the best there was' (*een schoon servies van porselein, van de alderbeste die er zijn*).⁶⁹ The items were packed by the agent Van der Vreecken in Rotterdam and sent to Paris, where the Dutch envoy Aerssenes presented them to the French King.⁷⁰

Gifts, such as damasks and chinaware, were also presented to the French ministers Villeroy, Sillery and Rosny. The King of England was also given some items, but it is unknown what these were.⁷¹ Therefore the statement that 'from all over Europe dignitaries came to buy the porcelains' should not be taken too literally, as most were

⁶⁶ Ibid.: 'Maar het blijft aan onze verbeelding overgelaten de ontmoeting tusschen die mededingers, die elkander waardig waren, af te maken; naar zekere berichten dienaangaande heb ik tevergeefs omgezien'. 'Blue books' (in Dutch *blauwboekjes*, in French, *Bibliothèque bleue*) is a term for a type of pamphlet used to spread opinions, ideas or events, whether political or religious.

⁶⁷ Fruin 1901 (op. cit.), p. 389, note 2 refers to the *Notulen Admiraliteit van Amsterdam, 11 augustus, 1604: 'Het eenige dat ik, uit de notulen der Admiraliteit, kan meedeelen, is dat de verkoop geschiedde door makelaars en tot den prijs dien men maken kon, te betalen na zes maanden door ingezetenen, door vreemdelingen zoveel mogelijk met gereed geld'*.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 395: 'Hij, de gezant, was het van wien het denkbeeld om Hendrik IV in den buit te laten deelen, was uitgegaan'.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Fruin literally writes: 'he chose something or other, for example a pretty service of porcelain, the best there is' ('om iets te noemen een schoon servies van porselein, van de alderbeste die er zijn'). No exact amount is given.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 396 and note 1 refers to 'Verhooren van Oldenbarnevelt', *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*. vol. 2, part 2, p. 124.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 397.

gifts and not purchases. There may have been 'foreign buyers' and these had to pay in ready cash, contrary to the Amsterdam buyers who had six months to pay.⁷²

These accounts and documents show that there is enough additional information about the *Santa Catarina* to fill up some unclarity regarding her booty. The account made by Hulsius is the only existing one that mentions any large amount of porcelain using two different terms, 'last' and 'centner'. There are no official VOC documents to support the claim that a quantity of 100,000 pieces of porcelain had entered the Dutch Republic in 1604 as booty from the *Santa Catarina*. Further information still remains to be found on the exact quantity of porcelain that was aboard, how much of it was actually auctioned and sold.

A year later the large quantity of 50-60,000 porcelain items from another captured Portuguese ship was documented in more detail. In 1605, Admiral Wybrant van Warwijck captured the *Santo António* on its voyage from Macao to Malacca. A substantial amount of porcelain was listed as part of its booty: '6000 bundles of porcelains as well as ten tubs with fine and coarse porcelains' (*6000 bont Porceleynen: nevens 10 vaten so fijn als grof dito*).⁷³ If the sum of ten pieces per pack is correct, a total of 60,000 pieces can be calculated and together with the pieces packed in the ten tubs, this would indeed have been a sensational booty. It is however unclear whether the complete booty or even part of it ever arrived in the Dutch Republic, as during the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Borschberg 2002 (op. cit.), p. 63: "The portion of the *Santo António*'s cargo that escaped Dutch seizure included seven hundred to eight hundred *picul* (approximately 42,350-48,400 kilogrammes) of raw silk, about two hundred bales of silks and some three *bahar* (which is equivalent to about nine *picul* or about 544 kilogrammes) in gold. It can thus scarcely surprise — and the Dutch source bitterly complains about this — that the value of the cargo seized from the *Santo António* was significantly less than if it had been captured, for example, on open sea. The Dutch 'traders' made prize of the following items: 2,000 *picul* (approximately 121,000 kilogrammes) of white powdered sugar, baskets of sugar candy (stok-zuiker), 4,500 *picul* (approximately 272,000 kilogrammes) of *tintinago* or spelter, Chinese camphor, 18 lead boxes of musk-balls, 11 chests of vermilion, 22 chests containing Chinese fans (Chinese waejers), 209 fardels of raw silk and 75 fardels of 'bad yellow raw silk' (*geele slegte ruwe zyde*), 6000 pieces of coloured (bont) sundry porcelain 10 casks of both coarse and fine porcelain'. (Borschberg mistakenly transcribes 'bont' as coloured but bundled means 'packed in a bundle', sometimes 10 pieces or 20 per bundle according to size). The original Dutch text can be found in I. Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgangh, Deel 11, Oost-Indische Reyse onder den Admiraal Wybrant van Waerwijck*, Amsterdam, 1646, p. 82: 't gene sy in de veroverde Craecke (S. Antoni ghenaeamt) vonden / bestont in ontrent twee duysent Picol witte poeyer suycker eenige corven stock suycker: 4500 picol Tintenage: 226 fardeelen Chinese Camphar: 90 fardeelen Aguelæ: 18 loode Cassen met Muscus ballen / 11 Cassen fermelioen: 22 Cassen Chinese Waeyers : 209 ferdeelen rouwe Zijde: 75 ferdeelen geel slechte Zijde : 6000 bont Porceleynen : nevens 10 vaten so fijn als grof dito : Eenige vergulde Bedd'-steden ende andere kleynigheden : een party Radix China: een party Beniewin: 150 Canasters of Corven ghemaecte Zijde / als fluweelen / Damasten / Taffetaetjens, ghetweerde Zijde, daeronder oock eenige Cassen Gout-draet : synde een sterck Schip / dies het boven ghesloopt / ende met een vast Boevenet hermaect is / oock bemant om haer te defenderen ende naer 't Vaderlandt te varen'.

return journey various incidents took place that might have prevented this.⁷⁴ The VOC ship *Mauritius* was ordered to take on goods destined for the Republic and may have transported some of the porcelain found in the *San Ant3nio*.⁷⁵

The overall conclusion of this section is that the booty from both Portuguese ships that had left Macao in the years 1603 and 1605 shows that large quantities of porcelain were available there to be bought and shipped by Portuguese merchants. The Dutch merchants had, as yet, not bought such large amounts; they were more focused on purchasing spices and pepper. As they were granted the right of booty, the Dutch realised that a lucrative way to acquire Chinese merchandise was in fact to capture Spanish and Portuguese ships carrying these goods including porcelain. The exact number of items or the revenues of any auctions of the porcelain items obtained from these captures, however, remain to be found.

VOC shipments of Chinese porcelain from 1602 to around 1612.

During the first ten years of VOC trade in Asia, there were as yet no detailed orders for porcelain from the Company's directors; cargo lists of the return ships show fluctuating amounts. The Dutch merchants depended on what Chinese junks brought to be sold to foreign merchants at Bantam or Patani, but also made use of booty from captured ships. Patani was a market and harbour where merchants from many Asian countries brought their merchandise and where pepper was the most sought-after item.⁷⁶ It was also one

⁷⁴ It appears that the original cargo of the *Santo Ant3nio* was distributed among several other vessels of Van Warwijk's fleet for the return journey from Bantam. The captured vessel itself was leaking and had to be abandoned at Madagascar. The ship *Mauritius* was sent to Madagascar to retrieve the cargo but had to be repaired there and then 'fell apart' during the return journey off the coast of Guinea in February 1609. The cargo was then transhipped onto another vessel brought there that finally arrived on September 8th at Texel.

⁷⁵ Commelin 1646, (op. cit.) Part 2: *De Oost-Indische Reyse onder den Admiraal Wybtrant van Waerwijck (1605)* p. 82. He transhipped the captured cargo in his ships *Erasmus* and *Nassau* at Bantam and departed from there on February 6th, 1606, and arrived in the Netherlands in June 1607. ('*synde een sterck Schip/ dies het boven ghesloopt / ende met een vast Boevenet hermaeckt is / oock bemant om haer te deffenderen ende naer 't Vaderlandt te varen*'). See also De Groot 1604, (op. cit.), p. 263 and 331; P. Borschberg, 'The Seizure of the *Santo Ant3nio* at Patani. VOC Freebooting, the Estado da India and Peninsular Politics, 1602-1609', *Journal of the Siam Society*, no. 90 (2002) pp. 59-72.

⁷⁶ A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, The Hague, 1970, p. 7: 'The Portuguese capture of Malacca encouraged the trade of such ports as Patani, especially when Portuguese exactions and extortion in Malacca made trade there increasingly unprofitable. Indian textiles were brought to Patani to be exchanged for pepper, gold, or foodstuffs; and both Chinese goods and Indian textiles presumably were marketed by Malay merchants of Patani in Thailand and through the Indonesian Archipelago, to the north coast ports of Java and Sumatra and to Makasar. Patani thus was part of a general trading system which arose in reaction to Portuguese Malacca and included ports as Acheh in North Sumatra, Bantam in West Java, and Makasar on Sulawesi'. 'Economically, Patani was involved in

of the important coastal settlements for the overseas Chinese merchants, as it lay on the South China Sea route for ships on their way to other regions as Malacca and the Indonesian Archipelago.⁷⁷ (Figure 5.5) In order to settle trade terms with the Chinese, the VOC merchants needed to engage interpreters for their negotiations.⁷⁸



Figure 5.5. Map of Malaysia-Thailand border with Patani. From: CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

From this period, orders were sent to Asia, but these only occasionally included porcelain. One general order from the VOC directors dated 1605 states: 'Have the Chinese bring all Chinese goods like silk, sugar, porcelain and other (items) in large quantities by the Chinese to Patani and Bantam'.⁷⁹ Another document illustrates the types of porcelain purchased by VOC merchants. (Appendix 5, list 7)

this system both in the long-distance trade with China, carried on in Chinese junks, and in a more localized trade with Siam and other Malay and Indonesian ports'.

⁷⁷ J.L. Blussé and J. de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee: De Eerste Vijftig Jaar, 1600-1650*, Franeker, 1983, p. 195.

⁷⁸ W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*. vol. 1. The Hague, 1898, p.16: 'Een man van Hai-ting [Nt: eene stad aan de zuidkant van de baai van Amoy], genaamd Li Kim en een paar slechte kooplieden Poan Sioe en Koe Tschin hadden lang in Patani gewoond en waren gewoon met de Hollanders over de zaken van China te spreken'. H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*. The Hague, 1938, p.126, 'Om te maken, dat zooveel mogelijk van de begeerde artikelen werd aangebracht, schreef men blijkbaar uit Patani wel eens brieven, in Chineesch vertaald, aan kooplieden in China, om dezen tot zoo groot mogelijke zendingen aan te moedigen'. From note 6: 'Zoo in een copiebrief van Victor Sprinckel aan Jacques l'Hermitte de Jonge te Bantam, Patani 25 Sept. 1608'.

⁷⁹ NL-HaNA (VOC), 1.04.02, inv. nr. 461, *Instructie van de bewindhebbers voor admiraal Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge, de vice-admiraal en de brede raad van de vloot van elf schepen*. 'Alle Chinesche waren als Sijde suijcker porcelenien ende andere meer sal men door die Chinechijn in grote abundantie tot patanen ende Bantam doen brengen'. Terpstra 1938, Patani; p. 128: 'De eerste gelegenheid, waarbij mij is gebleken, dat van 't vaderland uit het koopen van Chinees porselein aangemoedigd werd, is de tocht van Matelief naar Indië in 1605.

In 1607, an order from the VOC directors for Asian commodities was sent with the fleet of Admiral Pieter Willems Verhoef to Asia. It included, for the first time, specific instructions for the purchase of porcelain in demand in this period in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁰ (Appendix 5, list 8) Another order sent to the trade post of Patani, was with instructions for the Chinese to bring the required merchandise, and includes information on the assortment of porcelain required with the quantities of each type.⁸¹ (Appendix 5, list 9)

Flatware was evidently most in demand, 'especially flat butter dishes' (*Insonderheyt platte botter schottelen*), even if it is '50 thousand dozen' (*al brengtmen 50 Duysent Dosynen*), but, 'to make sure it is of fine sorts'. Saltcellars, mustard pots (contrary to saucers) and milk jugs with a handle were ordered for the first time.⁸² I have already explained that these shapes were, as yet, not produced according to Western specifications or samples; in this period, existing Chinese shapes sufficed for use as such.

The order continues with 'an amount of fine large bowls, not all too deep because many deep bowls have come from the *Craque Santa Catarina* which are too deep and narrow'.⁸³ It is a puzzling request; one would consider this meant a *clapmuts* type but these were listed separately.⁸⁴ Also in demand were, 'all kinds of beautiful pots small and large, of which the larger should be filled with preserves so as not to transport them empty'. These would also have been Chinese domestic types.⁸⁵ Even unusual shapes as 'vases with a star shaped mouth' (*Alderhande fraeye kannekens die monden gelyck een*

⁸⁰ NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten) 1.11.01.01, inv.nr. 1136, *Stukken betreffende de vloot uitgezeld naar Oost-Indië onder bevel van de admiraal Pieter Willemsz. Verhoeven. Instructies, seinbrieven, monsterrollen, prijskranten en andere stukken*;

⁸¹ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 634: *Memorie voor de Chinezen die van Patani naar China gaan, bevattende een opgave van goederen die de Chinezen bij hun terugkeer voor de Nederlanders in Patani meebrengen, en een opgave van Victor Sprinckel van de textiel die in Patani werd gevraagd [1608]* ; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1054: *Stukken betreffende Patani, Calicut (Malabar), Siam, Japan en Johor (1607-1613): 'Originele ende copie calcula van uit staande schulden voor rekeninghe van de oude en de nieuwe vereenichde Comp. overgelevert bij Jacob Buis aen Cornelis Francx coopman in dato 9 December 1605'*. It is regrettable that the exact measure is not given; '2 ½' is given, but without exact specifications.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 'Ende voorts alderhande Soutvaten mosterpotten melck pottes met hanthaven dae mense can by vatten ofte Draghen'. Preserved fruit (in Dutch 'confyten') was constantly in demand. This would probably have been sugared ginger or fruit for consumption on the long return voyage or to be sold in the homeland.

⁸³ NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten)1.11.01.01, inv. nr. 1136 (op.cit.): 'Een partie fraye groote comme niet al te seer dieppe want van diepe comme isser seer veel met de Craque Santa Catarina gecomen dewelcke te Diep ende enge syn.'

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 'een goede parie clapmutssen van de minste soorte tot de meste'.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 'Alderhande schoone potten groote ende cleyne men can de groote met confyten vollen omme niet ledich over te brengen'.

sterre) were on the list.⁸⁶ (Figure 5.6) Such an item was amongst the finds from the *San Diego* shipwreck dated 1600. The Spanish had apparently purchased such a rare item before the Dutch entered the Asian trade; it may be possible that this shape was one of the porcelain items captured by the Dutch and so they were familiar with it.

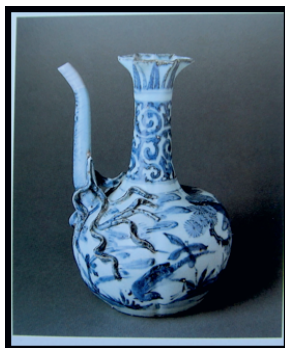


Figure 5.6. Pouring vessel with star-shaped mouth from the shipwreck of the *San Diego*, 1600. h. 20 cm; d. base: 8 cm. Cat. Nr. 106, inv. nr. 6.⁸⁷

The same instruction includes ‘a quantity of flat coarse wares may be brought, the same as the ones Jacob van Neck bought at Patani, the dimensions of which are such that a Dutch cheese can be served on at the table’.⁸⁸ We see on the painting in Figure 5.7 a large piece of cheese on a small tin platter, hence the request for the larger size dishes.⁸⁹ If, however, these were intended to be of the coarse type, then they were possibly large Zhangzhou-type dishes. The directors recommend that, instead of using stone as ballast for the ships, such heavy porcelains should be placed, ‘under the inner planking or lining of the ship’ (*onder de gharnierighe brengen*).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ D. Carré, J.P. Desroches and F. Goddio, *Le San Diego : un Trésor Sous la Mer, Catalogue*, Paris, 1994.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, figure p.338.

⁸⁸ NL-HaNA (Aanwinsten) 1.11.01.01, inv. nr. 1136 (op.cit.): ‘Ende soomen in de plaetse van steen eenich swaer werck van Porceleynen conde stouwen onder die garnieren / soo machmen wel een partye plat groffachtich goet brengen gelyck als Jacob van neck tot Patanie coft / ende syn soo groot datmen een hollantsche Keese daer in mach ter tafel brengen’.

⁸⁹ See for further descriptions of foodstuffs: Julie Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven and London, 2007.

⁹⁰ The lining of a ship where heavy goods are stored as ballast.

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocglossarium/vocoutp>: ‘garniering (i,1/ii,2): bekleding van het ruim van een schip met planken, rotan of bamboe, ter bescherming van schip en lading en om de laatste te beter te kunnen opstuwen. Ook de laag rijstbundels, onder in het ruim en waarop de lading rust. Het doel hiervan is, speciaal bij zware waren te voorkomen, dat het zwaartepunt van het schip te laag komt te liggen’.



Figure 5.7. Still life painting with fruits, nuts and cheese. Floris Claesz van Dijck, 1613. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. inv. nr. OS-1-76.

We see here a detailed order for porcelain with Western shapes, but it cannot be established which sorts actually arrived in the Dutch Republic, as shipping lists of the return ships of those years do not provide exact details. We only know that the total cargo of the return ships of that year was worth 3,000,000 guilders of which 100,000 was ‘porcelain and cinnamon’.⁹¹

As related in chapter 4, the *Mauritius* left Bantam for the Dutch Republic and was shipwrecked in the Gulf of Guinea (Cap de Lope Gonsalves) in 1609.⁹² The 215 salvaged porcelain items are quite diverse, but no porcelain was listed on its cargo list and it may be possible that the items were taken on board at Madagascar, where the ship stopped on its return journey to load goods from the captured *São Antônio* in 1605, mentioned above.⁹³

Porcelain on one of the ships of the return fleet of 1610, the *Zeelandia*, was only noted as: ‘many porcelain dishes’ (*veele porcelyne schootels*), without any concrete

⁹¹ NL-HaNA (Landsadvocaat Van Oldenbarnevelt) 3.01.14, inv. nr. 3108, *Aantekeningen betreffende de aankomst en lading van enige schepen van de vloten onder bevel van Cornelis Matelief de Jongen en Paulus van Caerden*. The 5 ships, the *Bantam*, *ter Veer*, *Ceylon*, *Gouda* and the *Erasmus* arrived in July and August 1609 in the Dutch Republic. The cargo included 100,000 guilders’ worth of porcelain and cinnamon. ‘*In porceleijnen en caneel 100000 guilden*’; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02 inv. nr. 603, *Facturen van de lading van het schip Bantam, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1608: ‘de Bantam, 400 last, 13000 sack peper. 28700 # nagelen, 4 cassen syd; 272 groote perceleyn*’.

⁹² See Appendix chapter 4, list 5; M. L’Hour, *Le Mauritius- la Memoire Engloutie*. Paris, 1989. The pieces can be viewed at the Musée de la Compagnie des Indes at Port Louis, Brittany, France.

⁹³ L’Hour 1989 (op. cit.), pp. 233-239.

details.⁹⁴ The *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* listed a quantity of 9,227 pieces of porcelain and the *Orange* had 'many porcelain dishes' (*veel Porceleyen schotelen*).⁹⁵

The VOC officials at Bantam were not satisfied with these quantities; the Chinese junks that arrived at Bantam with merchandise seemed not to have delivered all that much porcelain in 1610. For example, Jacques l'Hermite de Jonge (1582-1624) chief merchant (*opperkoopman*) at Bantam, wrote to the factor Paulus van Caerden (1569-1615?) on Ambon, one of the islands called the Moluccas, that the supply of damask, velvets and porcelains cannot be sent to him (from Bantam) because the 'junks did not bring much' (from China).⁹⁶ Moreover, the VOC was not the only customer at Bantam. De Jonge complains that the Gujarati merchants from India (*guseratten*) drove up the prices because they bought 'so much that there was nothing to be obtained for a reasonable price'.⁹⁷ He also reported that it was necessary to contract the Chinese to bring good quality porcelain every year because, 'what they have brought until now is not much and mostly bad quality so that we did not dare to buy to send to the Home country, knowing it was nothing special there'.⁹⁸ He furthermore complained that the price of porcelain increased when the ships arrived and when the crew and other

⁹⁴ E. van Meteren, *Historie van de oorlogen en geschiedenis der Nederlanderen en der zelve Naburen: beginnende met den Jare 1315, en eindigende met den Jare 1611*, Gorinchem and Breda, 1748-1763, vol. 10, pp. 403-404: 'In Zomer en Hooimaand van dit jaar zijn in Nederland scheepen uit Oost-Indien aangekomen, als, de schepen Gelderland, groot 700 vaten, daarop Schipper was Jan Jansz. Mol, met peper gelaaden; Zeelandia, groot 600 vaten, ook wel in hebbende 18000 zakken peper, elk van 55 ponden, wel 700 stukken zyde laakens, veele porcelyne schootels en andere dingen'.

⁹⁵ O. Nachod, *Die beziehungen der Niederländischen ostindischen kompagnie zu Japan im siebzehnten jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1897. p. 115: 'Der Leeuw met Pijlen begab sich nach der heimat und langte am 20 Juli 1610 bei texel an, als Ueberbringer der ersten Ladung aus japan, unter welcher sich 9 Kisten Lackwerck und 9227 Stück Porzellan befanden'. Van Meteren 1610 (op. cit.), note 135, fol. 659: *Het schip Orangie in Zeelandt geladen met wel acht hondert duysent pont pepers/veel Porceleyen schotelen*'.

⁹⁶ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1053, Copie van een brief door Jacques l'Hermite van Bantam aen den admiraal Pauwels van Caerden geschreven, gedateerd 23 October 1610: 'Tgene uwe Edele is ontbiedende van Damasten & fluweelen & porceleijn: sal dit jaer niet connen gesonden werden: alsoo..met die Joncken heel weijnich is gecomen: & is soo nauwe by de guseratten opgekocht ... [dat niets tegen redelijke prijs waas te krijgen]'.

⁹⁷ H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1920 (op.cit.), vol. II, p. 20: letter from J.P. Coen to Amboina, 3-11-1615; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962, pp. 65-84. The Gujarati merchants transported textiles and indigo to the Indonesian islands and the aim of the VOC was to take over this trade and use their monopoly on certain spices for the return ships to Surat.

⁹⁸ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1053 (op.cit.); H.E. Gelder, 'Gegevens Omtrent den Porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch jaarboek: bijdragen tot de economische geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. X, pp. 165-193, 1924, pp. 170-171: 'want hetgene tot noch toe gebracht heben is niet veel te beduyden geweest ende meestal slecht goed, waerdoor deselven nimmermeer hebbe durven coopen om naert Vaderlandt te seynden, welwetende dat daer niet als seer curieus goet en dient'.

people buy these as personal goods.⁹⁹ (Appendix 5, list 10) Still, ‘100 large porcelain dishes’ (*grote porcelenen schotels*) were sent to the VOC directors together with some silk wares and embroidered textiles.¹⁰⁰

In this period, captured booty continued to supplement porcelain for the Dutch home market. A quantity of porcelain was taken from the *Nostra* [or *Nossa*] *Sinhore del Pare* captured by the Dutch in the roadstead at Malacca. This was transhipped to the return ships *Hollandia*, *Middelburch* and *Rotterdam*, which departed from Bantam in 1610/1611.¹⁰¹ The *Hollandia* had 16 corgees of porcelain, the *Middelburch* 12 corgees, and the *Rotterdam* 2 corgees with various amounts of ‘porcheleijn’.¹⁰²

In summary, the quantities of porcelain during the first ten years after the establishment of the VOC to the Dutch Republic and to regions within Asia were relatively small. The VOC directors sent only two orders for porcelain to Asia, one that included details on the required shapes. These were for the most part flatware of various dimensions, but also some unusual items, such as the vase with a star-shaped mouth, and Western shapes such as mustard pots or milk jugs. However, we do not know whether these orders were fulfilled; cargo lists of VOC ships do not give precise details at this stage; at the most they state that the dishes were large or coarse and only a few mention any precise quantity. We do know however, that VOC shipwrecks dated to the first decade of the 17th century included the Kraak-type flatware, *clapmuts* and bowls; items as wine pots, small pots with lids and small saucers had to fulfil the requirements of Western shapes.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ‘en de bootsgezellen ende andere voor haer selven daerof niet en sullen mogen coopen, dwelck achte hier swaerlijck sal connen te wege gebracht worden overmits door oude gewoonte seer is ingewortelt’. The first time that this was prohibited dates from 1602; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 7525, *Kopie-artikelbrieven, -instructies en andere stukken van Prins Maurits, de Staten-Generaal en de Heren XVII voor de bemanningsleden van de schepen. 1602 – 1604*. See also: Viallé 2014 (op. cit.), p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ Van Gelder, 1924, (op. cit.), p. 170, ‘zendt een casken met eenige sydewercken ende geborduurde deeckens ende 100 groote porceleynen schotels’.

¹⁰¹ The return ships *Hollandia* and *Middelburch* left Bantam in 1610 and 1611; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 605, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Rotterdam, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1610 sep.*; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 543, *Lijst van de door Verhoeff buitgemaakte goederen uit het veroverde schip Nossa Senhora del Pare 1608 dec. 12*.

¹⁰² A corgee is a unit of mass, used in India, equal to 212 moodahs, or rush mat bundles. A cargo list dated 1614 mentions that one corgee would contain 20 pieces, but as explained before, the quantities per package type could vary.

Porcelain commissions and deliveries during the period 1612-1622.

Until 1612, commodities were still mainly collected at Bantam and Patani and from 1619, Batavia. From this period, a gradual increase in the quantities of porcelain transported to the Dutch Republic is noted and more orders were placed in Asia. As porcelain was still scarce in the homeland, a letter dated April 28th, 1612, was sent to Bantam from the directors with orders to purchase 'as much porcelain as possible, of all sorts', because there was a lack of it.¹⁰³

The return fleet of that year that left Bantam in December 1612 included the ships *Wapen van Amsterdam*, the *Vlissingen* and the *Witte Leeuw*. The *Wapen van Amsterdam*, listed five barrels, each with large porcelain dishes (*grote porceleynen Schotels*) with the letters *P.S.* on the barrel perhaps indicating a private purchase. On the shipping list of the *Vlissingen*, a total amount of 38,641 items is recorded.¹⁰⁴ (Appendix 5, List 11) It includes a large variety of shapes such as large dishes, saucers, table plates, butter dishes and fruit bowls. Oil and vinegar jugs, 'pots with spouts', and tiny brandy or gin cups were also on the list.¹⁰⁵ Salvaged items from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck, which was part of the same fleet, correspond to that list. Identical ones were found amongst the shards of the *Witte Leeuw*, which shows that part of the porcelain cargo of the *Vlissingen* must have been on board.

I have already noted in Chapter 3 that, even though Western shapes as 'oil and vinegar jugs', (*olie- en azijn kannetjes*), 'jugs with a handle and spout' (*Cannekens met hengsels ende pipen*), 'jugs with a handle' and 'brandy bottles' (*brandewijnstopkens*) were ordered, such items were not found amongst shipwreck finds. It seems that shapes used in China and resembling these were bought; exact Western ones had not yet been produced.

¹⁰³ Terpstra 1938 (op. cit.), p. 129, refers to a letter sent to Peter Segers in Patani dated April 28 -1612, wherein it is stated that there were no more arrivals of porcelain to the Netherlands and that as much as possible should be sent.

¹⁰⁴ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 607, *Facturen van de ladingen van de schepen Wapen van Amsterdam, Vlissingen en Witte Leeuw, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek, 5 December 1612*; Van Gelder, 1924 (op. cit.), p. 171; the cargo list of the *Witte Leeuw* does not list any porcelain, see R. Sténuît, 'De Witte Leeuw. De schipbreuk van een schip van de VOC in 1613 en het onderwateronderzoek naar het wrak in 1976', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 25, 1977, no. 4, pp. 165-166; C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), *The Ceramic load of the 'Witte Leeuw' (1613)*, Amsterdam, 1982, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 'boterschotels, klapmutsen, fruitschalen, ronde potkens, saucierkens, cameelscoppen, tafelborden, olie- en azijn kannetjes, pimpelkens, tuytepottekens, brandewijnstopkens'.

Another order, sent in 1613, asked to 'send as much as you can acquire, of all sorts, except the largest size dishes, which cannot be sold'.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps there was a surplus of this type in the Dutch Republic or they became unpopular because of the large size.

During the following years porcelain deliveries gradually increased. In 1614, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, then still second in command (he became VOC Governor-General in 1618), wrote in a letter to the Company's directors in Amsterdam that six Chinese junks had arrived 'instead of the usual 2, 3 or 4, with a very large amount of fine as well as coarse porcelain' (*Sy hebben gebracht een zeer groote party soo fijn als groff porceleyn*), which he was able to buy at a good price.¹⁰⁷ (Appendix 5, list 12) The return ships *Zwarte Leeuw* and *ter Veere*, left Bantam in January 1614 with '4,277 corgees' of porcelain. This document also mentions that one 'corgée' would contain 20 pieces (*stelle 20 stuck voor elck corge*). If so, the amount would have been 85,540 pieces, a higher amount than previous cargoes.¹⁰⁸

An even higher number was listed on the cargo list of the *Gelderland*, which left Bantam on October 25th, 1614.¹⁰⁹ The *Gelderland* was caught in a typhoon at the island of Mauritius together with the *Banda* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* on their return journey at the beginning of 1615.¹¹⁰ Large amounts of shards have continually washed up on the shores where the *Gelderland* and the *Geünieerde Provinciën* were destroyed.¹¹¹

The *Gelderland* listed the large amount of nearly 70,000 items on its cargo list, a

¹⁰⁶ NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 312, Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië 1614 – 1795, april 28, 1612; this is repeated in another letter, dated March 20, 1613: '*fijn porselein kan in Patani niet te veel worden ingekocht, maar grote schotels moet men niet kopen*'. Terpstra 1938 (op.cit.), p. 129.

¹⁰⁷ H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op.cit.), vol. I, p. 65: '*Toucherende den handel der Chinese waren. Dit jaer zijn hier aengecomen 6 Chinese joncken, alle seer wel geladen, in plaetse dat zeer ordinaerlijck voor desen 2, 3 a 4 ten hoogsten pligen te comen*'.

¹⁰⁸ NL-HaNA (Landsadvocaat Van Oldenbarnevelt) 3.01.14, inv. nr. 3119: '*Lading 2 schepen uit Indie januari 1614 Zwarte Leeuw en ter Veere: 4277 corges porcelanen: stelle 20 stuck voor elck corge [waarde f 420770]*'.

¹⁰⁹ This ship is not the *Gelderland* of 1601; VOC ships were often renamed after they were shipwrecked or no longer used.

¹¹⁰ NL-HaNA, (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1059, *Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637*: 1616; Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 151: Letter dated December 25th, 1615; the *Delft* arrived in the Netherlands in October, 1615, and the *Orangieboom* arrived in December 1615, with as much as possible of the cargo from the *Gelderland*; they left one-third of their cargo behind which the *Witten Beer* then would take back home. See NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 100, *Kopie-resoluties van de Heren XVII, 1608 juli 7 - 1623 augustus 19; resoluties october 1615: 'Nopende de verkoop van de porceleynen tot Delff werdt verstaen*'.

¹¹¹ S. Ostkamp 'De Introductie van Porselein in de Nederlanden', *Vormen uit Vuur* 180/181, 2003/1, pp. 14-29.

substantial quantity.¹¹² These included dishes, *clapmutsen*, *cameels coppen* and bowls as well as: 'low white cups, plain white cups, and half-sized white *clapmutsen*'. (Appendix 5, list 13) 25,230 brandy or gin cups were packed in 10 casks (*25, 230 pimpelkens in 10 tobbe*); these would be identical to those from the *Banda* and *Witte Leeuw* shipwrecks.

From 1615, instructions became more detailed and we see orders for shapes that had not previously been requested, but the preference remained flatware. The VOC directors commissioned a large quantity of porcelain on April 30th, 1615, 'mostly flat ware such as butter dishes, a few middle-sized fruit dishes', but the largest-sized dishes are unnecessary, 'as there are sufficient of these'.¹¹³ (Appendix 5, List 14)

Other shapes ordered included: '*bierenbroodts coppen*', flasks, and 'nice flowerpots'. The term '*bierenbroodts coppen*' may refer to a type of bowl used during the period of the 16th and 17th centuries to consume a mixture of beer (*bier*) and bread (*broodt*), a regular evening meal at that time.¹¹⁴ The exact shape cannot be traced, but a *clapmuts*-type would have been suitable. A new instruction was included: the decoration should preferably be 'not completely white but everything [with] blue [decoration]' (*geen wit maer alle geschildert blaew werck*).¹¹⁵ This request shows, for the first time, that blue and white porcelain was now favoured in the Dutch Republic.

Supplies of porcelain were not quite as plentiful as Coen hoped. Chief merchant Hendrick Janszoon wrote on November 25th 1615 from Patani to Coen that only one junk had arrived, bringing coarse as well as fine porcelain and that the amount of porcelain to be sent back to the Netherlands was not much, 'worth around 1700 real's of eight'.¹¹⁶

¹¹² NL-HaNa (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1057, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, factura Gelderlant 25-10-1614: 'volght het porcelyn [totaal] 69057 stx'*. Another of these wrecked ships, the *Banda*, was salvaged in 1981 but did not have such a substantial amount; the salvaged items have been discussed in chapter 3.

¹¹³ NL-HaNa (VOC) 1.04.02 inv. nr. 312, *1614 nov. 21 - 1617 apr. 20: Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1614 nov. 21-1617 apr. 20*; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 173, '*eerst alle pladt goet als boterschotelen, fruytschotelen, andere schotelen, weynich halve fruytschaelen, goede partije schotelen die 't stuck een quaert van en real van achten costen', 'maer seynt geene vande aldergrootste soorte van schotelen daeraff syn noch genoech gestoffeert'*. He dates this order incorrect as 21-11-1614, which Volker copied: Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 26. Both mistake the punctuation mark after 44, the correct amount should be 44,000 (pieces) not 440.

¹¹⁴ WNT (website *Woordenboek Nederlandse Taal*): '*Voorheen de naam van eene soort van bierpap, gemaakt met brood*'.

¹¹⁵ NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 312: (op.cit.): *Memorie op de coopmanschappen die men wt Oost Indien naer het vaderlandt sal brengen & in Patania souden mogen ingekocht worden 30-4- 1615*.

¹¹⁶ W.P. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. 7, The Hague, 1952, p. 51 (Hendrick Janszoon aan Coen, dd. 25-11-1615):

A few months later, in January 1616, Coen wrote to the VOC directors that porcelain had been purchased, 'half, one third and one quarter dishes', 'but they are badly painted'.¹¹⁷ He expected another similar amount to arrive from China, 'which has been made in advance, will be brought by the junks arriving at the end of February', but he foresaw that better and finer porcelains could be obtained thereafter, as there was enough money to buy these.¹¹⁸

However, in April 1616, the VOC directors decided to lower the sum for purchasing porcelain from 10,000 real's to 1,000 or 2,000 or at the most 3,000 real's.¹¹⁹ They give as reason that 'the porcelain has become expensive, suffers damage on the return journey and does not sell well'.¹²⁰ Besides, 'the Chamber of Zeeland, Delft and Hoorn have enough supplies'. The directors had heard that at Bantam things proceeded very disorderly with regard to the loading of porcelain, because, 'when it is brought alongside the ships by the junks, the boats or barks, it is stowed and piled up so high one upon the other that much is broken and gone to pieces'.¹²¹ Therefore, in the future, 'it must be seen to that the porcelain is put orderly into the junks or others, so that when it is brought aboard, there are no broken pieces otherwise the porcelain comes over so unsuitable that no less than half, as an average, of broken ware is brought to the market here'.¹²² (Appendix 5, List 15)

'Van China zijn in Patani geen jonken verschenen, op één na, die eigenlijk voor Japara bedoeld was ... die anders niet en brengt als groff ende wat fijn porceleyn.'; p. 57: 'T retour voor 't patria, dat hier rechtevoort, buyten hetgene op Jappon gesonden, noch bij de logie is, importeert seer weijnich, is ontrent de 17 hondert realen van achten aen porcelijn'. The Spanish coin, real de a ocho, was used in Asia as the currency to purchase merchandise. It was used from the 16th till the 18th century in the Dutch East Indies, where the population called them Real Batu (or pasmat).

¹¹⁷ Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 168, (Coen aan Heeren XVII, dd. 05-01-1616): *'Porceleyn, te weten meest halve, derde en quadre schotels gaet hiermede een goede partye, die almede op schult hebben moeten aennemen. Sy sijn, nae ons dunckt, slecht van schilderye. Nietegenstaende 't groot verlies welck de Chinesen dit jaer daarvan gehadt hebben, soo sullen met de naeste joncken, die in 't laetste van deze maent ende February worden verwacht, noch een partye diergelycke brengen, welcke op vooraet in China gemaect sijn, maer daerna, soo het ons aen geen gelt gebreeckt, sullen fijn en schoon porceleyn te verwachten hebben.'*

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Colenbrander (ed.) 1922 (op.cit.), vol. IV, p. 346: *'schrijven datmen niet veel porceleijn en sendt alsoo de Camere van Zeelandt, Delft ende Hoorn noch genoegh geprovideert sijn'.*

¹²⁰ Ibid., *'alsoo deselve seer duer vallen, groote laccage onderwege lyden ende alhier tot villen pryse sijn ende kleinen afftreck hebbe'.*

¹²¹ Ibid., *'dat het tot Bantham seer onordentlijck in 't affladen van 'porceleyn, met dat men 't selve in de joncken, sloepen oft barcken, daer men 't mede aen boort van de schepen brengt, soo hooch op malcanderen stout ende opset, dat het seer veel breekt'.*

¹²² Ibid., *'soodat darop voortaan moet gelet worden, dat men 't porceleyn ordentelijck van malcanderen sette in de joncken oft andersints, daer men 't mede aen boort brengt, opdatter geen gebroocken goet in de schepen en compt; en dat het porceleyn soo ongeschickt overcompt, dat men hier niet min als de helfft d'een door d'ander gebroocken goedt aen de marckt en krijght.'*

Another document states that 'If indeed porcelains are sent [they] should be packed in the pepper because the cloves cling too much which causes great damage to the porcelains'.¹²³ This remark provides additional information on the packaging of porcelain in this period. For example, the salvaged finds of the *Witte Leeuw* reveal that this request was put into practice; most of the broken pieces were found amidst large quantities of peppercorns.¹²⁴

The cargo lists of the return ships of 1616 present information on the quantity shipped to the homeland that year. The *Dolphijn* had 7,679 pieces on board; the *Mauritius* carried a total amount of 23,023 pieces and the Rotterdam 28,833 pieces of porcelain.¹²⁵ The cargo of the ship the *Hart*, dated January 15th, 1616, that sailed from Bantam to Delft contained 3,730 pieces.¹²⁶ The total amount of porcelain that arrived in the Dutch Republic in 1616 would have been only around 59,535 pieces, probably the result of the restricted amount ordered by the directors.

Still, in 1616, Coen wrote that elephant tusks had been were traded for porcelain.¹²⁷ This comprised of 'one-half, one third and one quarter [sized] saucers, butter dishes, and fruit dishes'.¹²⁸ He added that 'the Chinese will not bring any more as there is enough for this coming year that has been made in advance'. Coen also explained the procedure of ordering porcelain. (Appendix 5, list 16)

You are herewith informed that the porcelains are made far inland in China, and that the assortments which are sold to us and in these Native Quarters, are ordered and paid for in advance, for in China assortments like these are not in

¹²³ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 228, *Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam, 1602 - 1629, 1 februari 1616: 'Is goetgevonden met den eersten naer Indien te schrijven datmen niet veel porceleijn en sendt alsoo de Camere van Zeelandt, Delft ende Hoorn noch genoegh geprovideert sijn, ende qualijck tot redelijcken prouffijte kan vercocht werden Ende indien eenigh porceleijn gesonden werdt datmen deselve niet anders dan inden peper en packen alsoo de Nagelen te seer setten ende vast backen ende daer deur groote lackage inde porceleyen vallen'.*

¹²⁴ Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.) 1982 (op. cit.).

¹²⁵ NL-HaNA (Collectie Hugo de Groot, Supplement, 17e eeuw) 1.10.35.02, inv. nr. 40, fol. 322: '*Dolphijn: '7697 stucken porceleyen'; Mauritius: '23023 porseleyn port p porceleyen'.* According to Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 28, there were also 220 'enamelled fruit dishes' and '180 white and painted fruit dishes', and 'enamelled cups' on the list. This may be a misinterpretation as in this period no enamelled porcelain was common as an export product for Western merchants. The cargo list of the *Rotterdam* that arrived at Goeree (Zeeland province) on September 28th, 1616 shows a quantity of 28,833 pieces of porcelain.

¹²⁶ Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 28, mentions that the *Hart* had 730 pieces costing 590 florins; Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 231 only mentions that the total value of the cargo of the *Hart* was 39,707 guilders.

¹²⁷ Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 213: '*De oliphantstanden [uit patria aangevoerd] hebben wy alle aen de Chinesen verhandelt, ende dat meest tegen porceleyen, te weeten, vlackgoet, de tanden gerekeekent a 55 ende 60 realen 't picol, ende de porceleyen cent per cent min dan voor desen gecocht sijn'.* Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 175.

¹²⁸ Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 224.; Van Gelder 1924 (op.cit.), p.175: '*Touscherende de porceleyen, vooren is geseyt hoe meest alle de tanden aen porceleyen sijn verhandelt te weten 1/2, 1/3 ende 1/4 ps. schotelen boterschotelen ende fruytschaelen'.*

use. Once these lots have been made, the Chinese are obliged to export and sell them, however much money they lose thereby. Therefore, if I am well informed, this kind of assortments will neither be contracted for nor made any more before the Chinese again meet with a ready demand, or solicit it when your honours advise it.¹²⁹

This statement clearly shows that Western shapes, 'a type not used in China', were now made to order, and had to be paid for in advance. Apparently, the Chinese merchants did not want to risk producing items that were unsuitable for their own markets. Such items would mostly have been Kraak-pannelled flatware of all sizes, *clapmutsen* and *cameelskoppen*.

In 1617, Coen assured the VOC directors that porcelain would only be sent for the sum of not more than 1,000 to 3,000 real's per year as was ordained by the directors previously.¹³⁰ There seems to have even been a surplus, 'there is enough porcelain in Bantam, which can be sold with 100% profit'.¹³¹ (Appendix 5, list 17) He continues to explain that the largest-sized dishes that are in stock 'can be sold in Arabia and Surat with profit' (*sy connen met avance in Arabien en Suratten vercocht worden*).¹³² Regarding the problem of breakage, Coen said that the fault lies with the officers who surveyed the shipments, 'Some are too proud to survey and the lower ranks would rather have a drink'.¹³³ He also complained that the inventory lists are not properly signed so that the quantities do not correspond with the bills and 'even the broken pieces, often at the bottom of the packs, are listed and also shipped off with the rest. It should not cost that much effort to control the loading of porcelain onto the ships'.¹³⁴ This letter is a rare example of some of the numerous problems concerning loading the packs of porcelain into the return ships before departure.

¹²⁹ Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), pp. 175-176: 'waerdoor bij de Chinesen in eenige jaren niet meer sal worden gebracht, tenwaere dit aenstaende jaer noch een weinigh, welcke ick hoore mede op voorraet gemaeck sij.'

¹³⁰ Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 176.

¹³¹ Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 267: J.P. Coen to the Directors, 22 augustus 1617; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), pp. 176-177: 'Wij hebben tot Batam noch een partye, doche sullen se eerlangh, soo wy begeeren, met cent per cent advance wel weder vercoopen connen'.

¹³² Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.).

¹³³ Ibid., 'onder correctie de hoofden van de schepen die sulcke overbrengen met het cognossement, welck de heeren telcken reys toegesonden wort, aen te spreecken, anders en sal der nimmermeer op gepast worden. Het ware eenige grooten d'eere te na om daerop te letten, ende de cleenen drincken liever een croesken'.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 'is het eenighe als vooren niet alleen te veel moeyte omme waer te emen dat se in de prauwn, schuyten ende t'scheep wel gehandelt worden, maer selffs te veel werck omme te letten, dat hun geen gebroocken goet voor heel worde gereckent'.

In 1617, there was apparently a general lapse in deliveries from China, especially silk, as it was a bad harvest year.¹³⁵ Coen reported that all kinds of samples, patterns and designs for porcelain in demand in the Dutch Republic had been given to the Chinese, but what was sent back was based on old models.¹³⁶ This statement is the first one mentioning the use of samples and patterns sent to be copied.

In 1618, the ship *Zwarte Leeuw* was sent from Patani to Bantam. Its cargo list shows details of how porcelain was packed, and shows the quantity per cask or straw bundle, information not always available. Items were packed in various ways, in *cannassers/canassers* and *corven* (wicker baskets or cases made of bamboo, also used for transporting sugar), *vaetgens/balieen/balijs* (tubs or crates, usually made of wood) or *bossen, paxkens* (bundles, usually wrapped with straw). It was not always the case that one batch would contain exactly a certain number of items; the method of packing could change over the years and the number of pieces could vary according to the size of the items per basket, bundle or jar/pot in which they were packed. (Appendix 5, List 18)

This cargo included '900 fine quality butter dishes' (*fijne boterschotels*) packed in 30 casks (*vaetgens*) and 65 straw bundles (*Byesen Bonden*).¹³⁷ Other dishes were packed according to size, noted as the 'first, second, third and fourth sort'.¹³⁸ For example, '48 large dishes of the first sort' were packed in 4 casks, meaning 12 dishes per cask. Also, '940 dishes of the second sort were packed in 18 casks and 38 straw bundles' (*shotels vande tweede soorte*); '475 dishes of the third sort' (*vande derde soorte*) in 4 casks and 19 bundles' and '120 dishes of the fourth sort (*vande vierde soorte*) in 8 straw

¹³⁵ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1066: *Memorie op de Coopmanschappen soo van Chijneesch als andere waeren die hier In patanij ofte ontrent gelegen plaetsen In gekocht ende voorde Comp.e geprocuereert soude connen warden: 'nu In 2: a 3 jaeren geen joncken en sijn geweest de selve alhier commende de Chijneesche Coopmanschappen weijnich onder ofte inde den voor genoemde prijs syn ofte ten waere Inn Chijjna een extraordinaris quaet Jaer voorde syde waere geweest ende deselve daer deur tott watt hooger p[rijs] te Rysen'.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 'mede van de porceleijnen alderh[ande] fatsoenen int vaderlandt dienstich te mogen becommen, waer toe haer monsters, patroonen ofte fatsoenen mede geve hebben maer all[] heeft toot noch toe weijnich gevoordert wandt sendende meest haer oude fatsoenen.' Fatsoen is an old word for: shape/model/sampel (Voorbeeld, ontwerp, model' from WNT (Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal).

¹³⁷ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069: *Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637: 'Laus Deo adij 15 october A.o 1618 in Patana Factura cargasoen Swarten Leeuw'.*

¹³⁸ These terms have been used before: 'Porceleyne, te weten meest halve, derde en quadre schotels'. Colenbrander (ed.) 1919 (op. cit.), p. 168. It cannot refer to the quality as that was mentioned as 'coarse' and 'fine'.

bundles'.¹³⁹ There were, furthermore, '55 large porcelain bowls packed in 4 casks' (55 *stx grote porseleynen commen in 4 vaetgens*); the same document even lists the porcelain that had been broken.¹⁴⁰ The *Zwarte Leeuw* was attacked by the English just outside the harbour of Bantam on December 14th and was burnt. The complete cargo, including the porcelain mentioned above, was lost.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, the list provides a good insight as to what was available in Patani to be purchased from the Chinese merchants, mainly dishes of various sizes and large bowls.

In 1618, the VOC directors sent an order to purchase, '15-20,000 fine quality butter dishes as well as 8 to 10,000 fruit dishes yearly.'¹⁴² (Appendix 5, list 19) Details are given: 'Coarse dishes should not be sent, neither the large and half-sized types nor the small *pimpelkens* (brandy cups) because the country is flooded with these'.¹⁴³ Furthermore, all sorts of 'small cups like camel cups, half sized camel cups, third- and fourth-sized ones'.¹⁴⁴ The exact required shape is even described: 'these cups must have rims and steep sides and not everted ones as the normal camel cups have because the types with steep sides are worth four times more than those with everted ones, [we] will want large amounts of these'.¹⁴⁵ I have referred to this order previously.

Another rare request was for 'octagonal porcelain dishes, which can be pieced together with other shaped ones to form one large platter'.¹⁴⁶ An identical set, also called a 'condiment set' and illustrated in Figure 5.8 was salvaged from the *Bin Thuan*

¹³⁹ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069: '48 groote schotels vande eerste soorte verpackt in 4 vaetgens'. It would amount to 15 pieces for one bundle.

¹⁴⁰ NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1069 (op.cit.): '696 stx de 3 de parten synde 6 stx gebroken en gepact in 69 biesen bonden'.

¹⁴¹ W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*. vol. 1, Oxford 1906, p.156: 'Almost every basket and hamper [of the *Zwarte Leeuw*] had been broken open by the sailors, who also stole half of the porcelain.'

¹⁴² Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 178: Memorie van Bewinthebbers der O-I Compagnie waarnaar zich de commiezen bij het doen van hun inkoop hebben te richten, dd. 30 November 1618; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 313, Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1614 – 1795, 1614 nov. 21-1617 apr. 20: 'Jaerlicx goede pertije van 15 ofte 20,000 stucx fijne boter schotelen als mede 8 oft 10,000 fruijt schalen'.

¹⁴³ Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p.178: 'Porceleijnen Van groove soorten en dienen voor eerst gen gesonden nachte oock vande grote en halve groote schotels ende cleijne Pimpelkens alsoo t Landt daer aff vervult is'.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 'ende cleijne Coppen Soo Cameels Coppen, halve Cameels Coppen derde deels ende vieren deels'.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 'doch dienen dese Coppen te sijn met randen oft stejle kanten ende niet omleggende gelijck de gemijne cameels Coppen ordinaerlyck plegen te wesen alsoo de soort vande stejle kanten wel een vierde paert meerder waerdich sullen wesen als de omleggende canten ende sullen oock in groote pertijen connen werden vertiert'. (Omleggen or verbuigen means everted). I have discussed this in chapter 3.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 'Soo aldaer te becomen sijn een soort van Achtcante middelbare porcelijne Schotels daermen andere cleijne cantige schotelkens aen can voegen op ijder een van de canen sulcx dat op een Tafel staende ende aen malcanderen gevoegt sijnde de gedaente van een schotel verthoonen'.

shipwreck, discovered off the coast of Vietnam in 2004, mentioned previously.¹⁴⁷ It is surprising that the Dutch would have ordered this shape, as it is not one regularly used in Western regions, but usually intended for Southeast Asian customers.



Figure 5.8. A 'condiment set' from the *Bin Thuan* shipwreck. Catalogue Christie's Australia March, 2004, nrs. 90-93. An octagonal centre piece painted with the god of longevity, *shou lou*, with 8 separate triangular pieces each painted with one of the eight immortals; overall diameter: 30 cm.

In a meeting of the VOC directors, in May, 1620, it was noted that, as they have not received any porcelain for a while, all sorts ordered in a previous letter were again in demand, 'porcelain of the finest sort with exception of small pots, but [we need] large dishes, large and middle sized butter dishes, 'camel' cups, *clapmuts*, etc, a good quantity as we have not received any porcelain for a while from the "Indies".¹⁴⁸ However, 'small wine cups are absolutely not needed' (*wij begeeren gantsch geen pimpetjens*).¹⁴⁹ (Appendix 5, List 20) Demand remained focussed on flatware and small bowls, and no brandy cups were requested.

In December 1621, the *Gallias* transported 36,067 pieces from Patani to Batavia.¹⁵⁰ The cargo was then loaded onto the *Gouda* for the return journey from Batavia on January 21st, 1622, and arrived at Texel on September 24th of the same year.

¹⁴⁷ *The Bin Thuan Shipwreck*, Christie's sale catalogue, Australia, March 1-3, 2004, pp. 11-14. Cat.nrs. 90, 91, 92, 93; 271 and 272.

¹⁴⁸ Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 179: *Annotatien van Arend van Buchel: "Gelezen op de Vergadering van HH Zeventien een lijst van koopmanschappen die men uit de Molukken, Coromandel en van elders verwachtten: 'porcelleyne van de fijnste van alle soorte uytgesondert de Cleyne potkens, wel groote schotelen, banketschotelen, groote en middelmatige boterschotelen, cameels koppen, Clapmutsen etc. meenende eene goede quantité te kunnen vertieren alsoo in een wyle geen porcelainen uyt Indië hier sijn overgecomen'*; NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01(Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 256 (Dagboek Arend van Buchel), fol 52.

¹⁴⁹ Van Gelder 1924 (op.cit.), p.179; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1075, *Kopie-uitgaande stukken van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1614 - 1634*.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, '36067 stucx porceleyn uijt de galiasse'.

As the inventory was made up of three lists: 24,002 pieces, 2,309 pieces and 36,067 pieces of porcelain, a total amount of 62,378 items, it may have included several other cargoes of porcelain.¹⁵¹ (Appendix 5, List 21) The list shows further details on quantity and packaging, such as 'packed in casks/tubs' (*tobben*), and bundles (*paxken*).

An example of porcelain partly from captured booty and partly by way of purchase is shown on the cargo list of the *Arnemuyden*, which captured the Portuguese ship *Santa Cruz* sailing from Macao to Malacca in November 1621. It included, '3 bundles of various sorts of porcelain, 13 porcelain pots with 'candied' sugar and 114,392 pieces of various sorts of porcelain'.¹⁵² This is quite a remarkable quantity and illustrates that the Portuguese were able to purchase a much larger amount of porcelain than the VOC during this period.

The *Schoonhoven*, which arrived in the Dutch Republic in September 1622, only contained, '480 items of porcelain, 2 large cooling basins, 45 large barrels and 10 smaller ones with porcelain, 1 chest and a tub with porcelain, 7 corgees with porcelain dishes, 120 corgees with cups, 66 corgees with small bowls and 6 large corgees with bowls, 8 'smoke pots', 22 flasks, and 3 flower pots'.¹⁵³ (Appendix 5, list 22)

Another ship, the *Leeuwinne* arrived in 1622 with 6,361 porcelain items.¹⁵⁴ (Appendix 5, List 23) This was followed by an exceptional quantity of 90,390 items arrived in the Dutch Republic on September 26th, 1622 with the *Westvriesland*.¹⁵⁵ Such a large quantity may again have been the result of partly captured cargoes; VOC ships were continually prowling the South China Seas in search for heavily laden Chinese junks to Manila.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 'Carga vanden Schepe Gouda gecomen uyt Oostindien ghearriveert in Texel op 24 september, 1622 - des morghens Godeloff: 24002 stucx porseleynen/2309 stucx poreleynen/36067 stucx porseleynen'.

¹⁵² Ibid., 'Notitie van de goederen die tjacht Arnemuyden met een portugies schip genaemt S.t Cruz. 114392stx diverse sorteringe van porceleynne. 39 casks and 785 packs'.

¹⁵³ Ibid, fol. 176: 'Carga van de Schepe Schoonhoven: 480 stucx porceleynen, 2 grote porseleynne coelvaten, 45 tobben met verscheide porceleynen, 10 ditto cleyne tobben, 1 kistg, een vaetgen porseleyn, 7 corga porseleynen schotels, 120 corgas porseleynne coppen, 66 corgas porseleynne cleyne commen, 6 groote Corgas porseleynen commen, 8 Rooock potten, 22 flesschen, 3 bloempotten'. As one 'corgee' would have contained 20 items, a sub-total would have been around 4,560; the barrels would have contained more items.

¹⁵⁴ NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1076, (1622 apr. 9 - aug. 28), 'Factura Leeuwinne 6-9-1622 van Batavia naar patria 6361 stucx verscheide sorteringe van Porceleijn in 409 bos'.

¹⁵⁵ NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1075, (op.cit.).

Conclusion of this chapter.

This chapter has reviewed two important phases during which Chinese ceramics were purchased and transported to the Dutch Republic. The first one covers the years 1595-1602, the period when individual private companies (*voorcompagniëen*) travelled to Asia in search of pepper and spices and returned with only minor quantities of porcelain. During this period, Chinese porcelain also arrived as booty of two captured Portuguese ships, the *São Tiago* and *Santa Catarina*. The speculative amount of 100,000 items or '30 lasts' of porcelain from the booty of the *Santa Catarina* mentioned by Hulsius cannot be justified from other documents and accounts relating to the capture of this ship.

The second part covers the first twenty years of the officially established VOC Company in Asia, from 1602 until 1622. Even though Chinese porcelain was continually in demand, relatively few commissions for it characterize this period. However, some included specific instructions as to the requested shapes for the first time. Besides all sizes of flatware, there was demand for shapes as saltcellars, mustard pots, jugs with handles and pots for preserves were now also ordered. However, the concept of 'made to order' had apparently not yet been put into practice for these shapes; the Dutch had to make do with Chinese shapes for Western usage. Flatware was continually most in demand and, just as the *clapmutsen* and *cameelskoppen*, would have been of the Kraak-panelled type.

The charts in Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10 below give an overview of estimated amounts of porcelain items on shipping lists of VOC cargoes during the first 20 years in Asia. It shows that during the first ten years the number of porcelain items listed was limited. The reason was that the flow of merchandise from China was uncertain; Dutch merchants had to wait when the deliveries from China arrived to Patani or Bantam, what and how much was brought. The first large amount was in 1614, listed on the cargo list of the *Zwarte Leeuw*, with 4,277 baskets of porcelain, a total of 85,540 items, and the *Gelderland* with 69,057 items. From 1614 to 1622 the amounts were variable but mostly decreasing; the reason may have been the problems concerning the situation at Bantam where the VOC was involved in struggles with the local population as well as with the English merchants.¹⁵⁶ In 1622, there was a sudden increase in the quantity, as

¹⁵⁶ Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p.39: 'The English East India Company had supplied local rulers with weapons and in 1617 the capture of English ships led to direct conflict.'

shown by the cargo of the *Westvriesland* with 90,390 porcelain items. Perhaps this was in response to the large commission dated 1618 and the letter from the directors of 1620, or from captured cargoes, or both.

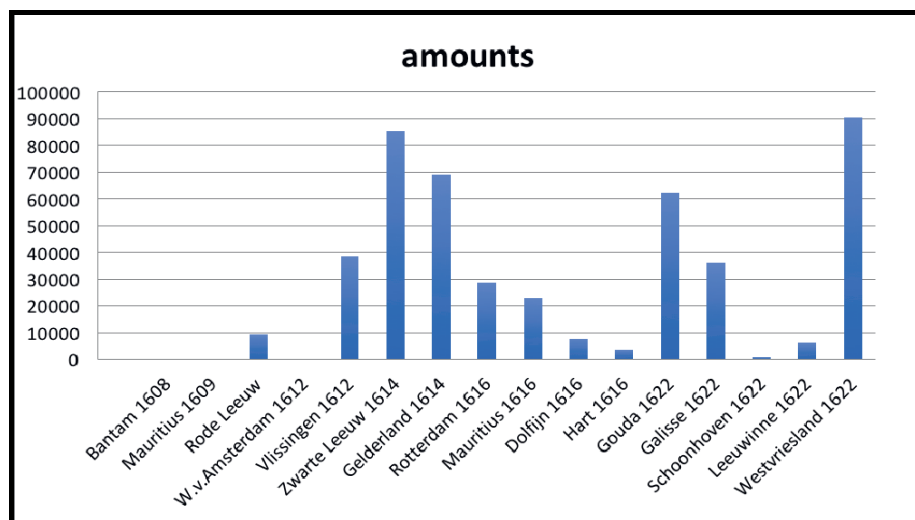


Figure 5.9. Chart showing the estimated quantities of porcelain items on ships' cargo lists from 1608 to 1623.

Name of ship	Date of cargo list.	Amounts of porcelain items on cargo lists.
Bantam	1608	272
Mauritius	1609	215
Rode Leeuw	1610	9,227
Wapen v. Amsterdam	1612	25
Vlissingen	1612	38,641 + 370 large dishes
Zwarte Leeuw+Ter Veer	1614	85,540
Gelderland	1614	69,057
Rotterdam	1616	28,833
Mauritius	1616	23,023
Dolfijn	1616	7,697
Hart	1616	3,730
Gouda	1622	62,378
Galijsse	1622	36,067
Schoonhoven	1622	900
Leeuwinne	1622	6,361
Westvriesland	1622	90,390

Figure 5.10: List of ships with cargoes to the Dutch Republic, 1608-1622.