

Chinese Tea Exports via Taiwan by VOC (1641-1660): A Prelude to European Tea Consumption in 18th Century*

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ABSTRACT

Tea, an exotic drink from China, was first introduced to the Europeans in the 16th century, but its consumption became more widespread only after mid-18th century. Scholars have attributed the sudden surge in tea consumption to urbanization and rise of the middle class in early-modern Europe. While Dutch, English and Portuguese residents in Asia had become very accustomed to drinking tea throughout the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and English East India Company (EIC) carried it as a profitable commodity and imported regular supplies to the homeland only after the 1680s. In mid-17th century, tea gradually began to appear on cargo manifests of VOC and EIC ships, but it was for sale to India and Persia, especially Surat (west coast of India). Consequent to the downfall of Ming dynasty and rise of Qing rule between 1644 and 1683, which disrupted the tea trade route on China's western borders, Persians who used to purchase tea from Mongolian traders in Central Asia sought alternative supplies by sea route. The VOC, which then occupied Taiwan and built close ties with Chinese traders in Fujian, responded rapidly to this call until it lost Taiwan in 1662.

This article examines the Taiwan-India tea trade from c. 1641 to 1660, in particular the ways tea was prepared and consumed by Chinese, Indians, Persians and Europeans on the maritime tea route, before the sudden upsurge in tea-drinking in Europe. The author argues that their daily engagement in tea-drinking parties on official and private occasions in cross-cultural settlements in Tayouan, Batavia, Bantam, Ayutthaya (central Thailand), and Surat, enabled

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VOC and EIC personnel to develop a tea-drinking habit, especially a taste for sugared tea. Such might have arisen from cross-cultural encounters along the maritime tea route. Although sugared tea was served only on special festive occasions in Fujian, Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, India and Persia were accustomed to taking tea with sweets or preserves. While tea-drinking habit could have spread via diverse channels, Euro-Asian cities, such as Tayouan or Zeelandia town, on the maritime tea route were likely to have contributed to the Dutch adaption to such habit with their roles as tea-provider and cross-cultural middle ground.

Keywords: Tea Drinking Habit, VOC, Taiwan (Tayouan), Zeelandia Town, Surat

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1. Introduction

The introduction of caffeine beverages in Europe after 1600s attracts historians' attention because its rapid spread represents the thriving expansion of global exchange in the early modern world.¹ The progress made a sudden leap at the turn of seventeenth and eighteenth century parallel with the rising general standard of living in North-Western Europe and Great Britain.² It is worthwhile looking more closely at the introduction of these stimulants because their spread was so rapid and intense it resembled a pronounced burst of energy at one point in the long history of Europe. To discover the reason for this sudden upsurge in the popularity of these drinks, scholars have turned their attention to the global commodities flows that carried these stimulants away from their original homelands and introduced them to different continents. Although tea is one of the major stimulants, and hence strongly linked to all these historical changes, current studies have barely glanced at the stages before it was introduced to early-eighteenth-century Western Europe and Britain. Nowadays, although it has been widely accepted that the combination of sugar with tea was one of the crucial preconditions that fueled this explosive market expansion, scholars still usually

¹ Rudi Mathee, "Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24-51; Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* (Pittsburgh) 35: 2 (Feb. 2001), pp. 269-294.

² Anne E. C. McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World," *Journal of World History* (Honolulu) 18: 4 (Dec. 2007), pp. 433-462; Anne E. C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* (Oxford) 61: S1 (Aug. 2008), pp. 172-200.

skip the emergence of this pattern of consumption.³ In this article, using the historical records of the genesis of the fashion for tea-drinking, I try to seek a possible explanation for it in the context of the tea transportation and consumption on the eve of the era in which Western European (Dutch and England) developed a steady thirst for the beverage. The goal of this article is to investigate the most important tea trade pursued by northwestern Europeans in the seventeenth century: the Dutch East Company (VOC) and its tea trade within Asia.⁴ In my approach, I begin by sketching a general picture of the VOC trans-Asian tea trade. This cast light on the early engagement of Dutch personnel on occasions on which tea was drunk. Local occasions hosted by multi-ethnic Asian, including Muslims on which tea was served and drunk in Taiwan, Siam, Java and India could have formed just the environment in which the Dutch and English Company personnel would have had their first encounter with the rituals associated with this beverage. I argue that these encounters (especially in Taiwan 1642-1660), took place within the compass of the trans-Asian trade, and actually facilitated the genesis of the fashion for the drinking of sugared tea that later became widely accepted. It commenced among Dutch-English clerks and sojourners residing along the maritime tea route before it spread to a wider range of consumers in northwestern Europe.

2. The Maritime Tea Route to India via Taiwan

The Dutch were not the first Europeans to carry on a tea trade with China and Japan. The Portuguese had already established the link between Europe, Goa, Canton and Nagasaki in the sixteenth century. In that period, tea was rarely

³ Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Cambridge, Mass.) 23: 2 (Autumn 1992), pp. 259-278. He tried to explain that this pattern persisted because of an emerging mentality of "respectability" against the background of expanding imports of sugar and tea. It explains more about how this habit persisted rather than its emergence.

⁴ In previous studies on similar subjects not only have scholars examined far lesser data than current one, but also addressed their arguments in different historical contexts. See: Seiichi Iwao, "Sanbyakunen Mae ni Okeru Taiwan Sato to Cha no Perusha Shinshutsu [The Advance of Taiwanese Sugar and Tea into Persia Three Hundred Years Ago]," *Nanpo Dozoku* (Taipei) 2: 2 (Apr. 1933), pp. 9-28; Hsien-yao Hsu, "Helanshidai Taiwan de Chaye: Taiwan Chayeshi Yanjiu zhi Yi [Tea in Taiwan under the Dutch: A Study on the History of Taiwan Tea (I)]," *Taipei Wenxian (zhizi)* (Taipei) 104 (June 1993), pp. 29-43; Hsien-yao Hsu, "Helanshidai zai Taiwan de Chaye Maoyi Bulun [A Complement to a Study on the Tea Trade of Taiwan under the Dutch]," *Taipei wenxian (zhizi)* 115 (Mar. 1996), pp. 91-98.

transported to Europe and it does not seem to have been a popular commodity in Goa. No evidence suggests that at that point tea had been seen as a profitable commodity. One very salient reason for this situation could have been that Chinese tea might still have been supplied to India and places beyond from the hinterland provinces of China via overland routes.

There were at least two routes that could have served this purpose. One commenced in the southwest border of China in the province Sichuan from where it passed through Shaanxi to the north, following the northern edge of the Tibetan plateau to Central Asia. From here the route continued on through Persia, from where North India was easily accessible. The second route also began in Sichuan but, instead of making a detour, it went directly across the Tibetan plateau to Lhasa and from there to the border with North India, from where it was taken to Surat (west coast of India).⁵ Since the seventh century at least, the Chinese had kept up a continuous trade with the nomads on the western fringes of the empire in order to procure the horses that were a highly strategic resource. Tea appears regularly on the lists of exchanges. The Ming court (1368-1644) set up tea-horse exchange markets along the border from the very moment the dynasty was established. In 1435, the court exported no fewer than 1,097,000 catties tea in exchange for 13,000 horses.⁶ Tea represented much more than a daily necessity the Tibetan people required to survive; it was also accepted as a worthy donation to Buddhist temples and their monks.

On the northern route, the tea trade was conducted under the guise of tributary embassies. An entry in the Chinese imperial court records of 1471 reveals that the embassy from the Hami kingdom was instigated by the Oirats' covert mission to beg more tea from the Muslim literati at the Chinese court.⁷ The Tibetan embassies, usually high-ranking monks, were granted the privilege of purchasing tea directly from the court. In 1476, the embassy took 20,700 catties away with them on their return journey.⁸ In 1516, the court decided to ration the amount that could be carried by the embassies of monks. If this step had not been

⁵ Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 22-26.

⁶ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1975), p. 87.

⁷ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, pp. 85-86.

⁸ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, p. 86.

taken, it could have become too great a competitor for the tea-horse trade run by the court and have led to a drop in horse imports.⁹ Adam Olearius, who visited Persia in the 1630s, took note of the local tea-drinking customs.¹⁰ According to his report, tea was called "Tzai" and appeared as a kind of black water generated when some of these herbs were diffused in hot water. Apparently this note refers to black tea.¹¹ He also mentions this herb (tea) was imported into Persia from China by "Uzbek Tartars".¹² Some scholars have inferred that some of the restrictions on the tea-horse exchanges imposed by Ming officials must have been slackened in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when the Mongolian nomads were gradually easing their pressure on the northwestern border of the Ming. However, new threats soon loomed in the northeast. The Uyghurs, Kazaks, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and other Central Asian people were quick to seize upon the benefits of this relaxation and took the route from Bukhara that crossed the Karakum and Dasht-e Kavir Deserts to reach the Persian capital Isfahan.¹³ Unfortunately I have not been able to trace tea imports into North India in the same period. Given the trade between Persia and North India was really booming at this time, I assume the Indian people must have also known about this expansion in the wave of tea imports, whether through Central Asia or via Tibet.¹⁴

Two decades after Olearius' visit, the Ming Empire had fallen apart battered famines, revolts by rebellious warlords and the Manchu invasion. This last-mentioned threat to the empire became the new rulers and established a new empire, the Qing. The Qing court gradually restored order in the provinces Sichuan, Hubei and elsewhere allowing these regions to resume their disrupted tea production. The product was needed because, in their efforts to pacify the last of the rebels and the Ming loyalists, the Qing urgently needed horses. Hence, the

⁹ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 239.

¹¹ George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 364. The author reaches the same conclusion as I do on this point.

¹² Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900*, pp. 239-240.

¹³ Victor H. Mair and Erling Hoh, *The True History of Tea* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009), p. 155.

¹⁴ The Indian merchants residing in Iranian cities in the 16th century, see: Scott Levi, "The Indian Merchant Diaspora in Early Modern Central Asia and Iran," *Iranian Studies* (Oxfordshire) 32: 4 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 483-512 at 486-487; George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 426. The author points out other evidence which also support my inference.

new court issued draconian regulations that immediately re-imposed the official monopoly on the tea-horse trade. In 1649, 1650, 1651 and 1652, tea was exported via this channel in amounts totaling 24,042, 296,470, 231,626 and 310,731 catties.¹⁵ As a comparison, the surviving records for 1410, 1435 and 1508 are respectively 278,460, 109,700 and 780,000, therefore they only recovered by between one-third and one-quarter.¹⁶

In the first half of the seventeenth century, not only was the most important tea-exporting area, China, engulfed by social and political chaos, the small kingdoms in the border zone between Persia, China and Russia were also frequently embroiled in wars against each other.¹⁷ The obstacles these conflicts threw up on the land routes on which Chinese tea was carried through Central Asia to India and Persia meant that the maritime routes beckoned as an attractive alternative. Although the Portuguese connections should have filled this gap, their reliability had become suspect in the wake of the escalation of Dutch-Iberian rivalry. In 1642 the Dutch conquered Portuguese Malacca and consequently dominated the most crucial section along this route, the Straits of Malacca. During the siege of Malacca (1641-1642), the VOC had seized the opportunity thrown into its lap to develop the Surat-Taiwan connection to supersede that between Macau and Goa.

Taiwan or Formosa had been used by the VOC as an entrepôt to trade Chinese goods with all the other posts within its network since 1624. Despite the reluctance displayed by the Ming court, after 1634 the Dutch merchants did succeed in building up a substantial commercial partnership with their Chinese counterpart in Amoy: the pirate-turned-militant Zheng clan under Ming. This allowed the Amoy traders to offer the Dutch Chinese tea in both Taiwan and Batavia as a commodity to use themselves and for the overseas Chinese there. This influx of tea was so large it made opened the possibility for the Dutch to export tea to India after 1638. The amounts fluctuated paralleling the ups-and-

¹⁵ Ping Zhang, "Guanfang Maoyi Zhudaoxia Qingdai Xibei Diqushichang Tixi de Xingcheng [The Formation of Northwestern Regions' Market System in Qing Dynasty under the Dominance of Official Trade]," *The Qing History Journal* (Beijing) 2016: 4 (Nov. 2016), pp. 78-89 at 82. Table 1. One catty is about 1.22 of a Dutch pound or 600 grams.

¹⁶ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi [The Continuation and Abolishment of the Official Tea-Horse Trade during the Qing Dynasty]," *China's Borderland History and Geography Studies* (Beijing) 17: 4 (Dec. 2007), pp. 29-40 at 34. Table 2.

¹⁷ Stephan Barisitz, *Central Asia and the Silk Road: Economic Rise and Decline over Several Millennia* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), p. 213.

downs in the friendship between Amoy and Taiwan in the two decades that followed, as will be seen below. The direct shipping began in Taiwan rather than in Batavia and passed Malacca *en route* to the Coromandel Coast or Surat, from where the ships set sail back to Batavia again. As witnessed by the Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus:

“... The ships the Swarte Bul and Windhondt from Tajouan via Masulepatam, the Persian trader and the yacht Vlielandt from Tajouan bound for Zuratta ... Two days ... in the interim letters were received from Malacca dated 31st December 1655 stating that with God’s help there had arrived from Tajouan on the 14th, 15th and 19th the ships Vlielandt, Swarte Bul [and] Arnemuyden.”
 “...The cargo of these vessels generally consists of Japan screens, copper, silver, bars of copper, alum, gold; Chineeze tea; Formozaanze soft sugar and Malacca tin. As these vessels also touch Columbo and the Malabaar coast on their return homewards, they take in there a supply of cinnamon, pepper and cardamoms. These vessels remain abroad for a considerable time; they leave Batavia, in May for Japan and Tajouan and after Japan they reach Malacca in December, thence they bend their course via the Nicobaris Islands to Ceylon and proceed to Malabaar, Zuratta and Persia and back again to Ceylon with Zuratta and Persia cargo in May, when they sail for the Choromandel coast where they take in a further cargo of linen, dyed cloths and other articles of merchandize and then steer direct for Batavia, where they arrive in June or July following.”¹⁸

This all changed when the patron of Amoy, the leader of this costal commercial and military force, the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, alias Coxinga, launched a surprise attack on Taiwan in 1661 and snatched it away from the Dutch hands the following year. The VOC tried to forge an alliance with the Qing forces in the name of annihilating a common enemy. Its reasoning was that working alongside this ally it might be able to cultivate a new trading partnership with Qing China. However, as the Qing officials did not always agree with their plans, especially not those about how business should be conducted, they reluctantly withdrew from the China coast. In 1667, the Qing officials did attempt to parley with them in an effort to encourage them to purchase quite a large amount of tea before they left. In the aftermath, it fell to the private traders among Batavian citizens and the Portuguese citizens in Macau to supply tea, but in far smaller amounts. In 1670s the tea supply received a small boost when the three southern

¹⁸ Phillipus Baldaeus, “A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon by Phillipus Baldaeus,” trans., Pieter Brohier, *The Ceylon Historical Journal* (Ceylon) 8: 1-4 (July 1958 to April 1959), pp. 1-403 at 167-168.

provinces rebelled against the Manchu court (1673-1681). Only after a Qing naval force defeated the Zheng clan in Taiwan in 1683 were the Chinese once again able to import tea into Batavia in large amounts. The Chinese tea imported via Taiwan and Amoy (and a short period from Macau) to India and the Netherlands [the Dutch Republic] during and after this period, up to 1715 can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Unquestionably, before 1696 most of the Chinese tea imported by the VOC was resold in India rather than in the Netherlands. After 1696, no more Chinese tea purchased by the VOC was carried to India and, after this year, the Chinese tea trade of the VOC was totally dominated by tea consumption in Europe. Probably from 1665 or thereabouts, the Portuguese, who occasionally enjoyed the privilege of exporting Chinese goods under the Qing, were permitted to carry Chinese tea from Macau to Goa to fill the vacuum left by the lapse in the earlier Taiwan exports.¹⁹ Therefore it would be a fair assumption to say that the demand for Chinese tea via the sea route had begun to falter, at least for the VOC. The shift in the destination of Chinese tea carried by the VOC must have been decided by its comparative profit margins rather than by its ability to sustain demand. Meanwhile, the curve in the shipments of Chinese tea to Europe shows that the European thirst for tea was steadily mounting after the 1660s. In 1690s demand took a great leap forward, whereas the demand in India remained more or less stable or at least did not expand as rapidly as it did in Europe.

As I have already mentioned, in the late sixteenth century enough tea must have been supplied via the land route and, moreover, the domestic crisis in China in the middle of the seventeenth century could have contributed greatly to the rise in the maritime tea route. Looking closely at Figure 1 above, it reveals that first peak in the Chinese tea exports from Taiwan commenced in 1650s and 1660s, despite an interruption in 1656. The results of a comparison between the amounts ordered and the actual amounts exported are shown in Figure 2 below. According to what has just been said, the round voyage of the Batavian dispatches required the following time scale: if an order were sent from Surat in May, it should have arrived in Batavia in June or July of that same year. Thereafter it would have been forwarded to Taiwan on the vessels bound for that island due to depart before the

¹⁹ Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, ed., *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij; 's Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1894), anno. 1665, p. 7, 14 Jan. 1665; William Harrison Ukers, *All about Tea* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935), vol. 1, p. 73.

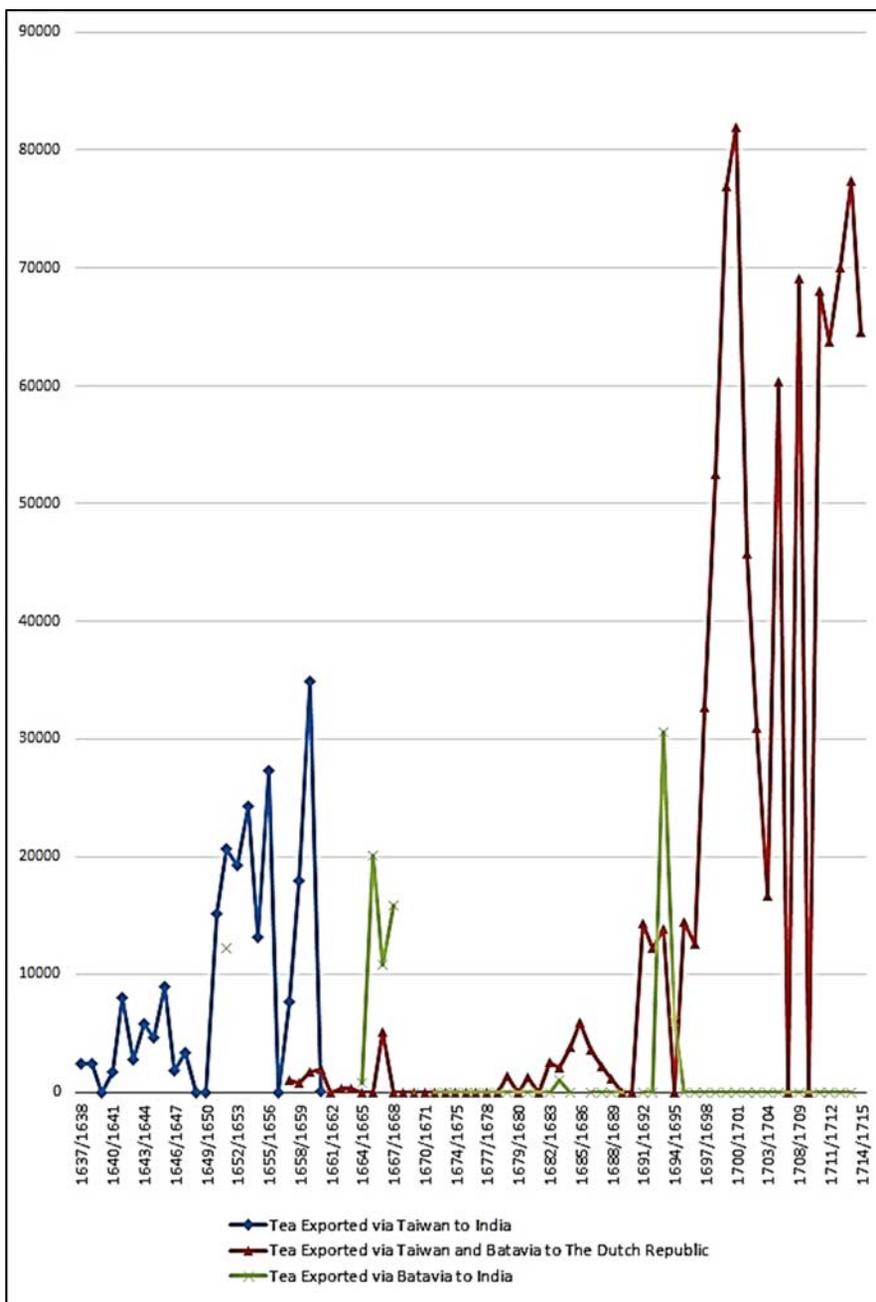


Figure 1 Tea Exported from China via Taiwan (after 1661 via Batavia) to India and The Dutch Republic (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Source: Appendix Table 1.

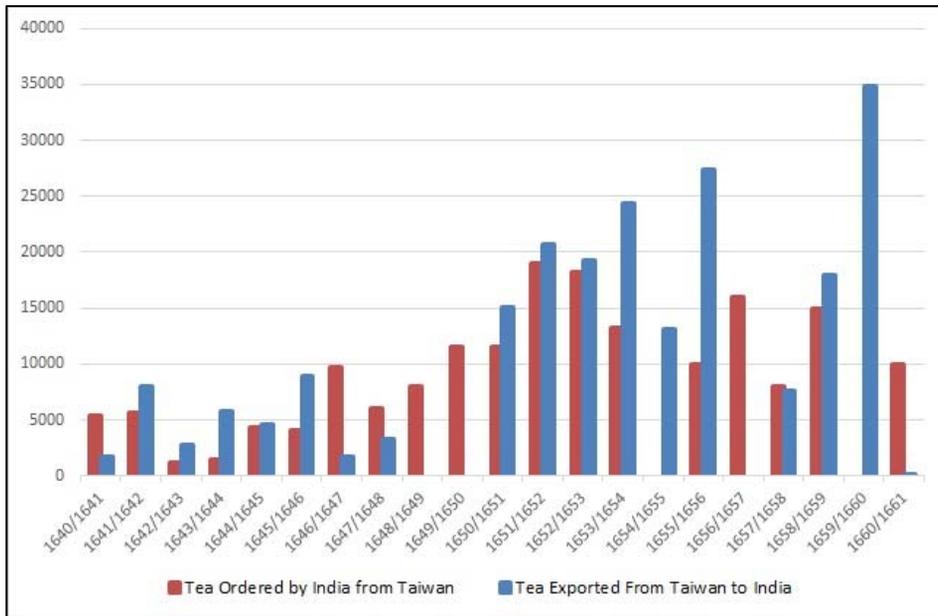


Figure 2 Tea Ordered by India and Supplied by Taiwan to India (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Source: Appendix Table 2.

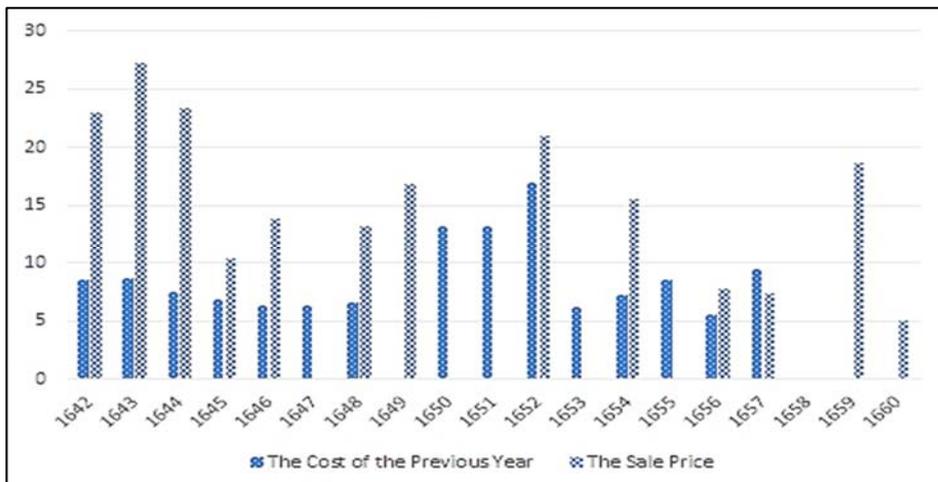


Figure 3 The Sale Prices of Tea in India (including Surat and Perisa), and the Cost in Taiwan of the Previous Year (Stuivers per Dutch Pound)

Source: Appendix Table 3.

end of July. The order given in Surat in May would have been dealt with in Taiwan before the middle of August of the same year. It seems the demand in India was quite stable as the orders remained steady. However, in 1653, 1655 and 1659 the Taiwan authorities overestimated the actual demand on the Indian market, because they shipped excessive amounts of Chinese tea despite the fact that the orders of the Batavian authorities were fairly moderate.

This optimistic viewpoint displayed by the Taiwan authorities can be explained by the price differences between Taiwan (and China) and Surat (including Persia) in this period. Above, Figure 3, an incomplete table of tea prices in Taiwan, Persia and Surat, shows the apparent price differences.

Since the purchasing price of tea was kept under the level of 10 *stuivers* per Dutch pound from the 1640s to the 1660s and the sales price of tea frequently rose above 10 *stuivers* in Surat and Persia, the profitable price differential would offer a likely explanation of why the Taiwan authorities overestimated the demand in Surat and sometimes also in Persia. The tea could be sold for almost 27 *stuivers* in Surat in the year 1643. The profit margin was 210% in 1643 and 113% in 1654. These figures speak for themselves in offering a good explanation of the reason the Taiwan authorities overestimated the market demand after 1654.

In sum, although volume-wise the tea carried by VOC vessels in the 1650s was less than one-third compared to the exports to the Netherlands after 1707, it was still considered a lucrative commodity by Taiwan authorities; one offering plenty of potential profit. As mentioned earlier, the damage caused by the chaos of the turbulent Ming-Qing transition might have immediately reduced the overland Chinese tea supply to the India and Persia. In the years 1644-1646, the bandit Zhang Xianzhong led his rebel army on raids to plunder the people of Sichuan. This province used to be the major supplier of tea for the tea-horse trade on the western border of China. Not to put too fine a point on it, the tea production was seriously devastated. As late as 1660, the tea plantations that had been relied on for most of the supply during the Ming had not yet been able to resume their earlier production. From 1646, the Qing officials, who had taken over running these enterprises, had been forced to collect tea from second-rate tea-growers in provinces that were farther away from the borders and supplied lesser quantities of worse quality.²⁰ Not only did the production fall far below its earlier level, immediately after the Qing officials assumed control of the tea-horse trade,

²⁰ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 32.

smuggling was strictly forbidden and no commodities other than horses could be traded. Consequently, the tea flow suddenly diminished until the number of horses supplied to the Qing officials had risen to a sufficiently high level. During the years 1649, 1650 and in some of the years that followed, the number of horses offered at the Gansu-trading post were few and far between.²¹ This halt in the tea exports via the land routes could explain why the tea price in Surat, and sometimes in Persia, rose to such a high level.

According to the resolution drawn up by the Dutch merchants in the Surat factory, the Chinese tea could earn a profit of 30.7% in 1667.²² However, in the letter sent by the Surat factory to the Gentlemen 17, the Board of the VOC, in the Netherlands in March 1668, the staff there complained that there was surplus of coarse tea in the warehouse and suggested that it should be sold for less than the cost price. By taking this step, they hoped they could cut their losses.²³ They also complained to the Batavian authorities that the buyers who had pre-ordered were reluctant to pay the contracted price (20.8 *stuivers* per Dutch pound) because the tea price had dropped far below that.²⁴ The letter from the Gamron (earlier name of Bandar Abbas) factory in Persia written in 1668 also reports that the tea in its warehouse had been sent to Surat where it might have a chance of earning more.²⁵ These dramatic drops in the price of tea in Gamron and Surat must have also had something to do with the up-and-downs of the tea-horse trade. This large batch of tea was eventually sold at a price less than half that initially asked.²⁶ The Sinologist Gustaaf Schlegel also mentions the amount of tea purchased from Fuzhou in 1666 exceeded the Batavian authorities' expectations and therefore they decided to ship a certain amount to Amsterdam and, in the following year, the VOC Amsterdam Chamber decided to put this item up for public auction.²⁷ In a

²¹ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 32.

²² VOC 1261, Copie resolutie van den directeur Abraham Hartman en raet, Surat (16 May 1667), fo. 758^v.

²³ VOC 1261, Originele missive van den directeur Andries Bogaert en raet aen de seventiene, Surat (14 Mar. 1668), fo. 814^v.

²⁴ VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Andries Bogaert ende den raadt aan haar Eds. tot Batavia geschreven, Surat (1 May 1668), fo. 1312.

²⁵ VOC 1268, Missive door den directeur IJsbrant Goske ende den raadt aan haar Eds. in Batavia, Gamron (26 May 1668), fo. 1361.

²⁶ Willem Philippus Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel III: 1655-1674* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1968), p. 663.

²⁷ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," *T'oung Pao* (Leiden) Second Series 1: 5 (Jan. 1900), pp. 468-472 at 470. The amount would have been 5,108 Dutch pounds according to Appendix I.

nutshell, the unprecedented auction of the tea might have been an accidental result of excessive amount of Chinese tea that could not be absorbed by the Indian market.

When the Manchus conquered and pacified the whole territory of the Chinese empire in the 1660s, their demand for horses gradually tailed off. Before 1656, the court had prohibited traders from selling the newly plucked tea unless all the old batches had been sold off in exchange for horses, but this policy was altered after the need for these animals was no longer deemed urgent. From 1669 and thereafter, the court allowed officials to export old tea at discount prices. In 1668 the emperor decided to stop appointing new imperial commissioners, whose job was to manage the tea-horse trade. Those commissioners' authority was granted directly by the emperor. This is a sure sign that the court had dropped its concerns about obtaining enough horses.²⁸ Although the institutions of the tea-horse trade were not abolished, the monopoly was broken. Since the damage caused by the wars gradually made a gradual recovery after 1660 and the restrictions on the export tea were eased after about 1668, the overland tea trade must have returned to its earlier scale in the 1670s. Consequently, the tea trade via the maritime route was no longer deemed profitable enough by the VOC. Eventually it pulled out of the business and allowed other carriers to compete for this market.

3. Sugared Tea Encounter along the Maritime Tea Route

There would have been some very small number of wealthy people in the Dutch Republic drinking tea as early as 1637 when the Gentlemen 17 requested their staff in Batavia to send them some tea pots.²⁹ However, it would be about sixty years later before the European market became the VOC's major buyer of this commodity. Thereafter, throughout the eighteenth century tea began to occupy an increasingly important position in the trade of the European companies with China. Although mainstream scholars have pointed out the major causes of this phenomenon were early steps on the road to European urbanization, industrialization and so forth, a certain pattern in the consumption of tea associated with the addition of sugar to it must have made a large contribution to

²⁸ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 36.

²⁹ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," pp. 468-469.

European acceptance of this drink. In its places of origin in East Asia, at least in China and Japan, the marriage between tea and sugar has been adopted only recently, perhaps as late as the end of the nineteenth century under the influence of Europeans. Nor historically did Indian people take their tea in this fashion. The Iranians used to drink it with candy on the side, not dissolved it in the tea liquid itself. Below I shall argue that the introduction of the tea-sugar combination could have been a result of multiple cultural interactions not unconnected with the Amoy-Surat tea trade in the middle of the seventeenth century.

According to the annually published pamphlet "*Hollandtse Mercurius*", the earliest record of tea on a cargo manifest of the VOC return-fleet was that of the fleet that sailed from Batavia in November 1653. It lists six small bags of Japanese tea.³⁰ I am not able to decide how much might have been referred to as a small bag. Prof. Schlegel points out that a return fleet that departed at the end of 1650 carried twenty-two catties of Japanese tea and this might be the earliest record.³¹ However, as this amount is equal to only 13.75 kgs, it was a really very small amount. If the consignments of tea are not listed on the cargo manifests of commodities for sale as cited in "*Hollandtse Mercurius*", it might still have been found in the personal cargoes of merchants and crewmembers who intended it for private trade. Leaving aside when the first import of tea to the Netherlands happened, as shown in Figure 1, tea was carried on the return-fleets in 1658, 1659, 1660 and 1661 as well as in the following period. The fluctuations in tea exports to Europe follow the rhythm of tea exports to India. Apparently the extent of this trade was dictated more by the trade with India than that with Europe. The contemporary VOC historian Pieter van Dam mentions that, in 1656, the Batavian authorities ordered 150 or 200 Dutch pounds of tea from Japan and China, of which one-thirds from Japan and two-thirds from China. He also reckons that this was the first time ever the VOC had made the decision to export tea to the Netherlands as an official commodity. Although his record does not tally with the amounts revealed in Figure 1, he correctly points out not many people in the Netherlands were familiar with this strange herb, let alone accustomed to drinking it.³² Van Dam also lists the monthly costs of purchasing tea for the messenger of

³⁰ Pieter Casteleyn, ed., *Hollantze Mercurius, vol.4: Vervaetende Het gepasseerde in Europa, voor-namenlijck den Engels ende Nederlantsen Oorlogh, voorgevallen in 't geheele Jaer 1653* (Haerlem: Gedruckt by Pieter Casteleyn, 1662), p. 97. The "*tasje*" (small bag) is misspelled as "*jasje*" (small jacket).

³¹ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," p. 471.

³² Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage:

the Council of Justice in Batavia in 1695.³³ From this fact, the last before 1695, I can infer that the lower-ranking Dutch officials in Java must have adopted tea-drinking as one of their the daily customs. Hence it is quite possible, long before this custom was recognized in the 1695 budget table, as said above the Dutch clerks and sojourners had already introduced to it. Van Dam also discloses that the decision made by the Company in 1686 to include tea among the cargoes monopolized by the Company was a calculated move to reap the profits that individuals had earned from it earlier.³⁴ Therefore, a group of consumers must have already have existed in the Netherlands before 1686 and the individual suppliers had been there to furnish quench their thirst. These drinkers remained anonymous, unnamed in the Company's archives. The table also indicates that the spread of the custom of tea-drinking had probably built up during long-term cultural contacts on a daily basis on the grass roots level. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the contacts of the oversea Chinese in Taiwan and Batavia with Dutch sojourners and officials had created an environment that opened the door for the continuation of such daily contacts.³⁵ In the other words, this habit must have initially been passed on to Dutch sojourners and lower-ranking VOC officials by the overseas Chinese and was later carried brought back to the Netherlands when the Dutch sojourners went home.

Some prominent pieces of evidence show that the resident Dutch personnel were familiar with the occasions on which the Chinese drank tea and proposed it be served. For example, a medical doctor, apothecary, physician and supervisor of surgeons, Jacob de Bondt (Jacobus Bontius), who was resident in Batavia from 1627 to 1631, wrote a book about tropical medicine based on his experiences in Asia. His book "*Tropische Geneeskunde*" was published posthumously in 1642. It contains a fictional dialogue on tea:

"Duraeus: I hope you have not forgot[ten] the Chinese drink they call tea. What is your opinion of that?"

Bontius: the leaves of the tea shrub resemble those of the common daisies, and

Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), Vol. 2, Part. 1, p. 405.

³³ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1943), Vol. 3, Part. 1, p. 220.

³⁴ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Frederik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1929), Vol. 1, Part. 2, p. 265.

³⁵ George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 320. The author states "tea [imported from Taiwan] was consumed avidly by the Dutch colonial community [in Batavia in 1643]".

have small notches in the edges. The Chinese method of using them is, to throw a handful of the (dried) leaves into a kettle of boiling water, which is let remain upon the fire a sufficient time. The decoction so made, is of a bitter taste, and is sipped warm. The Chinese regard tea as a sacred drink; with it they welcome strangers, and with it they take leave of their guests; nor do they think they have fulfilled the laws of hospitality without giving it. They esteem it in the same degree as the Mahommedans do their caveah [coffee]. It is of a drying quality, and hinders sleep by sending vapors to the brain; but is of advantage to the asthmatic.”³⁶

This passage contains three noteworthy facts. Firstly, De Bondt notes that the most important occasion on which the Chinese drink tea is when they welcome or farewell a guest. In other words, used as a stimulant, imbibing it could refresh all parties on some social occasions. Secondly, although he mentions the Chinese regard it as sacred beverage, apparently there is no mention of any religious element. It seems to me this phrase “sacred” has more to do with the analogy between Chinese and Muslims, the implication being that Chinese culture is also supported by ethical principles very similar to the way the Quran performs this function for Muslims. Thirdly, as a beverage tea was on a par with coffee because the similarity of the physiological effects it produced. Meanwhile, De Bondt was clearly aware of the fact that coffee was preferred by Muslims because the Quran forbade alcoholic beverages.

In late 1630s, the Dutch in Taiwan were engaged in expanding their influence over the indigenous tribes on the southwestern plain. As part of their strategy, they established an annual meeting they called a “Landdag” with the headmen of the tribes as a precaution to ensure the Company’s will would always prevail. At this formal meeting, the Chinese traders, who were usually already subjects of the Dutch rulers and played the role as middlemen between the Aborigines and the Dutch, joined the post-event gathering to which they brought tea to treat everyone there. As such meetings gradually assumed a more institutionalized, formalized character after 1636, the Dutch authorities issued a special order excluding the Chinese from the official sessions of the meeting with Aborigines. The tea-drinking party was also abolished.³⁷ It can be inferred that, in the earlier meetings at which the Chinese settlers were also welcome, tea must have always been served as a treat. Chinese tea was supplied to Taiwan as a commodity usually by Amoy traders who

³⁶ Jacobus Bontius, *Tropische Geneeskunde/ Bontius on Tropical Medicine*, ed., M.A. van Andel (Amstelodami: Sumptibus Societatis, 1931), p. 91.

³⁷ Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 12.

dominated the scene. All these tea suppliers would have been resident in the town of Zeelandia that had been laid out adjacent to the Dutch Fort Zeelandia. The role of the Chinese citizens was not restricted to that of middle-men between the Dutch and the Formosans, they also had representatives on the Board of Aldermen (*schepenen*) of the town.³⁸ Daily contacts between the Dutch and Chinese citizens must have been commonplace. Sometimes the VOC vessels would also carry Chinese passengers from Taiwan to Batavia.³⁹ Although none of their cargo manifests has survived, the Chinese passengers must have had plenty of opportunities on their southward-bound voyages to introduce the Dutch passengers to tea. Another possible source were the Chinese mariners deliberately employed by the Dutch authorities in the 1640s to man the Chinese junks sailed by a Dutch captain and officers.⁴⁰ As well as having the chance to be thoroughly instructed in Chinese sailing skills, they would probably have also become used to drinking tea as their Chinese shipmates did. The situation in Batavia was similar to that in Taiwan, but there the supply of tea was scarcer than in Taiwan. A Famous French adventurer, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, recorded his experience in the European colonies in South and Southeast Asia. According to his account, “in Goa, in Batavia, and all of the colonial trading posts, there are hardly any Europeans who do not take it (tea) four or five times a day.” He travelled in Asia during 1638-1669 and therefore offers a strong proof that the European sojourners had widely accept this drink by the middle of seventeenth century.⁴¹

As said, in China and Japan, tea-drinking is not really associated with sugar. This is not to insist that there is an orthodox way to drink tea, but rather to state that the mainstream would not have prepared it this way. For example, when Johan Nieuwhof was appointed as a steward of embassy and visited Beijing in 1655-1656,

³⁸ Pol Heyns and Wei-chung Cheng, compl., *Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2005), p. 27.

³⁹ VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan (20 Dec. 1650), fol. 560^v; VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan (26 Feb. 1654), fol. 169^r.

⁴⁰ VOC 1130, Missive van gouverneur Jan van der Burch naer Batavia aen gouverneur general Anthonio van Diemen, Taijouan (16 Feb. 1639), fol. 1401-1402.

⁴¹ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d' Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, acompagnez d'observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque país, avec les figures, le poids & la valeur de monnoyes qui ont couru* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1676), pp. 49-50. Recited from: George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 355.

he witnessed two different forms of tea consumption. At the court of Viceroy, the tea was diluted with milk in a proportion of one (milk) to three-quarters (tea) and a pinch of salt was added in the “Tartar” manner. This is the custom still observed when the nomadic people in Mongolia, Central Asia and the Tibetan plateau drink tea.⁴² In the course of his long journey to Beijing, Nieuhof also noticed that there was another way of preparing tea-water in the south:

“...Thea, which they use instead of Beer, not only at tables, but upon all visits and entertainments, and which is more, whosoever has anything to dispatch in the palaces of the grandees, is presented as soon as he is seated, with a cup of this liquor, which is always drunk, or rather supped off hot, according to the fashion of the ancient Romans, who esteemed more of warm then cold water. If at any time this liquor proves bitter to the taste, they mingle a little sugar with it, and drink it to drive away drowsiness. But such especially find the benefit in drinking thereof, who have over-charged their stomachs with eating, or discomposed their brains with too much strong drink. For it is a very great dryer of gross humours, and dispels vapours, occasioning sleep. It strengthens the memory, but increases gall, if drank in too great a quantity.”⁴³

Therefore, the Chinese sometimes did add sugar to tea, but only a moderate

⁴² H. Garrison Wilkes, “Interesting Beverages of the Eastern Himalayas,” *Economic Botany* (New York) 22: 4 (Oct. 1968), pp. 347-353 at 347-350; Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China: waar in de gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche landschappen, Quantung, Kiangsi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het keizerlijke hof te Peking, sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigste verhandelt worden: befeffens een naukeurige Beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden, godsdiensten, gebouwen, drachten, schepen, bergen, gewassen, dieren, &c. en oorlogen tegen de Tartars: verçiert men over de 150 afbeeltsels, na't leven in Sina getekent* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1665), p. 46; John Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China delivered by their Excellencies, Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his Imperial City of Peking*, trans., John Ogilby (London; Printed by John Macock, 1696), p. 45.

⁴³ Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China: waar in de gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche landschappen, Quantung, Kiangsi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het keizerlijke hof te Peking, sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigste verhandelt worden: befeffens een naukeurige Beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden, godsdiensten, gebouwen, drachten, schepen, bergen, gewassen, dieren, &c. en oorlogen tegen de Tartars: verçiert men over de 150 afbeeltsels, na't leven in Sina getekent*, p. 123B; John Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China delivered by their Excellencies, Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his Imperial City of Peking*, pp. 248-249.

amount.⁴⁴ A similar practice was also witnessed in Siam by the French Jesuit Jacques de Bourges in 1669:

“During our stay in Siam our meals ordinarily comprised fish. We took tea, which is drunk very hot with a little sugar. We found it very good, and compared to the effects of wine, those caused by tea when one drinks it in this country, where the stomach is weakened by the heat, and its strength contends with the quality of the food, one cannot doubt which of the two has preference, the more so as this leaf, the use of which is so common in these countries, has excellent properties, the most remarkable of which is that of intoxication. In this it is very different from other beverages which men use, which taken to excess, remove or enfeeble their reason, whereas tea fortifies it and frees it from the vapours which prevent its functioning.”⁴⁵

On both occasions, the tea was taken after a meal to facilitate the digestion and wake people up. As mentioned above, it was treated more as a basic daily item of consumption than a medicine. It seems that, at least in the early seventeenth century, a market for the consumption of tea had already developed in Siam. From 1634 to 1643, when the Portuguese were expelled by the Siamese court, the VOC merchants immediately filled the gap and supplied it with tea and other Chinese goods from Taiwan. This was short-lived as after 1643 the Chinese from Amoy gained the upper hand over the Dutch on this route and forced them to withdraw from this business of tea.⁴⁶ Although it is possible that the Chinese Amoy traders and the oversea Chinese communities contributed to the local enthusiasm for tea, the Chinese population on its own would not have been large enough to support a market on this scale. In “*The Ship of Sulaimān*”, one eye-witness from the Muslim world has recorded that the Persian Muslim communities in Ayutthaya (central Thailand) might have boosted the consumption of Chinese tea. This book was written by an anonymous member of the embassy

⁴⁴ According to the local custom in southern Fujian province, people also offer sugared tea at the Lunar New Year festival and probably on some other exceptional occasions for celebration. However, it is difficult to know since when that custom has been practiced. See: Lien-mao Wang, “Quanzhou de Chuantong Jipin yu Xiangzheng Jiqi Xiandai Bianqian [Traditional Ritual Offerings and Symbols, and Their Modern Transformation in Quanzhou],” in Hsun Chang, ed., *Renshen Gongxin: Zongjiao yu Yangsheng Yinshi* [Sharing Fragrance with People and Deities: Religion and Healthy Diet] (Taipei: Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture, 2009), pp. 141-158 at 145.

⁴⁵ Michael Smithies, “Jacques de Bourges (c. 1630-1714) and Siam,” *The Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok) 81: 2 (Dec. 1993), pp. 113-129 at 119-120.

⁴⁶ George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand* (Illinois: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1977), p. 62.

dispatched to Siam from Persia. Its mission lasted from 1685-1688. The author points out that the Siamese king, Narai, was quite accustomed to Persian cuisine because a Persian cook had served him since he was very young. The Persian ambassadors were treated to a Persian banquet in the palace by the king and they were served “tea and coffee” before the banquet began.⁴⁷ Since the King Narai was born in 1633, it can be inferred that the custom of holding a Persian banquet had been introduced to the Siamese court at least as early as the 1650s. When the Jesuit Jacques de Bourges was taking his tea in 1669, the Persian Muslim community in Siam must have already been very familiar with tea-drinking. On the Malabar Coast around 1672, the Dutch minister of religion Philippus Baldaeus, also wrote how tea should be taken. He made a special point of saying that the Chinese did not take tea with candy-sugar, adding that this was to prevent an excessive use of tea.⁴⁸ This record implies that some inhabitants of the Malabar Coast, and perhaps even in Surat, must have drunk tea with sugar dissolved in it.

As mentioned earlier, the VOC shipped Chinese tea to Surat, and occasionally Persia, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The high price of tea in Persia frequently provided the Dutch with incentives to meet the demand. However, the Mogul governor of Surat discovered this lucrative trade and assembled a large convoy to ply the route between Banda Abbas (Persian gulf, Iran) and Surat. Hence, the VOC authorities decided that, only if the estimated profits rose above 40 or 50 percent, would they send their vessels to Banda Abbas.⁴⁹

In 1638, the famous adventurer, Mandelslo, embarked from “Gombroon” (Bandar Abbas) and sailed nineteen days before reaching Surat. During this voyage, he drank tea twice or thrice each day.⁵⁰ On 22 March, 1677, an English traveler, John Fryer, arrived in Bandar Abbas from Surat. He recalls that:

“... we were received in their open places of audience, and entertained with coho, tea, or rose water, boiled with cardamoms, and sweetened with sugar-candy, plates

⁴⁷ Anonymous, *The Ship of Sulaimān*, trans., John O’Kane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 68.

⁴⁸ Philippus Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende Ryken, en het machtige Eyland Ceylon, nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (’T Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waasberge and Johannes van Someren, 1672), pp. 183-184.

⁴⁹ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), Vol. 2, Part. 3, p. 27.

⁵⁰ Manekshah Sorabshah Commissariat, ed., *Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 2.

of Persian fruit dried, and sweetmeats.”⁵¹

These first-hand records prove that, both in Surat and Banda Abbas, the established custom of drinking tea to which sugar had been added must have existed throughout the whole of the seventeenth century. This fact has been pointed out by Prof. Matthee in his works discussing the Iranian consumption of stimulants.⁵² In 1689, another traveler to this region John Ovington, not only confirms the local consumption pattern of combining the tea and candy-sugar, but also points out tea, like coffee, was a common drink among the Muslims in Turkey, Persia, India and parts of Arabia, with the exception of the Muslim sects in Muscat.⁵³ After 1668, when the VOC withdrew from the China coast and called a temporary halt to its Sino-India transit trade in tea, Indian Muslim traders continued to dispatch their vessels to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, as confirmed by their thriving business with Ayutthaya.⁵⁴ In some rare instances, the Surat vessels even reached Aceh and Manila.⁵⁵ Even though Chinese tea was not a bulk cargo item, it must have become one of the regular cargoes they took back to Surat. English merchants of the East India Company established a factory in Taiwan in 1672, with the consent of Coxinga’s son, Zheng Jing, who had become a self-proclaimed king there. They were one of the channels among the various Asian carriers on this route. Their correspondence reveals some indications of tea consumption:

“Thea, we desire none for England, but that which is cheap though not soe good

⁵¹ John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia: In 8 Letters being 9 Years Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681* (London: Printed by R.R. for Ri. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1698), p. 225.

⁵² Rudi Matthee, “From Coffee to Tea: Shifting Patterns of Consumption in Qajar Iran,” *Journal of World History* 7: 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 199-230 at 219.

⁵³ John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed., H. G. Rawlinson (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 181, 249.

⁵⁴ Anthony Farrington and Dhiravat Na Pombejra, comp., *The English Factory in Siam* (London: The British Library, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 508, 512-514. George White at Ayutthaya to Robert Parker and Council at Bantam, 15 Nov. 1679.

⁵⁵ An Armenian, Khwaja Minas, had been engaged in the trade to Manila from Surat around 1665-1668. See: Serafin D. Quiason, *The English “Country Trade” with Manila Prior to 1708* (Manila: Institute of Asian Studies, 1963), p. 69; in 1669, the Surat vessel “Abdell Grossoes’ Vackeele” arrived in Aceh, see: David Kenneth Bassett, “British ‘Country’ Trade and Local Trade Networks in the Thai and Malay States, c. 1680-1770,” *Modern Asian Studies* (Cambridge) 23: 4 (Oct. 1989), pp. 625-643 at 627.

we are told will yield profit at Surrat to be sold to the dyers.”⁵⁶

The author is not able to discover the usage of tea for those dyers. The tea might have been used as a kind of dye itself. More evidence would be required to clarify this observation.⁵⁷

Apart from Ayutthaya, Banten [Bantam] continued to be used as a transit harbor for Chinese goods including tea in 1670s and 1680s, before the VOC threw a spanner in the works of the commercial expansion of this sultanate by waging a war there in 1682-1683. It had assumed the role of Makassar after the VOC signed enforced monopoly treaties with the latter in 1669. In order to build an effective commercial fleet in a short space of time, Sultan Tirayasa of Banten hired English, Danish, Chinese and Gujarati crews to man his vessels.⁵⁸ Such a hybrid environment could have been just the environment in which the habit of tea-drinking could have been passed on from the Chinese to the Europeans (the Gujaratis might have already been used to it). A German physician, Petri Coertemünde, was in Banten in 1672 and he notes that the Chinese inhabitants there drank tea with preserves at festivals.⁵⁹ This was just on the eve of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (1673-1681), when the Qing court in China lost its control of its coastal areas to the self-proclaimed independent coastal provinces. The Portuguese in Macau [Macao] immediately seized the opportunity to extend their trade with Banten and exported 12,664 Dutch pounds (c. 103 *piculs*) of tea there in 1676 and 1678.⁶⁰ Prof. George Souza has correctly pointed out that these tea exports were intended for the markets in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean.⁶¹ The traveler John Fryer wrote about the trade in Banten factory in his

⁵⁶ Hsiu-Jung Chang, Anthony Farrington, Fu-san Huang, Yung-ho Ts’ao, Mi-tsa Wu, Hsi-fu Cheng, and Ka-im Ang, eds., *The English Factory in Taiwan 1670-1685* (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1995), p. 444.

⁵⁷ Since the middle of 16th century at least, people in China have been widely using the black tea leaf as a natural dye for fabrics. See: Wei-fang Zong, “Yuandai Jinzimo Cha yu Hongcha Qiyuan [The Origin of Black Tea and the Golden Color Powdered Tea in Yuan Dynasty],” *Agricultural Archaeology* (Nanchang) 2017: 5 (Dec. 2017), pp. 208-215 at 211.

⁵⁸ Freek Colombijn, “Foreign Influence on the State of Banten, 1596-1682,” *Indonesia Circle* (Oxford) 18: 50 (Nov. 1989), pp. 19-30 at 25.

⁵⁹ Danish National Library, NKS 388 kvart, *Orientalische Reyse des Königl. Schiffs Oldenburg, beschrieben duch Joan. Petri Coertemünde. 1672-1675*. fo. 96^r.

⁶⁰ George Bryan Souza, *Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 121.

⁶¹ George Bryan Souza, *Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*, p. 121.

letter quoted below:

“The Presidency of Surat is esteemed superior to all in India, the Agency of Bantam being not long since subordinate to it, but since made independent; the South Sea Trade is still maintained from hence to Bantam with such Cloath as is vendible there, from thence with Dollars to China for Sugar, Tea, Porcelane, Laccared Ware, Quicksilver, Tuthinag and Copper; which with cowreys, little Sea-shels, come from Siam and the Phillipine Islands...

All which, after the Europe Ships have unladen at Surat, they go down to fetch; and bring up time enough before the Caphalas out of the Country come in with their wares.”⁶²

On the basis of the same judgment, it would be safe to say that, since 1670, Banten must have already begun develop into another tea distribution harbor, quite independently of Ayutthaya. The position of Banten in the tea trade to India is very significant because the Surat-Banten route was another relatively long-haul voyage during which the hybrid crews might have passed their own habits to each other. The tea obtained by English India Company in Banten could be shipped directly to England, as one author William H. Ukers mentions:

“It was 1668 before the Company’s first order for importing tea reached the agent at Bantam... The first importation followed in 1669,...This was followed in 1670... Thereafter tea was imported year by year [to England] with the exception of the years 1673-1677, from Bantam, from Surat, from Ganjam and from Madras, until 1689, in which year there is the first record of an importation from Amoy... in general the Company’s factor bought at Bantam from Chinese junks trading there, and at Surat from the Portuguese ships trading from Macao to Goa and Daman. Nearer than this they could not get in reaching out for the China trade.”⁶³

Surat and Banten therefore became two gateways through which the EIC exported Chinese tea from Asia to Europe in this period. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the English agents in the Surat factory gradually learned to drink tea with sugar dissolved in it. (see below) As mentioned earlier, the Dutch personnel had had opportunities to learn to drink tea everywhere along the route from Batavia to India in the 1660s. The English only picked up the tea transport from Banten and Siam to Surat after the 1670s. It would seem quite natural to

⁶² John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia: In 8 Letters being 9 Years Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681*, p. 86. Here “Banten” is spelt differently as “Bantam”.

⁶³ William Harrison Ukers, *All about Tea*, vol. 1, p. 73. Here “Banten” is spelt differently as “Bantam”.

assume that the English also took over the habit of tea-drinking from Indian Muslim traders and passengers on this route. This might explain why the custom of drinking tea with sugar had begun to spread in England in the 1690s. The emergence of this custom is mentioned in Philip Anderson's work. When he writes about the story of an English drifter in Surat around 1686, he reminds his readers to take note that this was the time at which sugar was gradually gaining recognition as an accompaniment to tea, as shown in his quote below:

“We may glean a little here and there regarding the manners of the English in this generation. Their diet appears at present in some respects singular even to their countrymen. Tea was drunk in great quantities. Amongst the Dutch the tea pot, we are told, was seldom off the fire. The English do not seem to have usually taken it with sugar and milk, although sugar candy was occasionally dissolved in it.”⁶⁴

As Prof. Rappaport points out in her thoughtful study on the spread of the tea-drinking habit, in Surat, Hindu, Persian, Arab, Jewish, Dutch, British and other European merchants were all delighting in both tea and coffee in the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, the English merchant John Ovington returned home after his stay in Surat brimming with enthusiasm to champion the use of tea.⁶⁵

4. Conclusion

Above I have investigated the export of Chinese tea via Taiwan during the period 1642-1661, and from there its onward export via Batavia to Europe by the VOC. Throughout most of the seventeenth century, tea was a commodity that circulated around the China Seas and the Indian Ocean rather than in Europe. The sudden expansion of the European tea market in the early eighteenth century must have been a result of the spontaneous and probably unintentional introduction of the tea-drinking habit by VOC and EIC personnel in combination with other incentives such as the fashion for aping the manners of European aristocrats who

⁶⁴ Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India; Being the History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay, and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast. From the Earliest Period until the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. Drawn from Authentic Works and Original Documents* (London: Smith and Taylor, 1854).

⁶⁵ Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp. 33-34.

cultivated tea-drinking as a new exotic fashion.⁶⁶ As mentioned in this article, the VOC personnel was still becoming accustomed to tea-drinking as late as 1642 when Dr. De Bondt discussed its usage in his publication. This was exactly the time in which the VOC began to export steady amounts Chinese tea to India, especially Surat, via Taijouan (part of Taiwan today). In the two decades that followed, Taijouan became an extremely important entrepôt in tea exports in the wake of the domestic turbulence engendered by the regime change in China and the Dutch blockade of Malacca and its aftermath. The former caused turmoil on the overland tea routes and the latter put the nail in the coffin of the Portuguese tea transportation by sea. Tea was among the commodities purchased by the Dutch merchants in Taiwan from their partners: Chinese citizens living in the Zeelandia town, while the latter served as go-betweens facilitating the formers' access to the Amoy merchants who controlled Fujian tea exports in China. Although direct evidence is lacking, it can be inferred that the daily engagements in cross-cultural encounters in Zeelandia must have encouraged the Dutch personnel's adoption of the tea-drinking habit, in much the same way as they acquired this habit in Surat. For about two decades, the Dutch personnel carried approximately 5,000 kgs of tea to diverse Indian and Persian harbors each year. Chinese tea was sold by Dutch merchants in Masulipatnam (Coromandel coast of India), Surat, Banda Abbas and Isfahan. They also encountered Muslim merchants who drank tea in Banten, Ayutthaya and other commercial towns, mostly accompanied by the addition of some sugar, along the maritime route from Taiwan to India. The new habit of consuming this stimulant can be checked in the many paths opened up in a multitude of documents left by numerous anonymous individuals. However, these are scattered references whose very dispersion makes it very difficult for historians to recover the accurate traces of this acceptance. The greatest acceptance of such a new culinary custom is more likely to happen when a certain group of people are exposed to its consumption while engaging in cross-cultural encounters more frequently and more widely than they had done in earlier periods. (In this case drinking tea with sugar) It is certainly possible to go on listing many more such occasions and encounters in historical records, over and above those mentioned in this article.⁶⁷ Certainly, given this solid evidence of tea exports via

⁶⁶ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans., David Jacobson (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. 15-84. Chapter Two: Coffee and the Protestant Ethic.

⁶⁷ The most recent compilation of such kind of accounts see: George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*.

Taiwan, the VOC personnel were exposed to tea and its consumption in steadily rising quantities for about two decades. This fact should be taken in to account when studying the introduction of tea and the tea-drinking habit in Europe. On the other hand, it seems that the marriage of tea and sugar, that the Dutch and English people enjoyed since their early espousal of tea drinking, was a custom found in most of the major harbors along the maritime tea route. Evidence shows that in South China, Siam, Banten, and Banda Abbas, drinking sweetened tea was a common practice among Chinese and Muslims. It also carries the implication that the VOC personnel in Taiwan could have acquired this practice from the Chinese citizens there, since their daily interactions were more frequent there than in other places. Apart from its role of the most important tea entrepôt in the middle of the seventeenth century, Taiwan might also have served as the friendliest platform on which the Dutch personnel could engage in cross-cultural interactions with moderate numbers of Chinese people. Their presence in Taiwan or Zeelandia town was certainly not the sole reason the Dutch adopted the tea-drinking habit, but it must have played a significant role in the global interactions that eventually led to the widespread consumption of tea in Europe after the eighteenth century.

Appendix

**Table 1 Tea Exported from China via Taiwan
(Dutch Pounds per Book Year)**

Book Year	Exported to India (via Taiwan)	Exported to The Dutch Republic	Exported to India (via Batavia)
1637/1638	2,440		
1638/1639	2,440		
1639/1640	0		
1640/1641	1,703		
1641/1642	7,997		
1642/1643	2,772		
1643/1644	5,829		
1644/1645	4,636		
1645/1646	8,967		
1646/1647	1,769		
1647/1648	3,308		
1648/1649	0		
1649/1650	0		
1650/1651	15,126		
1651/1652	20,653		
1652/1653	19,321		
1653/1654	24,326		
1654/1655	13,089		12,190
1655/1656	27,328		
1656/1657	0		
1657/1658	7,603	1,024	
1658/1659	17,934	732	
1659/1660	34,862	1,684	
1660/1661	72	1,908	
1661/1662			
1662/1663		329	
1663/1664		355	
1664/1665		0	718
1665/1666		0	20,149
1666/1667		5,108	10,806
1667/1668		0	15,786
1668/1669		0	
1669/1670		0	0
1670/1671		0	
1671/1672		0	0
1672/1673		0	0
1673/1674		0	0
1674/1675		0	0
1675/1676		0	0
1677/1678		0	0
1678/1679		1,370	0

1679/1680		0	0
1680/1681		1,259	0
1681/1682		0	0
1682/1683		2,466	0
1683/1684		2,048	1,056
1684/1685		3,838	0
1685/1686		5,907	
1686/1687		3,510	0
1687/1688		2,215	0
1688/1689		1,068	0
1689/1690		0	0
1690/1691		0	
1691/1692		14,310	0
1692/1693		12,184	0
1693/1694		13,804	30,527
1694/1695		0	5,959
1695/1696		14,387	0
1696/1697		12,479	0
1697/1698		32,660	0
1698/1699		52,445	0
1699/1700		76,910	0
1700/1701		81,956	0
1701/1702		45,715	0
1702/1703		30,883	0
1703/1704		16,592	0
1706/1707		60,374	0
1707/1708		0	0
1708/1709		69,167	0
1709/1710		0	0
1710/1711		68,042	0
1711/1712		63,736	0
1712/1713		70,085	0
1713/1714		77,329	0
1714/1715		64,576	0

Note: The numbers of the tea exported from China (via Taiwan) to India are cited from the Appendix Table 1.1 (see below)

Source: *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia (I)*:504; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662*:180; *Hollandse Mercurius*, 9:125; 10:110; 11:114; 12:100; 14:98; 15:131; 18:162; 21:75; 22:158; 39:150-151; 40:279. Id-JaAN (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1602-1799) 2495:242,247-250,871; 2496:154,157-160,162-164; 2497:1072,1320,1322,1325,1327; 2499:738,955,957-959,961-963; 2502:566; 2503:414; 2505:691; 2506:348; 2509:482; 2512:99; 2513:526-527,634; 2514:113-114; 2515:91,551-552; 2516:713-714; 2517:719-720; 2518:125,502,505,746; 2519:537-538,616-619; 2520:443,447,460,474-475,530; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, anno. 1670:142,151,176-177; 1672:235,237; 1673:273-274; 1674:185; 1675:231; 1676:215; 1677:334; 1678:455,596; 1679:46-49,51-53,428-429; 1680:631; 1681:554,767,769; 1682:1221-1222; online database of "Bookkeeper-General Batavia (after 1701)(Schooneveld-Oosterling et al., 2013), VOC 1130:1403; 1140:231; 1245:349; 1258:2347; 1264:377; 1488:466; 1490:107; 1503:160; 1504:49; 1523:182; 7533:465; *Generale Missiven*, V:467; VI:104; VII:76.

Table 1.1 Tea Exported from Taiwan and Received in Surat, Coromandel and Persia (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Book Year	Surat		Coromandel		Persia		Total Tea Export to India (with recovered amounts) (a+b+c)
	Exported to (a)	Received in	Exported to (b)	Received in	Exported to (c)	Received in	
1641-1642	1,043	x	(6,954)	660	x	x	7,997
1642-1643	(1,431)	(1,043)	(0)	6,954	(1,341)	x	2,772
1643-1644	(2,914)	1,431	x	0	2,915	1,341	5,829
1644-1645	(4,636)	2,914	x	x	x	2,389	4,636
1645-1646	(7,930)	4,636	(0)	x	1,037	x	8,967
1646-1647	(0)	7,930	(0)	0	1,769	(1,037)	1,769
1647-1648	3,308	0	(0)	0	(0)	(1,769)	3,308
1648-1649	x	3,363	x	0	x	0	0
1649-1650	x	x	x	(0)	x	x	0
1650-1651	7,542	x	7,584	x	0	x	15,126
1651-1652	8,052	(7,542)	6,257	7,585	6,344	0	20,653
1652-1653	11,025	8,052	8,296	6,257	0	6,344	19,321
1653-1654	9,878	11,025	6,300	8,296	8,148	0	24,326
1654-1655	x	9,878	4,941	x	8,148	8,281	13,089
1655-1656	13,298	12,190*	14,030	4,941	x	(8,148)	27,328
1656-1657	0	13,377	x	14,066	x	0	0
1657-1658	7,603	0	0	0	0	x	7,603
1658-1659	(17,934)	2,030	(0)	0	x	(0)	17,934
1659-1660	(17,979)	17,934	(16,883)	x	x	x	34,862
1660-1661	(0)	17,979	72	16,883	x	0	72
1661-1662	x	0	x	(72)	x	x	x

Note: The numbers in brackets are calculated conversely from the received amount of the following year, vice versa.

“*” This amount was delivered by Batavia, not Taiwan. “x” means the number is not available.

Source: VOC 1135:312; 1138:808^v; 1139:381^v; 1140:231; 1144:452^v,467^r; 1146:834^v,930^v,936^r; 1153:542^v,749^v,836^v; 1162:17^v,35^v,121^r,128^r; 1168:592^v,607^r; 1183:543,556; 1184:286^r; 1185:541^v; 1194:51^v; 1195:435^v,715^v,820^r; 1197:770^v; 1200:273^r; 1206:132-133; 1207:644^r; 1208:193,371,429^v,481^r,481^v; 1209:310; 1210:683,686,687^r, 823,839; 1215:546^v,631^r,677^r; 1216:409,414; 1224:261^v; 1227:16^r; 1228:476,551; 1232:677-678; 1233:14^v, 131^r; 1234:154^r; 1236:167,226; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, anno. 1641-1642:192; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662*:250,279,293.

Table 2 Comparison between the Amounts of Tea Ordered to Taiwan and Supplied by Taiwan to India (Dutch Pounds and Book Year)

Year	Ordered to Taiwan	Supplied by Taiwan
1640-1641	5,368	1,703
1641-1642	5,610	7,997
1642-1643	1,220	2,772
1643-1644	1,500	5,829
1644-1645	4,392	4,636
1645-1646	4,132	8,967
1646-1647	9,700	1,769
1647-1648	6,000	3,308
1648-1649	8,000	0
1649-1650	11,500	0
1650-1651	11,500	15,126
1651-1652	19,000	20,653
1652-1653	18,200	19,321
1653-1654	13,250	24,326
1654-1655	0	13,089
1655-1656	10,000	27,328
1656-1657	16,000	0
1657-1658	8,024	7,603
1658-1659	15,000	17,934
1659-1660	0	34,862
1660-1661	10,000	72

Source: Appendix Table 1; Appendix Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 The Amounts of Tea Ordered
by Batavian Authority for Surat, Coromandel and Persia
(Dutch Pounds per Book Year)**

Book Year	Surat	Coromandel	Persia	Total
1640-1641	488	4,880		5,368
1641-1642	610	5,000		5,610
1642-1643		1,220		1,220
1643-1644	0	0	1,500	1,500
1644-1645	4,392			4,392
1645-1646	3,400		732	4,132
1646-1647	7,700	2,000		9,700
1647-1648	4,000	2,000		6,000
1648-1649	6,000	2,000		8,000
1649-1650	7,500	4,000		11,500
1650-1651	7,500	4,000		11,500
1651-1652	8,000	5,000	6,000	19,000
1652-1653	7,200	5,000	6,000	18,200
1653-1654	7,250	0	6,000	13,250
1654-1655	0			0
1655-1656	1,000			10,000
1656-1657	16,000			16,000
1657-1658	8,000	24		8,024
1658-1659	15,000			15,000
1659-1660	0			0
1660-1661	10,000			10,000
1661-1662	X	X	X	
1667-1668	8,400			

Source: VOC 864:324; 865:209; 866:408; 867:537; 868:381; 869:278,412; 870:187-188; 871:309-310; 872:164-165; 873:48; 874:217; 875:225; 876:387-388; 877:261; 878:169; 879:290; 880:261-262; 881:326; 882:224; 883:378; 884:302-303; 1150:264^r; 1268:958^r.

Table 3 The Sale Price of Tea in India (including Persia) and the Cost in Taiwan or China of the Previous Year (Stuivers per Dutch Pound)

Year	Cost in Taiwan(including China)(A) in previous year	Current Year	Sale Price in India (including Persia)(B)in current year	Profit Margin (%) (B-Previous Year Cost A)/A
1641	8.5	1642	23	170
1642	8.7	1643	27.2	212
1643	7.5	1644	23.3	210
1644	6.8	1645	10.3	51
1645	6.3	1646	13.8	119
1646	6.3	1647	X	
1647	6.6*	1648	13.2	98
1648		1649	16.8	
1649	13.2	1650		
1650	13.2	1651	X	
1651	17*	1652	21	22.25
1652	6.2	1653	X	X
1653	7.2*	1654	15.5	113.4
1654	8.5	1655	X	X
1655	5.5	1656	7.7	40
1656	9.45	1657	7.3	
1657	X	1658	X	
1658		1659	18.6	
1659		1660	5	

Source: VOC 1139:528^v; 1144:452^r; 1146:856,924^v,930^v; 1149:664^r; 1153:749^v; 1158:294^v; 1162:14^v,35^v,36^r; 1168:592^v; 1172:492^r; 1185:661^v; 1188:444^v; 1195:733; 1208:187^r,463; 1210:686^r; 1215:551^r; 1224:195,221^v,447^r; 1230:185^r; 1234:154^r; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, anno. 1644-1645:240.*

*calculated reversely from the sold price and profit margin.

Currency Conversion

(When the conversion rate is mentioned in cited sources at a particular time and place, the author relies on that, rather than the general rates listed below)

1 rial (piece of eight)= 48-60 *stuivers*

1 tael=66 *stuivers* (before 1652)

1 tael=71 *stuivers* (after 1652)

1 guilder (florin)= 20 *stuivers*= 320 *penningen*

1 *ropia*= 28-30 *stuivers*

1 *pagode*= 3-3.5 *ropias*

1 *larijn*= 10 *stuivers*

Weights

1 picul= 100 catties= 122 Dutch pounds

1 Dutch pound= 0.494 kilograms

1 man=24 or 36 -36 1/4 Dutch pounds

References

Danish National Library, NKS 388 kvart, *Orientalische Reyse des Königl. Schiffs Oldenburg, beschrieben duch Joan. Petri Coertemunde. 1672-1675.* fos. 1-140.

“Id-JaAN” refers to the archives in the national archives of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1602-1799).

Id-JaAN 2495, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1683 – 31 Dec. 1683, fos. 1-1176.

Id-JaAN 2496, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1684-12 July 1684, fos. 1-826.

Id-JaAN 2497, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 12 July 1684- 31 Dec. 1684, fos. 827-1940.

Id-JaAN 2499, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 7 Aug. 1685- 31 Dec. 1685, fos. 653-1065.

Id-JaAN 2502, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1687- 31 Dec. 1687, fos. 1-993.

Id-JaAN 2503, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1688- 31 Dec. 1688, fos. 1-592.

Id-JaAN 2505, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 7 July 1689- 31 Dec. 1689, fos. 445-966.

Id-JaAN 2506, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1690- 31 Dec. 1690, fos. 1-618.

Id-JaAN 2509, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 30 June 1692- 31 Dec. 1692, fos. 469-897.

Id-JaAN 2512, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1694- 31 May 1694, fos. 1-408.

Id-JaAN 2513, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 31 May 1694 May – 31 Dec. 1694, fos. 409-949.

Id-JaAN 2514, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1695-31 Dec. 1695, fos. 1-766.

Id-JaAN 2515, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1696-30 June 1696, fos. 1-416.

Id-JaAN 2516, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 30 June 1696- 31 Dec. 1696, fos. 417-1010.

Id-JaAN 2517, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1697- 31 Dec. 1697, fos. 1-968.

Id-JaAN 2518, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1698- 31 Dec. 1698, fos. 1-765.

Id-JaAN 2519, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1699- 31 Dec. 1699, fos. 1-934.

Id-JaAN 2520, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1700- 31 Dec. 1700, fos. 1-704.

“VOC” refers to the archives of the Dutch East India Company in the national archives of the Netherlands (Nationaal Archief).

VOC 864, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den president Paulus Traudenus, per de fluyte Rijk geschreven, Batavia, 8 July 1640, fos. 320-330.

VOC 865, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Paulus Traudenus, per de fluyten Gulde Buijs en Castricum geschreven, Batavia, 26 June 1641, fos.196-221.

VOC 866, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Paulus Traudenus, per de schepen Ackerslooth en Broecoord geschreven, Batavia, 25 June 1642, fos. 402-413.

VOC 867, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den president Maximiliaen Le Maire, per 't Vliegend Hert geschreven, Batavia, 1 Aug 1643, fos. 527-540.

VOC 868, Instructie [van Anthonio van Diemen] voor d' heer Francois Caron, raed van India, vetreckende van hier met den schepe de Vreede, de fluyte Beer, 't Quel, d' Hasewint, mitsgaders de nieuwe lootsboot, na 't Eijlant Formosa als vice gouverneur van de castelen en fortressen in Tayouan, Quelangh, Tamsuiw etc. ende directeur van Compagnies traffijcq ende gheelen omslach op 't voornoemde Eijlant, daerna zijn E. sich sal hebben te reguleren, Batavia, 4 July 1644, fos. 360-388.

VOC 869, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den heer Francois Caron, per den Hen, Meerman en Hillegaersbergh geschreven, Batavia, 19 June 1645, fos.273-288.

- VOC 869, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen d' heer gouverneur Francois Caron per de fluyt de Salm geschreven, Batavia , 31 July 1645, fos. 410-425.
- VOC 870, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen d' heer gouverneur Francois Caron, per de Zeeerob ende Salm geschreven, Batavia, 18 June 1646, fos 179-191.
- VOC 871, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn]naer Tayouan aen den president Pieter Anthonisz. Overwater en den raet des Eijlants Formosa, Batavia (1647 July 11), fos 287-313.
- VOC 872, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den president [Pieter Anthonissen] Overtwater ende de raedtspersoonen des Eijlants Formosa, per de fluytschepen Maeslandt ende Hillegaersberch, Batavia, 4 July 1648, fos. 162-168.
- VOC 873, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den president [Pieter Anthonissen Overtwater] ende de raatspersoonen des Eijlants Formosa, per fluyt den Reijger geschreven, Batavia, 11 June 1649, fos. 47-50.
- VOC 874, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den E. Nicolaes Verburgh, gouverneur des Eijlandts Formosa, per de fluytscheepen 't Witte Paerdt, de Witte Duijve, de Trouw ende de Potvis geschreven, Batavia, 14 July 1650, fos. 206-221.
- VOC 875, Missive van Batavia [van Carel Reniersz.] naer Tayouan aen den E. commissaris Wilhem Verstegen en den vice gouverneur Nicolaes Verburgh, Batavia, 22 June 1651, fos 223-229.
- VOC 876, Missive van Batavia [van Carel Reniersz.] naer Tayouan aen den E. heer gouverneur Nicolaes Verburch ende sijnen raet, per Delft en fluyt Zandijck geschreven, Batavia, 27 June 1652, fos. 384-398.
- VOC 877, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen gouverneur Cornelis Caesar ende den raet, Batavia, 28 July 1653, fos.252-262.
- VOC 878, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raedt, Batavia, 21 June 1654, fos. 162-171.
- VOC 879, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raet, per 't schip Enckhuijsen, Batavia, 18 June 1655, fos. 282-293.
- VOC 880, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tajjouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raet, Batavia, 5 July 1656, fos. 259-265.
- VOC 881, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den E. Frederick Coyett ende raedt, Batavia, 25 July 1657, fos 322-330.
- VOC 882, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Frederick Coyett ende den raet, Batavia, 20 July 1658, fos. 222-228.
- VOC 883, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Frederick Coyett] ende den raedt aldaer, Batavia, 17 June 1659, fos 376-379.
- VOC 884, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Frederick Coyett] ende den raet aldaar, Batavia, 16 July 1660, fos. 264-313.
- VOC 1130, Missive van gouverneur jan van der Burch naer Batavia aen gouverneur general Anthonio van Diemen, Tajjouan, 16 Feb. 1639, fos. 1401-1404.
- VOC 1135, Copie missive van Arent Gardenijs uijt Chormandel aen den gouverneur generaal Anthonio van Diemen ende raden van India, Coromandel, 16 Feb. 1641, fos. 312-316.

- VOC 1138, Missive van Paulus Traudenus naer Choromandel aen de gouverneur Arent Gardenijs, Tayouan, 17 Nov.1641, fos. 808-809.
- VOC 1139, Copie missive van gouverneur Arent Gardenijs uijt Casteel Geldria aen den directeur Paulus Croocq in Suratte, Surat, 17 Mar. 1642, fos. 381-383.
- VOC 1139, Prijscourant van de coopmanschappen soo desen in 1642 in Gamron gedebitteert comen warden, Persia, not dated 1642, fo. 528.
- VOC 1140, Factura vande naervolgend contanten ende coopmanschappen die door ordre van den E. Hr. Paulus Traudenus gouverneur deser plaets gescheept ende gelaaden zijn int oorlochs jacht Reijnsburch gaende van hier onder cognisement van den oppercoopman ende schipper des selfs over Mallacca nae Zuratta geconsigneert aenden E. Hr Paulus Croocq dierecateur ende opperhoofd over de nederlants commertie inde hindoustanse quartieren ofte zijn Es gesubstitueerde aldaer alles geasorteert, gepackt ende costen als volcht, Tayouan, 17 Nov. 1641, fos. 231^{r-v}.
- VOC 1144, Facture vande naervolgende Chineesche Coopmanschappen ter ordre vande E. Hr. gouverneur Paulus Traudenus in Tayouan gelaeden int jacht de Pauw, navigeerende op 12 November passado vandaer door de strate van Mallacca over Cheijlon ende Goas , Bhare nae Souratta geconsigneert aen d. E. Paulus Croocq, welck voorsz jacht den 13en stantij (Godt sij loff) in Souhalijs Chom- salve is aengelanght, ende dato deeses door gemelten E directeur meted hier volgens gespecificeerde goederen onder cognisement van den schipper Jan Jilissen ende onder coopman H Boudewijn van Lockhorst nae Gamron gesonden ende geadresseert aen d E presidenten Wolbrandt Geleijnsen de Jongh ende Carel Constant, Surat, 23 Mar 1643, fos. 452-453.
- VOC 1144, Copie notitie van den vercoop et cetera der in Suratta anno 1642 en 1643 van diverse quartieren aengebrachte contanten ende goederen, Surat, not dated 1643, fos 464-467.
- VOC 1146, Vercoop ende ontfanck der coopmanschappen desen jare 1643, per verscheijde scheepen van diverse plaets in Gamron aengebracht, Persia, not dated 1643, fos. 829-843.
- VOC 1146, Prijs courant vande volgende coopmanschappen ende goederen soo deselve op dato 16en October anno 1643 alhier in Spahan gevent ende te gelde gemaect connen werden, Persia, 16 Oct.1643, fo. 856.
- VOC 1146, Copia missive van president Carel Constant uijt Gamron aen den gouverneur general [Antonio van Diemen] ende raden van India per de fluijt Utgeest, Persia, 23 Mar. 1644, fos. 918-927.
- VOC 1146, Copia missive van president Carel Constant uijt Gamron aen den gouverneur general Antonio van Diemen ende raden van India per den Waeterhondt., Persia, 24 May 1644, fos.928- 938.
- VOC 1146, Missive van president Maximiliaen Le Maire naer Persia aen den directeur Carel Constant, Tayouan, 25 Nov. 1643, fos 936-937.
- VOC 1149, Factura van 't naarvolgende ongemunt silver ende coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen door ordre van d' E. heer Francois Caron raad van India gouverneur ende directeur deser plaetse in 't schip dat godt geleijde genaamt de vrede, vertreckende van hier onder cognisement vanden oppercoopman Leonard Winincx ende schipper Douwen Aukes over Mallacca naar Zuratta geconsigneert aenden S. Cornelis Weijlandt directeur ende opprhoofd over des companies ommeslach in d' Indostance quartieren zijnde alles geassorteert gepact ende genombreert, Tayouan, 30 Nov. 1644, fos 664-665.

- VOC 1150, Notietie wegen den eisch der coopmanschap voor 't comptoir Parsia, ende sullen deselve niet meer der als anno. passato maer eer minder gedebiteert connen worden ten ware minder quantiteit bequamen, Persia, 14 May 1643, fo. 264.
- VOC 1153, Copie missive geschreven in de Nederlandse tent aen Souhalij's strant aen de heren bewinthebberer ter vergadering van seventhien tot Amsterdam ofte tot Middelburgh, Surat, 10 Jan. 1646, fos.540-569.
- VOC 1153, Copie factura's van diverse coopmanschappen soo voor patria als de suijder quartieren, ende geladen door ordre van den directeur Arent Barentsz. te Souratta in de scheepen Nassouw ende Vogelstruijs anno 1646, Surat, not dated 1646, fos. 748-762.
- VOC 1153, Originele missive van Arent Barentsen te Souratta naer Batavia, Surat, 20 Feb. 1646, fos.836-839.
- VOC 1158, Verbael van Suratte, Persia ende Mocha, bijeengesteld door den oppercoopman seigneur Joan Verpoorten 't sedert 18 Januarij 1645 tot 25 October 1645, Surat, 18 Jan. 1645 to Oct. 25 1645, fos. 284-311.
- VOC 1162, Extract uijt de negotieboecken des comptoirs Souratta nopende de debet ende creditposten van 't comptoir generael welcke sedert primo Junij 1645 tot ultimo Maj 1646 ingeschreven zijn, Surat, 31 May 1646, fos 10-23.
- VOC 1162, Memorie ende aenwijssing van alle coopmanschappen in Persia van diverse quartieren aengebracht 1646, Persia, not dated 1646, fos. 30-37.
- VOC 1162, Originele missive door den directeur Arent Barentsen uijt Suratte aen d'Ed. heeren bewinthebberer der vereenichde Nederlandtse geotroijeerde Oostindische Compagnie ter vergaderinge van de seventhiene tot Amsterdam ofte tot Middelburgh [in tweevoud], Surat, 26 Jan. 1647, fos 120-174.
- VOC 1168, Specificatie van vercoop, winst en verlies [onder- ende overzicht gesupporteert op de cargasoenen die met verschillende schepen sedert 2 October 1647 tot 23 Maert 1648 in Souratta aengebracht zijn], Surat, 2 Oct. 1647- 23 Mar. 1648, fos. 590-593.
- VOC 1168, Diverse factura's [van de goederen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Nassouw, 26 April 1648, van de gommelacca in Januarij 1648 van 'T Persisch cargasoen uijt 't schip Maestricht gelicht, van 't gene per 't fluijtschip de Salm dato 17 Februarij 1648 van Gamron in Souratta aengebracht is, van de coopmanschappen op 11 Maert 1648 met 't fluijtschip den Coningh David van Taijouan in Souratta aengebracht, en bestaende uijt acht stux welcke sedert den 4 Januarij 1648 tot den 5 April daeraenvolgende ter laste van 't comptoir generael gebracht zijn, extract uijt 't journael van 't comptoir Souratta op 23 Februarij 1648 en een extract van 14 Maert 1648, extract uijt 't grootboecq van 't comptoir Souratta raeckende de debet en de credit posten van 't comptoir generael welck sedert primo Junij 1647 tot dato 26 April 1648 ingeschreven zijn] en cognossemerten, Surat, 26 April 1648, fos 594-615.
- VOC 1172, Missive door de oppercoopliijden Jacob Junius en J. Assenbergh aan d'Ed. heer Cornelis van der Lijn gouverneur generael en de heren raden van Nederlants India gedateerd Masulipatam, Coromandel (1649 Feb. 27), fos. 492-496.
- VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan, 20 Dec. 1650, fos. 541-550.
- VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan, 20 Dec. 1650, fos. 551-561.

- VOC 1184, Copie missive aen hare Edelens in Batavia door de heer president Laurens Pit geschreven in dato 30 Januarij 1651 per het fluijt Overschie, Coromandel, 30 Jan. 1651, fos. 286-299.
- VOC 1185, Copia missive door de directeur Joan van Teijlingen uijt Sualij aen den heeren zeventhiene, Surat, 31 Jan. 1650, fos. 657-687.
- VOC 1185, Copie missiven door den oppercoopman Dircq Sarcerius te Gamron aen den gouverneur generaal Carel Reiniersz. ende raden van India, Persia, 18 May 1651, fos 541-552.
- VOC 1188, Specificatie ofte vercoop van den coopmanschappen in 't jaer 1652 ten nederlants comptoir Gamron gedaen, Persia, not dated 1652, fo. 444.
- VOC 1194, Missive van Nicolaes Verburgh naer Batavia aen Carel Reniersz., Taijouan, 16 Dec.1651, fos.51-56.
- VOC 1195, Copie missiven aen haer Edle gouverneur general Carel Reniersz. ende d' Edle Heren Raden van India te Batavia van den oppercoopman Dircq Schouten, Persia, 22 May 1652 May 22, fos. 818-822.
- VOC 1195, Copie missiven door den directeur Gerardo Pelgrom dato 28en April 1652 per 't fluijt schip d' Patientie aen d' Edele Hr. gouverneur general Carol Reijniersz. Ende d' E. Heeren Raden van India aen Soualij strand naer Batavia, Surat, 28 Apr. 1652, fos.730-738.
- VOC 1195, Missive door den S. directeur Gerardo Pelgrom den 27 Martio uit d' Nederlandts tent aen soulays strand pr 't schip Banda aen d' Edle Hr gouverneur general Carel Reniersz. Ende d' E Heeren Raden van India naer Batavia geschreven, Surat, 27 Mar. 1652, fos. 709-726.
- VOC 1195, Missive door d' E. Hr. president Laurens Pit aen d' Edle Heer gouverneur general ende d' Edelen Raden van India, Coromandel, 27 Jan. 1652, fos. 430-437.
- VOC 1197, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen den gouverneur general Carel Reniersz., Taijouan, 29 Dec. 1652, fos.768-777.
- VOC 1200, Copie missive door d'heer gouverneur Laurens Pit mitsgaders desselffs raat pr 't Deense jacht aan haar Edele [gouverneur general Carel Reniersz] tot Batavia, Coromandel, 8 Feb. 1653, fos. 273-274.
- VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 26 Feb. 1654, fos. 140-172.
- VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos. 132-139.
- VOC 1207, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen Laurens Pith, gouverneur op de custe van Choromandel, Tayouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos.643-646.
- VOC 1208, Copie missive door d' Hr. directeur Gerardo Pelgrom in dato 18en April anno 1654 uijt Souratta aen d' E. Hr. gouverneur general ende d' E. Hren. Raden van India naer Batavia geschreven, Surat, 18 Apr. 1654, fos 414-439.
- VOC 1208, Copie Missive van Gerado Pelgrom uijt Suratte aen d' Edle Heere gouverneur general Carel Reijniersz ende d' E. Heeren Raden van India, Surat, 29 Apr. 1653, fos. 371-380.
- VOC 1208, Corte facture van d volgende coopmanschappen per 't fluijdt schip d' Trouws en 't jacht d' Griffioen dato 20 junij anno 1654 soo van Battavia, Taijouan, Mallacca, Wingurla, als Souratta alheir ter reede Gamron aengebracht, Persia, 20 June 1654, fo. 187.
- VOC 1208, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Persia aen Dirick Sarcerius, directeur in Persia, Taijouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos. 193-195.

- VOC 1208, Originele missive van den directeur Gerardo Pelgrom uijt Suratte aen de heeren bewindhebberen ter vergaderinge van zeventhiene tot Amsterdam, Surat, 1 Feb. 1655, fos. 464-485.
- VOC 1208, Specificatie van den vercoop, wins ten verlies, onderwicht, gesupporteert op de cargasoenen die met de scheepen Muijden, Avenhorn, Weesep, Griffion, Trouw, Sluijs, D' Leeuw en Cabeljauw, 't sedert 24en Dezember 1653 tot dato ult-o Majj 1654 soo van Batavia, Ceijlon, Malacca, Taijouan en Gamron in Souratta sijn aengebracht, Surat, 24 Dec. 1653 to 31 May 1654, fos. 463.
- VOC 1209, Copie missiven aen Joan Maetsuijker gouverneur generael en raden van India door gouverneur Laurens Pitt in het Casteel Geldria, Coromandel, 15 Feb. 1655, fos. 309-355.
- VOC 1210, Missive van den gouverneur Laurens Pitt aen de Edle Heeren Bewinthebberen ter vergaderinge vande seventhiene, Choromandel, 3 Feb. 1656, fos. 683^{r-v}.
- VOC 1210, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen Laurens Pith, gouverneur op de custe van Choromandel, Taijouan, 26 Nov. 1655, fos.684-688.
- VOC 1210, Corte facture der naervolgende diversche coopmanschappen welcke door bevel van der Heer directeur Hendricq van Gent in t jacht vlielant geschept ende aande coopluijden Cornelis Majj ende Jan Barra (opperhoofden over s'Comp- is negotie in Bassoura) geconfigneert en verscheven sijn, omme deselve tot soo hoogh prijs (ten voordeele der (generaale comp-e) als doeneelijck sal wesen verhandelt te warden alles bestaet en cost, Basra, not dated 1656, fo. 823.
- VOC 1210, Copie missive door Jacob Willemsz. en raad tot Gamron aen den Ed. heer gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de raden van India tot Batavia in dato 22 April 1656, Persia, 22 Apr. 1656, fos. 839-849.
- VOC 1215, Copie missive door d' Edele Heer directeur Hendrik van Gent aen d' Edele Hr. Joan Maetsuijcker gouverneur general ende d' Edele Heeren Raden van India, per d' jachten Naerden en d' Goudsblom, Surat, 29 Apr. 1656, fos. 545-566.
- VOC 1215, Notie van 't gewichte der onderstaande coopmanschappen welcke desen jaare 1656 per de jachten Naarden, Goutsblom, en Vlielandt van Batavia, Malacca, en Tayouan, hier aengebracht en in Comptoir Souratta ende Pachuijsen berustende sijn waarvan de corrective specificatie hier naar (als d' goederen geleverd sullen wesen), Surat, not dated 1656, fos. 631-632.
- VOC 1215, Copie missive naer patria aen bewinthebberen ter vergaderinghe van de seventhiene door directeur Hendrick van Gent tot Suratte, Surat, 12 Apr. 1656, fos 675-683.
- VOC 1216, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen den gouverneur Laurens Pith, Tayouan, 26 Nov. 1655, fos.408-411.
- VOC 1216, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Suratta aen directeur Hendrick van Gendt, Taijouan 26 Nov. 1655, fos. 414-415.
- VOC 1224, Copia spetificatie vanden vercoop winst ende verlesen als onderwichten gevallen op de coopmanschappen, dit mousson anno 1657 van Batavia, Taijouan Malacca ende Persia alhier sijn aengebracht geweest, Surat not dated 1657, fo. 195.
- VOC 1224, Extract uijt het grootboek zeghe journaal des comptoirs Suratta raakende de debet posten van winst en verlies zedert primo Junij 1656 tot ultimo Majj 1657, Surat, 1 June 1656 to 31 May 1657, fos. 221-222.
- VOC 1224, Originele missive van den directeur Leonard Winninx en raet tot Souratte aen de seventiene, Surat, 2 Feb. 1658, fos. 259-268.

- VOC 1224, Copie missive van den directeur Jacob Willemsz. en raet aen de seventiene in dato 15 Meij 1658, Persia 15 May 1658, fos.446-447.
- VOC 1227, Copie missiven door gouverneur Laurens Pit en raad tot Geldria naer Batavia, Coromandel, 13 Mar. 1658, fos 14-25.
- VOC 1228, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Souratta aen Hendrijck van Gent, directeur in Souratta, Taijouan, 8 Dec. 1656, fos 476-477.
- VOC 1228, Missive van Frederick Coyett naer Malacca aen gouverneur Joan Thijssen, Taijouan, 8 Dec. 1657, fos. 551-553.
- VOC 1230, Copie missive door den directeur Leonard Winninx en raet aen de seventiene ter camer Amsterdam, Surat, 6 Oct. 1659, fos. 184-193.
- VOC 1232, Specificatie waarbij gesien kan warden hoedanich de onderstaende koopmanschappen desen jare 1661 op 't comptoir gamron sijn verkocht, oock wat onder als overwichten d'selve hebben gegeven, en wat daer op g'advanceert is, Persia, not dated 1661, fos. 677-678.
- VOC 1233, Missive door den heer gouverneur Laurens Pit en de raedt aen gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de heeren raden van Indien tot Batavia geschreven, Coromandel, 24 Mar. 1660, fos 13-23.
- VOC 1233, Missive door den heer directeur Leonard Winninx en raet aen gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de heeren raden van Indien tot Batavia geschreven, ultimo April 1660, Surat, 30 Apr. 1660, fos. 110-140.
- VOC 1234, Copie missive van den directeur Leonard Winninx en den raedt in Souratte, in dato 28 April 1660 aen de vergaderingh der seventiene geschreven, Surat, 28 Apr. 1660, fos. 154-155.
- VOC 1236, Missive van den gouverneur Frederick Coyett naer Batavia aen den gouverneur general Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 10 Dec. 1660, fos. 166-168.
- VOC 1236, Missive door den gouverneur Laurens Pit aen d' Edle Heer gouverneur general Joan Maetsuijcker ende d' Edele heeren raden van India tot Batavia, Coromandel, 11 Feb. 1661, fos 225-240.
- VOC 1245, Corte aanwijssinge der rendimenten, winst en verlies op de coopmanschappen anno 1664 in Suratte vercocht, Surat, not dated 1664, fos 349-350.
- VOC 1258, Copie missive door den heer gouverneur Anthonij Paviljoen ende den raedt tot Palliacatta aan haar [Edele Joan Maetsuijcker ende d'Edele Heeren raden van India] tot Batavia in dato 10 Februarij 1666, Coromandel, 10 Feb. 1666, fos 2347-2347.
- VOC 1261, Copie resolutie van den directeur Abraham Hartman en raet, Surat, 16 May 1667, fos. 757-758.
- VOC 1261, Originele missive van den directeur Andries Bogaert en raet aen de seventiene in dato 14 Maert 1668 [zwaar beschadigd en losse stukken], Surat, 14 Mar. 1668, fos. 814-819.
- VOC 1264, Missive door den heer gouverneur Anthonij Paviljoen en raedt aen haer edele heeren gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en raden van India, 7 Maert 1667, Coromandel, 7 Mar. 1667, fo. 377.
- VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Anthonij Paviljoen ende den raad aan haar [Edele Joan Maetsuijcker ende d' Edele Heeren raden van India] tot Batavia geschreven van dato 13 Februarij 1668, Coromandel, 13 Feb. 1668, fos. 957-969.
- VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Andries Bogaert ende den raedt aan haar Eds. tot Batavia geschreven van dato primo Maj 1668, Surat, 1 May 1668, fos. 1300-1320.

- VOC 1268, Missive door den directeur IJsbrant Goske ende den raadt aan haar Eds. in Batavia, Garmon, 26 May 1668, fos. 1356-1372.
- VOC 1488, Originele missive door den gouverneur generael ende raden van Indien aen de heeren bewinthebberen ter camer Amsterdam geschreven, Batavia, 31 Jan. 1692, fos. 457-471.
- VOC 1490, Originele generale missive door den gouverneur generael en raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 24 Mar. 1692, fos. 11-127.
- VOC 1503, Originele generale missive door den gouverneur generael en de raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 9 Feb. 1693, fos. 8-162.
- VOC 1504, Originele generaele missive door den gouverneur generael en raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 14 Mar. 1693, fos. 12-55.
- VOC 1523, Originele missive door den gouverneur generael en de raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 6 Feb. 1694, fos. 12-190.
- VOC 7533, Originele generale missive van haar Eds. de hooge regering tot Batavia aan de hoog Ed. heeren bewinthebberen ter vergadering van de seventienen tot Middelburgh in Zeelandt, Batavia, 8 Feb. 1696, fos. 23-469.
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荷蘭東印度公司在臺灣經營的 中國茶葉轉口貿易（1641-1660）： 歐洲十八世紀茶葉消費擴張的前奏

鄭維中

摘 要

十六世紀後，歐洲人始接觸到由中國引進的異國飲品：茶，但直到十八世紀後，其消費才真正在歐洲大為擴展。學界一般認為飲茶活動突然大量增加的原因多與近代早期歐洲當時社會狀況的變化有關：亦即為都市化的發展與中產階級的躍升所致。雖然十七世紀居於亞洲各地的荷蘭、英國與葡萄牙人已然熟習飲用茶水，卻僅在 1680 年代後，荷蘭東印度公司與英國東印度公司才將之視為可賺取利潤的商品，持續的運回歐洲銷售。在十七世紀中期，在荷蘭與英國東印度公司的商品清單上，不時可見到茶葉，卻多是供給印度及波斯所需，特別是載運到蘇拉特銷售。此一現象應與當時中國經歷發生於 1644 年至 1683 年間，明亡清興的朝代變遷有所關連。明清鼎革之戰亂阻斷了中國西部輸出茶葉到中亞的傳統茶馬交換貿易管道，使得中亞的蒙古商人無法將茶葉轉口，直至波斯。波斯商人轉而向海上渠道尋求進口茶葉。荷蘭東印度公司此時於臺灣設有商館，與福建商人建立緊密貿易關係，而得以將茶葉轉口至印度與波斯，直到 1662 年荷蘭人離開臺灣為止。本文即研究十八世紀歐洲人開始大幅消費茶葉之前，1641 至 1660 年間臺灣轉口中國茶葉到印度的貿易，以及在當時的海上茶路，唐人、印度人、波斯人、歐洲人的飲茶形式。作者認為，在海上茶路的跨文化居住地如大員、巴達維亞、萬丹、阿瑜陀耶、蘇拉特等，種種日常公私場合中，常有喝茶場合，使得英國東印度公司、荷蘭東印度公司人員得以接受飲茶習慣，特別是加糖喝茶的方式。此一飲用甜茶的習慣可能與海上茶路中的跨文化遭遇有關。雖然在福建只有某些節慶時供應甜茶，東南亞各地的穆斯林社群卻均有使用糖果或甜點配飲的習慣。飲茶習慣可能經過許多不同管道傳播。儘管如此，大員或熱蘭遮市鎮作為海上茶路的一處歐亞城市，鑑於其作為茶葉供應處此一不可取代的地位與跨文化中介地的功能，應該對於荷蘭人接受飲茶習慣有相當大的貢獻。

關鍵詞：飲茶習慣、荷蘭東印度公司、大員、熱蘭遮市鎮、蘇拉特