Taiwan in the Perspectives of Asian Ceramic Trade— Concentrations of Ceramic Shards found at Archaeological Sites of the 17th and 18th Centuries

Takashi SAKAI
Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan University, Taiwan

1. Preface -- The Zheng regime in Taiwan among the Asian Ceramic Trade

From documentary history it is known that the Zheng regime in Taiwan (1661 to 83) was actively involved in trading with Japan and Southeast Asia. But historic documents show limited information about the actual transactions. Moreover, the relationship between Asia and Taiwan after surrender to the Qing Dynasty in 1683 was even more rarely documented. Especially, we have no documents regarding to import of Fujian ceramics of less quality, although much material evidence was reported.

Yet, certain aspects of the ceramic trade were preserved in the material evidence of archaeological data, which illustrate the special position of Taiwan in the junk trade during the 17th century as well as its continuing Asian connection in the 18th century.

In this point of view, firstly I will discuss the meaning of findings in Kiwulan（淇武蘭） Site, Yilan（宜蘭）, which was practiced a remarkable archaeological research in recently. And as next, based on archaeological data, mainly from recoveries at the Tirtayasa Site in Indonesia, and three other historical sites in Taiwan, Zuoying (左營) Site at Kaohsiung （高雄）, the Zeelandia Castle Ruin at Tainan, and the Neian (內按) Site at Penghe （澎湖）island, this paper aims to restore the junk trade network that was related to the entire of Asia at that the 18th century.

2. Ceramic Findings from Kiwulan Site, Yilan

This site is located at small rivers junction in Lanyang Plain where is 5km from the coast or 5km north from Yilan City. During archaeological excavation research in

2001-03 held by National Taiwan University, it was found 125 tombs and 197 manmade holes, and then it is estimated a large scaled graveyard and settlement of aborigine people[1].

By such excavation research, numerous number of ceramic shards were unearthed, and I can approximately classified foreign ceramics in 3 periods during the end of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century[2], as followed;

The I Period: after the end of the 16th century till the mid of the 17th century
The II Period: after the end of the 17th century till the end of the 18th century
The III Period: the 19th century

Here I would explain several remarkable ceramic findings by each period with production places.

The I Period

Jingdezhen（景德鎮）: blue & white bowl with dragon motif (Fig.1)
blue & white bowl with arabesque motif (Fig.2)

Zhangzhou（漳州）: blue & white bottle with leaf motif and blue glaze vases (Fig.3)
celadon vase
enamel dish with floral motif (Fig.4)

Fujian kilns: white porcelain (Anping 安平壺) jar (Fig.5)

Southern China: green/brown glaze kendi

Sing Buri, Thailand: stoneware jar (Fig.6)

The II Period

Jingdezhen: brown with blue & white small cup (Batavian ware Fig.7)
enamel bowl with floral window motif

Dehua（德化）: white porcelain covered box
blue & white dish with dragon motif
blue & white small bawl with rough flower motif (Fig.8)
white porcelain dish/bowl

[1] 宜蘭縣立蘭陽博物館 2005 & 陳有貝・邱水金 2007

[2] Based on 陳有貝、李貞瑩 2004 and special exhibition in 2011 of Lanyang Museum.

brown glaze small cup

Fujian kilns: blue & white dish/bowls with stamped motif (Fig.9)

blue & white dish/bowl with Lingzhi mushroom motif (Fig.10)

blue & white dish with floral motif

enamel bowl

The III Period

Jingdezhen: blue & white spoon

Fujian kilns: blue & white bowl/dish with floral motif (Fig.11)

blue & white curved edge bowl (Fig.12)

Fig.1 Jingdezhen blue & white bowl

Fig.2 Jingdezhen blue & white bowl

Fig.3 Zhangzhou blue & white bottle

Fig.4 Zhangzhou enamel dish

Fig.5 Fujian Anping jars

Fig.6 Sing Buri stoneware jar

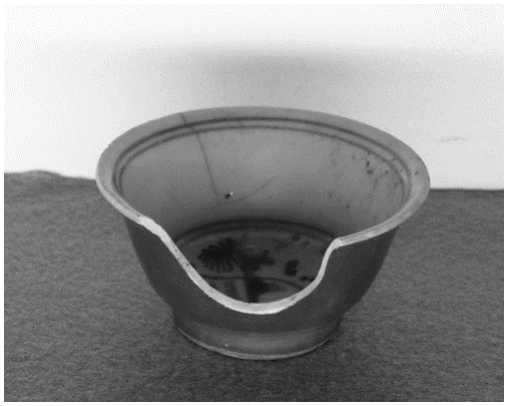


Fig.7 Jingdezhen Batavian ware small cup

Fig.8 Dehua blue & white small bawl

Fig.9 Fujian blue & white dish

Fig.10 Fujian blue & white dish

Fig.11 Fujian blue & white bawl

Fig.12 Fujian blue & white bawl

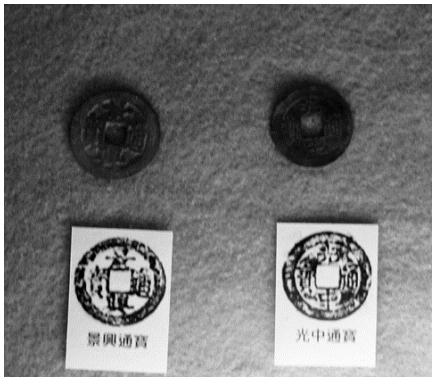
Ceramics in the I Period are not much quantity except Anping jars, but we can easily pointed out the existence of typical trade ceramics manufactured both Chinese and Thai kilns. Among them blue & white bowl with dragon motif is thought as the earliest ceramic finding in this site with dating the end of the 16th century. Anping jar[3] is most common ceramic found in almost every Taiwanese archaeological site in the 17th century. In this site numerous number of Anping jars were found, which is included several findings inside of tombs.

In the II Period, it is important Batavian ware small cup as superior quality trade ceramic for Southeast Asian market. However, the other ceramics, mainly manufactured in Dehua or other kilns in Fujian, are possible to categorize as inferior quality or mass-products ceramics, such as Dehua ware manufactured mold teqnique. Among them especially Dehua bowl with rough flower motif and Fujian dish with Lingzhi mushroom motif are very popular ceramics, which are spread wildly in much number of archaeological sites of Asia during mid and late half of the 18th century.

Ceramics in the III Period ware almost made in kilns of Fujian with rough decoration way. In this site we can find much number of different motifs bowl, which almost had not been found in the other sites in Southeast Asia.

---

[3] Anping jar was continually manufactured along the 17th century, and frequently unearthed together with Japanese Hizen ware such as the condition in Zeelandia Castle Ruins, Tainan, or much archaeological sites in Southeast Asia. However among my observed shards of Kiwulan Site, I could not found Hizen ware yet.



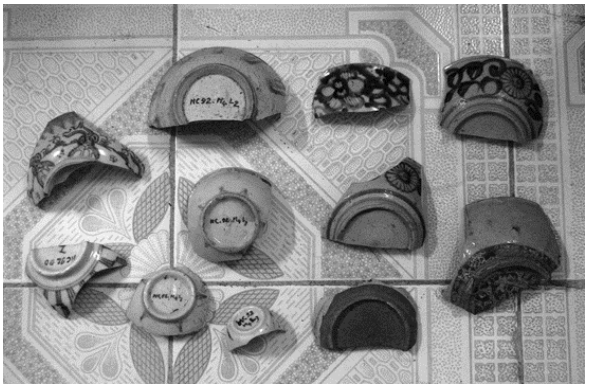


Fig.13 Vietnamese coins found in Kiwulan　　Fig.14 Fujianese ceramics found in Pho Hien

Moreover we have to take care about two kinds of the other artifacts of this site. One is various kinds of smoking pipe consist with ceramic, stone and bronze. Because it possible to think some relationship with Southeast Asian Continent in ceramic pipe, while some of bronze pipe is very similar with Japanese one in the 17th century.

Another important finding is 2 Vietnamese coins, both 景興通寶, manufactured by Le Dynasty in 1740, and 光中通寶, manufactured by Tay Son Dynasty in 1788 (Fig.13). These coin were produced in Northern Vietnam, where has an international port city, Pho Hien. If we consider archeological finding of this port included Dehua/Fujian wares both the 18th and 19th centuries (Fig.14), it is clear the finding of these coins is suitable with trade connection around such period.

By finding of Kiwulan Site, we can easily think long distance ceramic trade network already connected with Northeast coast of Taiwan during the 16th and the 19th century.

3. Archaeological data from the Tirtayasa site, Indonesia

At the Tirtayasa Site in Banten, which is located in the western Java Island, Indonesia (Map1), numerous ceramic shards were recovered from a series of archaeological excavations from 1997 to 2006[4]. This site is located 30km east of

[4] The results of 7 times research were published as 坂井編.2000, 2004 and 2007.

Banten Lama, which was the former capital and largest port city of the Banten Sultanate after the first half of the 16th century. The site is also known as the royal residence of Sultan *Ageng Tirtayasa* ('the Great Sultan', 1651 - 82), who established a period of great prosperity for this Sultanate, one of the most powerful maritime kingdoms in the Southeast Asian archipelago during the second half of the 17th century[5].

Map.1

Sultan Ageng was believed to live here between from 1678 to 1681 after he transferred his political power to his son, Sultan Haji. The result of our excavations suggested, however, that this site was used for irrigated rice fields before the establishment of the palatial residence during 1662 to 1678.

The jointed research between Indonesian National Archaeology Research Center and the Japanese Society for Banten Sites Sudies (JSBSS), initially from 1997 to 1999, and thereafter 2001 - 2002 and 2004 - 2006, has unearthed imported ceramic shards in this site.

---

[5] See in Guillot 1990, Reid 1988 and 坂井 2002b

These ceramic shards are identified productions from kilns at Jingdezhen (Fig.15) or Fujian/Guangdong area in south China (Fig.16), Hizen 肥前 kiln of Japan (Fig.17), and others Southeast Asian countries (Fig.18), dating from the beginning to the second half of the 17th century. By counting the number of the bottom parts only, we estimated minimum number of individual of ceramics that were imported at three different periods, and their relevant percentages as in the following tables[6]:

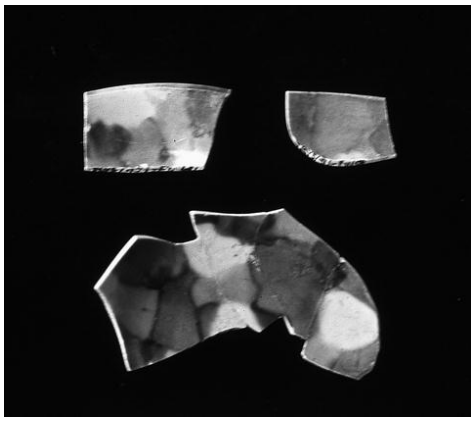


Fig.15 Small dish of Jingdezhen Kangxi sancai

Fig.16 Leaf motif of blue & white, Fujian/Guangdong

Fig.17 Kraak style blue & white, Hizen

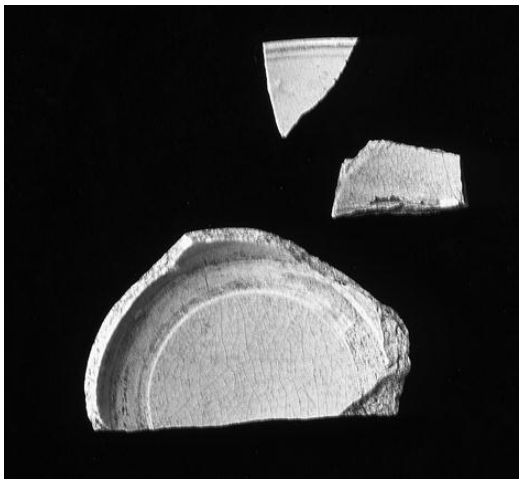


Fig.18 Vietnamese under glazed iron bowl

The cases of differences between above two tables are twofold. On the one hand, the excavation locus during the first period were included the inner villa or

[6] Due to change of research target, there is no ceramic shards data during the third period.

residence itself, while at the second period our excavation was focused on the foundation of the outer wall. It is possible that different excavation locations yield different assemblages within the site. For example, in the main occupation phase of this site (the second half of the 17th century), more large shards of Japanese Hizen ware found in the inner buildings, while numerous small shards of Chinese Jingdezhen porcelain were found in the area of the outer wall foundation. Another possible factor is that the Jingdezhen wares may have been imported somewhat earlier i.e., before the construction of the inner residential villa. Thus, domestic waste (containing Jingdezhen shards) was used as backfill for the outer wall construction. The Hizen wares, however, were brought in main occupation at the villa between 1678 and 1681, and thus were mostly scattered around these inner buildings.

Table 1. The first period of research (total 378 individual shards) at Tirtayasa

	Jingdezhen	Fujian/Guangdong	Hizen	Others	Total
1st half 17th c.	10.5%	84.2%	0	5.3%	5.0%
2nd half 17th c.	44.0%	1.2%	53.2%	1.6%	66.7%
After the 18th c.	0	0	0	100%	0.3%
Not clear	35.8%	45.3%	0	18.9%	28.0%
Total	40.0%	17.7%	35.4%	6.9%	

Table 2. The second research period (total 95 individual shards) at Tirtayasa

	Jingdezhen	Fujian/Guangdong	Hizen	Others	Total
1st half 17th c.	25.0%	43.8%	0	31.3%	16.8%
2nd half 17th c.	57.0%	19.0%	19.0%	5.0%	78.9%
After the18th c.	0	0	0	0	0%
Not clear	0	100%	0	0	4.2%
Total	39.8%	14.8%	31.8%	13.7%	

Beside these aspects, the data from the results of the excavations reveals for us some remarkable points about the ceramic trade at that time.

Firstly, for studying trade of Hizen wares, it is very important to note that the

percentage of Hizen wares found at this site is higher than any archaeological sites outside of Japan. Thus, Tirtayasa possibly had played a significant role in the redistribution of Hizen wares ceramics throughout the Southeast Asia.

If put into the context of overall ceramic trade in Asia, there is more interesting issue become clear. Despite of the high percentage of Hizen wares found at this site, there is still a large amount of Chinese ceramics dated from the second half of the 17th century, including products from both Jingdezhen and Fujian-Guangdong. These Chinese ceramics amount to 45.2% of the total recovery in the first period of excavation and 76.0% in the second one.

Secondly, the fact of the occupation period of this site, peaked between 1662 and 1681 reveals another important relevance to the East Asian history in general.

The most typical evidence is the Jingdezhen blue & white ware[7]. For example, figure 19 illustrates a large bowl, decorated with plant and stones at outside and insects and plant at inside. It is identified as a product made between the 1660's and the 1680's based on characteristics of these motifs[8]. In the bottom, there are at least three Chinese characters, and one of them appears to be "康". It is easy to consider that these are a part of "大清康熙年製", suggesting that this peace was made during Qing's Kangxi period.

Fig.19 Jingdezhen blue & white dish dated to Kangxi period

[7] 坂井編 2000, pp.95 No.007J

[8] Identification by Ohashi Koji, see in pp.43 of 坂井編 2000. It need to compare with recovery at Zeelandia Castle Ruins, such as No.3-1, pp.25-21 in 劉 et al.2007.

Kangxi period ranged during from 1662 to 1722. However, we found no "estimated individual" of the 18th century Chinese ceramic. Only very few shards dating after the end of the 17th century to the 18th century were found[9], but they are of lower quality than Chinese ceramic of the second half of the 17th century.

Our excavations reveal no substantial occupation at this site after the end of the 17th century, and also there are no historical records of this place since the fall of the Great Sultan by the Dutch attack at 1682. Accordingly, I estimate that the existence of very few Chinese shards dated to this later period may have came from Banten Lama, which was still active as an important base for ceramic trade.

Therefore, such Jingdezhen shards dated Kangxi period was considered produced before 1682, which accords with our dating for ceramic classification.

Most importantly, this site was occupied almost contemporaneously with the Qing's strict Maritime Prohibition (*Haijin* 海禁) against overseas trade in its confrontation with the Zheng's polity in Taiwan. Between 1661 and 1681, the Qing government even enforced the great "Evacuation Order"(遷界令), which forced coastal inhabitants to transmigrate inland. It is widely believed that the act had completely ceased Chinese involvements in overseas trade, including ceramic exports.

It could be said, however, that archaeological discoveries from in the Tirtayasa Site will challenge this thinking based entirely on historical records, because we found large number of Chinese ceramics dated this specific time period.

These Chinese ceramics were certainly imported from the various production places in the south China. In other words, if this maritime prohibition was firmly enforced, there should have been no ships that could carry Chinese ceramics to Java. Therefore, our findings in Tirtayasa in West Java indicate that the Qing government's prohibition was not perfectly enforced, at least during the time period when the villa was occupied between 1678 and 1682.

This circumstance has been pointed out by Iwao Seiichi (岩生成一)[10], in his

---

[9] Only a Jingdezhen bowl shard (No.366, pp.108), 3 kinds of Fujian-Guangdong bowl shards (No.209, 210, 025 pp.109-110) were found (坂井 2000).

[10] See in 岩生 1953

account that among the 709 junks called at Japan during the period of Qing Maritime Prohibition, some 10 junks (a total of 224 vessels) sailed annually from the China to Nagasaki (長崎), in the western Japan. During the Sanfan War (三藩之亂), in particular, from 1674 to 78, more than eleven junks had called at Nagasaki from both Fuzhou and Guangdong.

This has become clearer in the archaeological data of the Tirtayasa Site.

4. The Junk Trade

Up until now, it has been believed that the Qing's prohibition of overseas trade was completely effective and therefore the export of Chinese porcelains from both Jingdezhen and Fujian-Guangdong wares were completely stopped as like as the Dutch documents of Nagasaki, that show us the drastically changed condition from import of Chinese Jingdezhen porcelain to export of Japanese Hizen porcelain after late half of the 1640's[11]. The stoppage of Chinese products brought about the rapid growth of Japanese Hizen porcelain in the world ceramic market[12]. Although, as mentioned above, the percentage of Hizen wares at the Tirtayasa Site is higher than any other archaeological sites outside of Japan, I consider the percentage of Chinese porcelains more meaningful, which are over 45% and 76% respectively, in earlier and later occupational period of the Tirtayasa Site.

A review of relevant archaeological and historical data, such as discoveries of Japanese Hizen porcelain at the Zuoying(左營) Site, Kaohsiung(高雄), Hizen stoneware shards in the Zeelandia Castle Ruins, Tainan, and Myanmar white

---

[11] As common condition, the slump condition of Chinese trade between after 1645 and 1684 is well known such as study of A. Reid (Reid1988, pp.311-315). Regarding decreasing of arrival Chinese junks in this period, L. Blusse wrote case in Batavia (Blusse1986) and condition in Nagasaki was also discussed Iwao Seiichi (岩生 1953) or Nagazumi Yoko (永積洋子編 1987). And Yamawaki Teijiro (山脅悌次郎) ever appeared his detail study for relation of Chinese porcelain import and Japanese porcelain export in Nagasaki based on Dutch documents (山脅 1988).

[12] Recently total condition of Japanese Hizen ceramics export by archaeological evidences was published, and its export condition during this period in the world is explained in detail by each area (九州近世陶磁學會 2010).

ware shards at the Neian (內按) Site, Penghu (澎湖) [13], as well as trade documents of the English East India Company, shows that the network of the junk trade would have connected Japan, Taiwan and Indonesia at that time. It is clear that the Qing's trade prohibition was, in reality, not so perfectly practiced and the strong consumer demand for the Chinese ceramics supported the revitalization of the junk trade in the eastern part of Asia among the war condition around south Chinese coast area.

I will now endeavor to detail these data in simple terms.

In the test excavation at the walled site of the Qing Dynasty in Zuoying, Kaohsiung, conducted by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica in 1988, a lot of ceramic shards were found. After three years publication of excavation report[14], a new re-analysis by Hsieh Ming-liang (謝明良) shows that at least three shards of blue and white bowls shards are identified as Hizen porcelain of the second half of the 17th century[15]. These findings confirmed afterwards by Ohashi Koji (大橋康二) as products between the 1660's and the 1670's, became the earliest archaeological manifestation for Hizen wares in Taiwan. Moreover, this estimated production date of these porcelain shards clearly indicates that they were imported by the Zheng government that ruled Taiwan after 1662, instead of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) that occupied Taiwan from 1623 to 1661.

The discovery of Hizen stoneware shards in the Zeelandia Castle Ruins during 2003 has the same significance for understanding the export trade of Hizen wares[16]. This type of stoneware, the so-called *hakeme nisai-de Karatsu* (刷毛目二彩手唐津), is a product of the second half of the 17th century but only found in a limited number of archaeological sites in Thailand and Indonesia.

In Thailand it is found in three sites: near to Nakhon Si Tahmmarat, under the

---

[13] A 'celadon' shard of finding by National History Museum team is possible to identify as Myanmar white tin glaze ware from characteristics of glaze and clay (國立歷史博物館 2003, pp.135 pic.83-84).

[14] 臧等 1993

[15] 謝 1996

[16] 謝 2005 In Zeelandia Castle Ruins also found a shard of Vietnamese green ware, see in 謝 2007.

waters of the Chao Phraya River by Ayutthaya, and the Lop Buri Site. As well, other discoveries from archaeological sites in Indonesia are Kaju and Lambaro in Aceh, Kandang in Bengkulu, Banten Lama and Tirtayasa in Banten, Pasar Ikan at Jakarta, Makassar in south Sulawesi, several sites in Kalimantan and Manatutuo in East Timor[17]. However this Hizen stoneware was never found at any archaeological sites in both Europe and the Indian Ocean area where became the main market for Hizen trade of the Dutch. At almost all such sites Karatsu ware was found together with Hizen blue and white porcelain shards. However, so far there are no similar findings this type of Hizen stoneware in Central Vietnam where many Hizen blue and white *araiso* (荒磯) motif bowl have been found. Based on differences of archaeological finding kinds in each sites of Southeast Asia, Ohashi Koji thought that Hizen ceramics were carried Zheng junks to Manila, Thailand, Lao and many part of Indonesia[18].

If we compare Dutch trade documents with archaeological data at sites mentioned above, except Pasar Ikan in Jakarta, it can be concluded that the distribution of Hizen porcelain and stoneware at other sites in this region may had be undertaken by Chinese junks. Because in almost archaeological sites in Southeast Asia *klaak* motif of Hizen blue & white, copy of special export for Europe of Chinese Jingdezhen porcelain, were unearthed together with Southeast Asian market types Hizen ceramics.

In reality also, in the ruins of the main Dutch warehouse in Batavia, in Pasar Ikan, the composition of the ceramics recovered was almost the same with that at Banten Lama, the capital of Dutch enemy during the 1660's and the 1670's. In fact, Dutch recorded import of Hizen ware to Batavia 4 times by junks and once Dutch ship from Banten[19]. As pointed out in Leonard Blusse's study of the records, the delivery of trade ceramics to Batavia was depend upon Chinese

---

[17] Based on 三上 1978, 大橋 1990 also information from Dr. E. Edwards McKinnon and 趙金勇.

[18] Besides *hakeme nisai-de Karatsu*, together found blue and white bowl with 宣明 scripts, small bottle and low grade *klaak* motif dish in Taiwan and these area (Ohashi2010).

[19] According to study of T. Volker, by junk imported Hizen porcelain 83,090 peaces in 1664, 87,000 peaces in 1669, 60,200 peaces in 1671 and 34,900 peaces in 1672, while Dutch ship carried 1,500 peaces in 1676 from Banten to Batavia (Volker1971).

junks[20]. Archaeological data, including the case of Zeelandia, suggest that this type of Hizen stoneware was possibly not brought to Southeast Asia by Dutch vessels.

The finding of Myanmar (Burmese) white-ware dish was a remarkable discovery for the excavation of Neian Site in Penghu Island, by National Museum of History, Taiwan in 2002[21]. This tin glazed ceramic have a greenish white glaze over the dark red body. It also have been seen from several Indonesian archaeological sites, such as Kaju and Lambaro in Aceh and Deli Tua near Medan in Northern Sumatra, and Banten Lama and Tirtayasa in Banten[22] (Fig.19).

These findings suggest that the Myanmar ceramics in the trade ware also likely not carried by Dutch ships, because most of these find sites ware unrelated to Dutch commercial activities. It is also possible that *Martaban* jars, Myanmar white ware and Japanese Hizen ware were transported mainly by Asian ships, especially Chinese junks.

Also these discoveries show that a trade network which connected Southeast Asian Sea area and the Indian Ocean area, existed in the eastern part of Asia at the time of Tirtayasa Site, during the second half of the 17th century. From Bago district in Lower Myanmar, where was thought to have produced area of this white ware, to Aceh, at the northern end of Sumatra, the distance is no very far. Moreover the relationship between Aceh with Banten sultanates has continued since the early 16th century. John Guy has already pointed out the

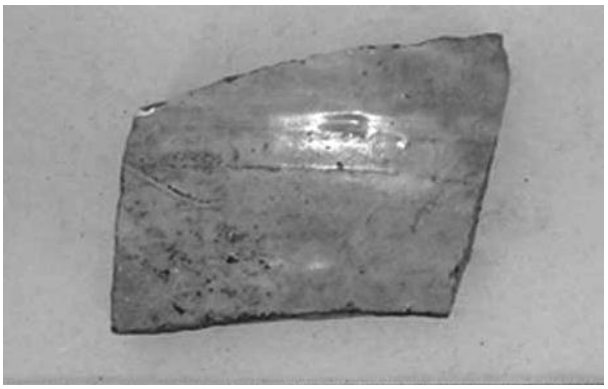
---

[20] Blusse1986 and 坂井 2002, pp.242-246

[21] 國立歷史博物館 2003, pp.135

[22] The excavated examples of Myanmar white ware were reported at Banten Lama as No.10AB of 圖版 9 in 大橋・坂井 1999, and at Tirtayasa as picture 2A & 2B of pp.101 in 坂井編 2004. Surface findings in Kaju and Lambaro are already reported in 坂井 2002b pp.214-220. The example of Deli Tua based on information of Dr. Edwards McKinnon. Among them glazed condition is divided each sides in dish/basin (Banten Lama, Kaju, Lambaro) and single side in jar probably (Banten Lama, Tirtayasa). The former group is estimated dating of the 16th century while the later group was imported at the 17th century. Both grope has common reddish-brown body, and finding in Penghu is thought as the former group. In Penghu, currently, Hizen wares recoveries were reported in 謝 2008 and 盧・野上 2008.

existence of Myanmar's ceramic trade with Java[23]. Taiwan was also likely within this sea route for Myanmar white ware trade. The same is the contemporary case for large Myanmar black glazed jar with white slipped line also known as saddle ware *Martaban* jars[24], which are found mainly around the Indian Ocean area, because Martaban port in Lower Myanmar is located at the Bay of Bengal. However, recently its finding report in Southeast Asia and East Asia is increased such as from Tirtayasa (Fig.20), the San Diego wreck in Manila bay and the Otomo-Funaimachi 大友府內町 site, at Kyusyu, Japan etc[25].



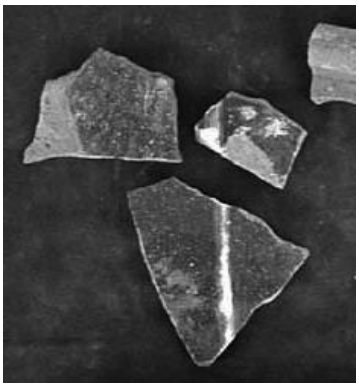


Fig.19 Myanmar greenish-white glazed ware Fig.20 Myanmar black glazed jar with white slip line

Although there is almost no direct documentation related to the ceramic trade carried by Chinese junks, we can still see it from a few relevant documents.

Firstly, the official documents for Japanese Nagasaki port, the *Kaihentai* (華夷變態), contains informative records of the eleventh junk from Batavia in the year of 1675. In this record, the captain of this junk acknowledged that the first English ship from Banten to Taiwan was five years ago to buy "blue and white dishes and bowls,", and then in 1675 another English ship came again to Amoy,

---

[23] Guy 1989, pp.8-9

[24] Large jars for necessity of long distance voyage, which ware exported from Martaban port at Lower Myanmar. This jar is a typical one of such Martaban jar after the 15th century (坂井 2005).

[25] See 坂井 2005, pp.269-276 & Fig.9-14

which was under Zheng's regime[26]. Copper and gold that were purchase by the English were imported from Japan by junks owned the Zheng family. Because the"blue and white dishes and bowls" are together listed with such Japanese products, therefore perhaps refers to Hizen wares firstly but we could not deny the possibility of Jingdezhen ware due to above mentioned fact.

On the other hand, among the English East India Company (EIC)'s documents, there is a letter of purchase instruction from London to their Amoy factory in 1681, which states[27]:

> *"Of silk wares we desire the following perticulars may be sent us by way of Fort St George of otherwise as aforesaid, vizt.----And in Japan screenes, chinaware & other China rarities, well bought, the value of 2000 dollars."*

This instruction letter was sent from headquarter of EIC in London via St. George Fort in Madras, Southeast India and Banten branch. Large part of instruction letters was carried from Banten to Taiwan based on commercial and military aid agreement between EIC and the Cheng in Taiwan, 1670. Practice of this agreement should be depended on condition of EIC branch in Banten[28].

It is quite possible that the term of 'chinaware' in this document includes Japanese Hizen wares[29].

These records show the condition of ceramic trade between the Zheng's family in Taiwan and the English East India Company in Banten. But it was thought that this Taiwanese trade with the English was it practiced on the base of Banten with a Taiwan connection[30]. In evidence, the English East India

---

[26] This is information from the Batavian ship of No.11th of this year. See in 浦 1958

[27] No.182 The East India Company in London to the Chief and factors at Amoy, August 12th, 1681 in Chang ed.1995

[28] For example, in Banten Lama there is still remained a tombstone of Roger Benitt, a captain of EIC ship dated 1677.

[29] 'chinaware' is common noun for porcelain, and recently discoveries of Hizen wares at Jinmen Island, near Amoy, were reported in 盧・野上 2008.

[30] 曹 1997

Company's documents relating to Taiwan, suggest that some junks or cargos belonging to the Banten sultan, the royal families, high officials and merchants also reached Taiwan. And it is important fact that the official trade of Banten during 1660's and 1670's were managed by Overseas Chinese *shahbandar*, Kayts and Kiai Ngabehi Cakradana[31]. Therefore, trade of Banten is possible to include into a large category of the junk trade.

5. The Ceramic Trade during the 18th Century

Because of their relationships as maritime nations in the eastern part of Asia, both the Banten Sultanate and the Zheng regime in Taiwan experienced violent political changes at almost same time. Thus in 1682 Banten lost its political sovereignty to the Dutch after their intervention in the civil war, and the Zheng surrendered to a Qing's attack the following year. Is it accidental coincidence? In fact, several captains of junks arrived Nagasaki from Batavia informed condition of the civil war in Banten, and it seems they had large sympathy for the Grate Sultan Tirtayasa side, the largest enemy of the Dutch[32]. Although these Overseas Chinese captains junk should flied the Dutch flag, their feeling was not stand on the Dutch side. At least after fall of Tirtayasa Palace, the Dutch got hegemony of trade in Banten instead of English. And supply promise of arms from English to the Zheng in the agreement between the Zheng and English at 1670[33] could not be realized in total.

It is usually said that in Asian history both these maritime nations lost their positions at that time. Therefore, the export of the Hizen wares rapidly

---

[31] In English East India Company documents we can find names such as Banten sultan, *Pengran Kedulle* (royal family, Pangeran Kidul), shahbandar *Keay Nebbe Checodanna* (Kiai Ngabehi Cakradana), merchant Abudull Mugget (Chang1995). *Shahbandar* is name of high officer who has right for trade and consular for foreign merchants in Southeast Asian Islamic kingdom. In Banten, this position was appointed for overseas Chinese merchant after the 17th century (Guillot1990).

[32] According to the official captains information of the 8th and 10th junks in 1682 and the 3rd junk in 1683 from Batavia (浦 1958). This civil war was happened between the Grate Sultan Tirtayasa and his son Sultan Haji who was supported by the Dutch.

[33] See in 曹 1997.

decreased after the cessation of the Qing's maritime prohibition and the reopening of official exports of Chinese ceramics.

However, if we consider only the economic aspects especially reflected by archaeological data, it is a different situation in terms of their maritime trade networks. At Banten, the ceramic trade, on the contrary, peaked in the first half of the 18th century despite that the Dutch has already seized the control over any large-scale pepper trade. At the same time, the role of Fujian ceramics became more important in the global Asian ceramic trade, and for the distribution of Fujian ceramics, Banten functioned as a strategic entrepot while Taiwan became just a consumer market similar to many other places in Asia.

Firstly, I show our result of analyzing ceramic shards from the Banten Lama Site, which was the former capital and major trading port of the Banten Sultanate. This research was undertaken in 1993 and 1997 by a joint research team of Japan and Indonesia[34]. In the classification of some 300,000 shards we counted 24,990 estimated individual pieces, (Table 3):

Table 3. Classification of Ceramic Shards in Banten Lama

Period	Jingdezhen	F & G	China	Hizen	Vnm	Thai	Asian	European	Total
I	5	0	12	0	13	80	0	0	110
II	397	1	9	0	1	0	3	0	411
III	782	1,071	19	14	7	33	4	92	2,022
IV	3,604	1.638	361	975	76	0	1	7	6,662
V	7,613	5,958	141	506	3	0	27	10	14,258
VI	41	727	1	1	0	0	0	757	1,527
Total	12,442	9.395	543	1,496	100	113	35	866	24,990

F & G: Fujian & Guangdong. China: other Chinese. Vnm: Vietnamese. Asia: other Asian.

Period I: before the 15th century

Period II: from early to late16th century

Period III: from end of the 16th to early 17th century

Period IV: late 17th century

Period V: from end of the 17th to the 18th century

Period VI: 19th century

[34] 大橋・坂井 1999

The ceramic trade in Banten was directly connected to the pepper trade, a special product in this region. During the Islamic period from early the 16th to early the 19th century, the political developments at Banten did not always coincide with its economic growth, as reflected in the trade ceramics from the late the 16th to the 18th centuries.

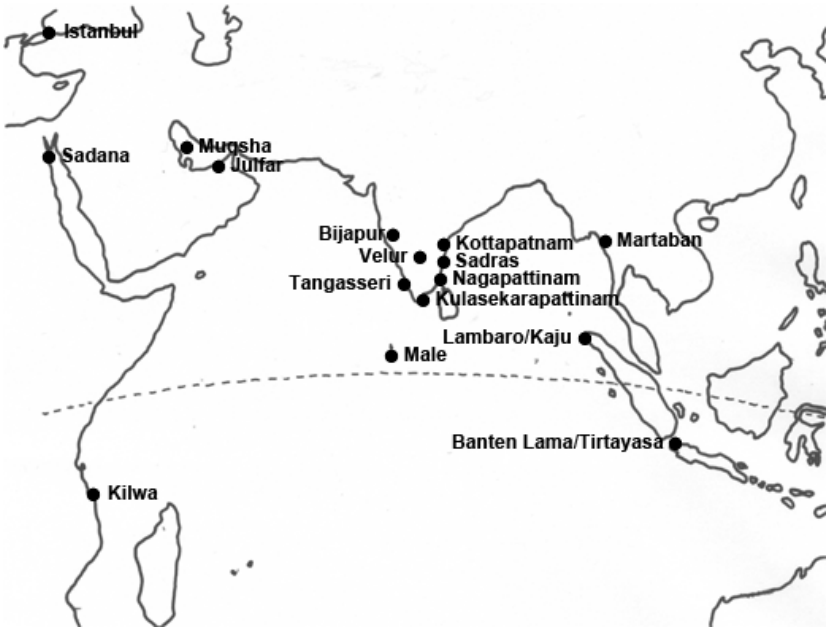
At the Banten Lama Site, ceramics were mostly high-grade gifts for the palace in the beginning, and then after the second half of the 17th century (period IV), imported tableware of inferior quality began to prevail in a greater volume. Such trend reached its peak in the first half of the 18th century (period V). At the Tirtayasa, however, ceramics of inferior quality were not found in large quantity. The trend at Tirtayasa, where unlikely had many middle class inhabitants, showed its characteristic a base for possibly the inter-continental long distance trade. Here we found many ceramics of same kinds as in the Topkapi collection at Istanbul, Turkey[35].

Fig.21 Dehua blue & white small bowl

Most these ceramics, mainly Chinese products, are dated to the 17th century, although several kinds of the 18th century ceramics are also included. It is very

[35] 坂井 2001, pp.95-99

interesting to note that one type of these 18th century products is a small blue & white bowl made from the Dehua kiln, Quanzhou (泉州) , in southern Fujian (or *Minnan*)[36] (Fig.21). This type of low quality tableware has been found at various archaeological sites all over the Asia, from Lambaro site in Aceh, northern Sumatera to Zuoying in Taiwan. There are more finding of Fujian ceramics in archaeological sites around the Indian Ocean, such as Bijapur, Kottapatnam, Velur, Sadras, Nagapattinam, Kulasekarapattinam and Tangasseri in South India, and Galle at Sri Lanka, Male at Maldives, al-Muqsha at Bahrain, Julfar at UAE as well as Sadana shipwreck at Egyptian the Red Sea, and probably Kilwa at Tanzania[37] (Map.2).



Map 2

If we put Banten into the wider context of overall Asian ceramic trade, it is clear that no matter in the long distance trade to the Indian Ocean area or mass transportation in the Southeast Asian Archipelagoes, the ceramic trade had

[36] Such as spiritual mushroom motif of blue & white bowl (No.2543) or window/check motif of blue & white small bowl (No.2646) in Krahal & Ayer 1986.

[37] 鈴木 1989, Hansman1985, Sasaki 1989, Karashima ed.2004, 佐々木 2005 and 坂井 2005, pp.278-279 also my observation in Bijapur and Galle.

increased during the 18th century. Those who were involved in the ceramic transactions were the merchants of the Chinese junk trade, mainly based in Southern Fujian or *Minnan* religions. Their trade network basically did not changed after the coming of the Europeans, and especially they began to permanently settle in the Archipelagoes since the mid-17th century. At the end of the 17th century, the activity of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), despite of their seemingly monopoly over regional trading, was considerably dependent upon the junk trade[38].

It seems that ceramics from Banten Lama dated from the mid-17th to the 18th century are quite comparable with assemblages from several other sites in the Archipelago as well as in Turkey and the Western part of Asia. In particular, the ratio of low quality ceramics increased in the 18th century. It is very possible that these commodities were re-exported by local traders, i.e., the middle class residents in Banten Lama. They were ethnically Overseas Chinese, the junk traders, whose and trading activity peaked in first half of the 18th century[39]. Many of them were still based in Banten, the strategic point *en route* to the Ottoman Empire, where during the previous century had became as the Islamic center in the world.

In brief, the reason for the highest increase of imported ceramics in Banten Lama in first half of the 18th century was no more, and no less, a result of Banten's existence as the base for such Chinese junk trade. The city of Banten was essentially a trading port, not only for exporting pepper, though the most important commodity, but also for commercial vessels to stay and wait for monsoon changes and then head for the Indian Ocean.

Therefore, we can concluded that until about the mid- 18th century, the Banten Lama site has developed to be a base for ceramics re-export in the of the Overseas Chinese trade networks.

Although there is no clear evidence in respect of any concrete political trend, it is thought that at the time of Sultan Zainal Abiddin's reign (from 1690 to 1733) there was an economical prosperity without large scale of political confusion.

---

[38] Blusse 1986

[39] The junk trade between China and Japan in this period was studied in 朱 1988.

The numerous ceramic findings reflect the condition of Banten as a contemporary base for the junk trade complementary to Batavia[40].

Another archaeological evidence, Chinese tombs, further indicates the existence of Chinese junk in Banten Lama, especially by Southern Fujian/*Minnan* merchants.

Although late the 16th century historical records have suggested Chinese immigrants, mainly from Southern Fujian/Minnan area, already in Banten[41], however, the earliest archaeological data for their residence comes from the a 1661 tomb of Hsu (許公) from Haicheng (海澄), Zhangzhou, at Klapa Dua Site, 10km south from Banten Lama[42]. Therefore numerous Chinese tombs were established around Banten Lama until the early of the 20th century. The largest cemetery so far is known at Kasunyatan site, 3km south from Banten Lama.

According to C. Salmon, there are 96 turtle shaped tombs (Fig.22) and the oldest one is dated 1693[43]. It is interesting that most birthplaces inscribed on the 12 tombstones showed to me; are from Zhangzhou district, Southern Fujian. I also saw some inscriptions dated the Yongzheng (雍正) regime (1722 - 35) in this cemetery site which was perhaps finished before 1754[44]. This is also the time period that we see most active junk trade in both VOC and Japanese historical records, which accords with evidence of ceramic shards.

---

[40] According to excavation in Pasar Ikan site in Jakarta, which is former warehouse ruins of VOC, basic tendency of ceramic finding is almost same with Banten Lama (Hasan ed.1981 and 坂井 2002 pp.241-246). However, European ceramics were only found in Batavia during late half of the 17th to 18th centuries. From this data it is possible to think that numerous Chinese ceramic import of Banten in the 18th century was carried Chinese junk directly.

[41] Chinese activity in Banten from records was already discussed in 曹 1986.

[42] Guillot et al.1990

[43] Salmon 1995

[44] At this year the first Chinese tomb Gao Cai-guan (高彩官) from Nanjing (南靖) was built in old Chinese quarter, Pabean where a Chinese temple located.

Fig.22 Turtle-shaped tomb at Kasunyatan Graveyard

This tendency continued to the 19th century. Among the 15 tombstones inscriptions from Pacinan Site, dated from the second half of the 18th century to second half of the 19th century, 10 show that home places for the dead were from Southern Fujian, including 2 'captain' or the leaders of Overseas Chinese residents[45].

Based on above archaeological data, I propose that the characteristic of Banten was the base of global ceramic trade around the 18th century, connecting Turkey at west and Taiwan at east, in which Southern Fujian/Minnan Chinese immigrants had played a significant role with their trade network connecting with other Asian ordinary trade networks in the Indian Ocean area[46].

6. Conclusions

The ceramic trade during the 17th and 18th centuries in which Taiwan took part, had a wider scale in whole Asia such as findings in Kiwulan Site etc. This time duration could be divided into two periods at the years between 1682 and 1684,

[45] 坂井 2003 *Pacinan* mens the Chinese quarter. Now these tombstones are moved in the Banten Site Museum.

[46] During the 18th century, most significant appearance as Asian native merchants in the Indian Ocean is activity of Hadharamy who were migrated from Hadhramaut area in Yemen. Their network has reached until Southeast Asian Archipelago until last of the 18th century. Currently, however, we have no evidence regarding to relation the ceramic trade in the Indian Ocean with them. See also 坂井 2005, pp.283-285

the Zheng regime in Taiwan surrendered, then Qing Dynasty relived the maritime prohibition and the Banten Sultanate subordinated to the Dutch. After this tuning point, the overall picture of ceramic trade changed completely.

At the beginning of first period, Taiwan already connected with wide scale ceramic trade connection such. And one of the keys in ceramic trade in the late half of the 17th century was the sudden emergence of Japanese Hizen wares. If we see the finding of Hizen wares in Zeelandia Castle Ruins and Zuoying Site, the appearance of export style Hizen wares, a mimic product of Jingdezhen porcelain of the last Ming style, was certainly contributed by the Zheng family in Taiwan, who remained a strong maritime power. In Banten, Hizen wares transported from Taiwan became special goods in the Islamic trade around the Indian Ocean.

Therefore Hizen wares are found in a large quantity at Banten. Yet, we should not forget the fact that no Hizen wares were would have been brought in without the association with Chinese ceramics. For example, in Tirtayasa site, where yields the highest percentage of Hizen wares, we also found that about a half of ceramics were products of China. Certainly, this evidence indicates that despite of Qing's maritime trade prohibition in practice, trade from the Chinese Continent to Southeast Asia continued via Taiwan. Taiwan during this period played a role as a strategic base to transit ceramic supply from China and Japan to Southeast Asia.

At the second period, it has been argued that Asian native powers come to an end, because of the superiority of strong European powers after finish of 'the Age of Commerce'[47]. Hizen ware has lost its function as, a symbol of cooperation between Banten and the Zheng. However, we should not forget the massive export of Chinese ceramics in this period. In Banten the ceramic trade, which was dominated by inferior quality tableware, reached to the peak, regardless the decrease of population in this port city. That represents that, a new ceramic trade was born abruptly, and it is coincided with the actuality of the junk trade.

At this period, Dehua wares with the other Fujianese wares became the symbol of ceramic trade including both superior and inferior quality. They have

[47] Reid 1988

been found in a large amount from not only Zuoying or Kiwulan but also Pho Hien in Vietnam, Banten in Indonesia and Istanbul in Turkey. Therefore, it is known that Taiwan was still involved in the global ceramic trade network, not as an important relay point but as a consumer market for Fujian ceramics.

Throughout both periods the structure of ceramic trade, as part of Asian native trade, did not changed significantly. The surrender of the Zheng regime in Taiwan and the subordination of the Banten Sultanate were happened with the correlation each other but did not related a changing of the trade structure in wide scale. The globalization of Asian ceramic trade, including Taiwan since the early of the 17th century, continued throughout the 18th century.

In this point of view, we should consider the importance of numerous ceramic finding in Kiwulan, where is located at outside of the area of the West Coast of Taiwan.

Postscript: This paper is added new information of Kiwulan Site for my paper presented 田野考古(in printing).

Bibliography

Blusse van oud-Alblas, Johan Leonard

1986: *Strange Company; Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, VKI 122. Foris Publications. Dordrecht

Chang Hisu-jung, Farrington, Anthony, Huang Fu-san, Ts'ao Yung-ho, Wu Mi-tsa (ed.)

1995: *The English Factory In Taiwan 1670-1685*, National Taiwan University, Taipei

Guillot, Claude

1990: *The Sultanate of Banten*, Gramedia, Jakarta

Guillot, C., Lukman N. and Salmon, C.

1990: Les Sucriers chinois de Kelapadua, Banten XVIIe siecle, Textes et Vestiges, *Archipel*, 30, Paris

Guy, John

1989: *Ceramic Traditions of South-East Asia*, Oxford University Press, Singapore

Hansman, John

1985: *Julfar, an Arabian Port, Its Settlement and Far Eastern Ceramic Trade from the 14th to the 18th Centuries*, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

Hasan, Ambary Ed.

1981: *Excavation Report At Pasar Ikan Jakarta*, The Ceramic Society of Indonesia, Jakarta

Karashima, Noboru Ed.

2004: *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-shards In South India and Sri Lanka*, Taisho University Press, Tokyo

Krahl, R. & Ayers, J.

1986: *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Museum, Istanbul, A Complete Catalogues*, Sotheby's Publications

Ohashi, Koji

2010: An Overview of Export Hizen Porcelain,『世界に輸出された肥前陶磁』pp.12-29、九州近世考古學會

Reid, Anthony.

1988: *Southeast Asia In The Age Of Commerce 1450-1680*, Yale Univ. Press. New Haven

Salmon, Claudine

1995: Le cimetiere chinois de Kasunyatan a Banten Lama (fin XVIIe - debut XVIIIe s.), Banten Histoire D'une Region. *ARCHIPEL* 50. Paris

Sasaki, Tatsuo

1989: Trade Ceramics from the Coast of the Indian Ocean, I, *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo

Volker, T.

1971: *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirad and Deshima, and other contemporary papers, 1602-1682*, E.J. Bril, Leiden (Originally published 1954 with series Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 11)

三上次男

1982「パサリカン遺跡出土の貿易陶磁」『貿易陶磁研究』2、東京

大橋康二

1990「東南アジアに輸出された肥前陶磁」『海を渡った肥前のやきもの展』佐賀縣立九州陶磁文化館、有田

大橋康二・坂井隆

1999「インドネシア、バンテン遺跡出土の陶磁器」『國立歷史民俗博物館研究報告』82、47-94頁、國立歷史民俗博物館、佐倉

九州近世陶磁學會

2010『世界に輸出された肥前陶磁』、有田町

山脅悌次郎

1988「唐・蘭船の伊萬里輸出」『有田町史　商業編 I』、有田町

永積洋子編

1987『唐船輸出入品數量一覽 1637-1833 年』、創文社、東京

朱德蘭

1988「清開海令後（1684-1722）的中日貿易商與國內沿岸貿易」『中國海洋發展史論文集』2、中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所、臺北

佐々木達雄

2005「ペルシャ灣と砂漠を結ぶ港町」『港町の世界史 1　港町と海域世界』、269-296 頁、青木書店、東京

坂井隆

2001「17・18 世紀のアジア陶磁貿易—バンテンの貿易を中心に—」『東洋陶磁』30、81-104 頁、東洋陶磁學會、東京

2002a *Asian Ceramic Trade and the Hizen Porcelain (Imari wares) in the 17th and 18th Century by Archaeological Data*「由考古資料論十七・八世紀陶瓷貿易及肥前（伊萬里）瓷器」『中外陶瓷史暨現代陶藝學術檢討會論文集』、189-265 頁、國立歷史博物館、臺北

2002b『港市國家バンテンと陶磁器』、1-344 頁、同成社、東京

2003「インドネシア、バンテン遺跡のパチナン華人墓」『新世紀の考古學—大塚初重先生喜壽記念論文集—』1003-1018 頁、大塚初重先生喜壽記念論文集刊行會、東京

2004「肥前磁器（伊萬里）の發展と 17 世紀後半のアジア陶磁貿易出土資料」『田野考古—臺灣地區出土瓷器資料研究特刊—』9-1、1-18 頁、田野考古編輯委員會、臺北

2005「インド洋の陶磁貿易—トルコと東アジアの交流をめぐって—」『上智アジア學』23、261-309 頁、上智大學アジア文化研究所、東京

坂井隆編

2000『バンテン・ティルタヤサ遺跡發掘調查報告書』1-114 頁、上智大學アジア文化研究所暨インドネシア國立考古學研究センター、東京

2004『海のシルクロードの據點バンテン・ティルタヤサ遺跡の陶磁貿易の研究』1-216 頁、なら・シルクロード博記念國際交流財團シルクロード學研究センター、奈良

2007『バンテン・ティルタヤサ遺跡　ブトン・ウォリオ城跡發掘調査報告書』1-218 頁、NPO 法人アジア文化財協力協會・インドネシア國立考古學研究センター、吉井

岩生成一

1953「近世日支貿易に關する數量的考察」『史學雜誌』62–11、東京

宜蘭縣立蘭陽博物館

2005『淇武蘭遺址搶救発掘報告』1

陳有貝、李貞瑩

2004 「淇武蘭出土近代瓷器簡介」、『田野考古』9

陳有貝・邱水金

2007『淇武蘭遺址:搶救発掘報告』1、宜蘭縣立蘭陽博物館

曹永和

1986「明末華人在爪哇萬丹的活動」『中國海洋發展史論文集』２、中央研究院三民主義研究所、臺北

1997「英國東印度公司與臺灣鄭氏政權」『中國海洋發展史論文集』６、中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所、臺北

國立歷史博物館

2003『澎湖　內按　中屯　歷史考古研究成果報告』台北

浦廉一解說

1958:『華夷變態』、東洋文庫、東京

鈴木重治

1989 「ケニア・タンザニア出土の中國陶磁器—1987 年度の調査から一」『貿易陶磁研究』9 号、日本貿易陶磁研究會、83-88 頁

謝明良

1996「左營清代鳳山縣舊城聚落出土陶瓷補記」『臺灣史研究』3-1 中央研究院臺灣史研究所籌備處、臺北

2005「記熱蘭遮城遺址出土的十七世紀歐洲和日本陶瓷」『國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊』18、209-232 頁、國立臺灣大學藝術史研究所、台北

2007「熱蘭遮城遺址出土的歐洲十九世紀炻器」『故宮文物』293、80-93 頁、國立故宮博物院、臺北

2008「澎湖發現的十七世紀日本肥前青花瓷」『故宮文物』303、102-113 頁、國立故宮博物院、臺北

劉益昌・鐘國風・王淑津・顏廷伃

2007「熱蘭遮城遺址所見十七世紀地層、遺構與遺物間之時空脈絡」『海域物質文化交流：十六至十八世紀歐洲與東亞、東南亞的文化互動國際學術研討會』25.1-31 頁、中央研究院歷史語言研究所・考古學研究專題中心、臺北

臧振華等

1993「左營清代鳳山縣舊城聚落的試掘」『中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊』64-3, 763-865 頁、中央研究院歷史語言研究所、臺北

盧泰康・野上建紀

2008「澎湖馬公港與金門所發見的肥前瓷器」『史物論壇』6、93-119 頁、國立歷史博物館、臺北