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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 6. Distribution of Chinese porcelain by the VOC from 1622 until 1655.

Introduction.

In this chapter I demonstrate that the years from 1622 to 1655 were the most significant period regarding the purchase and distribution of Chinese ceramics by the VOC. In this period, Chinese production took place under effective direction of Dutch demand. However, production of Western shapes took place only after 1635, when samples and models were being sent to accompany orders. The Chinese then came to understand what kind of shapes were in demand, and junks regularly delivered porcelain from the Fujian coast to the VOC post on Formosa, Fort Zeelandia, and from there to Batavia. After 1650, supplies diminished.

Documents show that deliveries of fine porcelain were mainly shipped from Fuzhou (*Hocheo* in old Dutch), and coarse ware from the bay of Amoy (*Aymoy* in old Dutch) to Fort Zeelandia. Both sorts were then shipped onto destinations as Batavia but also to other VOC trade posts: Hirado in Japan, Mocha, present-day Yemen on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula, and Gamron, present-day Bandar-e Abbas on the Persian Gulf. Deliveries to these regions show the broader network of porcelain shipments, another important aspect of the maritime distribution of ceramics by the VOC, dealt with at the end of this chapter.

This chapter is divided into three sub-periods as each one was characterized by different conditions under which the VOC operated to purchase and distribute ceramics. The first is from 1622 to 1634, when there were regular conflicts between VOC officials and Chinese authorities to settle trade agreements. The VOC first attempted to take over the Portuguese stronghold of Macao in June 1622, under the command of Cornelis Reijersen. Having failed, he was ordered to find a spot on one of the Pescadores islands to build a fort, as this was close to the Fujian coast.[1] In 1624, however, the Chinese forced the VOC to abandon this and divert to Formosa to establish a trade post.

[1] On March 26th, 1622, J.P. Coen wrote to the VOC directors about the islands, stating that their position 'is situated adequately opposite" Chincheu", although they are sandy, infertile and lack wood and stone'. H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, vols. I-V, The Hague, 1919-1923. vol. I, 1919, p. 715: 'In de Piscadores ofte op Lequeo Pequeno sal 't na ons beduncken gedaen moeten worden. Wy verstaen dat in de Pescadores een uut der maten goede rede is, ende alsoo dese eylanden alderbequaemst nevens Chincheu leggen, sijn hiertoe meest genengen, doch 't staet ons seer tegen dat dese eylanden geheel sandich, onvruchtbaer, sonder hout ende steen sijn'. The name *Chincheu* or *Chinchew* was used by the Dutch for the Jin river.

Communcations concerning trade with the Fujianese authorities took place by way of Chinese interpreters or intermediaries, as the Dutch did not speak Chinese.[2] Several VOC documents show their names, of which several were adapted to the Dutch language. One of the first negotiators was Li Dan, also known as 'Captain China'.[3] He was one of the mediators between the Dutch and the Chinese authorities, and played a double role.[4] In 1625, Li Dan died and his trade or rather smuggling entreprise was taken over and expanded by Zheng Zhilong, also known as Nicolas Iquan.[5] The VOC officials in Taiwan engaged his privateering, and even supplied ships and crewmembers.[6] In 1628, after various conflicts, Iquan was given an official title by the Chinese authorities with the task to clear the Fujian coast of pirates.[7] The VOC took

[2] See: J.L. Blussé, 'No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, February 1996, pp. 51-76; J.L. Blussé, 'The Batavian Connection: The Chinese junks and Their Merchants'. *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age.* Zwolle, J. van Campen, and T. Eliëns (eds.), Amsterdam, 2014, pp. 97-109; T. Andrade, The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662', *Journal of World History,* vol.15, no. 4, 2005, pp. 415-444; T. Andrade: 'Chinese Under European Rule: The Case of Sino-Dutch Mediator He Bin', *Late Imperial China*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1-32; p. 8: 'He Bin inherited his powerful position as translator from his father, whom the Dutch knew as Kimtingh. Kimtingh appears initially to have been involved primarily in translating communications between Dutch officials and Taiwanese aborigines'.

[3] T. Andrade. 'How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century.' *The China Quarterly*, no. 203, 2010, pp. 725-763.

[4] James K. Chin, 'Junk Trade, Businesss Networks, and Sojourning Communities: Hokkien Merchants in Early Maritime Asia'. *Journal of Chinese Overseas* no. 6, 2010, pp. 157-215; p.184: 'Like their fellow villagers in Java, the Hokkien merchants in Taiwan changed their role and became to some extent the intermediary traders for the VOC. Two groups of Hokkien merchants could thus be identifed in accordance with their wealth and social status. While one group consisted of influential and well-to-do merchants such as Li Dan, Xu Xinsu (許心素) and Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), alias Iquan, the other was made up of individual and small merchants'.

[5] Andrade 2005 (op. cit.), p. 428: 'Europeans referred to Zheng Zhilong as Iquan, based on the Southern Min pronunciation of the characters *yiguan,* an appellation often used by the inhabitants of Fujian Province for the first-born son'; he was also the father of Zheng Chenggong (named Coxinga by the Dutch).

[6] J.L. Blussé, and J.de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee.* Franeker, 1983, p. 219: 'Iquan was first one of the pirates who were sent out by the Dutch to capture vessels leaving the Fujian coast. He abandoned this to become appointed admiral by the governor of Fujian but continued to play a double role'; see also J.L. Blussé, 'Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan. The Rise of Cheng Chih-lung, alias Nicolas Iquan' in E.B. Vermeer, *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Century*, Leiden 1990, pp. 245-264; T. Mostert and J. van Campen, *Zijden Draad. China en Nederland sinds 1600.* Amsterdam, 2015, p.63. (English edition: *Silk Thread*). T. Andrade: *Lost Colony: The Untold Story of China's First Victory Over the West.* Princeton, 2011, p. 31

[7] Cheng Wei-chung, 'War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas 1622-1683'. *TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian European Interaction*, vol.16, 2013, pp. 47-49; p. 48: 'In accordance with the petition, which was approved by the emperor, the court exonerated Iquan of his alleged crime on condition that he pacify the waters off the coast of China in the following three years. If he succeeded, he would be granted a certain rank and be formally appointed a naval officer'.

advantage of his status to sign a temporary trade deal for supplies of silk, sugar and other goods.[8]

There were several more years of conflicts before the VOC again dealt with Iquan who promised that Chinese traders could supply the Dutch in Taiwan.[9] Consequently, the second period, between 1634 to around 1644, (the end of the Ming dynasty), was the high point of the purchase and distribution of Chinese ceramics. In this relatively short period major alterations in the demand, supplies, and shipments of ceramics took place.

The last period covers the years 1644 to 1655. It shows a gradual decline in the deliveries of porcelain from China to Formosa. There were regular complaints from VOC officials at the head office of Batavia about the quality of the porcelain and the decrease in quantities. From 1644, Fort Zeelandia was informed about the circumstances on mainland China; famine, wars, uprisings against higher taxes all affected the porcelain trade.[10] Deliveries continued, though not as regular or plentiful as during the previous years. In 1662, Zheng Chenggong (also known as Coxinga), attacked Fort Zeelandia and the Dutch were defeated; their presence and trade possibilities on the island were then terminated.[11]

[8] Andarde 2005 (op.cit.) p. 432 and note 64: 'Accort getrocken tusschen Pieter Nuyts, Raedt van India ende Gouverneur over t'eijlandt formosa ende tfort Zeelandia ter enee zijde ende Iquan, overste Mandarijn van t Provincia van Aimoijen, Admiral vande Chineesche Zee ter andere, 1 October 1628, VOC 1096: 124–125'. See also Blussé, "Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan?" pp. 257–259; Chin 2010 (op.cit.), p. 128: 'According to the three-year contract, Zheng Zhilong had to deliver to the Dutch annually the following commodities: 1,400 piculs of raw silk at 140 tael per picul; 5,000 piculs of sugar at 3 reals per picul; 1,000 piculs of preserved ginger at 4 taels per picul; and 5,000 pieces of silk goods at 14 to 19 mas per piece. The total price amounted to 300,000 reals'.

[9] T. Andrade, 'Commerce, Culture, and Conflict. Taiwan under European Rule, 1624-1662'. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2000; p.50: 'In exchange he expected that "the officials *[degrooten]* of China will grant to the company permanent free public trade." As it turned out, the Dutch managed, after some hostilities, to establish a modus vivendi with Iquan, even as they struggled to maintain their relationship with officials in China. Indeed, they had litde choice. Iquan grew gradually more powerful as the Ming dynasty faltered'. NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv.nr. 1114: *Originele missive van Hans Putmans uijt het Fort Zeelandia aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 28 October 1634*.

[10] T. Brook, *The Troubled Empire. China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties,* Cambridge, Mass., 2010; J.D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (2nd ed.), New York, 1999.

[11] Zheng Chenggong was given the name Coxinga or Koxinga by the Dutch when he was their negotiator earlier on. See for more information on this subject: T. Andrade, 'Commerce, Culture, and Conflict: Taiwan Under European Rule, 1624-1662', Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 2000; J. Clements, *Coxinga and the Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Sutton, 2004; Andrade 2005 (op.cit.), pp. 415-444.

The first period, 1622-1634.

In October 1622, after failed negotiations with Chinese authorities, Reijersen followed Coen's orders and began plundering villages along the Fujian coast.[12] Chinese were imprisoned and taken to Penghu Island where many were forced to build a fort on the Feng Gui Wei peninsula with disastrous consequences.[13] (Figure 6.1)



Figure 6.1. Map of the harbour of Makung and the Dutch Fortress at Penghu Island, ca. 1623. *Blaeu-Van der Hem Atlas*, V, XLI, sheet 6. Austrian National Library.

On May 23rd, 1624, after two years of attack and counterattack, the Chinese Governor of Fujian organised a fleet with ten thousand men and two hundred ships. He surrounded the island of Penghu, attacked the fort and forced the VOC to abandon it on August 1.[14] Martinus Sonck, who had replaced Reijersen on Penghu Island, then sailed to Formosa, as the Chinese authorities did not consider this island part of the Chinese empire in that period.[15] In 1624, a small fort was built on a sandbank at the entrance to

[12] See for an account of these incidents, *Het Journaal van Bontekoe. De Gedenkwaardige Beschrijving van de Reis naar Oost-Indië van Schipper Willem IJsbrandtsz. Bontekoe uit Hoorn, in de jaren 1618 tot en met 1625*, (bewerkt door L.H. Nijgh), Schoorl, 1989. Cheng Shaogang, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662: een Vergeten Geschiedenis*, Ph.D dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1995, p. 38: 'After his demands were officially refused by Shang Chou-tso on 29 September, Reyersen took up arms against China. In the following month, he dispatched eight ships, under Cornelis van Nieuwenroode, to attack Chinese junks in the bay of Amoy'.

[13] Mostert en Van Campen 2015 (op.cit.), p. 59. More than 1150 prisoners were kept, most used to build the fort. When this was completed in September, the 571 people who were still alive were shipped to Batavia but most died before arrival due to the horrendous circumstances on board. Archaeological research has recently been carried out amongst the remains of the fort and published: Tai-kang Lu, 'Dutch Colonial Period Trade Ceramics Found at the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago', *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, Taipei, 2001.

[14] For more information on this subject, J.E. Wills Jr., 'Relations with Maritime Europeans, 1514–1662', *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, part 2, 1998, pp. 333-375.

[15] It was named *Ilha Formosa* by the Spanish who had set up forts in 1626 at the north end of the island at Tamsui and Keelung. These were taken over by the Dutch in 1642 and rebuilt as Fort Noord Holland and Fort Antonio.

Taiyuan harbour; four years later a stronger and larger one was constructed and was named Fort Zeelandia. (Figures 6.2 and 6.3)



Figure 6.2. View of city and Fort Zeelandia on Taiwan. (*Stadt en Casteel Zelandia op 't Eiland Taywan).* Anonymous, ca. 1670; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye, op de kuste en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670).



Figure 6.3. Plattegrond van Tayouan en fort Zeelandia. (Map of Tayouan and Fort Zeelandia). Paper and watercolours assigned to J. Vingboons (ca. 1665-1668). Austrian National Library, inv.nr. Van der Hem 41.04.

The VOC had to deal with numerous problems concerning their trade post at Fort Zeelandia. As the entrance canal to the warehouses of the fort was narrow and shallow, and therefore unsuited to large vessels, smaller ships were used to transport the

merchandise to the larger ones waiting at open sea.[16] The VOC also bought, rented and used captured Chinese ships to transport merchandise.[17] Some of these would sail directly to Batavia, where commodities from other trade posts were collected and these would then be loaded onto the ships of the return fleets to the Dutch Republic.[18] For example, the return fleet of 1623 had good quantities: 63,931 items are listed.[19] (Appendix 6, list 1) The ship *Walcheren* alone had 10,845 items.[20] (Appendix 6, list 2) Others could proceed directly to different destinations, for example Cambodia, Siam, and Surat and from there to Persia.[21] Furthermore, the VOC was in need of Chinese merchandise to trade with Japan, but numerous incidents hindered this.[22] Consequently, VOC trade between Formosa and Japan was suspended until 1632.[23]

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[16] R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters. The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595 -1660*), Amsterdam, 2010, p. 59: 'The largest VOC ship type was sent to load large bulk cargoes from China and Japan. These ships arrived in the region in July/August, but had to leave before the end of October, for commercial rather than nautical reasons. Otherwise it was very difficult to get the cargo from China and Japan to Batavia in time for the return fleet that left around New Year. This transport system required a large number of cargo ships of different sizes'.'

[17] Blussé et al., 1986-2000 (op.cit.), vol.1, p. 61: '*Jonken/*Junks sometimes carried cargo between Taiwan and Batavia or Siam, but were mostly used around Taiwan itself by the VOC'; Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 59: 'Captured Chinese ships were also pressed into service by the VOC, as were other Asian-built ships that were bought or hired in the region. In VOC correspondence, they are all called *jonken,* which does not necessarily mean that they were all of the type now known as junks. It is remarkable that of a fleet of five VOC ships sailing together to the same destination near Taiwan, the three so-called *jonken* had predominantly Chinese crews, whilst there were no Chinese crew on the other two'.

[18] Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 59, 'The vessels from Formosa departed around October for Batavia and had to be there in time for loading the return vessels, which departed around the end of December or January. They usually arrived around the end of the summer in the Dutch Republic before the autumn and winter storms of the Atlantic Ocean commenced'.

[19] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv.nr. 1077, *Factura's van de schepen Mauritius, Walcheren, Delfshaven ende Alckmaer, Fort Batavia desen primo Februarij anno 1623*.

[20] Ibid., fol. 290.

[21] VOC posts in Persia were Esfahan from 1623-1638 and Gamron from 1623-1766. Aden (Yemen) had an office from 1614-1620 and Mocha one from 1620-1650.

[22] Andrade 2010 (op. cit.), p. 10: 'In 1625 Batavia ordered the governor of Taiwan to prevent the Japanese from trading. (Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier to Governor of Tayouan Martinus Sonck, letter, May 13th, 1625). This, however, was a foolhardy policy. The company's position in East Asia depended upon Japan. The company's office in Hirado, established in 1609, was one of its most profitable, yet it was constantly menaced because of Portuguese and Spanish influence in the shogun's court. If the company tried to restrict Japanese commerce in Taiwan it risked angering Japanese traders'. In 1628, Pieter Nuyts (1598-1655), the Dutch governor on Formosa at that time was taken hostage after he had imprisoned Japanese merchants for not paying their taxes M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz., *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630*, The Hague, 1962, p. 167: 'In 1628 he had imprisoned Japanese traders who refused to pay the Dutch tolls. The Japanese head merchant, Hamada Yahei took Nuyts as hostage claiming the return of his confiscated ships. 6 Dutch hostages were then taken to Japan, Nuyts was held in house arrest from 1632 to 1636 after which he was sent to Batavia and then back to the Dutch Republic. Trade was only renewed in 1632 after Nuyts had been sent to Japan to be tried'.

[23] Mostert and Van Campen 2015 (op. cit.), p. 63, 'The Chinese still continued their shipments to Japan but these were limited'. Andrade 2010 (op. cit.), p. 14: 'The loss of the Japan trade was a serious blow to the company. As the Governor- General of Batavia (the highest Dutch official in Asia) wrote, "the pantry is closed". Officials reflected seriously on their options. On the one hand, they felt that the company had a

Despite the ongoing, tiresome negotiations with the Chinese during this period, the directors in the Dutch Republic sent orders. On September 17th, 1622, a commission was sent to Batavia by way of the ship *Makreel*. Governor-General P. de Carpentier, Coen's successor in Batavia, then sent the order with requests for silks and porcelain on to Martinus Sonck, then head of the post at Penghu Island, where it arrived on June 11th, 1624.[24] (Appendix 6 list 3) This was the first order sent during that relatively unstable period.

The list shows that demand focused on a variety of flatware: '400 dishes of the largest size, 2,000 one size smaller, 4,000 another smaller size; 4,000 'double' butter dishes (*dubbelde boterschotelen*)'; 25,000 'single' butter dishes (*enckelde boterschotels*); 9,000 fruit bowls/dishes, (*fruytschalen*); 3,000 half-sized ones; 1,000 '*clapmutsen*', 8,000 saucers (*saucieren*); 5,000 table plates (*tafelborden*).[25] These terms have already been discussed in Chapter 3, illustrating the various Kraak-panelled types. Bowls were less in demand although one specific instruction included, '8,000 camel cups with straight edges' (*cammeelscoppen met opstaende canten*).[26] Just as in 1620, brandy cups (*pimpelkens)*, 'from which one drinks brandied wine', were not in favour.[27]

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* dated May 8th -15th, 1625 state that on May 13th, 'the fifth junk arrived on time from China with around 400 people bringing fine porcelain and various other goods'.[28] Cargo lists of return ships to the Dutch Republic between 1625 and 1630 provide insight as the quantities transported to the Dutch

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legal right to collect tolls from the Japanese who traded. On the other hand, without trading privileges in Japan, the Dutch colony in Taiwan was not worth the cost of upkeep. The governor of Formosa and his council members wrote to Batavia, urging the Council of the Indies to retain the Taiwan factory. They argued that if Taiwan were abandoned, the Portuguese and Spanish would take over'. They refer to '*Governor Hans Putmans to Governor-General Jacques Specx, letter, 15 October 1630, VOC 1101: 412–23'* and *'Governor Hans Putmans to the Kamer Amsterdam, letter, 10 October 1631, VOC 339–43'.*

[24] Colenbrander (ed.) 1922 (op.cit.), vol. IV, p. 564: '*Heeren XVII aan Coen 17 september 1622 per Makreel naar Azië, aankomst 20 juni 1623*'; H.E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek: Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland,* vol. X, The Hague, 1924, pp. 165-193, pp. 180-181.

[25] Ibid., '*van de grootste sorteringe, een slach cleender, noch een slach cleender*'.

[26] This issue has already been dealt with in Chapter 4; they may have meant a bell-cup shape.

[27] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1083, *Copie van de instructie van den gouverneur-generaal Pieter de Carpentier voor de heer Martinus Sonck ende den raedt in Pekouw in dato 11 Junij 1624: 'Van verscheyde sorteringen van rouwe ende gewrochte syde, gout, radix China, porceleyn ende andre waeren hebben door capiteyn China monsters geeyscht, die wij verwachten'; 'Translaet van de missiven van capteijn China aen gouverneur Sonck ende Pedro China; translaet van de missiven van Siompijn en capteijn China aen gouverneur Martinus Sonck, October 1624'.*

[28] J.E. Heeres (ed.) *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, 1624-1629,* The Hague, 1896, p. 150: May 13th, 1625: *'Item op dato arriveert alhier van China de vijffde joncke gemant met omtrent 400 coppen, medebrengende fijn porceleijn ende verscheijden andere waren'.*

Republic during that period of instability. The shipping list of the *Hollandia* that left Batavia on January the 28th, 1625, lists 9,790 pieces of porcelain.[29] The return ship *Schiedam*, dated December 26th, 1626, at Batavia, lists 12,814 fine porcelains 'packed in pepper' as part of its cargo.[30] (Appendix 6, list 4) The indication 'packed in pepper' refers to one of the methods used by the VOC to transport fragile ceramics dealt with earlier.

In 1627, there were several return ships from Batavia to the Dutch Republic with relatively large amounts of porcelain, including items from captured ships. The *Frederich Hendrick* contained 31,011 pieces of different sorts, again 'packed in pepper'; another one, the *Wapen van Delft*, listed: '9,440 various porcelains partly captured, partly bought at Chin Cheo' (the Chincheo River).[31] The following return fleet from Batavia to the Dutch Republic departed on November 5th, 1628, and included about 15,200 pieces of porcelain.[32]

In 1629, another order was sent by the VOC directors, first to the headquarters at Batavia, and from there on to Formosa. Hans Putmans, who governed Fort Zeelandia from 1629 to 1636, received a long and detailed list of requested porcelain items.[33] (Appendix 6, list 5) Flatware of various dimensions was most in demand: '600 'whole' dishes, 4,000 half-, 6,000 one-third sized, 8,000 one-quarter sized'. It also included, just like the previous order of 1624, an order for '10,000 camel cups with straight sides', as well as a 'quantity of fine teacups'[34]. The use of the term teacups is recorded here for the

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[29] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1082, *Cognossement en factura's anno 1625;* The Hollandia departed from Batavia on 28th of January 28th, 1625; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1087: *Factura's van de cargasoenen geladen in de schepen de Eendracht en het Wapen van Hoorn in dato 25 October 1625'.*

[30] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1088, *Factura's en cognossement [van de goederen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Schiedam, in 't Casteel Batavia 22 en 26 December 1626: 'twaelff duysent acht hondert stucx sorteringe fyne porceleyn... synde .... los in de peper geset.'*; Ibid., *Factura's en cognossementen [van de goederen en coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Leijden, in 't schip Thoolen en in 't schip 't Wapen van Enckhuijsen, actum in 't Casteel Batavia 12 December 1626.* The *Thoolen/Terthoolen* had 10.000 porcelain items on its shipping list.

[31] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1091, *Cognossementen van de schepen Hollandia, de Nieuwe Galliasse, 't Wapen van Delft, Groot Hollandia en Frederick Hendrick anno 1627*; only two ships contained porcelain: *Cognnossement Frederick Hendrick: 31011 stucx diverse sortering porselyn in de peper gestuwt; Factura Wapen van Delft: 9440 stucx porselein soo verovert als in Chin Cheo gekocht.*

[32] The ships *Prins Willem, Nassouw, Vlissingen, Der Veer,* and *Delffshaven* departed on November the 5th, 1628 from Batavia; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1095, *Cognossementen [van] de goederen in het schip de Leeuwinne en het schip Nassouw, 17 en 3 November anno 1628 in 't Casteel Batavia*.

[33] Hans Putmans was governor from 1629-1636. Colenbrander (ed.) (op.cit.), vol. V, The Hague, 1923, p. 506: '*Memorie voor Taiwan April 24th, 1629*'; see also: NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1097, *Copie missiven na diverse quartieren 17 November 1628 tot en met 23 November 1629: '600 stucx heele schootels, 4.000 stucx halve ditto, 6.000 stucx ⅓ part ditto, 8.000 stucx ¼ ditto*'.

[34] Ibid., '*10.000 stucx cameelscoppen met opstaende canten*'; '*goede perye cloecke theecopkens*'

first time which indicates that drinking tea must have already been known even though it was as yet not the custom in the Dutch Republic in that period.[35]

Despite this extensive order, there are no reports of any porcelain deliveries to Fort Zeelandia from China during the year 1629. The situation around Formosa and the Pescadores still remained unfavourable for the VOC, due to the conflicts between two Chinese intermediaries Zheng Zhilong (Iquan) and Li Kuiqi (Quitsicq).[36] On November 3rd, 1629, the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* noted that no ships had arrived from either Japan or from the coast of China because of the conflict. The VOC officials also complain about the internal situation on the island; 'In short, the circumstances on Teyoan are now very somber and bad'.[37] Finally, in December 1629, a message was sent to Formosa with the announcement that the conflicts between the two rivals mentioned above had ended and there were promises of trade possibilities.[38]

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[35] Tea became a regular consumption in the Dutch Republic only from around the second half of the 17th century. 'The word "Te" is from the Amoy tê of southern Fujian province. The ports of Xiamen (Amoy) and Quanzhou were once major points of contact with foreign traders. Western European traders such as the Dutch may have taken this pronunciation either directly from Fujian or Formosa where they had established a port, or indirectly via Malay traders in Bantam on Java. The Dutch then spread this pronunciation of tea to Western Europe. This pronunciation gives rise to English "tea" and similar words in other languages, and is the most common form worldwide. Cha is from the Cantonese *chàh* of Guangzhou (Canton) and the ports of Hong Kong and Macau, also major points of contact, especially with the Portuguese, who spread it to India in the 16th century.' 'The word was used by a Venetian, Giambattista Ramusio, in: *Delle navigationi e viaggi* written in 1545. In 1610, VOC merchants returned to the Dutch Republic with some green tea and not knowing then what to do with it, marketed it as a medicinal drink.' From: http://onh.nl/nl-NL/verhaal/244/eten-en-drinken-in-de-gouden-eeuw (visited January, 2020); see also V.H. Mair and Er Ling Hoh, *The True Hhistory of Tea*, New York 2009. 'The Dutch word *thee* is derived from Malayan *teh* and came directly from Chinese (Amoy dialect) *t'e*, which corresponds to Mandarin *ch'a*. The term *cha* was already known by the Portuguese'; see also: *Delle navigationi e viaggi* written by a Venetian, Giambattista Ramusio, in 1545.

[36] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, A. fol. 390: 'Primo novembris. Niet gepasseert. Saeten gantsch sonder scheepen uyt Japan ende de apparentie was oock cleyn van eenigen handel uyt China te sullen in corten becomen, (fol.390) … vermits Iquan (uyt A y m o y door Quitsicq gedreven ende in H o c h e o bij den combo (soo men secht) gevlucht was ende Quitsicq houdt Aymoy vast in, rooft, steelt ende brandt daer omher, gelijck te vooren Iquan gedaen heeft, waerdoor geene coopluyden ofte handelsjoncquen hun herrewaerts tot ons durven begeven. Hij selfs houdt ons vast met schoone praetgens slepende. Onderentuschen becomen geen handel met d'ingesetenen deses eylandts, sijn alomme in oorlooghe vervallen'. See also: Andrade 2005 (op.cit.), p.433: 'According to Chinese sources, Kuiqi was worried Zhilong would sell him out to Chinese authorities and therefore rebelled. By late 1629 Kuiqi had gathered a fleet of more than four hundred junks, which he used to drive Zhilong from Xiamen. As a consequence, trade to Taiwan evaporated. Dutch officials deliberated. Which side should they take? On the one hand, Zhilong had been monopolizing Tayouan's China trade. On the other, Kuiqi was capturing Taiwan-bound junks and jeopardizing Dutch profits. Both sides made overtures to the company. The company decided to support whichever side would help achieve free trade'. Blussé 1990 (op.cit.), p. 258.

[37] Ibid., *'In somma den standt van teyoan staet jegenwoordich gantsch sober ende slecht*'.

[38] Ibid., vol. 1, A. fol. 392. December 11th, 1629: '*Den 11 dito uyt de Piscadoris gescheyden ende op 12 dito in de revier Chincheo gearriveert, alwaer datelijck een mandorijn, van Quitsicq gesonden, ons aen boort quam omme d'heer gouverneur te willecommen met een brieff van gemelte Quitsicq , meldende ten principalen, hoe den oorlooch tusschen Iquan ende hem een eynde genomen hadden ende hij nu onlangs van*

As circumstances remained precarious, the VOC officials went to the Bay of Amoy themselves to purchase goods.[39] An entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* of March 1st and 2nd 1630, notes that during an inspection tour, '[Chinese] merchants came on board with porcelain, alum [and other items]'.[40] On March 10th it is reported that the junk *Aymoy* had departed from Fort Zeelandia for Batavia 'fully loaded with porcelain'.[41]

In May 1630, another memorandum was sent from Batavia to Governor Putmans in Fort Zeelandia that includes several specific demands.[42] It stated: 'we would like to have a large assortment of dishes and fruit bowls according to the order sent by the honourable merchants'.[43] Also, '[we are] sending some samples of porcelain captured from ships sailing from Macao which can be shown to the Chinese [to be copied]'.[44] This is one of the first mentions of porcelain to be copied, in this case samples of already existing items, part of a booty from a captured Portuguese vessel and, whatever they may have been, they were apparently attractive or useful enough to be reproduced for the Dutch market.

VOC officials had become more particular with regard to their orders. An assortment apparently of good quality and bought directly from the Chinese in the Bay

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den combon mandorijn gemaeckt was, oversulex ons beloovende handels genouch / te sullen versorgen, hebbende al lange naer des heeren gouverneurs compste in de reviere Chincheo verlangt etc.'; Ibid., *December 14th, 1629: 'Per de joncque bequame eene missive van Iquan uyt Tsuntchieu, daerbij ons anschreeff, den handel voor ons bij den hayto hadde geobtineert ende dat voor eenen langen tijt; soude daeromme met een onser scheepen daer comen om te handelen, alsoo de cooplieden door de menichte der roovers naer Teyouan hun niet en derven transporteeren; hem soude daerdoor groote eere geschieden, oversulcx ons in alles voorde[lig] ende gedienstich te sullen sijn presenteerden'*.

[39] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 234, *januari 28th, 1630: 'den oppercoopman Traudenius met de joncken Middelburgh, Tancoya ende Tampzui in Anhay met 't resteerende capitael zal verblijven omme 'tselffde in 't belooffde fijn porceleyn ofte, bij faulte desselffs, in goede witte poeyersuycker te benefitieeren; Ibid., 30 ditto. Vertreckt d'heer gouverneur Putmans met het jacht Catwijck naer Tayouan, blijvende volgen gearresteerde resolutie den oppercoopman Traudenio met de joncquen Tancoya, Tampsui ende Middelburgh midtsgaders weynich capitael hier liggen omme nae Anhay te gaen ende aldaer parthije fijn porceleyn ende suycker te becoomen tot ladinge van voornoemde jacht, soo 'tselve in 't jongste deses mousons mede nae Batavia retourneert'*.

[40] Ibid., vol. 1, A. fol. 400: '*Zijn eenige coopluyden met porceleyn, aluyn etc. aen boort gecomen'.* Alum (aluminium sulfate) was used to fix a dye on textiles.

[41] Ibid., *'Vertrect van hier naer Batavia d'joncque Aymoy, volladen meest met porceleyn'*.

[42] NL-HaNA, 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 855 : *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden: 'Aan Putmans in Taijouan met Assendelfft 17-5-1630'.*

[43] Ibid., *'begeeren wel groote pertije voor nederlandt gesorteert wegens den eysch van Coopmanschappen uE mede gegeven pierings fruytschaelen'*.

[44] Ibid., '*senden eenighe monsters van Porceleyn uijt Maccause Navetten verovert die uE connen dienen omme aende Chinesen te thonen'.*

of Amoy four years ago was requested: 'we would like a similar assortment to that which [chief merchant] De Wit had bought, a good lot at the River Chincheu in 1626'.[45]

The return fleet that left Batavia on March 8th, 1631, included the ship *Middelburgh* with 24,628 pieces, the *Leeuwinne* with 24,300 items of porcelain (*ghemeen porceleyn*), the *Leeuwarden* with 20,747 pieces, and the *Wassenaer* with 3948 pieces and 6 large bales with fine porcelain (*Grove balien fijn Porcelyn*) on its cargo list. The *Egmont* had 6 large bales with fine porcelain (*groote baelen fijn porcelyn*).[46] This amounted to more than 73,623 pieces that were transported to the Dutch Republic by one return fleet, a substantial but not an overwhelming quantity.

Deliveries directly from China to Formosa still remained uncertain. On July 10th, 1631, an entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* states that a junk arrived from 'Anhay' (Anhai) with a message that the negotiator Iquan will reside in Amoy and that he will make sure that sugar and porcelain can be bought'.[47] In the following year, several shipments of porcelain from Formosa to Batavia were recorded. For example, the shipping list of the *Seeburch* dated October 15th, 1632, listed 4,400 pieces of porcelain for Batavia.[48] On November 11th, 1632, the *Grootenbroeck* sailed with 490 pieces of 'fine' dishes, sized 'one–third' (*drielingen*) to Batavia.[49] The return fleet of seven ships to the Dutch Republic in 1633 departed with '2,000 fine dishes', and '1,128 fine plates packed in 42 wicker cases'.[50] The cargoes included furthermore, '17,378

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[45] Ibid., '*de Wit heeft anno 1626 een goede sorteringh porceleijn inde Reviere van Chincheu gecocht, diergelycke sorteringh begeeren nochwel.'*

[46] N.J. van Wassenaer, *Het eenentwintischste deel of 't vervolgh van het Historisch verhael aller gedencwaerdiger gheschiedenissen, die in Europa, als Duytschlant, Vranckryck…in Asia…in Africa voorgevallen syn van october des jaers 1631 tot octobri, des jaers 1632*. Amsterdam 1635. pp. 3-4.

[47] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, B. fol. 591: July 10th, 1631: *'Compt alhier een joncxken uyt Anhay met advijs van Iquan, meest complementos sijnde, doch onder anderen roert aen, dat binnen corten tijt in Aymoy residentie nemen sal ende dat volck gecommitteert hadde om goede partie witte poeyersuycker ende fijn porcceleyn op te coopen*'.

[48] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1105, *Factura van de coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in de jachten Seeburch ende Assendelft, October anno 1632*: '*4400 Stux fyn Poercelyn te weeten: 300: Stx halve schotels -540: Stx. Drielingen- 440: Stx quaarten- 640: Stx ditto- 2480: Stx Pierings*'.

[49] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1109, *Cognossement vant jacht Grootenbroecq in dato 9 November 1632: 'Vierhondert t'neegentich stx: fijne porceleijnne schootels genaempt drielingen'*. By *drielingen* is meant one-third sized.

[50] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 856, *Lading retourvloot eind 1632: 'Aankomst 7 retourschepen onder Specx, juli 1633 met als gezamelijke lading o.a. 25396 stucx Porseleynen in soorten, 93 porseleyne potten met confit., 20 balen met groote porseleynen'.* See: Jan van Hilten, *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c., Amsterdam, July 16th, 1633: 'Ladinghe van seven Oost-Indische Schepen, ses comende van Batavia, ende een van Suratta, te weten: dese navolghende, Prins Willem, Hollandia, Zutphen, AEmelia, Rotterdam, Hoorn, ende Amboina, onder 't commandement van den Heer Generael Specx'.* This was an announcement in a Dutch newspaper; the complete cargo list is given and includes an 'alive, white elephant', the first time an elephant had been taken to the Dutch Republic.

items and 20 bales with porcelain from captured ships'.[51] (Appendix 6, list 6) These additional 17,378 items obtained from booty were more than what was bought by the VOC that year.

On January 2nd, 1633, several junks departed from Amoy and on the 3rd, five junks arrived at Formosa with various products including coarse porcelain.[52] A balance of the stock was made in the same month at Fort Zeelandia: a total of 10,408 pieces was not an overwhelming large amount.[53] A junk arrived at Formosa from the Chinese coast on March 23rd, with 'a little fine and mostly coarse porcelain'.[54] The wares are, exceptionally, described in some detail: '120 pieces fine porcelain, half as well as one third [sized] *schaffschotel*, 1,000 coarse butter dishes, 440 painted pieces as well as white coarse camel cups, 40 flasks'.[55] Several rare terms were used such as '*schaffschotel*', which may be a Germanization for a large serving dish.[56] As the term coarse is used for 'white coarse camel cups', these were apparently not of the fine quality produced in Jingdezhen and may either have come from Dehua or another local kiln site in Fujian province.

The complicated situation between the intermediaries, the Chinese officials and the Dutch continued. Cheng Zhilong (Iquan) kept insinuating all kinds of promises. 'In March of 1633 Zhilong sent a letter to Putmans saying that the "king's court" had decided to provide eight passes yearly to Chinese merchants that would allow free trade with the Dutch so long as the company did not try to trade in China. It was good news, but Putmans and his colleagues were skeptical: "the Chinese have now for years tried to keep us satisfied only with frivolous and sweet words."'[57]

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[51] Ibid., '*17378 Ps. verscheijde sorteringe verovert porceleyn, 20 grootte Balijen met d.o, 30 veroverde porceleijne potten'.*
[52] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, D fol. 210, '*comen van Aymoy hier ter reede vijf jonckjens geladen met rijs, swarte suycker, grof porceleyn ende andere cleynicheden alsmede weynige sijde stoffen'.*
[53] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1109, *Balance van den heer Hans Putmans Taijouan p.mo Jannuarij 1633: 'aen porceleijn stucx 10408, .f. 502=16=6'.*
[54] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, E. fol. 573, *March 23rd, 1633: 'arriveert een joncke uyt China, geladen met weynich fijn ende meest groff porceleyn als andere clynicheden'.*
[55] Ibid., '*120 stuckx fijn porceleyn, soo halve als drijelinge schaffschootels, 1000 stuckx grove boterschootels, 440 stuckx geschilderde als witte groove cameelscopkens, 40 stuckx vlessen'.*
[56] http://www.dbnl.org/ : '*Schaffen: opdissen; eten; het middagmaal nuttigen'.*
[57] Andrade 2004 (op.cit.), p.437, note 84: Letter from Governor Hans Putmans to Governor-General Jacques Specx, 9 November 1632, VOC 1109: 195–197.

There were still very few commissions sent to Asia, but the items and quantities required were mostly specified. The focus remained on flatware, all sizes, as well as the known *cameelscoppen* and *clapmutsen,* which would all have been produced in Kraak style. Cargo lists also included some new items as 'cups painted with characters', teacups and 'bell cups'.

Nonetheless, deliveries continued; in April 1633, two junks arrived at Formosa with fine porcelain *(partije fijn porceleyn)*.[58] In May and June 1633 junks arrived with coarse porcelain (*groff porceleyn'*).[59] The cargo list of the *Middleburgh* with commodities to the Dutch Republic included 25,345 porcelain items.[60] (Appendix 6, list 7) It also gives information as to packaging the porcelain, and here we again see the quantities of each item per package: '170 large dishes were packed in 17 round wooden tubs; 2,570 half-sized *schaff* dishes of which 1,200 are packed in 60 wicker baskets and 1370 packed in bundles of straw, each containing 10 pieces'.[61] Cups and bowls were, due to their fragility, packed in wooden tubs or casks: '1,985 fine cups in round wooden tubs and 1,325 teacups [packed] in 3 wooden tubs'. More details are given: 'baskets made from bamboo contain 20 pieces each; 20 pieces packed in straw; (bundles) each (with) 15 pieces, bundles each with 10 pieces'.[62] (Figure 6.4)



Figure 6.4. Dishes packed in straw. Dejima Museum, Nagasaki, Japan. Photo by author.

[58] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, E. fol. 574, April 10th, 1633: '*Comen twee joncxkens van de suyt ende seven uyt China, waeronder eenvan Bendiock ende een van Sidnia, inhebbende acht à 10 picol rouwe sijde, weynich sijde stoffen, partije fijn porceleyn, aluyn ende poursuycker als andere grove waren*'.
[59] Ibid., fol. 576, (May 22nd and 23rd),1633); fol. 577, (June 18th, 1633), '*dij 22 ende 23 ditto. Ariveerde een joncque van de custe van China, geladen met groff porceleyn'.*
[60] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1113: '*Facture vande coopmanschappen dwelck door ordre vande E, H.r gouuern=r Hans Putmans Int schip dat godt bewaer ghenaempt middelburch voor 't patria gescheept. 25345 stx- fijn porselijn monteert f 7749/19/; Actum Int Comptoir Tayouan den 22en octob.r Aº 1633*'.
[61] Ibid., '*170 Groote Schootels a 1 r.a Ider bestaende In 17 houte ronde baliens'; '1200 stx- bestaende In 60 stx van bamboese gevlochte Corven); (1370 stx- bestaen In 137 halue Corgien Int stroo gepackt Ider van 10 stx*'.
[62] Ibid., '*1985 stx- Clock Copkens bestaende In stx ronde houte Balies 1325 stx- Thee Copkens bestaende In 3 Houte Balies; 3850 stx Cleijne pimpelkens bestaen In 3 ronde houte balies'; 'van bamboesen gevlochten Canasters Ider van 20 stx-; In stroo gepackt Ider van 20 stx-; Bossen Ider van 15 stucx, bossen Ider van 10 stucx*'.

The 'pirate wars' continued. Finally, In October 1633, after more conflicts with Iquan, new terms of trade were negotiated.[63] The result was that, during the following period, 'Each year four or five richly laden silk junks and eight or so smaller junks bearing porcelain and less valuable cargos arrived in Taiwan'.[64]

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

This period is the most significant one concerning Dutch demand for porcelain, as Chinese production now took place under effective direction of the VOC. Consequently, production of Western shapes expanded; Chinese junks regularly delivered porcelain from the Fujian coast to the VOC post on Formosa, Fort Zeelandia. During this period, the return fleets carried the largest quantities of porcelain to the Dutch Republic. Orders (*eischen*) were first sent from the VOC directors in Amsterdam to the head office in Batavia with outgoing ships; from Batavia, these were sent on to the trade post Fort Zeelandia. There, VOC officials negotiated with Chinese intermediaries, who then sent them on to merchants at production centres. After completion, the items were delivered to south Chinese coastal ports to be shipped by junks to Formosa. As previously mentioned, they were packed in various ways; on arrival, deliveries were checked and the quantities registered.

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* provides information on daily events at the trade post: the arrivals and departures of ships, including those from the Chinese coast and their cargoes.[65] Since there were no fixed amounts per package, and these would differ over the years, it is difficult to obtain exact quantities or descriptions of the types

[63] Andrade 2005 (op. cit.), p. 439: 'Zhilong promised that three Chinese traders would be given licenses to trade in Taiwan so long as the Dutch kept away from China. This was not the free, "unlicensed," trade for which they had fought, but it was better than what they had enjoyed before. The Dutch had been unable to overcome Zhilong, but they had shown they could be a threat when provoked, especially when they allied with other pirates. This threat likely persuaded Zhilong to grant better trading conditions. ('letter from Governor Hans Putmans, October 28th, 1634'); NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC), inv.nr. 1114: Originele missive van Hans Putmans uijt het Fort Zeelandia aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 28 October 1634.
[64] Ibid., p. 440 :'. The Dutch used the threat of violence and new pirate alliances to keep pressure on Chinese officials in order to maintain this trade.' Note 97: 'See Generale Missiven, H. Brouwer, A. van Diemen, P. Vlack, and J. van der Burch, Batavia, 15 August 1634, in Cheng "De VOC en Formosa," pp. 130–131'.
[65] J.L. Blussé, M.E. van Opstall, W.E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-Ho (eds.), *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662*, The Hague, 1986-2000; these can be consulted on: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/voctaiwan/index_html_en (visited January, 2020): 'The best sources for studying this period are the daily registers as they give a clear picture of everyday life in and around the fort. They also offer a wealth of information about scouting expeditions, conversions to Christianity, education, trade, relations with China, Chinese immigration and the eventual expulsion of the Dutch. Indeed, as far as the history of Taiwan in the 17th century is concerned the daily registers are practically the only source available'.

of the ceramics delivered in each shipment. However, the only distinction made was between fine porcelain (*fijn porceleyn, porselyn*) and coarse porcelain (*groff…*) or not even that, just porcelain. The fine porcelains produced in Jingdezhen and some kilns in Fujian province were transported to Fuzhou and the junks from the Amoy bay area mainly delivered coarse porcelain from the Zhangzhou kilns.[66] These kilns had direct access to waterways and the port of Yuegang ('moon harbour') on the Jiulong River. (Figure 6.6)

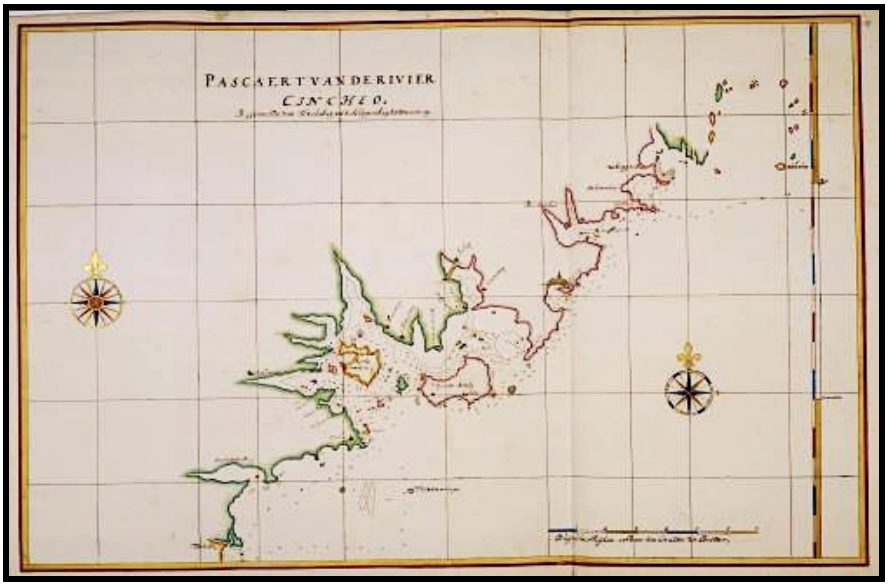


Figure 6.6. Bay of Amoy/Chincheo River. '*Pascaert van de rivier Chincheo. / Beginnende van Texelsbaij, tot de klippenbaij, Noordwarts op'. Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem (toegeschreven aan Vingbooms 1665-1668*)'. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv.nr. Van der Hem 41:17. [67]

Fuzhou on the estuary of the Min River was the nearest port from where fine porcelain produced in Jingdezhen and other kiln sites was transported. (Figure 6.6)

[66] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 847: '15 dec: Arriveeren alhier van Aymoy 5 joncquen, t'samen medebrengende 900 picol poeyerzuycker, 8 ä 9 picol rouwe zijde, 600 paar zijde coussen ende pertij groff porceleyn.' Ibid., fol 849: '25 ditto. Arriveeren alhier d'navolgende joncquen namentlijck: 1 ditto van Hoccheo, vol-laden met diverse sorteringe fijn porceleyn, 1 ditto van Aymoy met 400 picol poeyersuyc-ker, perti potten Chineese gember ende 200 bossen grove porceleynen commen'.
[67] As previously mentioned, in VOC documents written as: *'riviere Chanchieu /Rivier Tchincheo'.*



Figure 6.7. '*De stad Hockzieuw en de stad Nanta (titel op object)'.* Anonymous. ca. 1670-1700, Rijksmuseum inv. nr. NG-1988-13. Paper, ink, watercolours. On the right a ship with the Dutch flag.

Entries in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dating from the beginning of 1634 show that regular deliveries of merchandise from the Chinese coast had finally commenced after trade negotiations had been settled. On February 21st, 1634, three junks arrived with tubs containing fine porcelain (*balijeen fijn porceleynen*).[68] An entry dated February 27th states that another negotiator 'Hambuan' promised that 'within a few days porcelains and silk goods will arrive'.[69] Another report from Fort Zeelandia stated that two junks, one loaded mostly with porcelain and the other junk with items as silk, ginger and porcelain would depart for Formosa.[70]

In 1635, around 17 junks arrived from Amoy to Fort Zeelandia; an entry dated March 19th even expresses appreciation that 'as yet we have not received such a good supply from China'.[71] Consequently, deliveries to Batavia increased and the quantity

[68] Blussé, et al. (eds.) 1986-2000, (op. cit.), vol.1, F. fol. 46: February 21st: '*Arriveeren 3 joncxkens, een van de zuydt ende twee van de rivier Chincheo medebrengene"..canassers ende balijeen fijn porceleyn'*.
[69] Hambuan was another negotiator for the VOC and was also named Gampea in Dutch sources. Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, F. fol. 46: *'bracht tijdinge, dat Hambuan metgoede parthije ditto zijdewaaren ende porceleynen binnen 2 a 3 daagen ten uuyttersten stondt te volgen ende confirmeert, dat drie passen aen verscheyden coopluyden, om den handel met ons in aller vrijheyt t'excerceeren, bij den combon verleent waaren; van onse gevangenen verlossinge t'obtineeren wisten niet seeckers te seggen, alles op gemelte Hambuan refererende'.*
[70] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Dagh-registers gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, anno 1631-1634*, The Hague, 1898 p. 282: '*arriveert alhier (Batavia) het jacht Perdam sijnde op primo Martij passado van Taijowan gedepescheert, en brenght vandaer mede een retour monterende als per facture. De somme van …. ende bestaende inde naervolgende coopmanschappen te weten….6263 stucx porceleijn'.*
[71] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, G. fol. 239: '*19 maart: Met dese bovengemelte 4 joncquen is ons alhier toegebracht over de 500 pl rouwe zijde, goede partie stuckgoederen als fijne porceleynen,*

that had arrived in the Dutch Republic that year was noted: '219,072 items of various sorts' in a communication, sent from the directors in Amsterdam in July 1635.[72] (Appendix 6, list 8) It included information concerning demand in other European countries during this particular period: 'the porcelains were well-received, especially large and medium dishes, flasks and pots. The demand for them increases in the Dutch Republic as well as France', especially for 'half, one-third and one-quarter dishes, shallow with flat, wide rims and should be of fine material and well painted'.[73] Flatware was favoured, not only for the Dutch, but also for other European customers. [74]

There were, however, also complaints: 'the bell cups with ears are nice but the ears are proportionally too small, [they] should be made somewhat larger and more in proportion'.[75] This could refer to those retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck', which shows that, as the Chinese did not understand the function of 'ears' or handles, they were produced in their own style. (Figure 6.8)



Figure 6.8. Various bell cups from the Wanli shipwreck, (ca.1630-1635), h.:ca. 8.0 cm.[76]

monteerende den incoop ongeveer en 120.000 r. van 8,'. 'sulex dat de Compagnie voor desen noyt in zoo corten tijt zoodanigen toevoer uut China heeft gehadt'.

[72] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden. sept 1634 - dec 1635: '3 July 1635 Missive Batavia naar Taiwan*: *Aangekomen 9 september Buijren*, *12 december Huijsduijnen*, *2 April Venhuijsen*, *7 April Bredamme, 9 meij met de wanckan… ontfangen ptije in Junio 16=C & vierendertich wesende 219 Θ 072: stucx diverse sorteringen& daer en boven 52: Balien & canasters met noch 75 porceleijne potten vol confituren'.*

[73] Ibid., *'De porceleijnen sijn wel getrocken geweest, bijsonder de groote en middlebaere schotelen, flessen ende potten. De genegentheijt neempt daerin toe soowel in Neerlant als oock in Vranckrijck.*'

[74] Ibid.; '*De principaelste consumptie nu in europa bestaet in halve, ⅓ ende quaer schotels, ondiep met vlacke breede rande*'; Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), pp. 10-12.

[75] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857 (op.cit.). '*De Clock copkens met ooren sullen aengenaem wesen maerde oorckens sijn naer proportie te cleen/sullen wat grooter & proporsioneler dienen gemaeckt.*'

[76] S. Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus (eds.) 2007 (op.cit.), pp. 154-155.

The order continues with explicit details, 'the new assortment of dishes or table plates need to be [of a] finer [quality] and nicely painted; they look too much like the earthenware that is made in Holland; these plates should have a smooth and glazed base, without an edge or rim, suitable to move over a cloth on the table'.[77] This was rather an extraordinary request as it was customary in China to produce flatware with an unglazed, raised foot rim. Archaeologists in Jingdezhen have indeed recovered a few fragments without a foot rim such as shown in Figure 6.9, proof that these indeed were produced, but it was apparently not a standard item.[78]



Figure 6.9. Two examples of pieces with a flat foot rim. Diameter shard ca. 8 cm. Found at kiln sites at Jingdezhen. Photos by author. Collection Cao Jianwen, Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Research.

The new shapes now ordered by the VOC were all Western ones, and being unfamiliar to the Chinese potters, models were indeed required to have them produced: 'all new shapes will bring profit such as beer tankards, bowls with ears, salt cellars, candlestick holders, pour- and wine jugs according to the models we give along'.[79]

We also see in this lengthy document again specific instructions regarding the designs: 'All the large cups, bowls, pots, bottles and long-necked bottles flasks, bell cups, etc. should be painted exotically and skilfully with Chinese figures, [and with] water, landscapes, pleasure-houses'; 'their boats, birds and animals, all this is well liked in Europe'.[80] These specifications clearly show that these designs were intended to be

[77] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857 (op.cit.), *'dese pierings moeten onder den bodem glat & verlaest sijn /sonder rant off kantjen bequaem om over d'amelaeckens op tafel leggende te schuijven alle soorte van pierings voor Nederlant dienen soo fijn van porceleijn met dunne bodems gemaect'*.
[78] A few dishes without a base rim were also amongst the salvaged porcelain from the *Mauritius* that sank in 1609, (see Appendix chapter 4, list 5).
[79] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, '*oock alle andere nieuwe & rare Porceleijnen als bierbeeckers / commekens met ooren / soutvaten / kandelaers / scheijnck[den & wijn kannen / volgens de modellen hier nevens gaende'*.
[80] Ibid., '*met Chinese Personagien moeten te gaerde wateren/lantschappen plaijsier huijsen'. 'hun vaertuijch vogelen ende gedierte alle dit is in Europa gansch aengenaem.'*

applied to open shapes, identical to items of what is presently called 'transitional ware'.[81] (Figure 6.10)



Figure 6.10. A tankard decorated in 'transitional style'. Groninger Museum, inv.nr. 19510321; h.: 20 cm., d. 7.5 cm.

However, 'Dutch designs, flower or leaf work, like the long necked bottles [that have] now arrived with the junk Batavia, should be excused entirely, will not fetch half their price, because the Dutch designs on porcelain are not considered strange [exotic] or rare'.[82] (Figure 6.11) This is repeated in later orders dated 1638 and 1639. It has often been assumed that porcelain decorated with tulips was a specific request from the VOC for the Dutch market. As we see from the above letter though, this was not the case; the 'tulip mania' of the years 1634 to early 1637 in the Dutch Republic apparently did not affect the request for its decoration.[83] The only items with a panel motif that were decorated with this type of flower are of a later date; the 'Hatcher cargo' dated to 1643 includes a few items with such flowers.[84]

[81] S. Valenstein, A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics, New York, 1988, p. 200, describes this as: 'Transitional wares is almost completely in Chinese taste, and there is very little foreign flavor to it. However, the forms of many pieces were adapted to Western demands: The Dutch were supplying Chinese merchants with wooden shapes they wanted copied'.

[82] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, '*Nederlantse schilderije blom of off loffwerck / gelde nu gecomen langhalse flessen met de Joncke Batt.a moet geheel geexcuseert werden/sal geen half gelt haelen/ vermits de Nederlantse schilderije op porceleijn niet vreemt noch raer wert geextimeert*'.

[83] See, for example: M. Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused*. London, 1999. 'The date was 5 February 1637, the day flower fever reached such a pitch of frenzy in the United Provinces that once worthless bulbs truly threatened to supplant precious metals as objects of desire. The day the tulip completed a journey which had begun hundreds of years before and thousands of miles away.' (Prologue)

[84] C. Sheaf, and R. Kilburn, (eds.) [1988] *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes, The Complete Record.* Oxford, 1988, p. 41, plate 48.



Figure 6.11. Vase decorated with Chinese figures and a tulip-like flower on the neck. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.nr. AK-RAK-1989-14-A. h.:36 cm.

Cargo lists of porcelain sent to Batavia in October 1635, with the ships *Gallias, Texel, Swaen* and *Noortwijck,* provide more information as to what was transported from Fort Zeelandia.[85] (Appendix 6, list 9 and list 10) The cargo list of the *Gallias* is very detailed and shows the exact amounts for each shape. It is even possible to compare most terms listed to actual fragments retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck' dating to the same period, around 1630-1635, which I illustrate in the table in Figure 6.12. The 'Wanli shipwreck', also contained a large quantity of bowls, all Chinese shapes and of various dimensions; these may have been intended for other regions. Such a mixed cargo was typical of those shipped from Formosa to Batavia, where they were divided and transported to different destinations.

The table shows that the flatware produced and transported in this period was for the most part decorated in Kraak-panelled style; the painting is finely executed and there are numerous rare designs, not seen on fragments from earlier shipwrecks. Several have Chinese landscapes, Chinese figures and other decorations; this had already been noted in the previous year: 'finally some [ships] arrived with a good batch of porcelains of different old sorts and some [with] new designs with Chinese figures'.[86]

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[85] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116: *'Restanten vande Porceleynen tsedert ul= mart tot ul= July volgens de loopende Negotie Boecken Van Tcomptoir Tayouan op dato Bevonden ende tsedert met de Scheepen Galias, Texcell ende Noortwijck meest altsamen na 28-10-1635 v Zeelandia naar Batavia Versonden'*; Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p.183 : '*restanten van de Porceleynen sedert ult. Maart tot ult july 1635 van 't comptoir Tayouan op dato gevonden en sedert met de schepen gallias, texel en noortwijck (meest) altsmaen naar Batavia gesonden.'* The shipping list of the *Swaen* states 71,572 fine pieces; 171 'water pots' (*urinoir*) and pots for preserves; the *Noordwijck* had 94,866 pieces on board.

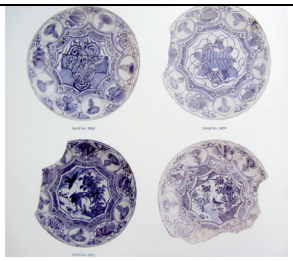
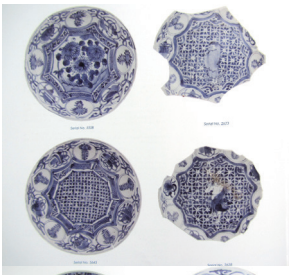
[86] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, '*Eijndelinge eenige met goede partije alderhandt oude sorteringe ende eenige nieuwe schilderijen met Chineese figueren van Porceleijnen verscheenen doch noch geenige van onse Patroonen hun alle over tweeJaren mede Gegeven, wat noch In toecomende doen sullen leert den tijt,*

High bowls called 'bell cups' (in Dutch *Clock kopcens*) are included, the first ones salvaged from a shipwreck.

Figure 6.12. Cargo list of the *Gallias* from Formosa to Batavia compared to items salvaged from the 'Wanli shipwreck'.

Cargo list from Formosa to Batavia of the *Gallias.*		Images from: *The Wanli shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*. (Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.).
Large dishes *(heele groote fijne Schootels)*	2535	
½ size dishes (*dittos halve*)	6845	 d. 35.0 -37.0
1/3 size dishes (*dittos drielingen*)	10,817	 d. 29.0-32.0
¼ size dishes (*dittos quarten*)	9985	 d. 20.7-22.0

veel betercoop als die Ingecocht is zall voor eerst niet dienen naer getracht alsoo alreets over sommige sorteringe beginnen te clagen daeraen verlooren hebben'.

Plates: table plates and fruit dishes (*pieringe taeffelborden ende fruyt schaalen*)	56,960	 d. 28-29 cm.   d. 20-21 cm.
½ size bowls (*halve fijne commen*)	7982	 d. 14.-14.5 cm.  d. 12 cm.
Full size bowls (*heele)*	1625	   d. 21-22.6 cm.

¼ size bowls (*quarten)*	10	 d. 9.0-10.0 cm.
Whole-half- and ¼ size camel cups.*(Cameels Coppen soo heelen halve en quarten)*	17,528	 d. 12-16 cm.; h. 6.3 cm.
Long-necked flasks (*langh halsde flessen)*	422	 h. 17.5-29.0 cm.
Bell cups (*Clock kopcens*)	13,025	 d. 7.9-8.1cm.; h. 7.2-8.3 cm.
Small pouring jugs (*fleskens kannetgiens ende snelletiens - Nieuwe sorteringe*)	735	 h. 9.5-14.0 cm.
Large covered pots	18	 h. 51.0 cm
½ size pots	23	 h. 23.5
Smaller pots	66	
Full-size *clapmuts*	50	Not included
½ size *clapmuts*	1200	Only 1 found - d. 21.0
¼ size *clapmuts*	225	Not included

Small saucers	950	  d. 13.7-14.5
Covered cups	57	 d. 9.0-14.8 cm.; h. 8.0-14.5 cm.
Flat small bowls	5100	 d. 6.3-7.3 cm.
Large coolers	6	 d. 36.0 -36.4 cm.

The route taken by ships sailing to Batavia was along the Malaysian Peninsula and therefore the so-called 'Wanli shipwreck' may even have been one of the ships or junks that delivered cargoes from the Formosa roadstead to the headquarters on the tip of Java Island. (Figure 6.13)

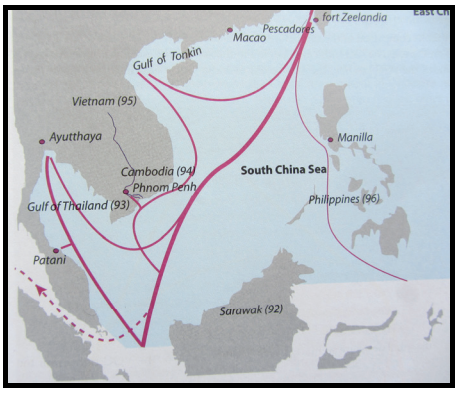


Figure 6.13. Map showing routes taken by VOC ships in the northeastern region Asia.[87]

The VOC continued with requests for Western shapes. In October, 1635, Governor Putmans reported that models had been made, '[we] have had a turner and 2 or 3 painters working for more than 2 months to turn and paint jugs, wash-basins, cooling-tubs (*coelvaten*), dishes, mugs, saltcellars, mustard and water pots, also various cups of a good fashion'.[88] (Appendix 6, list 11)

The results were not satisfactory. VOC officials noted that the Chinese warned that of the large wares 'hardly an eighth or a tenth part remains whole and straight during firing, so that large pieces will be extraordinarily expensive'.[89] Consequently, only '5 large water basins or pots [the size] in which small children can be washed or [in which] clean water can be kept' were sent as samples, selected out of thirty to forty pieces; 'the others had firing cracks, red spots or were lopsided or crooked'.[90] Figure 6.14 illustrates what such a basin might have been. It is surprising that such items were misfired, as Chinese potters should have been accustomed to producing such large sizes.

[87] Map taken from R. Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia (1595-1660)*. Amsterdam, 2010, fig.3.2, p.43.
[88] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116 (op.cit.),'*Hebben eenen draijer ende 2 a 3 conterfeijters meer als 2 maenden om cannen, lampetschootels, coelvaten, schalen, beeckers, zoutvaten, moster ende waterpotten, oock verscheijden copkens van goet fatsoen te laten draieijen ende schilderen, sulcx dat wij vertrouwen de naeste besendinge rare stucken zullen brengen'*.
[89] Ibid., *'doch clagen seer dat het extraoirdinari fijn ende groot goet qual(lijck) een achtste ofte thiende part int backen heel ende recht blijft, zulcx dat groote stucken extraoidinarij dier sullen vallen'*.
[90] Ibid., '*watervatten ofte potten hiernevens om cleijne kinders in te conne wasschen ofte anders clear water daerin goet te houden*'; '*dander hadden altsamen backscheuren, roode plecken ofte waren scheeff ofte crom*'. Posssibly these were rejects.



Figure 6.14. A large, deep fish bowl decorated with pond scene; underglaze blue and overglaze colours (wucai) d. 55.2 cm.; h. 37.8 cm. Inscription on interior edge: *Da Ming Longqing nian zhi* (reign of Longqing – 1567-1572). British Museum inv.nr. PDF.778 (Percival David collection.)

Putmans also assured the VOC director that the Chinese merchants promised to bring a good and fine assortment based on samples, 'the models all turned from wood and painted with all kinds of Chinese figures have been given and confirmed by the Chinese to be copied so that a good quantity of fine quality will be brought the coming year'.[91] A further increase in quantities can be seen by the entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* during the following year, 1636. A sequence of arrivals took place from the Fujian ports: Amoy, Anhai, and Fuzhou.

From 1637 onwards, a regular pattern of deliveries emerges. In the table below (Figure 6.15) I have compiled the entries in the *Dagregister Kasteel Zeelandia* that refer to shipments of ceramics by Chinese junks from these ports to show what was delivered in that year. The table shows that from the port of Amoy, mostly coarse porcelain, and from Fuzhou for the most part fine porcelain items were shipped to Formosa. Quantities are only given by way of packaging and quality without further specifications, except for the large pots, which were listed separately.

[91] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116 (op.cit.): '*alle van hout meest gedrayet ende met alderhande chineesche figueren geschildert zijn medegegeven, twelck verclaert hebben altsamen te connen naermaken ende belooft ons met den naesten toe te brengen, dat UEd. Groote ende schoone pertyetegens 't aenstaande jaer heeft te verwachten'*. C. Viallé has already dealt with the issue when wooden samples were sent for the first time: C. Viallé, 'The Records of the VOC Concerning the Trade in Chinese and Japanese Porcelain between 1634-1661', *Mededelingenblad van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst*. vol. 22, 1992, pp. 5-34; p. 8.

Figure 6.15. Table with dates of departure and place of departure of Chinese junks with cargoes of Chinese ceramics to Formosa, 1637.

Date (1637)	Harbour from where junks departed	Reference in *Dagregister Kasteel Zeelandia.*
January 20th	Fuzhou	'Fine porcelain 'packed in 700 cases, 150 crates and 110 large porcelain pots' (*700 cannassers, 150 balijs, 110 groote porceleyne potten*); '9-10,000 bundles coarse porcelain (*9 a 10.000 bos groff porceleyn)'.*[92]
Same day	Fuzhou	'From Fuzhou a junk fully laden with fine porcelain, consisting of: 700 cases and 150 crates *(van Hocchieu een ditto joncque, volladen met fijn porceleyn, bestaende in: 700 cannassers, 150 balijs, 110 groote porceleyne potten*)'.[93]
January 21st	Amoy	'Arrives here from Aymoy a junk with the following goods namely 700-800 crates of coarse porcelain.' [94]
February 5th	Fuzhou	'1[junk]from Fuzhou with 300 crates and 200 cases with porcelain'.[95]
March 6th	Amoy	'Arrives here from Aymoy a junk with 800 bundles coarse coarse porcelain, 66 fine porcelain pots'.[96]
March 7th	Fuzhou	'Arrived here from the Chinese coast de following junks, namely 1 from Fuzhou with 400 crates and 500 cases of various fine porcelain. [97]
March 10th	Amoy	'From Aymoy together bringing 600 cases, 200 crates fine porcelain.'[98]
March 11th	Amoy	'From Amoy…3000 bundles coarse, 200 cases and 17 crates with fine porcelain'[99]'.
March 13th	Amoy	'From Amoy…with 1300 bundles coarse porcelain'[100]
April 3		'Returning porcelain that are unsuitable for the Company'.[101]
May 4th	Amoy	A junk returns to the coast of China, coming from Amoy with dried deer meat and 'some useless and undesirable porcelains for the Company'.[102]

[92] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 854.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., I. fol. 856*. 'arriveert alhier van Aymoy een joncque, inhebbende d'naervolgende goederen, namentlijck*: 7 a *800 balijs groff porceleyn'.*
[95] Ibid., *'1 ditto van Hoccheo, inhebbende: 300 balijs, 200 canassers porceleynen*'.
[96] Ibid., I. fol. 863.*'6 ditto, Comt alhier van Aymoy een jonxken met 800 bossen groff porceleyn, 66 stucx fijne porceleynen potten*'.
[97] Ibid., '*Arriveeren hier van de Chineese cust de naervolgende joncquen, namentlijck: 1 ditto van Hoccheo, inhebbende 400 balijs ende 500 cannassers diverse sorteringe fijne porceleyn.'*
[98] Ibid., I. fol. 866, '*van Aymoy, gesamentlijck medebrengende 600 canassers, 200 balijs fijn porceleyn'.*
[99] Ibid., '*van Aymoy, inhebbende: 3.000 bossen groff / 200 canassers fijn porseleyn 17 balijs ditto*'.
[100] *Ibid., 'van Aymoy, medebrengend… 1.300 bos groff porceleyn'.*
[101] Ibid., I. fol. 872-873: *'3 ditto. Retourneren na de cust van China 2 handeljoncquen, hebbende alhier verscheyde fijne ende grove waeren van zijde, zijde stoffen, suyckeren, porceleynen etc. aengebracht, uutvoerende 't meerendeel der / daervoren ontfangene contanten mitsgaders per-thij coper, loot ende eenige uutschot stoffen ende porceleynen, ondienstige sorteringe voor de Compagnie'.*
[102] Ibid., vol.1. fol. 877: '*4 mei 1637, Retourneert een handeljoncque na de cust van China, tot Aymoy*

May 15th	Amoy	'2 junks arrive from Aymoy with…130 cases with fine porcelain'[103]
August 4th		'Demanded for the next return [shipment] from here [Formosa] various assortments of porcelain according to the samples'.[104]
October 29th	Anhai	'From Anhai 4 junks with 250 crates of fine porcelain as well as 130 cases'.[105]
November 2nd.	Fuzhou	'A junk coming from Fuzhou with 320 large porcelain pots' [106]
November 13th and 17th	Fuzhou	Deliveries continued during the whole month of November, '350 bales', '650 cases', and 'large porcelain pots' are mentioned.[107]
November 28th	Amoy	'Arrive here from the Chinese coast …2 junks from Aymoy loaded with 50 crates, 82 cases [porcelain] and 32 porcelain pots''. [108]

Deliveries to Batavia increased; on October 21st, *De Keyserinne* departs with 24,190 pieces of fine porcelain to Batavia.[109] An entry dated November 13th mentions that 112,755 pieces of fine porcelain has been loaded onto a large [Company] junk, the *Goede Hoope,* to be sent to Batavia.[110] This large amount summarizes the success of the year 1637. Regular supplies and larger quantities continued to be shipped to Fort Zeelandia during the years 1638 and 1639.

Entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dated January 1638, record that twelve junks had arrived with both coarse and fine wares, packed in bundles and

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thuyshoorende, uutvoerende 5 picol gedroocht hertevlees ende eenige ondienstige ende niet bij de Compagnie begeerde porceleynen'.

[103] Ibid., I. fol. 878: '*Zoo verschijnen oocq weder van daer namentlijck 2 joncken van Aymoy, inhebbende…130 canassers fijn porceleyn'*.

[104] Ibid., I. fol 901: August 4th, 1637: '*Eyst in retour-met d'aenstaende van hier derwarts te doene depêche…diverse sortering porceleynen, conform de gesondene monsters*'.

[105] Ibid., I. fol 912: *'Arriveeren alhier van Anhay 4 handeljoncquen, medebrengende als volcht: 250 balijs ende \fijn porceleyn 130 canassers'.* Anhai is located in the south part of present-day Quanzhou on the coast, indicating that this was also a port from from goods were exported.

[106] *een joncq comende van Hochieuw aengebracht: 320 stucx groote potten porcelyn*'.

[107] Ibid., K. fol. 435: (*dd 2 nov.; 17e nov. 1637)*: '*Op dato arriveert alhier van Hochieuw een handelsjonck met fijne porceleynen, namentlijck 650 canassers ende 350 balijs'.*

[108] Ibid., K. fol 437, *'arriveren alhier successivelijck van de Chineese cust de naerbeschreven joncke, te weeten 2 handeljoncken van Aimoy geladen met 50 balijs, 82 canassers en 32 potten porseleinen'.*

[109] Ibid., K. fol. 427: '*21 oktober 1637*: *Het fluitschip De Keyserinne***,** *gestouwd en afgeladen, licht het anker op de achtermiddag en vertrekt naar Batavia. Het cargazoen bedraagt met de ongelden f. 124704.11 en bestaat volgens de facturen uit: 1.973 t. 7 maes Chinees gout, 34.523 catty spialter, 7.275 catty chinesche tarwe, 261.497 catty poeyersuycker, 1.800 stux lanquyns… 24.190 stux fijne porceleynen*'.

[110] Ibid., K. fol. 435; November 13th: '*is besloten de grote jonk met 112.755 stuks fijn porceleyn, 882 pl Chinese zijde en 4.522 cattys wanckians, bedragende tezamen f. 20012.—.8, te verzenden.*'; K. fol. 449: December 25th, 1637: '*2 5 dito. Vertrecken in compagnie directelijck 't fleuytschip Rarop ende de joncq De Goede Hoop met een cargasoen, bestaende in porceleynen, lanquijns, cangangs ende gout-draet tot den Indijschen handel, te weeten: monteert t'samen 155066.9.2'.*

cases.[111] Then, on February 13th, the *Oudewater* departed to Batavia with a cargo of 78,232 items of fine and 9,826 items coarse porcelain.[112] On March 9th, a junk arrived from Amoy with '3,000 bowls and 3,000 dishes of coarse porcelain'.[113] In April junks arrive with '200 bales and 100 pots'; on April 14th 1638 with '30 bales and 20 cases with porcelain' arrive from the Amoy region; on May 16th, a junk arrives from Amoy with 2,500 bundles of porcelain and on May 20th one from Fuzhou with 60 bales.[114] The items are again unspecified.

However, we do know what was in demand. An extensive memorandum dated April 14th, 1638, was sent to Batavia from the directors in the Dutch Republic explaining the sales opportunities in the Dutch Republic.[115] (Appendix 6, list 12) It commences with complaints about the porcelains and gives instructions to order better ones according to the accompanying samples:

> And because for some years now we have received a good quantity of mainly coarse porcelain with which the country has been rather flooded, this should be moderated in future, because if this continues they will drop to a very low price and render the Company little profit…Therefore, in order to create a new desire and a good sale it will be most necessary that from now on we are sent the very best, finest and rarest and diverse assortments conforming to the aforementioned samples as well as other kinds that are practicable.[116]

Even though samples had been sent previously, the order shows that it was important to follow the instructions. The long list is preceded by the remark: '[We are sending] also various samples of porcelains with a memorandum of the quantity that can be consumed annually if they conform to the samples. This case with porcelain samples nr… [unspecified] goes with the ship Amboyna'. [117] A large number of these

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[111] Ibid., K. fol. 451. January 4th, 1638: '*2 jonken uit Anhay inhebbende 60 balijs porcelynm 340 canassers ditto...de andere ...zijne ladingen bestaende: 313 balijs porccelijn, 270 canassers dito';* Ibid., fol. 452: January 7th, 1638: *'van Aimoy een jonck ...geladen met : 24 balijs porcelyn, 240 canassers dito'.*
[112] Ibid., K. fol 463: February 13th, 1638: '*Op dato verzeylen van hier in compagnie a droicture naer Batavia 't jacht Oudewater met een cargasoen, bestaende in 78.232 stucx fijne ende 9.826 stucx groove porceleynen'.*
[113] Ibid., K. fol. 466: '*een handelsjoncq van Aimoy medebrengende 3000 commen en 3000 schootels groff porcelyn'.*
[114] Ibid., K. fol. 470, fol. 471 and fol. 475. In June junks arrive with 44 crates and 1000 bundles of porcelain, and on July 16th, another 100 bales. Ibid., K. fol. 477 and fol. 484.
[115] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, April 14th, 1638. For the complete text see Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), pp. 15-19.
[116] Viallé 1992. (op. cit.), p. 15.
[117] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.), *Kopieboek van uitgaande missiven, instructies en andere papieren van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië, 1620 sep. 9 - 1627 feb. 11);* the Amboina departed on April 15th, 1638 from Texel and arrived on December 7th, 1638 in Batavia; the first ship that departed for Formosa from Batavia was on May 2nd , 1639, a year later, with the same

samples consisted of items that been sent previously: '300 large Chinese beakers, and some bottles and high flowerpots, very nicely painted like the three pieces brought by the aforementioned Governor'.[118] Some samples were even broken: '*zijnde een gebroocken booter Schoteltgen*'.[119] The items to be copied comprised of, '200 salt cellars like the accompanying wooden sample'; '200 candleholders like the accompanying sample of turned wood…and the mustard pot of ribbed wood'.[120]

This list again shows that Western shapes were in demand and specific instructions for the designs were included. Just as in 1635, the request was especially focused on designs with Chinese figures: 'a double butter or quarter sized saucer with a Chinese painted on it'; 'a fruit dish …with a Chinese painted on it'; 'a small mustard saucer well painted with a Chinese'; 'a butter dish with a Chinese on it'.[121] Figure 6.16 illustrates such a dish, retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck'.



Figure 6.16. Fragment of a dish from the 'Wanli cargo', d. ca. 36 cm.[122]

The list continues with 'a double butter dish with strange long legged animals'.[123] We cannot be sure what exactly was meant by this description but it may refer to rather sloppily painted deer. (Figure 6.17)

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order. NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 863: *Batavia's uitgaand briefboek, kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven, commissies en instructies van gouverneur-generaal en raden. 1639 jan. 18 - dec. 14): 'Instructie voor Breda, Rogh en jonck Middelburgh: 'Dit kasgen met porceleijne monsters N.o ... gaet met schip Amboyna*'.

[118] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.)*: '300 Zoo grote als Chinese beeckers, en eenige flessen ende hooge blompotte, heel schoon geschildert gelijck voorn- Gouverneur drie stx mede gebracht heeft.'*

[119] Ibid., listed as Nr. 11.

[120] Ibid., '*200 Sout vaten, gelyck het nevensgaende Monster van hout*'; '*200 kandelaars gelijck het nevens gaende Monster van houdt gedraijt… en den Mostaart pot van houd geribt'.*

[121] Ibid., '*een dobbelde booter of quart schotel met een chinees daarin geschildert*'; '*een fruijtschael, de groote van een encaelde boterschootel of piering aardich geschildert emt een Chinees daarinne*'; '*een cleen most schaaltgen seer aardich geschildert met een Chinees daarinn*'; '*een boterschotel met een Chinees daer in*'.

[122] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op.cit.), serial no. 7950.



Figure 6.17 Fragment of a dish excavated at *Liujiaxianong* site, Jingdezhen. Photo courtesy of Cao Jianwen.

Also listed were '8,000 fruit dishes the size of a butter dish with a flower pot' ('*sijnde een fruijtschael met een blompot vande groote van een boterschootel*').[124] (Figure 6.18)



Figure 6.18. Dish excavated in Macao near the remains of the cathedral, d. 20 cm. Macao Museum, photo by author.

A rare request on the list concerns the term 'Caraek porseleyn', which I have dealt with in Chapter 4. 'Ten-sided table plates …also decorated with all types of Chinese paintings, perfectly painted just as the *Caraek* porcelain and flasks just arrived'.[125] I suggest that the term 'Caraek' here may refer to porcelain from previous shipments; I have only come across a ten-sided dish with panels in the Topkapi Palace museum collection (see Figure 4.61)

Another intriguing request on the same order of 1638 states: '[we want] 5,000 pieces at 2 guilders each being a butter dish/saucer of which a stork stands on the base/on the tree'.[126] (Figures 6.19 and 6.20) The document could read 'a butter dish on which a stork stands on the tree' or: 'a butter dish of which a stork is depicted on the

[123] Ibid., '*een dobbele boter schootel met rare lang beenich gedierte*'.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., '*Sijn 10 Cantige Tafelborden waer van mede ge-eyscht warden mede met Chinese Schilderijen te cieren altemael raar ende pefect uytgehaelt en geschildert gelyck het Caraek porceleyn en nu Jongst overgecomen vlessen zijn geweest*.'
[126] Ibid., *'Daarvan als boven zal connen &tiert worden 5 Θ stx a 2 gł ijder zijnde een booter Schootel daar een oijevaer achter opde boom state.'*

bottom'. In other words, the word 'boom' (tree) here may have meant *bodem,* bottom or base.



Figure 6.19. Dish from the 'Wanli wreck', d. ca. 30 cm. cat.nr. 2629.[127]



Figure 6.20. Dish from the 'Wanli wreck', d. 30 cm. cat.nr. 7949.[128]

In that case, it would refer to dishes with an egret mark on its base. This appears only sporadically as a base mark on Kraak-type dishes and speculation on its use has not been conclusive. It may have been a mark used by a certain workshop in Jingdezhen, but the variety in the quality and decorations cannot confirm this. Besides, the egret mark had already been used before the Kraak-panelled wares were produced as illustrated by dishes from the Topkapi Museum. (Figure 6.21)

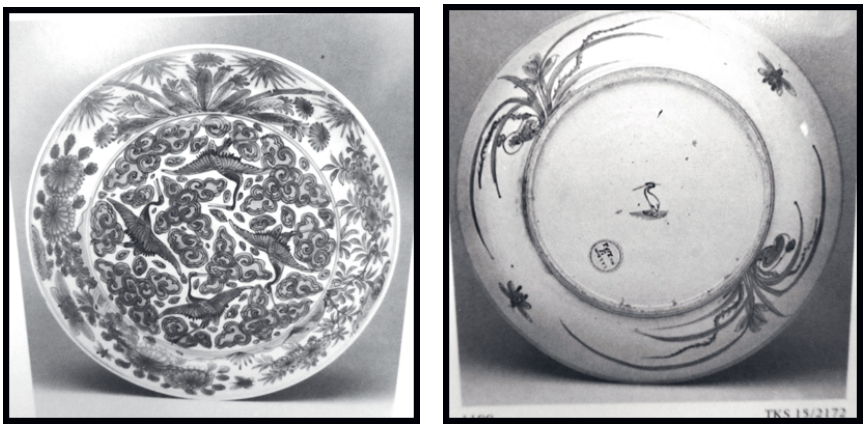


Figure 6.21. Dish with cranes among clouds, the base with an egret mark, second half of the 16th century, d. 17cm. Topkapi Palace museum, inv. nr. TKS15/2172, front and back.

[127] Sjostrand and Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus 2007 (op. cit.), p. 178.
[128] Ibid., p. 232.

The memorandum ends with specified details on the colours as well: 'the quality and whiteness of the material (probably the glaze) should be of a more yellow or egg-white colour than bluish'.[129] Furthermore: 'when making these porcelains, the prettiness of the designs should be observed and they do not have to be tied to these but may use any Chinese-style of painting, [but] not too blue or pale and not too spaced or compact, to which special attention should be paid'.[130] The total amount ordered was for 157,100 pieces.

Such details give us a great deal of information about the taste in porcelain in the Dutch Republic of 1638. The precise details on the colour and designs and the requested new porcelain shapes indicate that the taste is becoming more extensive, with a preference for new Western shapes in contrast to earlier orders, where the focus was mostly on flatware, cups and jugs in general.[131] Nevertheless, flatware continued to be produced with Kraak-style panels.

The accompanying letter that was sent on to Formosa on May 5th, 1639 again stressed the necessity to carry out the order according to the requested quantity and quality of the porcelains and to hand over the samples to the Chinese merchants with instructions to produce finer quality. It also stated: 'close attention should be paid to the painting and especially note that all Dutch flower work should be omitted'.[132] This is the second time that we come across the request to 'omit all Dutch flower work'.[133]

We see again from the entries in the *Dagregisters* that there were continuous supplies of both fine as well as coarse types of porcelain, now mainly arriving from the southern port of Amoy. As mentioned, the figures listed on these cargo lists to Batavia

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[129] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 316 (op.cit.): '*dat dese deucht en wittigheyt van Stoffe eer wat na den gelen off Ey witte als blauwen treckende'*) (Apparently, the hue of the overglaze was too bluish).

[130] Ibid., '*Midtsgaders de aardigheijt vande Schilderyen Int maken van dese Porceleynen geobserveert werde En zullen haar echter aan dese schilderije alleen niet hoeven te binden maar op elcke sorte wel veelderleij Schildeijen volgens haer Chinese Maniere en gebruyck mogen maken als maar d'Schilderije wel aardicvh ende niet al te blauw oft alte bleeck midtsgaders niet al te dicht nochte oock niet al te wijt vanden andren gestelt werd, daer op sonderlinge dient gelet*.'

[131] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1111*, Copieboeck van uitgaende missiven aen diverse quartieren van 29 December 1633 – 20 December 1634*, *Missive Brouwer naar Taiwan July 24th, 1634*: '*T'fijn porceleyn was in Neerlant wel vercocht, ende contineel in begeerte, oversulcx sullen groote partije uijt China verwachten van diverse soorte, ende bij liberen handel dienen uE raere Porceleijnen te procureeren, als pieringhs met platte randen gelijck hollantsche tinne taeffelborden, schenckannen, drinck'beeckers'.*

[132] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 863, *Batavia's uitgaande brievenboek 1639: 'dat op de schilderije wel geleth endevoor al dat alle Nederlands blomwerck daerop te schilderen naegelaeten wort*'; Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 22.

[133] The earlier one is dated 1635, Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 22 ,'Dutch paintings, flower, or leaf work, like the long necked bottles now arrived with the junk Batavia, should be excused entirely, will not make half its price, because the Dutch painting on porcelain are not considered strange or rare'.

indicate that a more precise counting must have taken place at Fort Zeelandia when the deliveries from coastal China arrived. For example, the *Hollandia* departed in October 1638 from Formosa to Batavia loaded with '12,467 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 33 bales and 190 wicker cases and 9 flowerpots packed in one bale'.[134] (Appendix 6, list 13) The list gives details according to size or type, whole and half-sized dishes, bowls, another example of how packaging took place. Even the wine jugs (*wyncannen*) are divided according to those with spouts and without ('*52 stx met pijpen in 1 Balij, 30 stx sonder pijpen'*); the bottles are also specified: '115 bottles of which 33 are 'Persian-shaped' (*33 stx persiaens*) and 82 'gourd shaped' (*82 stx calbas*).[135]

Orders from the Dutch Republic continued to be sent, along with samples of the required shapes. On June 30th, 1639, the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* mention that the VOC officials had received the letter brought by the ships *Breda* and *De Roch* and that the samples sent from Batavia were given to the merchants Joctay and Jusit.[136] This is repeated in another entry dated November 11th.[137]

In July 1639, the *Zuthphen* arrived in the Dutch Republic but there were still complaints about the quality: 'the flatware is quite bad and was sold at any price'. The request emphasizes again that the Fort Zeelandia officials should pay attention when they purchase the wares and see to it that the samples are copied.[138] Nonetheless, shipments of porcelain to Batavia from Formosa all were substantial: in 1639, the *Breda* (94,656 pieces), the *Petten* (71,787 pieces) and the *Den Otter* (116,390 pieces).[139]

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[134] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), K, fol. 495: '*19 oktober: ä droiture na Battavia vertrocken de gecochte Chinese joncque genaempt* Hollandia*, volladen wesende met 93.575 catty candijsuycker, 12.467 stucx fijne sorteringe porceleynen'.*

[135] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1130: '*Factura van de joncqh genaemt Hollandia gaende van hier rechtdoor naer Battavia. Taijouan 17en October 1638'.* By 'Persian-shaped' is meant a bottle with a long neck of which the top has an onion shape; this particular shaped bottle was not retrieved from any known VOC ships. The 'Hatcher cargo' dated to 1643-1645 has several.

[136] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol. 2, L. fol. 701, *.20 juni 1639: 'soo sijn op dato aen de Chinese coopluyden Joctay ende Jusit overgelevert ende ter hant gestelt de become monsters, ons to dien eynde van Batavia toegesonden, welcke coopluyden conform deselve aengenomen hebben de gerequireerde quntiteyt te levern ende heeft sich den tolcque Cambingh als borger geconstitueert, datons deselve monsterds wederom ter hant sullen worden gestalt'.*

[137] Ibid., vol. 2, M. fol. 39, *11 november: 'De monsters van porcelaynen, die U.E. ons hebt gelieven toe te senden, hebben aen Jusit ter hant gestelt, die met d'selve te maecken, geoccupeert blijft.'*

[138] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 314*: 'Eysch retouren 1639. Porceleijn met Sutphen overgecomen heeft tamelijck gerendeert, doch het plat goet is seer slecht geweest, ende wert dese waere bij de stock vercocht tot dieverse prijs, de raerste ende fijnste soorteringe is hier best begeert'; 'Int opcoopen derselve Diennen uE haer so veel mogelijck te conformeeren met de memorie ende monsters uE voor desen toegesonden, waer toe ons voor alsnoch gedragen'.*

[139] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), M. fol. 42, *11 december,"Vertrecken van hier a droitturo naer Battavia...de schepen Breda, Petten ende Den Otter, zijnde vollande met de navolgende ...in 't schip Breda: 94,656 stucx porcelaynen.... ; in 't fluytschip Petten :...71,787 stucs porcelaynen... ; Den Otter :.....116,390*

Complaints concerning the quality are repeated in the following year, 1640: 'the porcelain brought by the *Maria, Hardewijck*, *Breda* and *Petten* are welcome but the flatware is quite bad' (*doch het pladt goet is seer slecht geweest*). The order also states that: 'you should see to it that when purchasing it, that they should follow the samples and models sent to you by the *Zutphen*'.[140]

Further large quantities continued to be delivered from Formosa to Batavia in 1640; the *De Gracht* left for Batavia in January with '107,399 fine porcelain items and another lot of 395 pieces fine porcelain (*107,399 stucx fijne porceleynen….395 stucx fijne porceleynen*)'.[141] The *Castricum* together with the company junk *Middleburg* departed on March 19th to Batavia with 104,061 wares of diverse shapes.[142] In December of that year the *Broeckoort/Broucoort* arrived in Batavia from Taiwan with '65,730 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 315 bales and 130 cases (*65730 fyne porcelijnen in 315 balien en 130 canasters*)'.[143] There were also several shipments to Persia during these years, which will be dealt with in the last section of this chapter.

Information about supplies of porcelain from the Chinese coast to Fort Zeelandia during the years 1641-1642 is scarce but some shipping lists provide an insight.[144] In January 1641, the *Haarlem* left for the Dutch Republic with 32,160 items of fine

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stucx porcelaynen…'; The *Petten* came from Hirado to Batavia where it arrived January 1st 1640, together with the *Breda*. (both in Taiwan from November 11th, 1639 to December 10th, 1639); *Den Otter* left Hirado October 31st, 1639 stayed at Taiwan from November 11th – 30th, 1639, from there to Paliacatte and then to Batavia where it arrived June 1st, 1640.

[140] NL-HaNA 1.10.30. (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 237: '*Bevindingen retouren 1640*: *Porceleijnen P.r maria, harderwijck, breda, ende Petten becommen heeft tamelijck gerendeert, doch het pladt goet is seer slecht geweest de raerste ende bijnste soorteringe sijn hier best begeert Int opcoopen derselver dienen u E haer soo veel mogelijck te conformeeren met de modelle ende monsters u E voordesen Per zutphen toegesonden, daer toe ons voor als noch refereren'.*

[141] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, M. fol. 52, *29 januari, 1640*: '*Vertrect van hier a droitura naer Battavia 't fluytschip De Gracht… 107.399 stucx fijne porceleynen, 395 stucx fijne porceleynen*. Volker 1954 (op. cit.) p. 46, mentions: 'Van der Grafft: 44229 fine pieces: including…29 Persian flasks, 92 flower pots, 84 'urine' pots, 129 beakers, 79 wine jugs, 193 'snellekens', 50 covered cups, 480 half-sized bowls, 816 table plates, 240 fruit-dishes, 5630 small saucers, 10,600 clapmuts, 13,198 cammeelscoppen, 6745 octagonal small cups but also 63,570 coarse pieces '(large and food dishes/bowls/covered cups/rice/tea cups/small saucers).

[142] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), M. fol. 52, *19 maart, 1640*: '*Vertreckt 't fluytschip Castricum …sijnce in Castricu…104,061 stucx porceleyn'.* Volker, 1954 (op. cit.) p.47: 'Castricum: 604 Pear-shaped flasks, 204 'snellekens', 50 candlesticks, 10,660 octagonal coffee cups, 3176 rummers, 27870 'clapmutsen', 3175 wine dishes, 22,020 cammeelscoppen, 33,140 cups with feet'.

[143] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), *13 december, 1640*: M. fol 63; NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640.

[144] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, p.4: '*Aanvullende informatie voor de periode 25 januari 1641-25 februari 1643. Met uitzondering van het voorgaande extract dagregister van de Eerste Landdag (d.d. 11 april 1641) en het navolgende dagregister (13 september tot 12 november 1642) door Lamotius, zijn geen dagregisters uit deze periode*'.

porcelain: 'packed in 1551 bundles; another 44 bales with fine porcelain, 825 pieces in 5 cases and 17 porcelain pots with sugared 'radix china'.[145]

Batavia still received sufficient amounts of porcelain: on the 16th of February, the *Roch* arrived from Formosa with '7119 pieces in one bale, 151 cases and 725 cases (*cassen*) as well as 4020 fine porcelains packed in 150 cases and 344 fine cups'.[146] The cargo list of the *Walvis* and *Zeehaen* from Formosa to Batavia, dated November 1641, lists 143,629 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 946 bales and 926 cases.[147]

The total sum of the return ships to the Dutch Republic of December 1641 and January 1642 was '204,618 various items of fine and coarse porcelain' (*204618 st diverse sortteyringe fynne ende groeve porceleynen*).[148] This mixture is rather puzzling as there have previously been numerous complaints regarding the coarse quality of wares. One of the return ships, the *Breda*, contained 39,854 pieces of both fine as well as coarse porcelain 'packed in 74 bales and 21 cases from the booty of a captured Portuguese vessel'.[149] No further details are given but it again shows that the VOC continued to capture Portuguese vessels, which had considerable amounts of porcelain on board.

From 1643 onwards, in spite of the continuation of deliveries of large quantities from the ports of Fujian of both coarse and fine types of porcelain, there is a gradual decline in quality.[150] In February, the large amount of 129,036 pieces of fine porcelain, packed in 602 bales and 228 cases, was transported to Batavia from Formosa on the

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[145] NL-HaNA 1.11.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640. *januari 9, 1641*, *'vertrek het retourschip Haarlem naar patria met o.a 32160 p fyne porcelijnen van diverse sorteringe in 1551 bossen, costen f 3387:13:4, 44 balien met fyne porceleynen f 1795, 825 porcelijne ... in 5 canasters, 17 porcelijnen potten met geconfyte radix chine*'.

[146] Ibid., *januari 29 1641*, '*Roch uit Taiwan aan in Batavia met 7119 porceleynen bestaande in 1 balie, 151 canasters en 725 cassen; 4020 fyne in 150 canasters facture f 1443:13, 3964 grove in 725 cassen costen 571:13, 1 groot coelvat in een canaster f 52, 344 fyne copgens f* 17:11'.

[147] Ibid., Shipping lists of the *Walvis* and *Zeehaen* dd. November 1641 from Taiwan to Batavia: '*143629 P fyne porceleynen bestaende in 946 balis ende 926 canassers compt samen f 21571'.*

[148] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 230: *Specificaatie van de koopmanschappen geladen in de retourschepen Oliphant, De Vogel Struijs, Vereenichde Provintien, Nieuw Seelandt ende Breda; Walvisch en Snoeck; alsmede Nieuw Amsterdam em Wesel resp. uit Batavia vertrokken 13 December 1641*:*'29 December 1641 en 11 Januari 1642: 204618 st diverse sortteyringe fynne ende groeve porceleynen'.*

[149] NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640, *december 13, 1641*: '*39854 p fijne ende grove porceleynen bestaende in 74 balis, 21 canassers ....met een Portugees scheepken verovert'.*

[150] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1: C. fol. 277: '*19 februari dito. Arriveeren alhier uyt China drij joncken, een van Anhay ende 2 van Kemuy... 1400 bossen groff porceleyn'*; Ibid., C. fol. 288, (3 april): '*Heden arriveert alhier van Hoccieuw met sijnne joncke den Chineesen coopman Jousit, inhebbende 350 balijs fijn porceleyn';* Ibid., C. fol. 291:(14 april): '*Des achtermiddachs arriveert alhier van Hocksieuw noch een jonck met porceleyn'.*

Lillo.[151] However, an entry in April states that some of the porcelains that were inspected were 'very bad, coarse, black and badly painted'.[152]

Another entry, dated April 16th informs that the porcelain from two junks included bad and coarse quality, especially the flatware; therefore, two assortments had to be made, the flasks, pots, *clapmuts*-type, 'camel cups', and mustard pots were of a better quality.[153] The merchant Jousit blamed the weather and the season as these pieces were produced 'in the cold winter instead of during June and July, which are the best months of the year because the weather is dry, and the painting can be finer and better'.[154] This may have been an acceptable explanation but another reason is that between 1637 and 1643 there were periods of drought, famine and epidemics in China. According to Brook, 'A severe epidemic struck the Yangzi valley in 1639'; 'in 1642, then resumed annually, devastating communities all the way from Jiangnan in the south to the border in the north.'[155]

The *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* dated April 25th, 1643, again show that the VOC officials were not pleased with the deliveries and expressly supplied all merchants, Jousit, Siongo and Ticklim, with samples so as not to be dependent on a single person. The entry ends with: 'let it be God's will and no Chinese "excuses" (*geen Chineesche praetgens mogen wesen*)'.[156] (Appendix 6, list 14) A long list is given to the merchant Jousit with specific instructions to deliver these exactly five months from now and that the porcelains should be 'fine, exotic and well painted' (*om deselve, fijn, curieus ende nedt geschildert, van nu in vijf maenden preciselijck alhier te leveren*).[157]

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[151] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 185: '*129036 fine porcelyen bestaende in 602 balien en 228 cannasters'.*
[152] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 291, *april, 1643:'Wijders sijn meest den geheelen dach doende geweest met de porceleynen be-sichtigen, die heel slecht, groff, swart ende qualijck geschildert bevonden*.'
[153] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 292, 16 april, 1643: '*Op dato waeren doende de twee joncken met porceleynen te openen, dan al mede groffachtich ende qualijck geschildert bevonden, soodat twe sorteringen daarvan mosten maecken, insonderheyt schootelwerck, doch flessen, potten, clapmutsen cammeelscommen, mosterpotten ende diergelijcke cleen werck was reedelijck…'*
[154] Ibid., '*twelcq toequam, soo den coopman Jousit seyde, vermits 'tselve in de winter en coude gemaeckt was, dan dat 'tgeene nu in junij en julijj, dat de bequaemste maenden van 't jaer, omdat drooch weder is, daertoe sijn, vrij beter, fijnder en curieuser geschildert sal wesen*.'
[155] Brook (op. cit.) pp. 250-252. He names this period the 'Chongzhen slough' after the reign of he last Ming emperor Chongzhen (1628-1644).
[156] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 301, *25 april*: '*Heden waeren dapper doende de memoriën ende de monsters van de porce-leynen te revideeren ende die aen de coopluyden Jousit, Siongo ende Ticklim te be-steeden om niet geheel aen een persoon te dependeeren, die gesaementlijck belooffde 'tselve van nu in 5 maenden, fijn ende curieus geschildert, precis te leveren, dat Godt geve alsoo uytvallen en geen Chineesche praetgens mogen wesen'*.
[157] Van Gelder 1924 (op .cit.), p. 186.

This list shows that all types of drinking vessels were especially favoured, such as 'camel cups' and octagonal cups in four sizes. Teacups with specific designs are mentioned for the first time: '10,000 decorated on the exterior with 4 flowers (*theecopkens buyten met vier bloemkens*), with roses, bell-shaped (*clocqcopkens*) and 30,000 brandy cups (*pimpelkens*)'. As before, salt and pepper holders (*sout en peeper vaetjens*), butter pots, and butter pots with lids (*bootercoppen met dexels*) were ordered, as well as various types of flasks (*peer ende calbasflessen*).[158] The instruction was to deliver these 'well painted' and within five months' time.

This list is different from the one given to Ticklim.[159] (Appendix 6, list 15) Most items are flatware of various sorts and sizes: dishes, fruit bowls, *clapmutsen*, plates with 'foliated rims' (*gekartelde kanten*), table plates with 'flat sides' (*platte canten*) and three types of saucers. All kinds of Western shapes are included: 'jam pots, butter cups with lids, mustard pots and pepper and salt cellars' (*confijtpotten, bootercoppen met dexels; mosterdpotten; sout en peeper vaetjes*).[160] Here again the amounts ordered are quite remarkable: '12,000 of each type of plate and 15,000 saucers'.[161]

The shapes on orders given to these Chinese merchants, as well as those listed on bills of lading from 1638 on, can be compared to most items salvaged from the ''Hatcher cargo'', dated to around 1643-45. As I show in the table in Figure 6.22, they are of good quality; flatware and the *clapmuts* shape was still produced, all with the Kraak-panel design. We also see from this shipwreck that shapes such as butter pots with lids (*bootercoppen met dexels*), various types of flasks (*peer ende calbasflessen)* are painted in transitional style. This differs from items retrieved from the 'Wanli shipwreck', dated to around 1630-35 shown above that do not include shapes as 'tall beakers' or 'rolwagen' shapes.

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158 Ibid.

159 Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 187: '*memorie van de porceleynen den coopman Ticklim besteed, on desleve, fijn, curoies ende net geschildert, van nu in 5 maenden precise alhier te leeveren'*. NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1146: '*Memoriën van porselein, Tayouan, 25 april 1643*'.

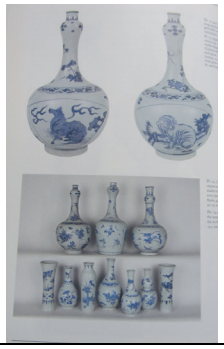
160 Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 187.

161 Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 301. There was also rivalry between these Chinese merchants. Jousit complains that only he should have the samples, but Tecklim states that he will deliver a better quality than Jousit in five months' time *27 april*: '*Item, ten aensien vermercken den coopman Jousith tot het brengen en aenbe-esteeden der porceleynen sich seer onwillich thoont ende d'Ed. heer generael expres-selijck ordineert omme den eysch naar de monsters sooveele mogelijck geresorteer-der te voldoen, dat men hem aen een persoon niet alleen binden, maar veele daartoe gebruycken sal, dat men partije derselver den coopman Tecklim, die dese animeeren,,s(achtervolgende Haere Ed. gegeven ordre) een kist geit onder sufficante borge ter handt stellen sal, temeer gemelt coopman aenneemt vrij beetere porceleynen als Jou-sith jonghst gelevert heefft, in 5 maanden naar desen precijs aen de merckt te brengen, gelijck alles breeder op dato in 't resolutiebouck naar te sien staeth'.*

Figure 6.22: Table with items salvaged from the 'Hatcher cargo' shipwreck dated to ca. 1643-45.[162]

Flatware: dishes with Kraak-panelled design	 
Clapmutsen and *kendi*	
Large bowls with panels; some small boxes and 1 small *clapmuts*	
Bowls: six-sided and with pierced design. (*halfdoorsneden copkens*)	

[162] Sheaf and Kilburn (eds.) 1988 (op. cit.), and Christie's Amsterdam, 1984.

Vases (*groote beekers/ groote peer ende calbasflessen)*	 
Kendi type pouring vessel.	
Large pots (*grootepotten)*	
Pots with covers. (*confijtpotten*)	 

Wine pots (*heele wijnkannen met tuyten)*	  
Flasks (with panel design) *(groote peer ende calbasflessen)*	 
Small bowls, cups with feet, saucers. (*copjens met voetjens)*	
Pots without spouts (*mosterd potgens*)	 
Zhangzhou ware	

The situation on mainland China was becoming more and more unstable. An entry dated May 1643, states that the merchants reported that the revolt against the Emperor was increasing and that nearly half his kingdom had been lost. Consequently, the silk had not been harvested and fabricated yet and sugar was scant and extremely

expensive.[163] Nevertheless, the VOC officials continued with their orders. Several entries show requests for porcelain as well as other merchandise: 'we wrote in Chinese to the merchants Jocxim, Noing and also Jousit to help delivering the requested silks…and porcelain according to the sent samples'.[164] (Appendix 6, list 16)

In July, Governor Maximilian Lemaire on Formosa stressed that Jousit must deliver the porcelains on time for the return ships to the Dutch Republic and sent another letter to him.[165] There were other setbacks: on September 30th, the *Vliegende Hart* was fully loaded with sugar, porcelain and textiles ready to depart for the Pescadores, where the merchandise would be transhipped onto the *Salamander* for Batavia.[166] Due to a severe storm the ship crashed onto the cliffs of an island and was wrecked, losing the merchandise as well as 32 lives.[167]

In November 1643, letters were sent again to the merchant Jousit stating that he should not fail to fulfil his promises to send the ordered merchandise within 20 days and that several ships are laying waiting. In other letters, sent to Jousit and Ticklim, the VOC officials doubt whether the ordered porcelains will arrive on time.[168] The return fleet from Batavia to the Dutch Republic that departed in December had nonetheless quite a considerable amount of porcelain: 129,000 pieces. It was noted that the flatware

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[163] Ibid., vol. 1. C. fol. 360, *1 mei*: '*De coopluiden rapporteerden vermits de nieuwe zijde noch niet geteelt ende soodanige goede stoffen als g'eyscht mede niet gemaeckt sijn, dat noch wel ongevaar 6 weecken aenloopen sal, eer weder eenige fijnne goederen sullen connen comen. Soo seggen oock dat de revolte jegens den coninck in China hert toeneempt, sijn stat van verre omsingelt ofte genouch belegert ende bijnae de helft van sijn rijcke quit is. Item de zuyckeren qualijck aldaer geslaecht, schaers ende uyttermaten dier sijn'.*

[164] Ibid., vol. 1, C. fol. 366, *5 mei*: '*soo ons jonghst door d'Ed. heer generaal aengesonden was, met alle gelegentheyt van tijt tot tijt in 't beste derselver mocht werden voldaen. patria, soo ons jonghst door d'Ed. heer generaal aengesonden was, met alle gelegent-heyt van tijt tot tijt in 't beste derselver mocht werden voldaen*'; '*Schreven oock met een voorlooper in 't Chinees aen de coopluyden Jocxim en-de Noing, oock Jousit, dat wilden helpen besorgen den eysch van zijde, zijde stoffen, suycker, radicx, gember ende porceleynen, naar de nevens seynde monsters, voor 't patria'.*

[165] Van Gelder 1924 (op .cit.), pp. 187-188, *Brief van den president Maximiliaan Lemaire op Formosa aan den coopman Jousit iy China 28 juli, 1643:'doch de porceleyneen ons soo tydigh wilt toeschicken dat deselve noch desen jaere naer Hollant mofen seynden*'.

[166] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol. 412: *30 september 1643*: *'Soo geraeckte oock de fluyt 't Vliegende Hart geheelijck volladen met suyckeren, porceleynen, zijde ende stoffen, die sigh vaardigh maeckten o m o p overmorgen t'zeyl te gaen'.*

[167] W.P. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. II (1639-1655) Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 112, The Hague, 1964, p. 208 : *december 22, 1643 :'de weynige zijde als zijdewaren, 91,556 p. porceleyn, geconfyte gember etc. volgens nevensgaende memorie incoops bedragende f 62 210.17.- per 't fluytschip 't Vliegend Hert uyt Tayouan na de Piscadores gesonden omme aen den Salamander over te geven, omtrent de Kerckbaye ten ancker comende, van sodanigen vreeselijcken storm is overvallen, dat, van alle zijne anckers spillende, tegen de klippen van 't Roverseyland gemorselt ende totalijcken vergaen sij, met verlies van 32 zielen*'.

[168] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, C. fol 422: *november 3*: *'Van gelijcken schreven oock aen Jousith ende Ticlimom d'aenbestede porceleynen. Godt geve alles tijdigh comenende ende de scheepen be-l o open mach, waeraen, vermits den tijt vast verloopt, eenichsints beginnen te twijffelen'.*

was of 'good quality and well and exotically painted'.[169] This means that the production was still continuing and that the delivered porcelain was even of the same quality as items from the 'Hatcher cargo'. Nonetheless, from 1644, quantities gradually decreased.

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

In January 1644, the VOC officials again learn of the circumstances in China when a junk arrives from Anhay with 5000 bundles of porcelain.[170] The Chinese merchants recounted that in China wars had broken out inland and that it was difficult to buy commodities in Anhay as these were scarce.[171] They explained that due to the famine in China and especially around 'Jousou' (Raozhou meaning Jingdezhen), many people who had made their profession of the porcelain production have died.[172]

The following day two junks arrive from Fuzhou with 1200 bales of porcelain and 600 bundles of coarse wares and another three from Quemoy with 100 bundles of porcelain.[173] The merchants Jousit and Ticklim who accompanied these shipments state that another 'porcelain junk' will follow. They confirm that the 'porcelain makers had died because of famine, but hope for the better and that the deliveries of porcelain will be better and finer.[174] In other words, the VOC officials knew of the famine that was taking place, but they still continued to rely on deliveries of porcelain, even counting on better quality.

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[169] Coolhaas (ed.) 1964 (op.cit.), p.208 (December 22th, 1643):*'De porceleynen [in de retourvloot naar patria] bestaende uyt 129.000 st. diverse sorteringh, gaen verdeelt in de schepen 't Hoff van Zeeland en de Provintiën. Vertrouwen wel bevallen sullen, principalijck 't schotelwerck en pierings, die curieus, wel geschildert ende fijn van aerde zijn'.*

[170] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-200 (op. cit.), vol. 2. D. fol 35: '*januari 13 dietto. Tegens den avont arriveert een jonck van Amhay , inhebbende 5000 bos porcolayn, 80 packen ende canassers met divarsche stoffen ende coopmanschappen'.*

[171] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 36: '*14: Item datt i n China grooten oorloch binnenslants ontstont, daerom het spoedich incoopgans moeylick viell…doch dat alles daer ende in Anhay schars voor geit te becoomen was'.*

[172] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol 47, (8 maart): '*Clagen de coopluyden dat ten aensien van den grooten hongersnoot in China ende insonderheyt ontrent Jousou veel volcx die daervan professie maecken, gestorven ende verloopen sijn'.* Jousou was a name used for Jingdezhen by the Dutch as this name was also used by the Dutch delegation that travelled from Canton to Beijing in 1656. See: Johan Nieuhoff. *Het gezantschp der Neerlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aand den Grooten Tartarische Cham, den tgenwoodigen Keizer van China.* Amsterdam, 1665, pp. 89-91.

[173] Quemoy is the old English name for an island group off the southeastern coast of mainland China. Coxinga used it as a base to liberate Penghu from the Dutch.

[174] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, D. fol. 48: '*Rapporteerden de coopluyden Jusit ende Tecklim, die parsoonlick daermet quamen, dat met den eersten noch een porcolaynjoncq stont te volgen';* '*Confirmeren dat de porcolaynmaeckers door hongersnoot veel verloopen ende gestorve waeren, doch verhoopten eerlangh beeterschap ende dat het porcolayn oock hoe langer hoe beter ende fijnder souw gelevert worden'.*

Throughout 1644, junks still continued to deliver merchandise including porcelain that was shipped on to Batavia.[175] An entry dated April 5th states that they had been busy sorting out the deliveries of porcelain and that the latest batch by Ticklim was the finest and better painted according to the samples than those of the merchant Jousit.[176] On April 21st another shipment arrived from Fuzhou.[177] A few days later, further shipments arrive, one with 300 bundles of coarse porcelain of which the officials complained that the porcelain was 'worse than the foregoing deliveries' (*die maar tamelijck ende vrij slechter door den banck gevonden als de voorgaande*).[178]

Chinese merchants now warn that the porcelain production will take longer. When Ticklim and Jousit were given orders of 'a good quantity of porcelain according to the samples from the homeland', the VOC officials were informed that they could deliver them only after seven to eight months but promised 'finer, lighter and nicely painted ones'.[179] The list of porcelain ordered on May 12th, 1644, was quite outstanding and here one wonders if the VOC officials had any idea what was happening on the mainland of China.[180] The order was for 200,000 items. Jousit told them that he would travel

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[175] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 50: '*Maart 12 dietto, Vandage losten de porcolaynen soo met de coopluyden Jousit ende Tecklim nu joncxst uuyt Hocksieuw aengecomen waere;14 dieto…. begonnen de porcolaynen te oopenen ende oock te ontfangen*'; *18 dietto:*'*vandaech gaaven de jonck de H o o p sijnne ladingh in die / bestont in candij-suycker, annijs, groove porcolaynen alls ander cleenichheden, die volcomen deeden gereetmaecken om op 20 off 21 deser sonder fault naer Batavia te vertrecken'*; vol. 2, E , *20 maart tot 11 augustus 1644,* fol. 286: *Maart 24 'Dagelijcx waeren noch dapper doende met de porceleynen te ontfangen, dat om alles wel te besien veel tijts en moyten naer sich sleepten'*; vol 2, E. fol 299 (mei): '*Adij 5en dito. Heden maeckten de prijsen der porceleynen, requenden met de coopluyden aff*'.

[176] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 290: *5 april: 'Vandage geraeckten eerst met den ontfanck der porceleynen ten eynde, hebbende door 't semmelen van d'aenbrengers alsnu ende dan eenen dach stilgestaen, sijnde de laeste, bij den coopman Tiglim aengebracht, de fijnste ende nae de monsters beter geschildert als die van den coopman Jousit*'.

[177] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 297, *21 april: 'Vandage losten de porceleynen dees dagen van Hockcheo aengebracht…'.*

[178] Ibid., '*24, 25 ende 27 april ditto gearriveert ende vertrecken d'onderstaande vaartuygen, te weten 3 jonckgiëns naar de cust van China…. 1 dito van Tiaboy ende 2 dito van Hapouw met 300 sacken rijs, 300 picol sout, 17 picol suycker, 30 canasters meel ende 300 bossen groff porceleyn, tesamen gemandt met 113 persoonen. Alle dese voors.dagen sijn doende geweest met de porceleynen te ontfangen, die maar tamelijck ende vrij slechter d o o r den banck gevonden als de voorgaande.'*

[179] Ibid., vol. 2, E. fol. 299, *12 mei*: '*Heden , alsoo de coopluyden Jousit ende Ticlim op haar vertreck naar China stonden, besteeden hun wederom goede quantite porceleynen aen, alle naar de vaderlandtse monsters, die niet voor de seven a acht maanden verclaarden te sullen connen leveren, als wanneer belooffden d'selve fijnder, lichter ende netter geschildert als voor desen te voldoen , dat verhoopen alsoo uytvallen sall, temeer dewijle hun sulcx seer serieuselijck tot verscheyden maelen met die volgens den last van Sijne Ed . wel te betaelen, gerecommandeert hebben'.* Memorie dd. 12 mei 1644 van de porceleinen op formosa aanbesteed aan de kooplieden Jousidt en Ticklim*: 'yder int bysonder, om desleve fijn ceurieus ende neth geschildert naer de behandichde vaderlantsche monsters te maken, te weten*'. A list can be found in NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1147: '*Aenbesteede porceleijnen Taiwan 18-05-1644'.*

[180] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682*. Leiden, 1954, p.95.

directly to *Jousow* (Jingdezhen) to make sure that the porcelains would be produced and delivered on time.[181]

On September 7th, the VOC officials made a decision to load the ship *Dolphijn* with, among other merchandise, 170 bales of porcelain and '100 round preserve pots'.[182] The entry dated September 10th states that they were busy loading the ship *Noortster* with porcelains to be sent towards the Pescadores islands and from there to Batavia.[183] It is clear from the descriptions that coarse porcelains dominate the entries of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* during this period; many deliveries came from the Amoy Bay region and this would imply that the items had been produced in the Zhangzhou kilns.[184] There is even an inventory that mentions a list of 'captured goods', which included a large amount of 28,950 coarse porcelains, probably destined for a Southeast Asian region: dishes, saucers, teacups, coarse flasks and 'borbory boxes' (betel nut boxes) (*28950 stx grove porceleyn: schootels, saucietiens, thee copkens, grove flessen, borborydoosen*).[185]

In November, porcelain and other goods were loaded on the *Saayer* and the *Castricum* bound for Batavia.[186] According to Volker, two ships arrived at Batavia with 'fine porcelains'.[187] These cargo lists show that it was certainly not the end of the deliveries of both coarse and even good quality porcelain. For example, at the end of March 1645, the officials at Fort Zeelandia were engaged in inspecting 'the fine

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[181] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, E. fol. 349 :'*Op heden bequamen vier brieven van Anhay uyt China, den eersten van den coopman Jousit, waarbij ons advijseert dat op sijne aencompste in China datelijck nae Jousouw opgereyst was geweest ende d'aenbesteede porceleynen te maecken rede in 't werek gestelt ende die jegens den bestemden tijt vastelijck te verwachten hadden'*.

[182] Ibid., vol. 2, F. (*9 aug-11 nov.1644*), fol. 172: '*dd.. sept..7 dito. Op dato is achtervolgende op gisteren genomen resolutie in den Dolphijn geladen boven de 705 kisten suycker…. 170 baliën met porceleynen… ende 100 groote, ronde confituirpotten. daermede jegens den middagh vol ende van de brugh op stroom raecte*'.

[183] Ibid., vol. 2, F. fol. 174, *september*: '*Adij 10 dito. Goet weder, den wint west. Bleven besich met de Noortster met porceleynen te cargeren*'.

[184] Ibid., vol. 2, F. fol. 188, *oktober*: '*17 ditto…2575 bos groff porcelyn...;* fol. 189*: '22 dito: 1 joncq uit anhay met ..540 bos groff porcelyn';* fol. 191*: 'op dato… uit Aymoy met 1100 bossen porceleyn'*. F. fol. 191. *november*: '*15 dito: jonckgiens van verscheyden gewesten uyt China...2090 bos groff*'.

[185] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1147, fol. 532: '*Inventaris veroverde goederen: 28950 stx grove porceleyn: schootels, saucietiens, thee copkens, grove flessen, borborydoosen*'. Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 53, note 14, defines these as: 'Boreh boreh are all kinds of unguents the face and body is dashed with, be it as a remedy or an embellishment.' The term 'betel boxes' for keeping betel nuts in is now often used.

[186] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, F. fol. 206, *4 november*: *'Den wint als vooren ende claer weder. Bleven besich met de fluyten Castricum ende den Sayer van haren ballaststeen t'ontlossen ende deselve gereet te maecken omme met suyekeren, porceleynen ende andere coopmanschappen wederom te cargeeren*'; F. fol 207:*'10 dito: Bleven noch al porceleynen in den Zayer voor Neerlant laden*'.

[187] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 52, states that the Saayer arrived at Batavia with 202,332 pieces and before that the Haarlem with 146,564 pieces. Whether these were all of 'fine' quality is not known. He does provide a list of those from the Saayer, noting only that they are 'fine porcelains.'

porcelain that had just arrived'.[188] In August there was a delivery of 1600 pieces and in September 250 bundles of coarse porcelain.[189] The next entry, dated September 10th, reports that merchandise was being loaded onto the *Haen* that would proceed to the roadstead at Penghu Island with 'a good quantity of porcelain for the homeland' (*om aldaer goede quantiteyt porceleynen voor 't vaderlandt*).[190]

All commodities were then to be transferred onto the *Zutphen* for Batavia. The cargo included 261 bales with porcelain, 13 large cases, 45 small cases, 76 packs and 76 cases. The officials ordered them to be placed underneath in the hold and to take special care to handle the porcelain carefully.[191] However, only 133 of these bales were destined for the Dutch Republic.[192] There are several other reports of porcelain being loaded onto ships bound for Batavia without further descriptions, but a quantity of '100 bales' could not amount to much.[193]

Shipments of 'fine porcelain' that had until now been destined for the Dutch Republic had clearly decreased. The porcelain still being delivered to Formosa during these years was of a coarser type, but kilns in the Zhangzhou region were also producing fairly good quality ware, as items from the above-mentioned *Bin Thuan* wreck illustrate.[194] In the past 10 years, numerous kiln sites have been discovered at the Dongxi area, Zhangzhou region and fragments of fine quality porcelain have been excavated dated to the end of the Ming/beginning Qing dynasty.[195] (Figure 6.23)

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[188] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2. G. (15 maart tot 18 november 1645), fol. 660: '*24 dito: Begonnen oock de jongst aengecomen fijne porceleynen te visiteren ende ont-fangen 25 dito: Waren noch al doende met de meergenoemde fijne porceleynen'.*

[189] Ibid., G. fol. 735: '*Vandage arriveren hier ter haven uyt diversche quartieren van China..250 bossen groff porceley'..*

[190] Ibid., G. fol. 744, (september 10): '*Bleven noch vast geoccupeert met den Haen de laetste suyckeren als andere goederen in te geven, die wij hoopen op morgen buytengaets sal loopen om aldaer goede quantiteyt porceleynen voor 't vaderlandt'.*

[191] Ibid., '*Voor Nederlandt in 't retourschip Sutphen te laden, 'tgene volcht: 778 grote kisten met poeyersuycker, 261 balijs porceleyn. item 13 groote cassen, 45 cleene dito's, 76 packen ende 66 canassers, welcq tesameilyk ter oorsaeck der ingepackte coopmanschappen op een droge plaetse (om onderstal- licheyt te vermijden) ordineerden te bergen, mitsgaders de suyckeren niet te storten ende de goederen in 't generael*'; '*doch besonderlijck de porceleynen, sacht te laten handelen, opdat d'E. Compagnie (door nonchalance) in geen schade quame te vervallen'.*

[192] Ibid., G. fol. 750-751: '*Alsnu sonden derwarts 1450 grote kisten met poeyersuycker en-de 133 balijs met porceleynen voor Nederlant'*. Volker 1954 (op.cit.), p. 54 mentions: 74,949 pieces.

[193] Ibid., G. fol. 760: '*10 dito…oo creegh oock den Meerman sijne competentie, die, 581 groote kisten met suycker, 110 balijs porceleynen ende partije sappan (om alles aen Louijse over te geven) ingenomen hebbende'.* G. fol. 762: '*2 dito. 's Morgens is het jacht den Leeuwercq met 381 groote kisten poeyersuycker en-de 100 balijs porceleynen voor Henriëtte uytgeseylt ende spoedich op de reede gecomen'.*

[194] *Proceedings of the Nanjing International Symposium of Dongxi Kiln Relics, March 2nd, 2017* (only in Chinese).

[195] Ibid.



Figure 6.23. A mixture of items excavated from the Dongxi kilns, Zhangzhou region. Photo by author.

After the summer of 1645 and into 1646, the situation on mainland China clearly continued to affect the VOC trade. According to Weichung Cheng, there was also a disruption at the ports along the Chinese coast.[196] 'The governor of Taiwan, François Caron, complains that 'the war in China will prove an obstacle to the junks from Chang-chou, An-hai, Ch'üan-chou, and Fu-chou visiting Japan'.[197] The Manchu troops had crossed the border of Fujian in October 1646, and the Ming loyalists who tried to rebel against them, were forced to retreat.[198]

The VOC officials on Formosa were aware that commodities from the mainland were running low.[199] Nevertheless, there were sporadic shipments between Formosa and China even if the quantities of porcelain had decreased: '1470 pieces and 10 bales of fine cups', '1700 bundles of large dishes, 7700 large porcelain dishes and 2400 cups'.[200]

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[196] Cheng Weichung, War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683). PhD. dissertation, University of Leiden, 2012, p. 241: 'After the summer of 1645, there was an interruption in the maritime trade between Fu-chien and Chê-chiang. The junks departing from Fu-chou, Chang-chou and An-hai with their destination Nanking were forced to redirect their course to Nagasaki'.

[197] Ibid., 'This is of great concern. Rumours have reached us that the war in China will prove an obstacle to the junks from Chang-chou, An-hai, Ch'üan-chou, and Fu-chou visiting Japan. It will hinder the supply of goods offered on the market in Nagasaki, and the price might rise somewhat higher'. He refers in note 2 to 'VOC 1161, Missive van Pieter Antonissen Overwater naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, 31 Jan. 1646, fo. 682'.

[198] Ibid., p. 247: 'According to François Caron's report, the An-hai troops under Iquan's command finally retreated on board his ships when the Manchus headed for An-hai Castle'; Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, H.: '*27 februari tot 10 november 1646*, fol. 387: '*aeruyt licht aff te meten zij dat de slapheyt i n de negotie niet zoozeer d o o r de quaetwillicheyt van Equan als wel ter oorsaeck van de verstoppinge der wegen (vermits de sware oorlogen i n dat rijck) voor en comt*'.

[199] Cheng (op. cit.) p. 263: 'All other commodities shipped to Taiwan by the Dutch, such as lead, cloves, myrrh, amber, wax, camphor and sappanwood, were sold out by the end by the year'.

[200] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, H. fol. 389: '*4 oktober.Van de Chinese cust comen alhier ter haven 13 joncquen….1470 stucx ende 10 balijs fijne k o pkens*'; H. fol. 390: '*ende 1700 bos groote schootels.; 5 ditto: E n d e comen van de Chinese cust alhier ter haven 3 joncquen met 211 persoonen, inhebbende 'tgene volcht: 2640 potten Chinees bier, 34 sacken boonen, 40 picol sout, 293 brieven taback,*

The flatware would have come from the kilns of Zhangzhou as that kiln area was still in production; 'cups' may have been produced in the region of Dehua.[201] According to Viallé, these would have been sold to the Chinese population on Formosa or used by the VOC officials themselves.[202] As the Chinese population on Formosa was increasing with every arrival from the coast, the porcelain may indeed have also been used for the daily consumption there.

This scenario continued until 1647; Chinese junks arrived now and then at Formosa, mostly with provisions and sometimes with coarse porcelain, dishes and/or cups.[203] According to Volker, there was one large shipment to the Dutch Republic in that year: 123,337 pieces of 'fine porcelain' were part of the cargoes of the return ships, *Haarlem*, *Oliphant*, *Schiedam* and seven others.[204]

The last years of the annotations of the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* still mention deliveries. Throughout 1648, 1649, 1650, and into 1654 we see the same pattern: from time to time a junk arrived with usually coarse porcelain but surprisingly there is also mention of bales or cases with 'fine porcelain'.[205]

An entry from March 1654 states that: 'a certain porcelain merchant from Anhay

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7700 stucx groote porceleyne schootels, 2400 dito's k o pkens; vol.2, H. fol.572*: item dat graen in China vermits de oorlogen tot hoogen prijse gecomen is ende niet apparent (tensij men den uytvoer derwaerts openstelle) alhier enige winsten daerop te doen'.*

[201] Porcelain made in the Dehua kilns is known for the white glazes.

[202] Viallé 1992 (op. cit.), p. 25, refers to 'VOC 1164'.

[203] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 2, J, *14 maart tot 11 november 1647,* fol. 555: '*Van de Chinese cust verschijnt alhier een joncqje…….ende 200 bossen grove porceleyne kopkens'*; J. fol. 571: '*23 en 24 dito. Ende comen van de Chinese cust wederom alhier ter haven 2 joncken, ijser pannen, 460 bossen grove porceleyne kopkens;* J. fol. 580:*.20 dito: Ende comt van de Chinese cust wederom alhier ter haven een joncqje… 500 bossen porceleyne copkens, 3000 stucx deckpannen;* J. fol. 598: *3 ditto: 3 junks…30 potten sijroop, 4000 stucx grove porceleyne copjens';* K. fol. 445, *februari*: *14, 15- 16 dito. 56 joncken met... 4315 bos grove pierings. 19 en 20 dito: 6500 stux grove porceleyne koppen*; fol. 446*: 21-25 dito: 20.500 grove porceleyne schootels'.*

[204] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 56. However, on p. 59 he claims the year 1657, 'as the definite end of shipments of fine Ming porcelain and porcelain with a predominantly Ming character for the European market'. Viallé disagrees with this; see Viallé 1990 (op. cit.), p. 25, who refers to 'VOC 1160'.

[205] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 3, (1648-1655) A*, 25 february tot 2 nov. 1648*, fol. 303*: '500 stx grove porceleyne copkens, 2000 stx. cleine d.250 schotels';* A. fol 329*: '200 stx. fijne porceleyne copkens';* A. fol. 373*: '2 balien met porceleyn; 3000 stx. groove porceleyne, soo kopkens als pierings';* vol. 3, B. (10 maart tot 20 oktober 1650), fol. 1043*: '350 bos groff porceleyn;* fol. 1045*: 44 stucx porceleyne beeckers';* in 1650: B. fol.1050, to Pehu*:' 2500 stucx groove porceleyne coppen;to Manil';* vol. 3, C. (*19 februari tot 16 augustus 1651*), fol. 694*: '9400 stucx groff porceleyne schotels;1651?: 5 canassers met grof porceleyne copkens*; vol. 3, C. fol. 711:*'julius 1 en 2: va n de Chinese cust verscheenen alhier binnen acht joncken gesamentlijck 2000 stucx groote groff porceleyne commen'.* ; C. fol 725*: 'Van de Chinese cust arriveerden alhier ter rheede vier joncken gesamentlijck.. 14 canassers met fijn porceleyn en /9 packen nevens.'* vol. 3, D. (16 aug.- 21 nov., 1651), fol. 306: (october*):'4 jonckjes met weinich groff porcelijn.';* D. fol. 319*: 'uyt China te weten van Emoy …vier Chinese jonckjes met…1500 bossen grof porcelijn';* vol. 3, E (27 feb. -18 nov.1654). fol. 364: *'Ende waren op gisteren alhier aengekomen twee joncken van dexelve cust van China….ende medebrengende…46 balien fijn porceliijn'*; E. fol. 413*:'5 joncken arriveerden ..127 cattys fijn porcelijn'.*

named Cinko had heard that the company was interested in a good quantity of porcelain and that he and his brother would like a list of requests together with the samples and that they would personally travel to Bansay (Japan) to where the porcelain is made and to have it manufactured and sent to Formosa'.[206] This report shows that there were no more deliveries from mainland China for the storehouses at Fort Zeelandia. [207]
The fort was surrendered to Zheng Chenggong in 1662, whereby all deliveries to and from Formosa were terminated. (Figure 6.24)



Figure 6.24. The Dutch fleet anchored in Amoy bay, November 1663 to fight against Zheng Chenggong. Anonymous. Print dated to 1670. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv.nr. RP-P-OB-75.339.

[206] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.) vol. 3, E. *27 feb.-18 nov. 1654*, fol. 363, *17 maart: 'Van seekeren Chineesen porcelijn coopman uyt Anhay genaemt Cinko ontfing ooc den heere gouverneur een briefken door denselven aen Sijne E. geschreven, meldende onder / andere dat hij hadde verstaan dat de E. Compagnie wel goede partije porcelijn begeren soude in welcken gevalle hij versocht dat hem 'tselve met sijnen broeder (brenger deses briefs) door een letterken mochte werden gedaen weten ende met eenen hem toegesonden de monsters van het bloemwerc ende behoorlijcke lijste van den eysch, sijnde hij van meninge cort na hun nieuwe jaer selfs in persoon te vertrecken na Bansay seer nabij de plaetse daer 't porcelijn wort gemaect, omme aldaer in sulcken gevalle sodanich als het van hier conde werden begeert te laten maken en metten eersten herwaerts na Tajouan te bestellen'.*

[207] Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations*, *1637–1700*, Leiden, 2007, p. 177: 'Chinese mechants maintained their regular export of coarse Chinese ware, produced mainly in Fukian and Guangdong, to the insular South-East Asian market. This too was to suffer from the political upheavels of dynastic change. From the early 1660's, the traditional flow of coarse Chinese porcelain to this vast market stagnated in the wake of the political changs in southern China. Finally having to succumb to the superior power of the Qing, the last-ditch Ming loyalists in southern China were defeated. In 1662, the Zheng abandoned their foothold on the coast of mainland China and withdrew to Formosa. Pursuing a policy of isolation and then pacifying Formosa, the Qing dynasty closed the door for China's foreign trade and removed its subjects from the coastal areas. The traditional flow of coarse Chinese porcelain to the South Seas, which had been regularly maintained by the Zheng family, was disrupted, causing a severe shortage of coarse Chinese wares on the regional market. Whereas Chinese fine porcelain had been amply supplemented by fine Japanese products, coarse Chinese ware was then substituted by Tonkinese ceramics. Coarse Tonkinese ceramics were now widely exported on the regional markets until the early 1680's'.

Summing up, I have given an overview of the deliveries of ceramics from the Chinese coastal ports to Formosa that took place between 1622 and 1655. There were several phases, each with different circumstances. The first phase was a period characterized by regular conflicts between VOC officials and Chinese authorities to settle trade agreements; therefore, shipments with porcelain were irregular and involving relatively small quantities. The second period, between 1635 to around 1645, (the end of the Ming dynasty), was relatively short, but significant in that the quantities were at their highest. Above all, major alterations in shapes and designs of porcelain took place due to continuous orders sent to Formosa accompanied by samples of items in demand in the Dutch Republic, but also elsewhere in Europa. The last period covers the years 1644 to 1655. It shows a gradual decline in the deliveries of porcelain from China to Formosa can be seen; they continued, though not as regular and not as plentiful as during the previous years. A short but new increase occurred during the years 1643 to 1647; two shipments contained around 129,000 items.

We may conclude that Dutch demand for porcelain was fully established from 1635 when orders with models to be copied were sent. Even though the exact period when Chinese potters decided to use the flowing decoration of the 'transitional style' cannot be exactly established, it appeared on Western shapes, other than flatware. All types of Kraak-panelled designs continued to be applied to dishes and saucers.

Figure 6.25 and 6.26 give estimated quantities that were on cargo lists of return ships transported to the Dutch Republic. The chart shows clearly that between 1623 until 1633 the quantities transported to the Dutch Republic were, in general, quite limited. In June 1634, a letter mentions a total sum of 219,072 items porcelain items having arrived in the Dutch Republic.[208] This was clearly the first peak, which continued during the years 1636 and 1637, but was of short duration; thereafter they slowly diminish. The last shipment with porcelain for the Dutch Republic is dated 1647, still with 123,337 items.

[208] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 857, (Uitgaande brieven Batavia sept 1634 - dec 1635). Missive Batavia naar Taiwan, 3 July, 1635. '*Alle de cargasoenen door uE ons met deselve schepen als mede over Siam toegesonden / sijn ons God wel geworden*.'

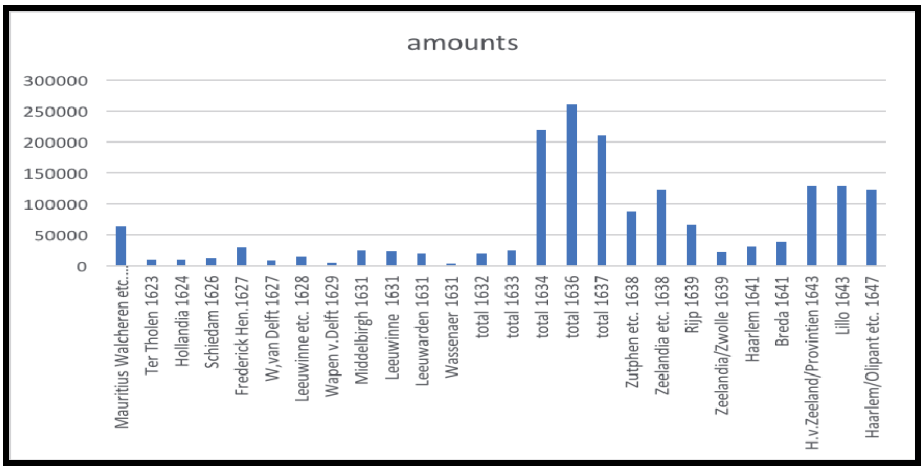


Figure 6.25. Estimated amounts of porcelain delivered to the Dutch Republic, 1623-1647.

Name of ship.	Date of cargo list.	Number of ceramic items.
Mauritius	1623	63,931
Walcheren	1623	10,845
Ter Tholen	1623	10,000
Hollandia	1624	9,790
Schiedam	1626	12,814
Frederick Hendrick	1627	31,011
Wapen van Delft	1627	9,440
Leeuwinne, etc.	1628	15,200
Middelburg	1631	25,345
Leeuwinne	1631	24,300
Leeuwarden	1631	20,747
Wassenaer	1631	3,948
Total amount	1632	20,490
Total amount	1633	25,396
Total amount	1634	219,072
Total amount	1636	259,380
Total amount	1637	210,219
Zutphen	1638	88,840
Zeelandia	1638	122,652
Rijp	1639	66,673
Zeelandia/Zwolle	1639	22,652
Breda/ Wesel, etc.	1640	102,094
Haarlem	1641	32,160
Breda	1641	39,854
Hoff van Zeeland/ de Provintiën	1643	129,000
Lillo	1643	129,036
Haarlem/Oliphant	1647	123,337

Figure 6.26. Table with ships' names, year of departure from Batavia and estimated amounts of porcelain.

Chinese ceramics shipped to other destinations by the VOC.

As explained briefly in chapter 5, as of 1620, the VOC had set up a series of shipping networks within Asia. From around 1635, the Asian trade network of the VOC ran at a profit and the company as a whole benefited.[209] Over the years, numerous trading posts or offices were established in various regions of southeast and western Asia as well as Persia and present-day Yemen. Consequently, two shipping systems developed, a European-Asian shipping route and an inter-Asian one. The complexity of these systems and the number of trade posts (*comptoiren*) is such that it is not possible to discuss them fully here; there is already a sufficient number of publications on this subject.[210]

The inter-Asian routes were divided as follows: one route went directly east from Batavia to the Spice Islands. This included the island groups of Banda, Ambon and the Moluccas. Most of the spices from there (nutmeg, cloves and mace) were first brought to Batavia and then loaded onto the return ships to Holland. A portion was used for trade with the Asian destinations. Another route was the northeastern route to western Asia: Ceylon, the east coast of India (Coromandel coast), Siam, (Thailand), Vietnam (Quinam), and Cambodia. The western quarters (*wester-quartieren*) included Surat, Gamron (Bandar-e-Abbas) and Mocha (Al-Mukhā) as primary destinations. The eastern route led to Formosa and Japan. (Figure 6.27)

[209] Parthesius 2010 (op.cit.), p. 172: 'Profits in the intra-Asian network could be made because of the insight and overview of VOC employees in the network. They knew how to utilise the available capital most efficiently, where shipping capacity was available to send the products for a timely and safe arrival at another location; and where it could be used as multiplier of commercial success. The structured way in which this information was exchanged at all levels of the organisation and to the far-off corners of the network must have given the VOC an advantage over their competitors'.

[210] For a general overview see: J. Landwehr, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1800.* Leiden, 1991. See also M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'A Comparative Study of the Administration and Trade of the Dutch and English Trading Companies in Asia during the First Half of the Seventheenth Century', in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, M.E. van Opstall, and G.J. Schutte (eds.), *Dutch Authors on Asian History: A Selection of Dutch Historiography on the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Dordrecht 1988, pp. 430-453. See also: http://www.vocsite.nl/boeken/index.html?of=60 (visited January, 2020).

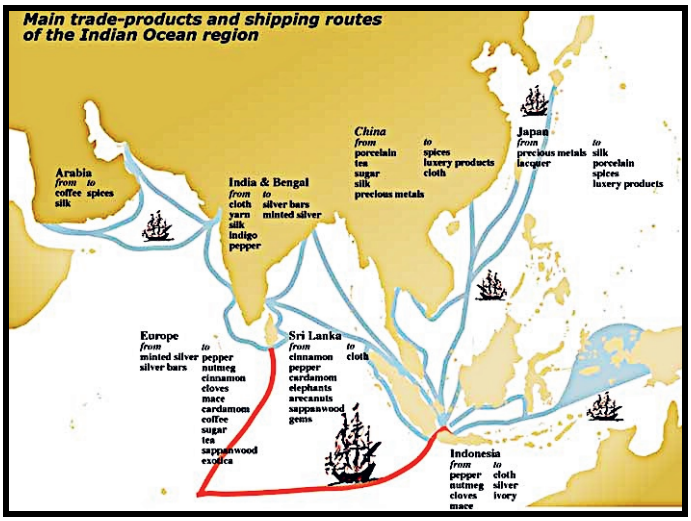


Figure 6.27. The main VOC shipping routes in Asia.[211]

The inter-Asian network worked, in short, as follows. The VOC bought merchandise from China with Japanese silver. Chinese goods were then shipped to various ports and were traded for local commodities. For example, Indian textiles were especially in demand in various regions in the Indonesian archipelago where they were then traded for the spices and pepper that were in demand in other areas, or shipped to the Dutch Republic.[212] The VOC offices and forts spread over Asia and the Middle East were therefore dependent on each other for purchasing and exchanging merchandise. In 1648, the Governor-General and the Council of the Indies in Batavia referred to this system when they stated: 'the soul of the Company must be looked after carefully because if the soul decays, the entire body would be destroyed'.[213]

[211] From: https://maritimeasia.ws/maritimelanka/images/maps/productroutes_700x522.jpg
[212] Parthesius 2010 (op.cit.), p.39: 'The VOC's administration in Batavia endeavoured to dispatch a fleet around New Year for arrival in the Netherlands in the European summer. This was not an easy task since they had to deal with many variables, such as gathering the return cargo, planning the supply from the various trading posts and allowing enough capacity to ship the goods to Batavia. Shipping was organised in such a way that the various routes were synchronised; however, delays could easily occur as shipping routes were often subject to the monsoon. It frequently happened that the return fleet was delayed, waiting for other vessels to arrive from their various departure points. In the end, final decisions were based on economic considerations above regulations: to keep a fleet waiting created extra costs and risks, so sending the ships off on time was the usual choice. However, if cargo for Europe arrived too late from an Asian destination, storage in Batavia until the next return fleet meant more expenditure. The net result was that, although it was forbidden, ships were dispatched to Europe in the few months after the fleet had departed almost every year'.
[213] O. Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720,* Princeton, 1985; on p. 118 he refers to 'NL-HaNa inv.nr. VOC 317, f.120v. (Board of Directors to Batavia, 22.9.1648)'.

The Interinsular region.

The VOC also transported ceramics to other Southeast Asian regions. According to Terpstra, 'earthenware brought by the Chinese to Patani was also in demand in the Moluccas and Banda, but then mostly coarse and mediocre (quality), large dishes, medium-sized (dishes) and small cups, with or without covers'.[214] An example of such inter-insular trade can be found in the report dated September 9th, 1605, written by Jacob Buys, a head merchant who had been stationed at the new VOC office at Batu Sawar on the Johor River.[215] In December 1605, Buys passed on the commodities of that post to his successor, Cornelis Francx, but he apparently kept some as personal possessions.[216] A list was drawn up with quite a substantial amount of porcelain under the heading 'Chinese wares': 21 fruit dishes (*21 fruit schalen*), 300 mustard dishes (*300 most schalen*), 14 coarse dishes (*14 stucx grove schootels*), 534 red painted cups (*534 Roode geschilderde Copkens*), 38 ointment flasks, (*38 salf flessen*), 342 white cups (*342 witte coppen*), 662 large painted cups (*groot geschilderde coppen*), 131 butter dishes (*131 boter schotels*) and 490 '*manco Crang'*.[217] We see here several descriptions: '*Most schalen*' could be small saucers to serve mustard. The 'red painted' and 'large painted cups' are most likely to be Zhangzhou ware, a type favoured in Southeast Asian regions; what is meant by '*manco Crang*' remains a mystery. Otherwise this list is a good example of ceramic items already available and purchased by the VOC during the first years in Asia.

Cargo lists of ships trading in this region mostly list coarse porcelain. For example, the *Gouda* loaded in 1608 at Batu Sawar, listed '9292 coarse porcelain

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[214] Terpstra 1938 (op. cit.): p. 130, '*het door de Chineesen in Patani gebrachte aardewerk ooc zeer getrocken is in de Moluccos en Banda, maer meest groff en middelbaer, te weten groote platteelen, middelbare en cleene coppen, die overdect syn, oock die nyet overdect syn*'.

[215] P. Borschberg, 'Batu Sawar Johor: A Centre for Regional Trade in the 17th Century'. Paper presented at the Second Nicholas Tarling Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, (*Between Classical and Modern: Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period, ca. late 14th to late 18th Century*), University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, November 3rd-4th, 2011, p. 15: 'The first Dutch Admiral to arrive in Johorese waters, Jakob van Heemskerk, had left one Jacob Buys (sometimes also Buyzen) behind to man a newly-established factory at Batu Sawar'.

[216] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 226, *Resoluties van de ordinaris en extraordinaris vergaderingen van de kamer Amsterdam 1602 – 1629*: '*Porcelynen bevonden in de kist van Jacob buijs niet doen volgen maer te behouden voor de Comp.Maendach ix Julij [1607]'; 'Inventariseren kist met percelynen van Jacob Buijs*'.

[217] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 1054, *Stukken betreffende Patani, Calicut (Malabar), Siam, Japan en Johor (1607-1613*: '*Originele ende copie calcula van uit staande schulden voor rekeninghe van de oude en de nieuwe vereenichde Comp. overgelevert bij Jacob Buis aen Cornelis Francx coopman in dato 9 December 1605'*.

dishes'.[218] We also know from a VOC report from October, 1608, that, '150 and a quarter bundles with coarse porcelain bowls' had arrived at Sukadana (the former capital of the Malay kingdom in west Kalimantan province on Borneo) from Patani: (*aangevoerd van Patani o.a. 150 ¼ bonden grove porcelijne commen f 59,12*).[219] The cargo list of the *Vliegende Draeck* dated January 8th, 1610, lists 300 porcelain dishes that had been transported from Sukadana to Sambas, another VOC trade post on Borneo.[220] A month later, on February 3rd, 1610, the *Griffioen* departed from Bantam to Amboina and Banda; the cargo list listed 'two martavan pots destined for the northern Moluccas'.[221] The term 'martaban' has generally been used for certain types of strong storage jars as noted on an shipping list of the *Cleene Zonne* as 'Martabaos'.[222] It is known that all types of such 'martaban' were favoured in Asia.[223] They were retrieved from most Western shipwrecks indicating that they were used on board as storage jars for food and water.[224] (Figure 6.28)

[218] There are two cargo lists of the ship Gouda. NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 627, *Factuur van de goerderen geladen in het schip Gouda in Batu Sawar (Johor) 1608, juli 20.* NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv.nr. 633, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Gouda, gaande van Patani naar de Republiek 1608 :* '*9292 grove porceleyne schotels*'.
[219] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 618, *Rekening van inkomsten en uitgaven, Sukadana, 1608, Kasboek Suckidana vanaf 20 oktober 1608*: '*aangevoerd van Patani o.a. 150 ¼ bonden grove porcelijne comme'.*
[220] The cargo list of the *Vliegende Draeck* from Sukadana for Sambas, Borneo dd. 01-08-1610: '*300 porcelain dishes costing 14 florins'.* NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 621, *Factuur van de goederen door Samuel Blommaert aan de koopman Pieter Aertsz. in Sambas gezonden met het schip Vliegende Draak 1610 jan.8.*
[221] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 611, *Factuur van de lading van het schip Griffioen, gaande van Bantam naar Ambon en Banda 1610 feb. 3.*
[222] NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 648, *Rekening van onkosten gemaakt door Jacob Dircksz. Cortenhoeff voor het schip Arakan, liggende voor Masulipatnam 1612 juli 14*; NL-HaNA (VOC) 1.04.02, inv. nr. 654, *Factuur van de goederen geladen in de schepen Kleine Zon en Ternate, vertrekkende van Atjeh [1610].*
[223] This will be explained below. For more information see: Barbara Harrisson, *Pusaka. Heirloom Jars of Borneo,* Singapore,1986. E. Ströber, *Ming: Porcelain for a Globalised Trade,* Stuttgart, 2012; Borbala Nyiri. *Chasing Dragons through Time and Space: Martabani Dragon Jars in the Kelabit Highlands, Sarawak, East Malaysia.* Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2016.
[224] See for more information on martabans: Pamela Gutman, 'The Martaban Trade: An Examination of the Literature from the Seventh Century until the Eighteenth Century', *Asian Perspectives,* vol. 40. no. 1, University of Hawaii Press 2002; Eva Ströber: 'The collection of Chinese and Southeast Asian Jars (martaba, martavanen) at the Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden, the Dutch Republic'. https://www.princessehof.nl/img/uploads/jars_research_Eva. (visited January, 2020)



Figure 6.28. A large martavan jar from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck, 1613. Inv.nr. OKS 1977/120. [225]

According to Volker, 'In the year 1636 porcelain, mainly coarse, is shipped each month from Batavia to Bantam, Cirebon, Jepara, Tegal, Pekalongan and Jortan, all on Java. Then to the islands of Bali and Amboina, to Jambi, Indragiri, Silebar, Palembang, Sumatra's westcoast and Acheen on Sumatra, and to Sukadana, Martapura and Banjermasin, all on Borneo'.[226] The *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* gives several examples; in May 1636, it was noted that amongst gifts to the Regent Tommagu of Tegal by the VOC were '3 large beautiful, fine porcelain dishes' (*3 groote schoone fijne porceleijne schotels*).[227]

There are several entries dating from 1637 with details; in January, the VOC ship *Langerack* captured the Portuguese vessel *Jesus Marie Joseph* on its way from Macao to Malacca.[228] Volker provides the shipping list dated January 14th with all types of porcelain: besides fine dishes, large dishes, bowls of all sizes, and teacups (20,600), there are several types of pots, some filled with preserves or sugar.[229] However, the Chinese carried out most of the inter-insular shipments. For example, on January 8th a

[225] Van der Pijl-Ketel (ed.), 1982 (op. cit.), pp. 226-227. (this inventory number has been changed)
[226] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 196.
[227] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) 1898, (op.cit.), p. 99.
[228] Ibid., p. 19. Colenbrander only states that the cargo contained 'coarse porcelain', '*achterhaelt ende verovert wiert,… estaende desselffs cargo…. bij haer aenden commandenr overgelevert, eenighe sijde stoffen, suijcker, groff porseleijn'.*
[229] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 197.

Chinese junk sailed to Japara with 'some porcelain' and one to Bantam from Batavia.[230] On January 18th, 1637, a junk departed for Banjarmasin (a harbour on the southern tip of Borneo in South Kalimantan) and another to Darmaijo, both with coarse porcelain.[231]

Another entry mentions that a junk arrived from Cambodia with 9,000 pieces of coarse porcelain of various shapes (*9000 stucx groff porseleijn van diversche sorteringe*).[232] In April, a Chinese junk transported 12,500 pieces of coarse porcelain to Bali; 400 coarse pieces were shipped to Grisse and to Catte, 400 fine dishes as well as 1,000 coarse porcelain items.[233] These entries in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Batavia* clearly show that the customers on the Indonesian islands preferred coarse porcelains, even from Cambodia. In February, the chief merchant of the King of Aceh in Indrapora received 11,300 pieces of coarse porcelain that were traded for a special type of herb (radia).[234]

In 1641, plates and dishes are again ordered in Aceh, but 'not bowls and dishes of less good quality, or large rice bowls and teacups'. There is also a mention of large food platters and double food platters and 300 'red' food dishes. These would most probably have been Zhangzhou ware with red decoration.[235] Volker maintains that the porcelain that was brought to Aceh could be sold with profit to the 'Moors', a name coined by the Dutch for traders from Bengal and the Indian coasts who were importing porcelain from Aceh.[236] He supplies more data on the coarse wares shipped to that area: in 1645, the shipping list of *De Liefde* from Malacca for Jambi shows 13,355 coarse porcelains that included 'red-painted' ware next to 'white, blue, and blue and white cups'.[237] These were most certainly Zhangzhou ware. In 1648 mention is again made of 200 'red plates' and 1,000 coarse 'blue' porcelain bowls, another example of a shipment of red enamelled and blue decorated Zhangzhou. In that same year 12,572 pieces are

[230] Colenbrander 1898 (op. cit.), p. 17.
[231] Ibid., p. 26.
[232] Ibid., p. 18.
[233] Ibid., p. 116: '*4 april: Soo vertreckt mede naer Balij een Chijnees jonckjen met 12500 p. Groff porseleijn'*; p.127: '*10 april: 400 p. groff porseleijn*; p.132: 14 april: 340 p. *fijne porceleijne schottels, 1000 p. groff porseleijn'.*
[234] Ibid., p. 133: '*voerende 11300 p. groff porcelijn… waermede den sabandaer des eonincx van Atchien in Indrapoara sijne missieve met voornoemde radia Facke alhier ontfangen wordt beantwoort'.*
[235] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 200.
[236] Ibid., p. 201. (Volker refers to p.13, 'Ph. Baldeaeus, *Nauwkeurige beschrijving van de Oost-indische kusten Malabar en Choromandel,* Amsterdam, 1672'). Apparently, their cargoes were sold at a profit to the Moors, for Aceh proposes to Batavia that if the Company could decide to 'feed' the trade of the Moors from Aceh it would be possible to sell them all sorts of fine and coarse porcelain for a total costprice of 2000-4000 reals.
[237] Ibid., p. 202

shipped to various interinsular ports.[238] This coincides with what was noted in the Zeelandia registers as 'coarse' ceramics.

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

Another route used by the VOC was the northeastern route to Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), the east coast of India, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia. From 1605, the VOC had set up a trade post on the east coast of India, known as the Coromandel coast, with the principal aim to purchase cotton textiles to be sold in the Indonesian archipelago, but also to secure its position against its European competitors. Masulipatnam was then the head office, followed by Paleacatte to the south, where Fort Geldria was built. Ceylon was an important region for the VOC to purchase cinnamon and trade ivory. (Figure 6.29)



Figure 6.29. Map of the northeastern part of the Indian Ocean regions, India, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula. (*Kaart van het noordoostelijk deel van de Indische oceaan. (Noorder deel van de Indise Zee*) Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem., inv. nr. Van der Hem 38:25. (Ascribed to Johannes Vingboons, ca. 1665-1668.) Austrian National Library.

In 1612, the *Ter Goes* departed from Bantam to the Coromandel Coast and Aceh with 31,272 coarse pieces of porcelain.[239] In 1616, Hans de Haze, head merchant

[238] Ibid., p. 203.

[239] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 645; *Factuur van de lading van de schepen Ter Goes en Duifje,*

between 1616 and 1620, sent a complaint to Bantam that a third part of the porcelain which had arrived at Masulipatnam was broken and was therefore thrown overboard.[240] In 1619, he announced that: 'coarse porcelain, the equivalent amount of a chest of money may be sent.'[241] There are also shipments directly from Formosa to the Coromandel Coast: in 1641, the *Lis* arrived with 2796 'porcelain cups with feet that had been ordered according to a sample'.[242]

Even though there are only few mentions of porcelain to this coastal region, there are several documents referring to martavan jars, already mentioned above. The term can be misleading as it has been associated with jars made in the vicinity of Martaban, an export port on the coast of what is now called Myanmar (Gulf of Siam, Burma). The *Itinerario*, compiled by J. van Linschoten, provides a description:

> In this city large earthenware pots are made, which are called martavanas in Indian; they are transported in large numbers through the whole of India; the reason that so many are transported is that in India they are used in houses and ships instead of jars: because there are none of such from Portugal; these come in their place to preserve oil, water and wine and such things, and it stays very well in them and it is a great comfort to the travelling man; because they also appear in Portugal ; as they are used on ships from India, for water and oil etc.[243]

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gaande van Bantam naar Atjeh en Coromandel 1612: '*In Jacatra Inn genomen het naevolgende 31272 stucks grof porselyn van diverese sortering costen tot diversche prijse als by factura hier neffens gaende*'.

[240] Colenbrander and Coolhaas (eds.) 1919-1953 (op. cit.), vol. 7 (1952), p. 99. *Hans de Haze van Masulipatnam 05-06-1616*: *'De porcelynen van Jacatra gescheept, syn 1/3 part gebroken …waarvan meer als een boot vol overboort gesmeten syn' . gel. U.E. door Jan Tijszen eens voor desen is geadviseert, derhalven dient vortaen bij U.E. volck ofte schippers aldaer in't laden wat beter sorge gedraegen te werden, want anders te groote schade geeft'*; pp. 130-134 refers to NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 1063*: Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637; 1616 juni 23 - aug. 4)*.

[241] Ibid., '*Hans de Haze aan boord van de swarte beer voor masulipatnam 21 juni 1619: groff porceleyn mach UE oock de waerdeye van een kist gelt senden'.*

[242] NL-HaNA 1.1101.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640: '*Factura Lis bij vertrek van Taiwan naar Cormandel: o.a. 2796 st.x porceleyn copkens met voetgens tot een monster in 8 balien en 3 vaten kosten f 218:18'.*

[243] J.H. van Linschoten, *Itenerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschrijvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen*. Cornelis Claesz., Amstelredam, 1596. (reproduced in Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. II, The Hague, 1910.), p. 23: *Van Aracan/Pegu ende Sian: 'ende Stadt van Martavan, welch is het euterste van Pegu ende beginsel van Sian; In dese Stadt worden veel vandegroote aerder Potten ghemaekt/bienen in Indine Martavanas noemt;worden in groote menigchten ghevoert gheheel indien deur; zijn van alle soorten groot en cleijn;daer zijnder daer wel twee pijpen nats in gaen moghen;d'oorzaek datter zo veel vervoert werde/is om datmense in Indien ghebruijct in alle huyssen ende schepen in de plaets van vaten: want daer zijn dan die van Portugael komen daeromme dien dese Potten inde plaets om Oly/wijn/Water ende diergelijcke dingen te bewarem ende blijfter seer goet in/ende is een groot gherief voor den resende Man;comen noch veel in Portugael: want ghebruijkende op dedie schepen van Indien/voor Water en Olie, etc.'.*

Pegu was the harbour from where these stoneware jars were transported to various regions in Southeast Asia but they were also shipped to Batavia from the VOC post on the eastern coast of India. (Figure 6.30)



Figure 6.30. Map of the region Pegu, North Bengal. (*'Kaart van Bengale, van P. Palmeris tot Martavan (Pegu)'*). Catalogus Leupe, NL-HaNa_4.VEL_257. Graaff, Isaac de, ca. 1695, drawing on paper.

For example, in 1640, the *Haerlem* arrived at Batavia with 116 pieces of 'large as well as small martavans' (*116 stx groote als cleyne martabanen*).[244] The following year, the *Nieuw Amsterdam* arrived at Batavia with 50 martavans.[245] In April, an entry of the Batavia registers reported that a shipment had arrived at Paliacatte from Pegu with 200 large martavans and 150 small ones, which were delivered by the 'Moor' merchant Mierchalis.[246]

Around 1608, the VOC had also set up trade contacts with the Kingdom of Siam (present-day Thailand) in the old capital, Ayutthaya. There was direct trade between Batavia and Thailand, large in volume though small in value, mostly in rice and wood. Some VOC ships would continue along this route to Taiwan with deerskins and products

[244] J.A. van der Chijs (ed), *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandst India. (1640-1641),* The Hague, 1887, p. 102: '*Den 29en do [11-1640] arriveert 't schip N. Haerlem [in Batavia] vande cust Choromandel met een cargasoen van ... 116 stx groote als cleyne martabanen'.*

[245] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandst India. (1641/42*), The Hague, 1900, p. 261 (December 1641): '*26 ditto arriveerde [in Batavia] tschip Nieuw Amsterdam den 3 October door d'heer Gardenijs van de Cust Choromandel herwaerts affgevaerdicht met .... 50 p. Martavanen'.*

[246] Ibid., p. 300: '*Met den Moors coopman Mierchalis jacht uijt Pegu ... 200 p. groote martavanen, 150 p. cleijne'.;* p. 301: '*Per tselve van masulipatnam naer Bellesoor gevoert..6 cassen met porseleijn'* (a ship on its way to Persia stopped at Masulipatnam with 6 cases porselein).

from the tropical forest, mainly Sappan wood, which was their most important cargo for trade with Japan. There are not many records that indicate shipments of ceramics to this region. One example is a request from Siam in 1637 for an assortment of porcelain to be made according to the samples.[247] In December of that year, a ship dropped off a cargo at Siam on its way to Batavia that included the requested porcelain (*fluttschip over Siam alvoorens voor Batavia affgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen....van 't geeysche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen*).[248] (Figure 6.31)



Figure 6.31. Map of Siam, Vietnam and Cambodia. *Kaart van de kusten van Siam, Cambodja en Cochin-China.* Drawing/aquarel on paper, Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem, inv. nr. Van der Hem 41:13. (Assigned to Johannes Vingboons, ca. 1665-1668.). Austrian National Library.

Besides Chinese and Japanese traders who were allowed by the Ngugen lords to trade in north Vietnam and by the Trinh lords in south Vietnam, the Dutch were also allowed to set up trading posts. In the south, the VOC opened a post at Hoi An in 1636, in the north, at Pho Hien in 1637, and in 1645 at Thang Long (present-day Hanoi). The policy of the VOC was to trade ceramics for raw and woven silk for Japan, which was prohibited to carry out overseas trade from 1639 (*Sokuku* policy). [249]

[247] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I. fol. 901: *4 aug. 1637: 'Eyst in retour met d'aenstaende van hier derwarts te doene ...diverse sortering porceleynen, conform de gesondene monsters'*.
[248] Ibid., vol.1. K. fol 449: *14 dec. 1637*: '*fluttschip over Siam alvoorens voor Batavia affgeladen zijnde met zoo veelzuyckeren, grove porcelynen....van 't geeysche voor 't comptoir siam, bestaende in eenige porcelynen; p.359: eist van Vliet voor Siam van Taiwan:diverse sortering porcelijnen conform de gesonden monsters.*
[249] Bui Minh Tri, 'Vietnamese Ceramics in the Asian Maritime Trade in the Seventeenth Century'. Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp.16-1 to 16-17

Only a few examples of porcelain deliveries by the VOC from Formosa to Quinam (Vietnam) are given here. In February 1636, shipments from Formosa included fine porcelain.[250] On April 28th, 1637, the ship *Grol* arrived in Quinam from Formosa with 29,575 pieces of coarse porcelain and 85 fine pieces.[251] In May 1638 a Chinese junk sailed directly from the Jiulong River to Quinam with coarse porcelain.[252] In 1640, six junks arrived in Quinam with coarse wares.[253] Several years later in February 1648, there is a report that a junk, owned by the Chinese merchant and interpreter Khimtingh, will depart to Quinam with a cargo including 2000 bundles of coarse porcelains (*den Chinesencoopman en tolck der E . Comp. Khimtingh, ophebben-cde 50 koppen en weervoerende: 100 picol swavel,2 d . thee en 2000 bos grove porceleynen*).[254]

Sometimes vessels bound for Batavia went via other ports. For example, on February 16th, 1639, the junk *Zeelandia* sailed to Batavia via Tonkin with a large quantity (9,158 pieces) of coarse, as well as 11,400 'half fine porcelains'.[255] (Appendix 6, list 17). The coarse porcelains included large dishes, a smaller size, white and blue and 4,750 red and green serving dishes (*4750 schaft schotels, root en groen*). These were without doubt Zhangzhou ware and may have been intended either for Tonkin or Batavia and the inter-insular customers.

In 1635, the VOC set up a trading post at Lauweck in Cambodia situated halfway along the Mekong River in 1635. There are only a few examples of shipments with ceramics; for example, in 1637, the ship *Noortwijck* was wrecked and the 65,589 pieces of porcelain were lost.[256] In 1641, there is a delivery of 4,000 large coarse dishes to

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[250] Colenbrander (ed.) 1900 (op. cit.), p. 235: '*en voorzien van suiker, fijn porselein, rouwe zijde en senes zetten de schepen in gezelschap van het schip Grol de reis naar Quinam voort*'. (He refers to: 'VOC, 1120, fo. 232-238; *brieven van gouverneur Putmans aan gouverneur-generaal Brouwer*').

[251] H.T. Colenbrander (ed.) *Dagh-register gehouden int casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India anno 1636,* The Hague*,* 1899, p. 151: '*28 april 1637: met d° Grol aenden oppercoopman Abraham Dnijcker in Quinam toegesonden… 29575 p. groff pors-leijü; Item noch tot een proeve voor Toncquin in handen vanden coopman Carel Hartsingh… 85 p. fijne porseleijn'.*

[252] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2001 (op. cit.), vol.1, K. fol 473: '*12 mei 1638. zijnde 9 dagen geleden uyt de riviere Chanchieu na Quinam verseylt, geladen wesende met groove procelaynen'.*

[253] Ibid., vol.1, M. fol.56: '*januari 1640…Ses joncken waern uyt China in Quinam met grove waren als porceleynen…aengelant'.*

[254] Ibid., vol. 3, A fol. 274, *february 25 - november 5,1648*: *'Soo vertreckt oock onder onsen passé een jonckje naer 't rijcq van Quinam toe-behoordende den Chinesencoopman en tolck der E. Comp. Khimtingh, ophebben-cde 50 koppen en weervoerende: 100 picol swavel, 2 d . thee en 2000 bos grove porceleynen*'.

[255] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1130, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1640*: '*factura van de joncq genaemt Zeelandia. Over Tonquin naer Batavia gerenseigneert Taijouan 16 february 1639*'.

[256] Blussé et al. (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol.1, M. fol. 440, *november, 1637*: '*Uyt missive door den oppercoopman Jan Dircxs van Galen, het opperhoofd van 's Compagnie's ommeslag in Cambodja, aan gouverneur Van der Burch geschreven, is het schip Noortwijck op 19 februari door een fout van de loods voor*

Cambodia by a junk owned by Chinese merchants.[257] In 1643, the Chinese merchant Samsoe, called Jan Soetekauw by the Dutch, carried out a delivery of 125,305 pieces of both fine and coarse porcelains.[258] Another cargo with 117,250 pieces of coarse porcelain was transported to Cambodia from Formosa, again by a Chinese junk in March 1644.[259]

Japan.

The VOC established its first trade post in Japan at Hirado (usually written as *Firando* in Dutch documents) in 1609, after Shogun Ieyasu granted permission.[260] (Figure 6.32) In 1612 a letter is sent to Patani in which goods for Japan were requested.[261] These included a good amount of all sorts of porcelain (*alsmede goede Ptije porcelyn van alle Soorteringe*). In 1614 Jan Joosten Lodestyn ordered porcelain that he had promised to sell to the 'gentlemen' at Edo, the old name for Tokyo.[262]

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de rivier Pa trapan ver-zeild en gestrand. Een gedeelte van de lading is met het schip verloren gegaan of gestolen. De hiervolgende goederen zijn geborgen: 40 halve fijne schotels, 923 fijne kwart schotels, 572 drielingen en 5.005 pieringhen (tezamen 6.5589 stuks fijn porselein)'.

[257] Ibid., vol. 1, M. fol.66, *19 jan. 1641*: *'vertrect van hier naer Cambodje de joncque van de coopluyden Peco ende Sitsicq (jan Soetekauw)…4000 grote grove schotels'*.

[258] Ibid., vol. 2, C. fol. 288, *3 april 1643*: *'1 dito naar Cambodia, sijnde de jonck van den Chineesen coopman Peco, in-hebbende een cargasoen van voor de Compagnie ondienstige waeren ter somma van 1769 5/8 r. van achten, bestaende in 117.250 stucx diversche sorteeringe van groove porceleynen, namentlijck…'*

[259] Ibid., vol. 2, D. fol. 47, *4 maart, 1644*: '*vertreckt de jonck van, alias Jan Soetekauw, naer Cambodja, inhebbende een cargasoen … bestaende in 125.305 stucx porcolayn, bestaende in 10.627 bos ende drie baellies, 305 fijnne porcolayn in 3 bali's'.* See Appendix 6, list 20.

[260] C. Viallé: 'Tot schenckagie daar het te pas comen sal', *Aziatische Kunst,* nr. 23/2, Juni, 1993, pp. 2-21.

[261] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1053, *Kopie-uitgaande stukken van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam 1614 – 1634, 1614 nov. 13 - 1615 nov. 5.*: '*Als in copie verhaelt so sal u.l. alle de syde & syde laeckenen laeden Int voornoemde Jacht [Hasewind] naer Jappan alsmede goede Ptije porcelyn van alle Soorteringe wt wysende een prys courant u.l. by S.r Segerse.Gelaeten'*.

[262] F.C. Wieder. 'De Reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Straat van Magalhaes naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598 - 1600.' *Publications Linschoten Society*, vol. 24. The Hague, 1925, p. 94: (Jan Joosten van Loodensteijn from Edo requests on 2-11-1614 goods to be sold there.),'*…en fyne groote schootelen en andere porceleynen…voorts en wilt niet na laeten en sendt mijn porceleijn, want ick hebbet allen die heeeren belooft, dat het comen sal, en Ul hebt mij oock belooft dat ick van als genoech hebben sal'.*



Figure 6.32. The Dutch trade post at Hirado (*Firando*), by Arnoldus Montanus, in Atlas Jappanensis, 1669.[263]

The incidents that had taken place between 1629 and 1632 concerning the taxes levied on Japanese traders at Formosa and the imprisonment of a group of Japanese merchants by Pieter Nuyts have have already been mentioned.[264] Even though trade between Japan and the VOC on Formosa was suspended for several years, Chinese junks continued to transport merchandise. For example, an entry in the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia* mentions that on August 12th, 1632, it was confirmed that the junks owned by Hambuan (*Hambwans*) and Injeeywattinghs (unknown name) were allowed to depart for Japan. The remainder of the junks departed with merchandise including coarse porcelain (*groff porceleyn*).[265] Coarse porcelain was even shipped to Japan from Siam (Thailand); a junk on its way to Japan from Siam that stopped at Formosa on June 20th, 1633, departed on September the 12th with wood, deerskins and 1,000 pieces of large

[263] *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de Kaisaren wan Japan: vervatende wonderlyke voorvallen op de togt der Nederlandtsche Gesanten: beschryving van de dorpen, sterkten, steden, landtschappen, tempels, Gods-diensten, dragten, gebouwen, dieren, gewasschen, bergen, fonteinen, vereeuwde en nieuwe oorlogs-daaden der Japanders [...] Getrokken uit de Geschriften en Reisaentekeninze der zelver Gesanten, door Arnoldus Montanus t'Amsterdam.* Jacob Meurs, 1669.

[264] Nuyts had imprisoned Japanese traders. In 1630 there were again negotiations but trade was only renewed in 1632 after he had been sent to Japan to be tried. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630,* The Hague, 1962, p. 167.

[265] Blussé et all (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1. C. fol. 235 (1632): '*12 augustus: De resolutie over 't equipeeren van Hambwans ende Injeeywattinghs joncquen nae Japan werdt op dato geconfirmeert ende haer toegelaten te moogen vertrecken. Op dato vertrecken dienvolgende de resteerende Chineesche joncquen nae Jappan, ahebbende gelaeden 't naervolgende: . . . stucx hertevellen, . . . picol rouwe zijde, . . . picol suycker, . . . groff porceleyn, . . . zijde waeren'*.

coarse dishes (*grote groove schootels*) as well as 5-600 smaller sized ones (*5 a 600 clyne ditto*).[266]

A memorial of 1635 provides specific data on the porcelain that was delivered by the *Amsterdam*, the *Wassenaer*, *Grol* and the *Venhuysen* to Japan.[267] The total amount was '135,905 pieces of coarse porcelain' (*135905 stucx Groff porcelijn*) that included '38,865 blue and white painted bowls' (*38865 stux d:o blauw ende witte geschilderde Commen*), '1,100 blue and white painted dishes' (*1100 stux blau ende witte geschilderde schootels*), '650 the same but one-third sized' (*650 stux dittos drielingen)* '450 of the same but green-and-red painted' (*450 stux dittos groen ende roodt geschilderde schootels*), '190 pieces of the same but smaller' (*190 stux dittos wat celynder*), and '94,350 rice and teacups' (*94350 stux dittos Rijs en thee kopkens*).[268]

This list is an example of what types and sizes of porcelain were in demand in Japan in that period; not only 'coarse ware', but also 'blue and white' and 'red and green' are mentioned, all produced in the Zhangzhou kilns. In 1638, a letter was sent from Japan that these had been sold.[269] There was then still hope that porcelain could be delivered regularly if the Chinese did not do this themselves (*vertrouwen in toecomende de porceleynen ende aluyyn vermits het menichvuldich aenbrengen door de Chinesen ende op soodanige ruyge waren als voor desen in |Japan niet t'advanceeren is, sullen connen werden geëxcuseert*).[270]

However, regular shipments from Formosa to Japan by the VOC terminated around 1640, when the Chinese intermediaries preferred to deliver their merchandise

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[266] Ibid., fol. 577: '*juni 1633: 20en dito arriveren alhier 2 joncxkens van Gijlem geladen met 5000 stucx hartevellen voor reeckeningh van de Compagnie. Op dato vertreckt de joncke, den 12en september passado alhier (doordien zijnne reyse naer Japan niet conden voirderen, vermits 't mousson heel verloopen was) uut Siam ter reede gecomen naer Japan, geladen met 200 picol sappanhout, 25.000 stucx Chiamse hartevellen, 1000 stucx grote groove schootels, 5 a 600 a cleyne ditto, 50 a 60 picol alluyn, swarte zuycker, 12 picol witte zuycker*'.

[267] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1116, Kopie-resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden in de serie overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1610-1637, 1634 dec. 5 - 1635 dec. 29: '*Sommarium vande Cargasoenen deesen jare anno 1635 zeedert de 18=en augusto tot ult-o d-o met de schepen Amsterdam, wassenaer Groll ende wtt Tayouan naar Japan versonde te weten…'*

[268] Ibid.

[269] Blussé et all (eds.) 1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol., K. fol. 458 (6 februari 1638): *'uit de missieven van president Couckebacker aan gouverneur van der burch wordt vernomen. "De porceleynen sijnde roode ende groene groote geschilderde schootels van 8 r. 't cento tot t. 20. ende die van 4 ende 5 r. 't cento tot t. 13, de groote blauwe ende witte schootels van 9 r. 't cento t. 15.5 ende ditos van 6 r. tot t. 7.5. vercocht; gelijck mede de roode ende groene commen van 6 r. t. 6.5 ende blauw en witte dito's van r. 4 incoops t. 5, de roode ende groene geschilderde drielingen dito van 10 r. 't duysent t. 10 ende de pieringes van 10 r. 't duysent t. 30 't duy-sent gerendeert hebben vertrouwen in toecomende de porceleynen ende aluyn vermits het menichvuldich aenbrengen door de Chinesen ende op soodanige ruyge waren als voor desen in Japan niet t'advanceeren is, sullen connen werden geèxcuseert*'.

[270] Ibid.

themselves directly from the Chinese coast instead of via Formosa.[271] Indeed, Volker gives numerous examples of porcelain shipments by Chinese junks from Fuzhou.[272] Furthermore, after 1641, the VOC lacked sufficient cash to pay the Chinese merchants for the goods to be sent to Japan.[273] In 1644, the VOC post at Hirado was closed and Dutch merchants were confined to the artificial island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki.

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

The Arabian and Persian regions were important markets for Chinese porcelain.[274] The VOC directors had placed Gamron together with Mocha under VOC jurisdiction of the governor of the western districts at Surat that had been established in 1616. 'Correspondence chiefly took place between the governor of Surat and the main office at Batavia. From December to May, shipping along the Asian coast between Surat and Persia could be carried out in both directions. VOC ships travelled this route with products from other parts of Asia, and also as traders between these ports, even regularly transporting freight for local traders or authorities. From Persia, some VOC ships would sail on to Mocha in Arabia'. [275] (Figure 6.33)

[271] Lisa van Oosten, *Formosa en de inter-Aziatische handel: een onderzoek naar de Nederlandse handelsrelatie tussen Formosa en Japan in de zeventiende eeuw*. MA-scriptie, Universiteit Utrecht, 2009, p.47: *'Nadat de handelaren zelf in Japan geweest waren, werd het duidelijk dat er meer geld te verdienen viel door de bemiddelaar (de VOC) buiten te sluiten*.' See also: Ho Chuimei, 'The ceramic trade in Asia, 1602-82' in H. Kawakatsu and A.J.H. Latham (eds.), *Japanese Industrialization and the Asian Economy*. Oxford 1994, pp. 35-70; S. Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662: Een vergeten geschiedenis. Deel 2*, Leiden, 1995.
[272] Volker 1954 (op. cit.), pp. 121-124: 'In 1642: Chinese junks to Nagasaki from Fu Chou with 130 teapots; in 1643 Chinese junks to Nagasaki with 11 barrels of porcelain and from Fu Chou teapots; in 1644 Chinese junks from Fu Chou: teapots, and coarse porcelain; 13 junks with 802 teapots; in 1645 around 229,000 pieces are shipped and in 1646 70,000 pieces.'
[273] Cheng 1995 (op. cit.), p. 198: 'In 1641 there was no money at Formosa to pay the Chinese for their wares. They were asked to wait for the ships that had just left from Batavia and carried the money. In 1642 it was remarked: **'***Den afftreck in des Compagnies coopmanschappen seer sober te wesen';* p. 204*: 'Soo waren oock de Chinesen niet te bewegen de geeyschte zijdewaren ende porceleynen nae Tayouan te brengen, onaengesien de goede toeseggingh ende belofte van alles nae sijn deucht rijckelijck te betalen.***'**
[274] VOC posts in Persia were Esfahan from 1623-1638 and Gamron from 1623-1766. Aden (Yemen) had an office from 1614-1620 and Mocha one from 1620-1650.
[275] Parthesius 2010 (op. cit.), p. 46.



Figure 6.33. Map of the region of the Persian Gulf. By Isaac de Graaff, ca.1695. Nationaal Archief VEL0221.

During an early visit to Mocha in 1616 the VOC official Pieter van den Broecke described a local specialty: 'cauwa', coffee.[276] This was important as coffee cups were ordered in large quantities, and were therefore part of the VOC porcelain distribution. A letter that was sent to the directors by Governor-General Coen already indicated that the largest sized dishes were saleable in Arabia and Surat.[277] These were mostly coarse ware shipped from Achin/Acheh on the coast of north Sumatra. According to C. Brouwer, every year the Dabhol merchants, Indian merchants from the seaport of Dabhol, sent a vessel directly from Achin to Mocha with supplies including porcelain.[278] (Figure 6.34)

[276] Coffee: cova= cauva/cauwa: kahweh (Arabic=qaweh); Commelin 1646 (op. cit.), p. 33. '*Kahauwa,* a kind of black bean resembling *Boontje-Holwortel* of which they make black water that they drink'; C.G. Brouwer, *Cauwa ende Comptanten. De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Jemen 1614-1655. (Cowa and cash: The Dutch East India Company in Yeman 1614-1655)*, Amsterdam, 1988.
[277] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1058 (Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam;1614); Colenbrander and Coolhaas (eds.) 1919-1953 (op. cit.), vol. 1, (1919), p. 267 (J.P. Coen to the VOC directors August 22nd, 1617): *'De heeren behoeven met de porceleynen niet verleghen te wesen want daer en sal vooreerst geen quantiteyt overcomen ende soo noch eenighe van die aldergrootste schotele over hebben, sy connen met avance in Arabien en Suratten vercocht worden'.*
[278] C. G. Brouwer, 'The Porcelain Trade in al-Mukha During the Early Seventeenth Century According to Dutch Accounts'. *Vormen uit Vuur,* no.175, 2001 (special issue), p. 32: 'One such Dabhol Achinman, owned by a certain Agha Rasa, made the harbour of al-Mukha on 24 April 1616, having completed a sailing voyage of 80 days. Its cargo included 'porcelain and other commodities.'; note 90 refers to: 'W.Ph. Coolhaas, 'Pieter van den Broecke in Azië', *Publicaties Vereniging Linschoten*, vol. 63-64. The Hague 1962-1963, pp. 174-175 and p. 100'.



Figure 6.34. View of the harbour of Mocha (al-Mukha). July 1616. Adriaen Matham, 1646. Print, Rijksmsueum, inv.nr.RP-P-OB-75.460

Brouwer explains that the customers were mostly Turks and Arabs and gives an example of the *haji* (pilgrims doubling as traders), who left Syria each year for Mocha to purchase merchandise brought by foreign ships.[279] 'In the early part of November they left al-Mukha, returning home by the end of March 1671. [The merchant] Nur al-Din brought with him a lot of pepper and porcelain, purchased from the Dutch –who had arrived with the *Nassau* – at an amount of no less than two thousand *daalders*, i.e. about fl.3,000. Caffelas or caravans such as those of which Ibrahim and Nur al-Din were members, comprising over six hundred heavily loaded camels in 1616, called at al-Mukha year after year'.[280]

In 1620, the *Wapen van Zeelandt* was bound for Surat and Mocha but deposited its supplies in Aden.[281] The VOC official De Milde recorded in 1621 that two types of cups were most in demand: coffee cups and sherbet bowls.[282] According to Brouwer, the

[279] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.), p. 34.
[280] Ibid., note 98 refers to: 'Staten General, eerste afdeling, nr. 6891: "Report by Hagi Abrahim concerning a Dutch ship in the Red Sea, drawn up by Pauw, 28 March 1617".'
[281] NL-HaNa 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr.1071 (Factura [van de goederen en de coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip 't Wapen van Zeelant, 15 Junij 1620 tot Jaccatra]). The ship left Bantam on June 15th for Aden where the merchandise was put ashore; P. van de Broeck travelled on to Mocha. Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.) p. 29; Volker 1954 (op. cit.), p. 69: 'The cargo list of 't Wapen van Zeeland from Batavia for Surat and Mocha, dated June 15th, shows a mixed lot: 3168 fine porcelains captured with the Sampson off Patana, valued at 736 florins, or about 0.23 florin apiece, and 3220 fine porcelains carried from Japan to Batavia by the "Vliegende Bode"'.
[282] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.) p.27.

latter are bowls for drinking sugared or rose water.[283] He also mentions that cups 'are most desired when they have a blue mark drawn like a character on the bottom'.[284] The request for porcelains with a blue seal mark indicates that the customers knew the value of such pieces. An authentic imperial seal mark was only applied on porcelain for the Imperial court but such marks were imitated, also on export ware.

In 1629, shipments to Persia included 4,000 pieces of porcelain.[285] An inventory made of the goods of Governor Visnich in Gamron dated April 4th, 1630, provides an overview of what types of porcelain was stored at that period.[286] It includes: '11 porcelain bottles' (*Boven in de bottelerye: 11 porceleyne flessen*), '33 gorgeletten' (*gorgelets/kendi*), '537 small saucers' (*pierkens*), '98 cups and 4 larger sized', '20 camel cups', '51 tableplates' (*tafelborden*), '49 dishes', (*49 stucx schotels, soo groote als andere)*, '17 pieces of the same (from Isfahan)' (*Sphans wereck*), '17 cups with feet' (*copkens met voeten*), '15 small saucers' (*clyne pierkens*), '448 wine cups' (*pimpekens*), 'a quantity of broken porcelain' (*Een partye gebroken porceleyn*). In the kitchen, there were 10 dishes and 16 tableplates.[287]

Substantial deliveries only started to take place after 1634 when supplies from the Chinese coast to Formosa had increased. A report was sent from Persia to Batavia dated June 1634 with orders for merchandise that included, '4-5,000 corgees of porcelain cups with round feet, straight sides to drink 'cova'.[288] This shape is identical to the description of a bell cup (*clockcopken*) mentioned above.

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[283] Ibid., p. 28. He refers to H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)*, The Hague, 1918, *'"copgens om canobe uut te drincken; commen om sorbet uut te drincken" (*in Arabic: sharba*)'.*

[284] Ibid., p. 45. See also M. Tuchscherer (ed.), 'Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XVe-XIXe siècle)'. *Cahier des Annales Islamologiques,* nr. 20, Cairo, 2001, p. 283: 'Cups with 'chinese characters' at the bottom of the base, called paijtaght cups in al-Mujkha are the most sought after'.

[285] H. Dunlop (ed.) 1930 (op.cit.), vol. I, pp. 312-313: '*Generale corte facture van alle comptanten ende coopmanschappen door den E. Directeur Jan van Hasell geladen in de schepen Tholen, Brouwershaven, Buiren, Bommel, Weesp ende Beverwijck, gaande naer Parsia'*. 31 December 1629. p. 313: '*4000 stucx porcelijn'.*

[286] Ibid., p. 339: '*Inventaris van goederen te Gamron in Visnich's huis gevonden, 4 april, 1630'.*

[287] Ibid.

[288] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.), p. 480; NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1111 (Copieboeck van uitgaende missiven aen diverse quartieren van 29 December 1633 - 20 December 1634): *'ende Camers persi[a?] eijsch 4 a 5 duijsent Corges porceleijne copkens met ronde voetjens den cant recht opgaende om kani ofte tee uijt te drin[cken'.*

A letter dated august 15th, 1634, states that 686 pieces had been sent to Surat and Persia, among which 10 full-sized dishes were intended for the 'King of Persia'.[289] These were shipped in the *'s-Hertogenbosch:* 'two bales with porcelain following samples: Nr. 1 with 214 large 'bell' cups and 212 of a smaller size; Nr. 2 with 10 very beautiful dishes'. [290]

In 1635, after selling a quantity in advance for good prices, an order by the Arabs (*d'Mooren)* was sent for 'fine ware, well painted' (*fijn goet, wel geschildert*). These included large dishes, bowls in bundles of 20 each, teacups according to samples, long necked bottles and pouring vessels.[291] On December 26th, 1635, Gamron reported to Surat that they have unloaded 3779 bundles of coffee cups, 40 flasks, 10 bundles of half-sized bowls and 15 ¼ sized bowls from the ship *Hoff van Hollandt*.[292]

The year 1636 seems to have been quite profitable for the porcelain supply to Persia, especially coffee cups. A note from Isfahan, however, stated that these were 'a bit too coarse and if very fine sorts would be sent, then we could make an enormous profit'. The value is mentioned, but it was also remarked that there were also damaged or broken pieces (*gescheurt, gebarsten ende gebroocken waren*). It was estimated that: 'annually 10,000 corgees (each with 20 pieces) of coffeecups could be sold as well as 1000 sets of dishes and plates and 1000 various bowls'.[293]

In 1637, Gamron ordered 8-10.000 corgees of porcelain teacups, 400 corgees of fine bowls and 500 large fine dishes.[294] A report to the directors in Amsterdam dated January 25th, 1637 included the cargo list for the ship *Amalia* with 4,542 pieces of

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[289] Ibid., (Particuliere missive van gouverneur generaal Henrick Brouwer aen de heeren zeventienen en aen de particuliere cameren in dato 15 Augustus 1634): '*686 stx porceleijn tot monsters soo voor surate als persia daer onder 10 stx- hele schootels voor den Coninck in P[ersia?'.*

[290] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.), pp. 510-511. *'Twee balien met porceleyn tot monsters, namentlijck no.1 daerinne 214 ps groote clockcopkens…212 ps. cleene ditto; No.2 inhoudende 10 ps heele schoone schotels*'.

[291] Ibid., p. 542: '*Geeist uit Perzie 1635: Porceleynen, met de jongste scheepen gesonden, tot verscheyde pryzen met goede avance vercocht, ende wert fijn goet, wel geschildert, by d'Mooren geesyt te weeten: Groote schuttels Commen in bossen van 20 st. yder bos Tee coopgens gelijkc het monster (door Overschie gesonden)'.*

[292] Ibid., p. 550: '*uut 't Hoff van Hollandt: 17,000 in 4 kisten, no.1:2:3 ende 4 a 50 stuyvers…3779 bossen cawa copkens nevens partye losse ditto; 40 vlessen-10 bossen halve commen…15 ditto quarten.. porselijn'.*

[293] Ibid., p. 565. '*Overschie uit Gamron, aan Gouverneur-generaal en Raden, Batavia 25 Maart 1636: 'Wat de koffiekopjes betreft, die zijn wat te grof. Als zij eens zo fijn gezonden werden, zoude buitengewone winst gemaakt worden. Deze van dit jaar alhier gelicht ende costende ons per factuur f 1436:18:8 hebben gerendeert f 20634:4:- behalve noch de grote partye die uytgeschoten sijn, overmits gescheurt, gebarsetne ende gebroocken waren. men zoude in Perzie jaarlijks omtrent 10000 corgie (twintigtallen) van die kopjes kunnen verkoopen, benevens 1000 stellen schotels en borden en 1000 stuks diverse kommen'.*

[294] Ibid., p. 589: '*Eysch van Coopmanschappen soo deselve in 1637 in Gamron sullen kunnen vertiert werden 8 à 10. 000 corgie porceleyne theecopkens, de corge 6 a 7, 400 corgie groote commen, schoon, de corgie 50 a 60, 500 stux groote schoone schotels yder stuk 25 ??larynen'.*

various sorts of porcelain (*4543 stx alderhande fijn porceleyn*).[295] In a letter dated February 15th, 1638 to Gamron, it is stated that that some porcelain should be given as a present to the Grand Vizir at Isfahan.[296]

Orders for Gamron and Mocha were usually sent directly to Formosa and then transmitted to the Chinese merchants.[297] The deliveries were either sent to Batavia or shipped directly to that region, usually first to Surat where the cargoes were divided, some shipments to Gamron and others to Mocha.[298] For example, fine porcelain that was sold in Gamron in April 1638, included 13,178 bowls in 3 sizes, 6,338 camel cups, 8,710 teacups as well as various sizes flatware.[299] We see here again the preference of bowls, including tea- and bell cups; the latter used for coffee, but some flatware was also delivered.

A shipment that arrived at Mocha in 1638 with the *Rarob* contained 128,975 pieces.[300] The *Bredamme* and *Santvoor*t shipped a total of 140,388 porcelains from Formosa.[301]

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[295] Ibid., p. 605. '*Van Arent Gardenijs, Expres commissris t/r Gamron, a/b Middelburch, aan Bewindhebbers, Amsterdam, 25 januari, 1637'.*

[296] Ibid., p. 643: '*Van Nicolaes jacobsz. Overschie, Gamron aan Adriaen Adrianensz, Adriaen van Oostende en Govert van Bredehoff, 15 februari, 1638*. *Te Ispahan moeten zij aan den Groot-Vizier te geschenke geven, radix China,…3 stukken kamerijsch doek en eenig porcelein'*.

[297] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.), vol. 1, I, fol. 862: '*Missive van de koopman Hambuan [maart 1637]: Op U.E. recommandatie hebbe de fyne, grove porceleynen voor Persia geëyst op mijn aencomst in China na all quartieren daer deselve te trecquen sijn aenbesteet en alsnu sooveel doenlycq opgesamelt waervan nu perij fijne sortering per de joncq van Jocho gewert, en de reste grove dito saen binnen 4 à 5 daegen aldaer oocq te verschynen. U.E. gelieve alle d'zelve tot soodanigen prijs te betaelen, zulcx voor desen gecontracteert is'.*

[298] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1126, *Originele missive aen de camer Amsterdam in dato 30 December 1638*: '*14,0388 stx fijne porceleynen costende f 12780.6.- Met de jachtenen Bredam en Santvoort rechtstreeks van Taiwan naar Suratte in 1638'.*

[299] Dunlop 1930 (op. cit.) p. 653. Letter from A. Adriaensz in Gamron to Governor General and Council in Batavia, dated April 27th, 1638. '*Wyder soo hebben tsedert onsen lesten meede een eynde gemaeckt van 't fijn porceleyn dat vercocht is als volcht: 440 groote schottels…461 dito drylingen…136 groote commen, 13,178 commen van dry soorte, 6338 cameelcopkens, 8710 theecopkesn….,1307 clockcopkens…ende 583 soussierkens'.*

[300] W.Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren 17 der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague 1960-1997; vol. 1, 1960 (1610-1638), p. 677, letter from Van Diemen to Directors, 22 december, 1638: '*25 juli*: *van hier rechtdoor derwaarts uyt te setten de fluyte Rarob. Dienvolgende is geroerde fluyt op 3™ augusti passato vertrocken met een cargasoen, monterende fl. 51 157. 10. 12, bestaende uyt 4650 p…. Chinese ende Bengaelse poeyersuyckeren, 10 000 1Ê giroffelnaghelen, 20 000 ffi notcnmuschatcn, 30 sockels foelie ende 128 975 stux diversche sorteringh porceleyn onder de directie van de coopluyden Pieter van den Broecke ende Arent van Zeiler 2) met ordre geseyde goederen in Mocha tegen contant ende eonighe g'cyschte coopmanschap-pen over te setten om daermede onsen soboren staet in Suratte te secunderen ende calculeren, dit cargasoen in Mocha sal renderen fl. 400 000*'.

[301] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1126, *Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam, 1639*: *'Met de jachtenen Bredam en Santvoort rechtstreeks van Taiwan naar Suratte in 1638, 140388 stx fijne porceleynen costende f 12780.6.-* '.

A report dated December 18th, 1639 from Formosa stated that the ships *Banda, Galiasse* and '*t Vliegend Hert* will transport merchandise to Surat and Persia. This included the remarkable amount of '548,000 pieces of ordered porcelain.[302]

On August 29th, 1640, the *Snoecq* and the *N. Zeelandia* left from Batavia via Surat to Persia with 88,233 pieces. These included various sized bowls, dishes, saucers, large pots for preserves, octagonal cups, various types of teacups, some with red flowers, some with feet, white pieces, coarse ones, with and without flaring rims and small tasting dishes.[303] (Appendix 6, list 18)

The *Zantvoort* departed for Persia on December 12th, 1640, with 19,800 items of porcelain.[304] (Appendix 6, list 19) The list shows that a large amount was coarse porcelain (*groove warmoes Coppen, groote groove schotelen, groove saucierkens*), but the majority consisted of flatware and all sorts of cups were of fine quality. On December 27th, 1640, the *Pauw* left Formosa for Surat via Malacca with 4,262 pieces of fine porcelain packed in 12 bales and 39 wicker baskets; the *Witten Oliphan*t listed 72,320 pieces of various sorts packed in 54 bales and 341 baskets.[305] The extensive list again provides detailed information on the packaging; it states that each package had a wooden tag with its contents.[306] (Appendix, list 20) The shipments on these ships specify only 'fine porcelain'. These included 3,978 fine teacups (*tsia copjens*), 1,978 cups with feet (*1078 Ps copjens met voetjens*), and 6,025 wine saucers (*6025 Ps wijn schaelties*). Furthermore, all sorts of flatware: 13,354 saucers and another 19,200 plates (*pierings*).[307]

In 1643, a cargo list of the *Uytgees*t that arrived in Persia shows 126,730 porcelains coming from Batavia. Formosa reports on December 14th that a large cargo of

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[302] Coolhaas (ed.) 1964 (op. cit.), vol. 2, (1639-1655), p. 37: December 18th, 1639.
[303] NL-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: '*Factura Snoecq en N. Zeelandia 29-8-1640 van Batavia over Souratte naar Persia Int schip N: Zeelandia'.*
[304] NL-HaNA 1.04.02 (VOC) inv. nr. 1135: '*Notitie van de Coopmanschappen van poincte gale int jacht Zantvoort gescheept ende alhier in Gamron becomen 19800: P soo groff als fijne porcelijne te weetten…'*
[305] NL-HaNa 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten) inv. nr. 640: '*sorteringe fyne nporceleijnen in 54 balien en 341 canassers'.* On December 27th, 1640, the *Pauw* sails from Taiwan via Malacca to Suratte with: '*4262 p fyne porceleynen bestaende in 12 balien en 39 canasters, costen f 667:19';* Ibid., *'Olifant met 72320 stucks diverse'.*
[306] Ibid., '*Ijder balij inhoudende als daerop geschreeven staet ende ijder canaster als opt aenhangende houtjen te zien is'.*
[307] NL-HaNa 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: *'Factura schepen witten Eliphant ende de pauw mitsgaders de fluijt den Otter geladen in taijouan voor persia door de straet van Malacca over goa naer souratte gedepecheert Int schip den witten Eliphant leggende ten ancker in sualijs Chom ady 14=en April 1641 73320 Ps fijn porceleijn gepackt in 154 houte balijs ende 384 Canasters ijder balij inhoudende als daerop geschreeven staet ende ijder canaster als opt aenhangende houtjen te zien is 3978 Ps fijne tsia copjens in 11 balijs'.*

porcelain will be shipped for Surat and Persia in the *Waterhont.* Another order from Persia was for 120 tea- or coffee cups and 1,000 pepper and saltcellars.[308] In November, the *Vrede* departed to Surat and from Gamron to Bassora (al-Basrah, on the coast of present day Iraq) with again, a large amount of 159,713 pieces of fine porcelain. (*159713 stx fijne Porceleijnen bestaende in 76 balen.*) [309] (Appendix 6, list 21) These large quantities indicate that the manufacture of fine ware had as yet not ended in China.

However, during the following years quantities as well as quality diminished. According to Volker, a document dated March 24th, 1645, states that 12,355 corgees of coffee cups and fine plates have been sold.[310] Again there are complaints that large amounts were broken and that amongst the coffee cups many were coarse. A letter dated November 27th from Formosa states that 35,873 porcelain teacups will be sent by the *Schiedam.* The following year there is a complaint that the goods, on arrival, 'are so basely assorted and moreover so badly mixed up in the barrels'.[311]

Summing up, during a relatively short period, from 1634 to 1643, a diversity of ordered items was transported to the ports of Gamron and Mocha, mainly drinking vessels, but also flatware. The quantities are quite exceptional. Most Middle Eastern customers were well to do and had a traditional appreciation for fine porcelain, as Arabian and Chinese traders had already transported this to these regions for hundreds of years before the arrival of Western merchants.[312] Therefore the quality also had to be higher than the coarser ware delivered to Southeast Asian destinations.

Ceramic artifacts excavated at some VOC trade posts.

In the past decades, archaeologists have been active in Asian regions, and ceramic artifacts have also been discovered at former Dutch trade posts. Their findings are of value to add to the knowledge of the VOC trade in ceramics in the 17th century. Some examples follow.

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[308] Van Gelder 1924 (op. cit.), p. 190.
[309] The VOC had a trade post from 1645-1646 in Bassora (al-Basrah). Nl-HaNA 1.10.30 (Geleynssen de Jongh) inv. nr. 92: '*Factura Vrede van Taiwan over Malacca naar Suratte en Persia November 29th, 1644: 159,713 stx fijne Porceleijnen bestaende in 76 balen*'. (This should be 276 bales).
[310] Volker 1954 (op. cit.) p.96.
[311] Ibid., p. 102.
[312] Brouwer 2001 (op. cit.), pp. 6-7, for an overview of the Arab traders to this region.

Indonesia.

Takashi Sakai has studied porcelain found in the Wolio Castle ruins, Southwest of Buton island, Southeast Sulawesi. Around 4952 base shards have been excavated at this site. 'The fort or castle is thought to have been built around the first half of the 17th century and has many traces of Dutch period. The ceramic shards are from different centuries and from the 17th century there can be discerned: Zhangzhou (33%), Japanese \Hizen ware (27%), and the rest Southeast Asian ware such as Thai ceramics are accounted for. The amount of trade ceramics to Indonesia by the VOC in the second half of the 17th c. would have been about 170,000 per year. In the case of the Wolio site, the Dutch would have used porcelain from Japan (Hizen ware) and some Chinese ware as private trade goods as well as gifts to the Sultan of Buton to maintain friendship'.[313]

Batavia (Jakarta). In 1619, the Dutch destroyed the town of Jayakarta under leadership of governor general J.P. Coen. Coen then designed and rebuilt a new city with a western face, straightening natural canals and constructing new upright canals and named it Batavia. Many changes have taken place and the original structure is hardly traceable but archaeologists have found two locations with traces to the Dutch period.[314] One is close to Pasar Ikan in Sunda Kelapa, the location of an old harbour and the other on the west side. In 1980, research was carried out when a canal was being dug between Krukut and Besar river. Of the 4,973 sherds, only around half could be identified. (Figure 6.35) 'Artifacts were earthenware (local), pipes (Dutch clay pipes), coins (Spanish/Dutch/Chinese) and metal objects. Of the Chinese porcelain shards, about half the finds are of pieces for daily use (plates and bowls) from different periods. Less than 5% are from the Ming period and include Zhangzhou ware. Then there are European ceramic shards, Japanese, Persian, Vietnamese and Thai'.[315]

[313] Takashi Sakai 'Porcelain found in the Wolio castle ruins, Indonesia and Its Distribution' Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp. 11-1 to 11-9.
[314] Sonny C. Wibisono, ' From Jacatra to Batavia, The Changes of the city plan and a special Note on the Archaology of Pasar Itan.' Paper given at the symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007, pp. 12-1 to 12-16.
[315] Ibid., p. 12-10.



Figure 6.35. Ceramic sherds found at East Klimantan, Kutei Lama (left); Banten West, Java (middle row), and Onrust Island, Jakarta Bay (right row). Photo by author at the conference of Conference held at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, October 31st to November 2nd, 2007.

Pescadores.

Tai-kang Lu has researched the finds at the site of the fort built by the VOC on the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago.[316] 'Most of the blue and white porcelain shards found were part of dishes and bowls, some of the Kraak-panelled type. Zhangzhou type ceramics were also found, as well as stoneware pots known as 'an-ping' jars. European wares included stoneware bellarmine jugs (*baardman*), used by the Dutch mostly for alcoholic beverages. (Appendix 6, table 22)



Figure 3.36. Fragments of Kraak-type dishes found at Feng-guei-wei, Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago. Photo from Tai-Kang Lu.[317]

[316] Tai-kang Lu, *Dutch Colonial Period Trade Ceramics Found at the Feng-guei-wei Peninsula, P'eng-Hu Archipelago*, *Monthly of Chinese Art* (Published by the National Palace Museum, Taipei,2001), pp. 116-134; Trade Ceramics Excavated from Feng-kui-wei, P'eng-hu." *Field Archaeology of Taiwan*, 2004, pp. 89-98. Recognizing the Chinese Export Ceramics in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties through the Unearthed Trade Ceramics Found in Taiwan and Overseas Area." *The International Symposium: Chinese Export Ceramics in the 16th and 17th Centuries and the Spread of Material Civilization*. Hong Kong: The Chinese Civilization Centre, City University of Hong Kong. pp. 235-252.

[317] Ibid., fig.3-2.

Taiwan.

In 2003 and 2005, excavations have taken place at the former Fort Zeelandia. The results have been documented extensively and a summary given at the Taipei conference.[318] Many types of export ware were discovered as well as ceramic wares used by the Dutch (bellarmine jugs/delftware). Several shards of kraak shards were found at the early site of the fort when it was under construction from 1624. Some Kraak-panelled shards are identical to those found the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck. (Appendix, table 23)



Figure 6.37. Fragments of kraak-panelled dishes found at the site of Fort Zeelandia. Photos by author.

Japan.

Hirado. Numerous shards of Kraak-type porcelain as well as Chinese shapes as bowls and cups have been excavated at the former Dutch post. They include crow cups, *klapmuts*, plates with and without rims and some with exceptional designs. Most are identical with the types from the *Witte Leeuw* shipwreck (1613) (Appendix, table 24)

Nagasaki/Deshima.

Archaeological research has been done at several sites in Nagasaki.[319] Several have revealed all kinds of trade ceramics from China, (Jingdezhen ware and Zhangzhou ware), and wares from Thailand and Vietnam. Ceramics found at the Dutch trading post Deshima, opened to the Dutch from 1640, include Kraak-panelled from Jingdezhen, but also from Arita. (Appendix, table 25)

[318] Liu Yi-chang, Chung Kuo-feng, Wang Su-chin, and Yen Ting-yu. 'The Spatial and temporal relations between stratigraphy- features. Artifacts found in the 17th century strata in the fort Zeelandia site'. Paper given at symposium: Exchange of Material Culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.

[319] Kawaguchi, Yohei, 2007, Archaeological results of Nagasaki in the 16-18th centuries. Paper presented at thesymposium Exchange of Material culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.



Figure 6.38 a+b. Fragments of Chinese porcelain excavated from sites in Nagasaki. Photo by author.

Edo (Tokyo)

Since the 1970's around 1000 sites have been excavated in present day Tokyo. The western artefacts are of a limited number but of course of interest as they contain Beardman jars, glass and parts of clay pipes. At several sites, Jingdezhen ware of the first quarter of the 17th century for daily use was found and finer type of porcelain of the next quarter of the century was found. These include kraak type plates and saucers, klapmuts as well as Zhangzhou ware. These would have been brought by the VOC by way of Hirado and Deshima, possibly as 'gifts' but also as private trade goods.[320]

Conclusion of this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse how the VOC orders for porcelain and the supplies of Chinese ceramics evolved between 1624 to around 1655 and that only in the last period, by sending specific orders and samples, the Dutch effectively began to direct production of Western shapes in China.

The first period, between 1624 and 1634, was one of instability due to the serious conflicts between the VOC and the Chinese authorities and their intermediaries of the coastal provinces. What was obtained by the VOC was limited and mainly came from captured ships.

The second period, from between 1634 to 1644, is characterized by stable trade conditions. This relatively short period comprises in fact the height of all the porcelain deliveries of the first half of the 17th century from China. The documents concerning this period, mainly the *Dagregisters Kasteel Zeelandia,* provide a large amount of data about

[320] Hideki Horiuchi, The Material Cultural Interaction from an Archaeological Point of View, the artefacts excavated from Edo sites focused on trade ceramics. Paper given at symposium: Exchange of Material culture over the Seas, Taipei, 2007.

the supplies of Chinese ceramics to Formosa. I focussed on the arrivals of the junks with ceramics from the coastal ports of southern China to Formosa and their frequency to show the types of ceramics that were delivered. As each arrival was noted in the Fort Zeelandia registers, we can make a division between qualities delivered, generally categorized as either 'fine' or 'coarse'. Fine porcelains were mainly transported from the port of Fuzhou in Fujian; coarse porcelains produced in Zhangzhou kilns were delivered to present-day Xiamen, named Amoy in the VOC documents. During this period, a mixture of these was shipped from China by junks to Formosa and from there to Batavia. The chart, (Figure 6.11) shows that between 1631 and 1635 there were only a few arrivals of junks to Fort Zeelandia. From 1635 we can see that supplies were delivered on a regular basis and quantities increased; the height of the deliveries occurred during 1637-1639.

Detailed information of VOC orders with the required shapes and designs for porcelain gives insight into what was requested between 1634 and 1644, and is testimony to the buying power of the Company. Details to the shapes accompanied by samples such as drawings, wooden models to be copied, were sent on a regular basis.

In the last section, I have shown to which various other destinations Chinese ceramics have been transported by the VOC. Regions such as Arabia and Persia were important markets for porcelain judging by the large quantities of items mostly of fine quality, shipped to those regions between 1634-1644. Shipments to various other destinations as the Indonesian archipelago, Cambodia, Vietnam and Japan, consisted mostly of coarse ware. The role of the VOC in supplying these markets is a substantial contribution to the overall distribution of Chinese porcelain during the first half of the 17th century.

The end of the fine porcelain shipments occurred when wars, famine and natural disasters diminished supplies from Jingdezhen from around 1644, the end of the Ming dynasty. Throughout 1648, 1649, 1650, and into 1654, a junk would occasionally arrive at Formosa, usually with coarse porcelain, but there is also mention of bales or cases with 'fine porcelain'. The report dated March 1654 is testimony that there are no more deliveries from mainland China for the storehouses at Fort Zeelandia from that date.[321] Production was now diverted from China to Japan. In 1662, the fort was surrendered to Zheng Chenggong and all deliveries to and from Formosa terminated.

[321] Blussé et al. (eds.)1986-2000 (op. cit.) vol.3, E. (27 feb.-18 nov. 1654), fol. 363.