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OTHMAN BIN MOHD. YATIM

ORIENTAL CERAMIC FINDS IN WEST MALAYSIA:

A study of their distribution and typology

A B S T R A C T

No serious attempt has so far been made to study the types and the distribution of oriental ceramic finds in West Malaysia. This thesis is the first of such an attempt.

The oriental ceramic finds in West Malaysia are ranging from the Chinese, South-east Asian to the Japanese and Middle Eastern origins which are discussed in Chapters II, III and IV respectively. It is generally accepted that Malay Peninsula is known to the Indian, Arab and Chinese traders since ancient times. The presence of ceramics originated from those countries in West Malaysia in particular, though scanty but are not altogether lacking, provides the proof for this.

Indeed, Malay Peninsula by virtue of its geographical position astride the sea routes between the Middle East and the Far East, became the sites of economic importance where Chinese merchants could meet merchants from India and the West Asia. They carried out their business while waiting for the favourable wind to take them to their destination. This is the age when the sailing activities were entirely depend on the changing of the monsoon winds.

Historically, West Malaysia were once subjected to many outside powers; the Khmer and the Thais just to mention a few. Indeed, the presence of the Khmer and Thai ceramics, beside the one came with the trade, are of course of no surprise.

Many of the Chinese ceramic finds in West Malaysia are similar with those discovered in the Philippines and Indonesia. This is not only proves the extent of Chinese ceramic trade in South-east Asia, and the uses of ceramic by the West Malaysian people, but it also provides further indication as this thesis intends to prove that the study of the West Malaysian culture cannot be approached in complete isolation but in association with her neighbouring countries which belong to the same general cultural context.

This thesis also emphasizes the significant role played by the West Malaysia in the ancient overland and maritime trades as discussed in Chapter I, and stresses the value of ceramic as an invaluable historical source while other cultural materials have perished due to the humid tropical climate.

ORIENTAL CERAMIC FINDS IN WEST MALAYSIA :

A study of their distribution and typology

OTHMAN BIN MOHD. YATIM

(A thesis presented to the School of
Oriental Studies, University of Durham
for the degree of Master of Arts)

M. A. Thesis

October 1978

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abbreviations	(i)
Acknowledgements	(ii)
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1. WEST MALAYSIA IN THE EARLY MARITIME AND OVERLAND TRADE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA	
Introduction	20
a) The Hellenistic period and the early contacts with India	25
b) Early contacts with China	28
c) Period of kingdoms before Srivijaya and early Buddhist sea-voyages and pilgrimages	30
d) Period of Srivijaya and Majapahit	38
e) Islam and the birth of Malacca Sultanate	45
2. CHINESE CERAMICS	
Introduction	54
a) Celadons of the Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods	68
b) Black and brown-glazed wares of Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing periods	74
c) <u>Ch'ing-pai</u> wares of the Sung and Yüan periods	79
d) Early white wares and Te-hua porcelain	85
e) Blue and white of the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods	88
f) Polychrome wares of the Ming and Ch'ing periods	97

	<u>Page</u>
3. SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CERAMICS	
Introduction	112
a) Khmer ceramics	117
b) Thai ceramics	130
(i) Sukhothai wares	134
(ii) Sawankhalok wares	136
(iii) Northern kilns wares	141
c) Vietnamese ceramics	145
4. OTHER ORIENTAL CERAMICS	
Introduction	167
a) Japanese ceramics	168
(i) Imari wares	173
(ii) Kakiemon wares	176
(iii) Nabeshima wares	178
(iv) Hirado wares	180
(v) Satsuma wares	182
b) Middle Eastern ceramics	183
c) Indian ceramics	186
d) Others	187
CONCLUSION	190
Bibliography	196
Plates 1-74	
Maps	
1. Archaeological sites in West Malaysia where trade ceramics were found	
2. Ceramic centres of the Far East	

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

- B M F E A : Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern
Antiquities (Stockholm)
- F E C B : Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin
- H J A S : Harvard Journal of Asiatic Society
- J F M S M : Journal of the Federated Malay States'
Museum (Taiping and Kuala Lumpur)
- J M B R A S : Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society (Singapore)
- J R A S : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of
Great Britain and Ireland (London)
- J S B R A S : Journal of the Straits Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society
- Trans. O C S : Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic
Society (London)
- T S A C S : Transactions of the Southeast Asian Ceramic
Society (Singapore)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude and acknowledge the invaluable assistance extended to me by the following individuals during the research required for this Thesis. Foremost among them are Mr. Shahrum bin Yub, Director General, National Museum Malaysia for his encouragement and his personal effort in getting the grant for me to pursue this study, and his kind permission to use all the facilities in the National Museum and make them always available at my disposal.

I am equally indebted to Mr. I. L. Legeza, Deputy Curator of the Gulbenkian Museum, University of Durham, who supervised my studies for one year in Durham. I have tried to keep before me the example of his own conscientiousness, his kindly insistence on attention to detail, in writing this thesis. Indeed, no student could wish for a more constructive yet sympathetic Supervisor. My wife helped to keep my own enthusiasm high, and my debt to her is no less great.

Clearly I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to all my colleagues whether museum curators or private collectors for showing me their collections and for their expert advice. To them I would like to offer my sincere thanks.

Lastly, but not least, may I thank the staff of the National Museum Malaysia, Gulbenkian Museum, and Library of the School of Oriental Studies, Durham University, for their assistance, consideration and courtesy they have always shown me.

Gulbenkian Museum,
University of Durham.

October, 1978

Othman bin Mohd. Yatim

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In comparison with other South East Asian countries, West Malaysia⁽¹⁾ was and is still not a prominent region of oriental archaeology. The absence of remains of monumental architectures such as Borubodur in Central Java and Angkor Wat in Cambodia is one of the obvious reasons for this. Yet the lack of major archaeological sites in West Malaysia other than the pre-historic site of Gua Cha in Ulu Kelantan, does not necessarily mean that it has nothing to offer to archaeologists and art historians. West Malaysia in the past played a significant role in the history of the South-East Asia from ancient times as attested by the archaeological finds.

Due to a prolonged period of colonialization of South East Asia by various European powers dividing them into artificially separated spheres of interest, no comprehensive cultural study, cutting across regions divided by frequently opposing colonial administrations, could be undertaken. Coupled, not infrequently, with amateurish efforts, reflecting uneven degrees of scholarship and understanding of local cultures, only mosaic pictures of the brilliance of South East Asian cultures emerged. No comprehensive studies cutting across former colonial political boundaries were

carried out until very recently. And as an important field of oriental arts and archaeology, the area of South-east Asia has now been recognised. Some of the vast wealth of materials (art, archaeology, ethnographic and historic alike) that is available for study, has brought out a new generation of scholars, rigorously trained and widely travelled in the ASEAN countries who are beginning to consolidate the study of South-east Asian art and archaeology, including that of West Malaysia on a level of scholarship comparable with that expected from orientalist in other areas of Asian studies.

The work by the British orientalists, especially on the early Malays history is rather scanty when compared to the contributions made by their colonial counterparts either in Indonesia or Indo-China. Even as early as 1939, R. J. Wilkinson has stated this when he remarked that "while Dutch scholars have done much to throw light on the past history of Sumatra and Java we British have done far less for Malaya."⁽²⁾ Although he may have overlooked some important but isolated contributions published mainly in the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums, made by British orientalists to scholarship in Malaysia, his above remarks are still valid as far as comprehensive cultural history of West Malaysia is concerned.

Archaeology in West Malaysia is still in its infancy. The ancient inscriptions⁽³⁾ found in Kedah, Province Wellesley and Trengganu are among the most important finds

but throw very little light on the early history of West Malaysia. The Kedah and Province Wellesley inscriptions are associated with the period of Indianization in the Malay Peninsula between 400 A.D. and 500 A.D. according to dates suggested by B. C. Chhabra⁽⁴⁾, while the Trengganu inscriptions, reflects with the coming of Islam to this region in the fourteenth century. The gap between these two periods is very wide and as such they cannot be correlated. The earliest known indigenous historical source Sejarah Melayu "Malay Annals" was only written in the early sixteenth century. Even the important question of the exact date for the founding of Malacca has not been satisfactorily solved up to the present day.⁽⁵⁾ To support the evidence of the Malay archaeological, epigraphic, and indigenous historical sources, one has to turn for additional information to the Chinese, Indian, and Arab sources.

The most important Chinese sources are in the form of dynasty histories but pilgrims' and travellers' records, encyclopaedias and topographies also contain important information about the early Malay Peninsula. The authenticity of some of the Chinese records however, presents further problems, e.g. the identification of place names mentioned in Chinese sources. Indian literary works make only vague references to the region and so do the Arab geographers. Historians and art historians alike have to face considerable difficulties in dealing with such fragmentary and scattered evidences.

In the field of West Malaysian art history, the problems are just as great. According to our present state of

knowledge, there are no excavated kiln-sites in West Malaysia. No wonder, the whole of Malaysia was thus left out of the recently published work by R. M. Brown under the title

The Ceramics of South East Asia: Their Dating and Identification. The early Malaysian arts can hardly be traced back before seventh century A.D. In comparison with the surviving remains of contemporary neighbouring lands, West Malaysia appears to have been in a state of cultural isolation. Only after it became part of Srivijaya, did artistic life show signs of activities. Some examples of the remains of the art of Srivijaya in West Malaysian, although few in number are by no means artistically inferior to those of its neighbours. (6)

The art of this period reveals early contacts between this region with India and China, but its qualities are frequently disappointing. The excavated and restored Shivaite temples for example, are small and crudely built. Their structure and sculpture simply does not compare with those of Central Java. It is of a much lower standard and fewer in numbers. Excavated ceramics from the historical sites in West Malaysia are also of inferior quality. Very few intact pieces have so far been found. At the thirteenth century Pengkalan Bujang site (see Map I) for example, several thousand fragments of Chinese porcelain were unearthed, but not a single complete ceramic item was yielded by this site. (7) Similarly, at various sites in Sarawak⁽⁸⁾, none of the familiar, quality export wares are to be found in comparison with other parts of South East Asia. This is very peculiar

since excavated pieces in Indonesia and Philippines are very fine and of superb quality.

Chinese sources mention ancient settlements located along sheltered bays, coastal areas and at the mouth of big rivers in West Malaysia. This implies that the maritime trade and other activities associated with it was known to these peoples. Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah is a good example. These initial trade contact was established with the Indian and later with the Chinese. Since the Malay Peninsula was serving both maritime and overland trade between Near East and India on one hand and China and the Far East on the other, it served as a meeting place for traders, especially those engaged in maritime trade who waited here for the favourable monsoon winds to take them to their destinations. Great opportunities opened for them to interact with the local inhabitants during their sojourns. In this way exchange of goods and culture was to take place inevitably. The impact of trade on Malay social life can be seen even in present days. Unfortunately, many of these old settlements cannot be located now probably due to the changing of the off-shore line of West Malaysia due to silting-up process of rivers. In silted up areas of early coastal settlements, as we know, for example in Kota China⁽⁹⁾, Northern Sumatra, we must look for other material remains which still lie buried there.

The position of the Peninsular Malaysia at the tip of a land mass and yet in close proximity to islands and mainlands, made it have various advantages. During the first quarter of this century, an analytical study by Heine-Geldern,

of archaeological and anthropological material found in this region, theorised that a migration or diffusion of people took place in pre-historic times from the countries in the interior and northern part of this country to other lands and islands in the South East Asian region. Because of its position, it formed a convenient land bridge for people to pass through. A good probability is that some of these people stopped and settled here. They were the ancestors of present day Malays and were the first to receive and absorb the early cultural influences prevailing in historical times. Later still, with the establishment of trade and trade routes centred around the Spice Trade, the position of this country gained further recognition as a port of call and a place of settlement.

Because of this position, it had been subjected to a succession of cultural, sociological, and religious influences which can be proved by the many and varied finds that had come to light from various parts of the country. These range from crude pre-historic stone tools, soft earthenwares, remains of Hindu-Buddhists shrines or temples to Chinese porcelain, beads and even European porcelain at later stage.

The Peninsular, besides its strategic position, had also rich gold and tin resources and other prized commodities like an abundance of teak, ebony and camphor, ivory and the reputedly aphrodesiac rhinoceros horn. This was known to the leading "Persian" merchants of the Spice Trade who took to sea from early Hellenistic times in their frail boats, using the monsoons and risking their lives with storms,

why frail?
Th

diseases, and piracy, in order to acquire the most coveted merchandise of the East: spices. At the beginning of the Christian era, West Malaysian culture was already in the metal age. Due to early maritime trade, other historical and cultural influences followed soon. Trader and travellers from India and later from China came to or passed through this region to conduct their trade. This is indicated by the settlements found in Kedah, Perak and South Johore. The remains in Kedah show a long period of Hindu-Buddist influence and at Kuala Selinsing in Perak there was some form of settlement which indicates contacts not only with India and China but also with the Middle East.

Since early literary sources made only vague references to this region, the only way to reconstruct the past history of this region is by archaeology. In this context, ceramics, a category of artifact which is least perishable in tropical climate and corrosive soil, presents the most invaluable form of evidence. The typological study of ceramic finds can provide vital evidence for the dating of archaeological sites and for the study of the nature of habitation and trading centres. They can also give clues for the extent and direction of trade patterns in the early centuries and the cross-culture influences that existed between the countries involved. Among the ceramic finds, the presence of early Chinese ceramics in South-east Asian countries, indicates that their distribution was clearly related to the patterns of early maritime commerce. The finds at Pengkalan Bujang, for example, allow us safely to extend our knowledge of the trade in West Malaysia back to the thirteenth century A.D., if not earlier.

The pioneer antiquarian work was carried out by Col. James Low at Province Wellesley and Kedah⁽¹⁰⁾ sometime in the second half of the last century. Later followed by I. H. N. Evans⁽¹¹⁾ in 1925 and H. G. Q. Wales⁽¹²⁾ in 1940. After the war years, archaeological work and researches remained dormant, except for some archaeological investigations of sites done by P. D. R. Williams-Hunt in 1949, 1950 and 1951. In 1954, the excavation of Gua Cha in Ulu Kelantan by G. De. G. Sieveking brought this country to the limelight in the archaeological sphere. This site is considered to be the most significant and important for the interpretation of the pre-historic background of this country and also to the other archaeological researches and the reconstruction of the pre-history in the region. As such it is one of the most important sites excavated so far. Following this, sporadic archaeological excavations and investigations were undertaken and the field of interest shifted to the ancient Hindu-Buddhist remains of shrines and temples situated in the Bujang Valley in Kedah by Sullivan and student members of the Archaeological Society of the University of Malaya. This was followed by A. Lamb in 1954⁽¹³⁾ which led to the reconstruction of Shivaite tomb or temple at Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat. In 1960, the then Museums Department of the Federation of Malaya sponsored two archaeological excavations at Malacca and Johore Lama⁽¹⁴⁾ in the Southern part of the Peninsular Malaysia. Both these sites produced huge quantities of ceramic, earthenware, stoneware and porcelain fragments.

The wares found in Malacca, as one would expect, of somewhat earlier date including many Chinese blue and white pieces of the middle fifteenth century, the period when the Malacca Sultanate was at the height of its power and prosperity. The wares found in Johore Lama were mainly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries date, and among them were many pieces of Chinese export porcelain of the blue and white type. In all, Malacca and Johore Lama have yielded at least 8,000 pieces of fragments of Chinese export ceramics, along with wares from Annam and other South-east Asian countries. Their study will certainly throw a great deal of light on the nature and history of the Asian trade in ceramics from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

As a result of his investigation in 1959, A. Lamb in April 1961 carried out another investigation at Pengkalan Bujang⁽¹⁵⁾ in Kedah (Pl. 1). Pengkalan Bujang has revealed several thousands fragments of Chinese porcelains, mainly green-glazed celadons of Sung and Yüan dates. These wares were mixed up with the produce of other ceramic manufacturing regions, Thailand and Indo-China. Also found were fragments of Islamic glass, parts of small bottles of a kind which was at one time widely exported from the Middle East (Egypt and Syria) to South East Asia including Sulawesi and other Indonesian islands. There were also significant finds of beads. The implication is that at Pengkalan Bujang there was once a very cosmopolitan trading centre. This will be discussed at length in Chapter One in this study.

In March and April 1962, the Department of Zoology, University of Malaya, staged a six-week expedition to Pulau

Tioman headed by Lord Medway.⁽¹⁶⁾ The aims of the expedition were purely zoological but in the course of their investigation of the fauna, they came across archaeological remains and fragments of ceramics of Chinese and non-Chinese origins. The finds include gritty micaceous and non-micaceous earthenware, grit-free earthenware, brown, buff and green-glazed stonewares and celadons. These sherds due to their fragmentary nature, regrettably do not yield enough information to reconstruct the shapes of these ceramic vessels. However, it appears that the majority of sherds represent small rounded bowls. Among them, Tom Harrison identified Yüeh type greenware, ^{alms-bowl} with folded rim, ^(Pl. 6) white ch'ing pai porcelain of export types and a fine celadon fragment of Lung-ch'üan type. A sherd among the finds was identified by Tom Harrison as Sawankhalok which he dated as late as the fifteenth century A.D.

Was Kedah in the Pengkalan Bujang era only concerned with entrepot trade, or was it also a centre for the supply of foreign wares to the inhabitants of the interior? Excavation sites at Calatagan in the Philippines and sites in Borneo indicates that the interior inhabitants sought Chinese and other refined ceramic for use as grave furniture. Probably, some of the Pengkalan Bujang ceramics might have been destined for this purpose. It appears that even some Malaysian tribes, like Senoi are still using imported ceramics for their burial ceremony today.⁽¹⁷⁾ The origins of this burial practice seems to go back to ancient times and certainly deserves further detailed investigation and study in the future. It is true that our archaeological

knowledge of the culturally conservative part of the West Malaysian interior in comparison with the coastal plains, is very slight and future archaeological work will have to explore these areas as well. Moreover, it should also be emphasized that virtually all earlier excavations were far too restricted and not conclusive enough. A number of ceramics brought ashore by coastal fishing or accidentally unearthed by the villagers provides additional proof for this.

In the late 1930s, two celadon dishes were found by two Malay fishermen in the river a few miles upstream from Serokam in the Sidam District of Kedah.⁽¹⁸⁾ The dishes proved to be undisputably of Chinese origin. They were well-fired and heavily potted. The colour of the dishes is of an attractive and characteristic celadon grey-green. The glaze of both vessels is of the hard feldspathic variety, and is remarkably thick and glossy, with no traces of cracks. The decoration is incised. The smaller of the two dishes has a freely drawn floral pattern incised on the centre with vertical grooves on the sides producing a ribbed effect (see for example Pl.11). The larger one has a central dragon design with a carved band of leaves round the sides. On the stylistic grounds B.A.V. Peacock⁽¹⁹⁾ is inclined to date both pieces to the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (Pl.12).

A further important chance discovery of a buried hoard of ceramics, both stoneware and porcelain, was made in October 1960 by a party of Malay workmen while digging a drainage ditch at the edge of a wet rice field near Kerubong⁽²⁰⁾

seven miles to the north of Malacca. The porcelain typologically consists of three main groups monochromes, blue and white and polychromes. There were also unglazed and glazed stonewares among the finds. Among the many export ware found in South-east Asia there is one large group, to which many of these Kerubong pieces belong, the group that is now recognised as Annamese or Vietnamese blue and white porcelain. The Annamese blue and white wares were made and exported for a long period right through the Ming Dynasty and probably until the end of the seventeenth century A.D.

More recently, in 1974, a farmer in Kemaman, Trengganu (21) while in the course of digging of a hole for a post of his cattle shed and at depth of about two and a half feet came across five pieces of cermaics (Pl.2). They are quite distinct, very similar to others that have been found in Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah. Two of them are Chinese celadons with their peculiar light green glaze, very similar in feature, form and pattern to others which were found in Kedah. The bowl (Pl.4) is especially a good example of this. It is plain inside, but lightly grazed with petal design outside. In the opinion of W. Willetts, it is a Sung product originating from the Chekiang Province of South China. The other celadon piece, a jarlet, is a perfectly constructed. It is also thought to be of Sung date. The glaze on the lip is cracked, and was damaged during excavation (Pl. 3). The other three are similarly small globular pots with small mouth (see Pl. 2; Figs. 2, 4, 5).

Yet another small globular pot with a dull green glaze, different in texture from the standard Lung-ch'üan celadon, is also thought to be of Annamese origin and of fourteenth century in date. It has been, however, crudely made and the glaze on the outside has not been properly applied as shown in Pl. 2, Fig. 5. The last piece is also a small round bodied pot, fired at a much lower temperature and probably also Annamese. It is glazed on the outside but the glaze has been badly deteriorated below the mouth as shown in Pl. 2, Fig. 4.

How did these ceramics from distant countries of origins, from India, ⁽²²⁾ China, Japan and other South-east Asian countries manage to find their way to those sites mentioned above? Undoubtedly, their presence can be attributed to the trade contacts and consequent cultural and political influences in the past. Delicate Sung wares achieving unrivalled quality for centuries was very much in demand throughout South-east Asia as far west as the coast of Africa and the Middle East. Like their early Persian and Arab counterparts sailing from the Persian Gulf, Indian and Chinese traders too were drawn by the rich and unique produce of South-east Asia. They stimulated trade in West Malaysia both in terms of maritime and overland trade routes. These significant developments of trade will be discussed at length in the Chapter One of this study. Ceramic finds of West Malaysia cannot be understood without reference to these developments.

With the exceptions of the excavations at Pengkalan

Bujang, none of the earlier West Malaysian excavations was specifically planned in search of ceramics. Ceramic finds represented a by-product of these excavations. Even at Pengkalan Bujang, ceramics remained of secondary importance. Although H. G. Q. Wales had visited the site in 1936 and A. Lamb in 1958, the excavation took place only in 1961 after A. Lamb had completed excavation there which he begun in 1959 and reconstructed the Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat.

The ceramics found during controlled excavations or by chance discoveries were and are still being reported about in various learned journals.⁽²³⁾ But no attempt has so far been made to study them comprehensively and in relation to ceramic finds in other parts of South-east Asia and the Far East. No major or minor native kiln-site has so far been discovered in West Malaysia. But at this stage it would be unwise to interpret the complete lack of reference to Malay ceramic centres in literary sources as decisive evidence of their non-existence in the past. Although M. Sullivan⁽²⁴⁾ produced a summary survey of the ceramic finds in West Malaysia, but it remained in the form of a brief report. The typological approach was sadly neglected and even overlooked.

To encourage the study and the appreciation of ceramics found in West Malaysia, a basic work like Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines by L. and C. Locsin is very much needed. In this study, I intend to provide not only an up-to-date survey of the ceramic finds in West Malaysia but also a reference work for their typological study. It is

hoped that this study will also serve as a useful guide for future researches into the history of export ceramics found in this region, with special reference to West Malaysia.

Moreover, this study is largely based on the ceramic finds which are now in the Muzium Negara, Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and in the Muzium Perak in Taiping. It also includes some of the finds which are now on display in the Muzium Kedah. I have also included important items from private collections such as Zakaria Hitam's collection and the superb Japanese ceramics in the collection of (the) H. H. Sultan of Johore. However, the assembled illustrative material, for obvious reasons of technical problems is by no means complete due to a very limited period of time allocated for the completion of this work. The illustrative section particularly affected by this technical limitation of this thesis are those relating to Chinese polychromes porcelain, Kh^mmer and Sukhothai wares. Examples of these, ^p reputedly of West Malaysian provenances, can however be seen in various private collections in West Malaysia. The excavated West Malaysian materials made use of in this study mainly comes from the Kedah and Johore Lama sites (Map I), the sites which in the past have already received considerable attention from the scholars like H. G. Q. Wales, M. Sullivan and A. Lamb. To them, the writer is greatly indebted for their pioneering work in this field. While their study was centred around the "Indianization" period of West Malaysia, the present writer will endeavour to present a typological study of ceramics found, to show their distribution and to

establish their respective periods in West Malaysian archaeology. However, ceramics from other sites will also be included.

The ceramics found from the excavation sites in West Malaysia as stated earlier were not only from China but also from the South-east Asian countries like Thailand, and Indo-China and even from the Middle East. It is really important to summarise the development of the Chinese and South-east Asian ceramic wares industries in order to understand their presence at those sites. (For the ceramic centre in the Far East, see Map 2.)

Archaeological evidence only, however, must not be taken as a conclusive proof in establishing certain facts concerning the history of this region. Other available historical sources have to be used at least in providing the historical background of the period under study. In view of this the works by Roland Braddell, Wang Gungwu, Paul Wheatley, O. W. Wolters and others cannot simply be overlooked.

Once the historical background has been fully understood, the questions as to why only certain countries bordering on China had flourishing ceramic industries and why fewer intact pieces and quality were found in West Malaysia, can in itself be answered.

The aim of this study, among other things, is to demonstrate the important role played by this region in the over-land and maritime ancient trade and to show how and why it was connected with the presence of the foreign ceramics and to what extent ceramics, while other remains of material

cultures had perished, could throw additional light on the study of early history of this region. In these circumstances a comparative study of similar materials found during excavations in South-east Asia and the Middle East are necessary. Indeed, as this thesis is trying to prove that the study of the cultural history of West Malaysia must be approached in association with other neighbouring countries which belong to the same general culture context. It is extremely difficult to study the West Malaysia cultural history in isolation.

This thesis is the first attempt to study the ceramics found in West Malaysia. With the help of ceramic studies, one can reconstruct the pattern of social and cultural life in West Malaysia in those days. Finally, it is hoped that this study will in one way or another help future research in the field.

Notes to General Introduction

- (1) West Malaysia comprises of eleven states known as Malaya before the formation of Malaysia in 1963, while Sabah and Sarawak, the other states who joined Malaysia in 1963 are known as East Malaysia.
- (2) R. J. Wilkinson (1939), p.138 .
- (3) For an account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley on the Peninsula of Malacca, see J. Low, (1848), pp.62-66 .
- (4) A. Lamb, (1961 c), p.78 .
- (5) See the proceeding of the "Seminar on Malacca History", (December 1976) .
- (6) S. A. Jamal, and O. B. M. Yatim, "The Arts of Srivijaya in the Peninsular Malaysia" in the press. A paper to be included in "Album of the Srivijaya Arts" a project on Malay culture by UNESCO.
- (7) For more detail about ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang, see L. S. Heng (1973). She admits that her work "is in part a follow up of Lamb's investigations at Pengkalan Bujang".
- (8) Tom Harrison (1968), pp. 72 .
- (9) At these sites, a great deal of research has been undertaken by McKinnon, see Bibliography for his papers .
- (10) See note (3) above .
- (11) Cf. I. H. N. Evan (1927) .
- (12) H. G. O. Wales (1940), pp.1-85; and (1947), pp.1-11. Alaister Lamb notes that although Wales had done pioneering research in this field "but he often failed to publish his material in anything like an adequate way, so that much of what he discovered we must still see through his eyes only, not having been supplied with plans, sections, sketches or photographs".
A. Lamb (1961 c), p.70 .
- (13) Cf. A. Lamb (1960) .
- (14) Cf. John Matthews (1961), pp.237-242; W. G. II Solheim and E. Green (1965), pp. 1-75 .
- (15) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a) pp. 21-37; and (1961 b), pp. 12-17 .

- (16) Cf. Lord Medway (1962), pp. 55-63 .
- (17) Information obtained from the Director-General, Department of the Aborigines Affairs, Malaysia .
- (18) Cf. B. A. V. Peacock (1959), pp. 33-35. The dishes were first purchased by the First Prime Minister of Malaysia, who was then the District Officer of Kuala Muda District. They are now on display in the Kedah State Museum, Alor Star. The writer wishes to thank Y. M. Tunku Abdul Rahman, the First Prime Minister of Malaysia for the hospitality extended to him during his visit to Penang recently.
- (19) B. A. V. Peacock (1959), p.35 .
- (20) Cf. National Museum (1961) pp. 37-39; John Matthews, (1961), pp. 239-241. The finds were sold to an antique dealer the day before the Director of Museums visited the site, but it was fortunately possible to trace the dealer and to recover the articles and some of which are now preserved in the Muzium Negara.
- (21) This discovery was first reported to the Muzium Negara in early 1976. Mr. Oswald A. Theseira, the Curator of Pre-History of the Museum investigated the site. The result of his investigations is being published in the F.M.J. Vol. XXIII, 1978. The writer is indebted to Mr. Oswald for some of the information used in this thesis.
- (22) Since it merits separate and detailed treatment, it will only be mentioned briefly in the Chapter IV. The writer, however, realises that both Chinese and Indian cultural influences are equally important to the Malaysian society.
- (23) Some of the finds are not illustrated and this make typological studies of the finds more difficult.
- (24) Michael Sullivan (1962), pp. 61-75 .

CHAPTER I

WEST MALAYSIA IN THE EARLY MARITIME AND OVERLAND TRADE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Introduction

Malay Peninsula⁽¹⁾ has historically been a meeting ground of diverse races and cultures and played a key role in Indian sea trade with the countries of East Asia as well as in the transmission of Indian culture throughout South-east Asia. Before the development of maritime trade, the north part of the Malay Peninsula had played an important role in trade between the traders from the Malay Archipelago, India and China through overland trade route. Archaeological evidences show that Takkola, modern Takuapa in Southern Thailand, was the first landfall of traders from India.⁽²⁾ As maritime trade developed, and since it was situated almost exactly half-way between the great civilizations of India and China, it became an unavoidable coastline for the mariners sailing east and west through the South Seas to be circumvented only by a lengthy coastwise voyage or a trans-peninsular portage.

The seasonal wind circulation over the Indian Ocean and South China Sea also somehow or other, made the role of the Malay Peninsula especially in providing the facilities

required by the traders, extremely important. Before the days of steam the movement of shipping in the waters of South-east Asia was at the mercy of the monsoons. The fact that ships from India, China and even from the South-east Asian Archipelago itself sailed from the Malay Peninsula on one monsoon and returned on the other meant that they had to wait for the change at some sheltered harbour on the Malayan coast. Moreover, when the Indian traders arrived with the north-easterly monsoon, the Chinese and the Malay traders from the eastern Archipelago were already on their way home and waiting for the south-westerly monsoon to bring them back again. Thus there was a need for entrepôts where goods could be stored from one season to the next. Archaeological evidence such as Middle Eastern ceramics⁽³⁾ found mixed up with Chinese wares of T'ang period at Takuapa and Pengkalan Bujang sites, also indicates that from T'ang times onwards the Chinese merchants were meeting merchants from the Middle East in the general region of the Straits of Malacca.

From the Chinese sources, the dependence of communication and trade on the rhythm of the monsoon seasons, were clearly shown notably those relating to the adventures of Fa Hsien in 413-414 A.D., the voyage of the Sui envoys in 607 A.D., and the journey of Buddhist pilgrims who travelled to India by sea after Fa Hsien as recorded by I Tsing, a monk who himself spent the years 671-695 A.D. in India and the South Seas. The memoir entitled "Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan", comprises a series of biographies wherein are recounted briefly the lives and voyages of sixty Buddhist

monks, mostly Chinese, who undertook pilgrimages to India in the second half of the seventh century A.D.

The important position of the Malay Peninsula in the trade routes, made it also have many disadvantages, her fortunes have often been subjected to external pressures. Malay Peninsula has been rich enough to attract attention but not powerful enough to repel unwanted guests. Prior to European domination, her northern neighbours, first Funan and later the Thais kingdom, held sway over her; from the south the Srivijaya and Majapahit Empires dominated Malay Peninsula for a long period. The empire of Srivijaya, which endured for many centuries, had its capital in eastern Sumatra in the neighbourhood of Palembang. Eventually it decayed under Chola raids, the revolt of Melayu (Jambi), and attacks from neighbouring kingdoms. The empire gradually disappeared and was succeeded by Jambi. Between 1338 and 1365 A.D. Jambi in turn succumbed to Majapahit, whose seat of government was in Java. Majapahit was warlike and destructive: it sacked ports in Borneo, Surabaya, Lombok and finally subjected Srivijaya's colonies in the Malay Peninsula. The Majapahit Kingdom, however, was never played a prominent role in the trade in this region and was overshadowed by Malacca, a kingdom founded in the early fifteenth century A.D., by a prince of Palembang origin. The next hundred years was the history of Malacca as a powerful Malay kingdom which controlled the trade activities in the region. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Malacca began to have close contact with China. According to Ming History⁽⁴⁾,

in 1403 A.D., the Emperor of China sent the eunuch Yin Ching to Malacca with presents of silk brocade and in 1405 A.D., Parameswara, the King of Malacca sent a return mission to China. Missions were sent again in 1433, 1435 and 1445 A.D. Nevertheless, during this century, the Arab and Indian merchants still played a leading role in the trade, ships of Kembayat, Calicut, Aden, Mecca, Jeddah, Coromandel, Bengal, Java and Pegu are mentioned as coming to Malacca. After the great military expeditions of the early Mings, the urge to imperial expansion overseas appears to have gone out of the Chinese. The self-contained spirit of the Middle Kingdom reasserted itself and the Emperors were content with adventures by land.

From the time of the Malacca Sultanate onwards the history of the region is dominated by commercial competition and strife. The Portuguese, Dutch, Spaniards and English are all competing with each other for control of markets, routes and sources of supply. In 1511 A.D., the Portuguese conquered Malacca. Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang and then he sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor to appeal to him for help. The embassy was well received, but whether or not the Emperor was sympathetic to the request for help he had his hands full at the time repelling Mongol invaders. (5)

After capturing Malacca, the Portuguese followed a policy of exclusive trade monopoly as far as possible compelled all passing ships to call at Malacca. (6) In 1546 the duty was ten per cent on all Chinese goods and eight per cent on all Bengal goods, but this did not include the

miscellaneous exactions of officials and others. As a result, this policy brought the Portuguese into conflict with other nations and for the 129 years of the occupation of Malacca, they were almost constantly at war, first with the neighbouring Asian countries, and latterly with their European rivals, the Dutch-Malacca was beseiged several times, but was not captured until after the Dutch siege of 1641.⁽⁷⁾ Malacca was a ruined city directly, after the Dutch conquest. War and disease had taken their toll. Like the Portuguese before them, the Dutch followed the same trade monopoly policy. As a means of securing their monopoly the Dutch from Malacca patrolled the Straits as far as Singapore and many ships passing the straits were forced to stop at Malacca. Such a policy did not encourage the Chinese⁽⁸⁾ and other traders to come in any great numbers and leading to the emergence of a number of new ports such as Johore Lama, in the southern part of Peninsular Malaysia and Acheh in the western part of Sumatra.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Dutch East India Company declined, and the process was accelerated during the latter decades. The English East India Company took advantage of this and built up a flourishing smuggling trade in the Archipelago. Gradually the Dutch abandoned their conquests - one group of islands after another. The occupation of Penang in 1786 was a deadly blow to Malacca. By 1794 all that was left of the Dutch East India Empire was Java, the Moluccas and Malacca. But as a consequent of the Napoleonic Wars, the Dutch surrendered Malacca to British in 1795. That same year

a commission appointed by the States General reported that the Dutch East India Company was bankrupt and its commerce nearly annihilated. In 1798⁽⁹⁾ the charter was annulled by the newly-founded Batavian republic and the Government took over the administration of what was left of the Company's possessions.

What does this mean!

a) The Hellenistic Period and the Early Contact with India

The ~~impact of the~~ trade between the Indian and the people of Malay Peninsula was greatly felt and remained profound. The culture of the modern Malay society all provide evidence of a long period of contact with India. Of the written records tracing the antiquity of the Indo-Malay contact, one has to rely on Chinese chronicles, which refer to Indianised principalities in the Peninsula, although many of the names cannot positively be identified. Ancient Indian literature contains very few references to Malaya. But the evidence at present available⁽¹⁰⁾ suggests that there must have been a measure of contact between India and South-east Asia for several centuries before the first century A.D., and it seems most probable, in the light of presently available information, that Indianization started in earnest in the period from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.⁽¹¹⁾

It is beyond any doubt that the expansion of Indian culture into South-east Asia began in historic times with trade contacts. India's contact by sea with China would also imply Indian contact with South-east Asia. Information

about trade routes between India and South-east Asia is found in Chinese and Greek sources. The Greek and Roman writers did not know the world east of Ganges, including China until the first century B.C., but they do corroborate the Chinese evidence of the trade routes. Substantial evidence for the existence of a sea route to China via South-east Asia comes from the anonymous Hellenistic author of the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' who had undertaken a journey to India.⁽¹²⁾ But the first ^{or} extent description of South-east Asia as a whole is found in Ptolemy's 'Geography' written in the middle of the second century B.C.

The two extreme maritime ports in India for sailing to South-east Asia were Bharukachha (Broach) on the western coast and Tamralipti on the eastern coast. From Tamralipti, ships sailed regularly along the coast of Bengal and Burma to Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China.⁽¹³⁾ However, archaeological evidence suggests that many voyages disembarked and negotiated the short land journey across the Ithmus of Kra to the east coast of Southern Thailand. From there sea journey recommenced across the Gulf of Siam to Indo-China. There were also direct sailings from South India through the channel between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to Takuapa in Southern Thailand and Kedah in West Malaysia. At all these points of embarkation and disembarkation and all along the inland routes, the archaeological evidences unearthed has enabled historians to piece together a coherent account of journeys between India and the South-east Asia.

The main reason for Indian expansion and the eventual

radiation of Indian culture was doubtless profit, missionary endeavour came second.⁽¹⁴⁾ Indian trade was already brisk by the beginning of the Christian era. The discovery of the monsoons made sea journeys between India and western world safe and punctual, and the Roman demand for the luxury goods of the East increase considerably, far beyond what India alone could supply. As a result, there was an increase in number of Indian traders went to South-east Asia looking for the goods such as spices, sandalwood, and bezoin for their Roman clients. The growing demands of maritime trade stimulated the development and expansion of Indian shipping. The attraction of lucrative trade was no doubt further strengthened by the reputation of the South-east Asia for rich gold resources and according to P. Wheatley "gold was the lure which drew Indian traders eastwards"⁽¹⁵⁾. The reputation of South-east Asia for its riches of gold may appear to be somewhat exaggerated due to its scarcity. By the first century A.D., when India was cutt off from the supply of Siberian gold, due to the mass migration of various tribal groups of Central Asia led by the Huns and the consequent interruption caused to trade routes in that area.

In comparison with the overland trade along the Central Asian routes, there was still very few commercial traffic between China and India via South-east Asia in the first century A.D. There is certainly no Mediterranean evidence concerning the use of the Straits of Malacca at that time, though this does not mean that Indians were not sailing to the Straits occasionally. The opening of the Straits to

traffic from the Indian Ocean was a major turning point in the history of maritime trade in this area. Regrettably, it is not a well documented chapter in our history. The Indians would have been in the better position to supply the information about this, but their literary sources are rather disappointing in this respect. The Jataka tales first collected by Aryasura in the second century A.D. describe dangerous voyages to Suvannabhumi 'The Land of Gold' which Lévi prudently suggested was no more than the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal. The well-known Tamil poem, Pattinappalai, of the second and third century, mentions regular trade between Southern India and Kalagam, possibly Kedah. But the authenticity of this kind of information is a matter of debate.

The earliest certain reference to traffic across the Bay of Bengal was mentioned in the Greek text the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea'; it describes ships sailing from ports of south east coast of Indian which made the voyage to Chryse (usually identified with the Malay Peninsula) and to the Ganges. But the same work mentioned also about the following overland silk route from China through Bactria to Barygaza in the western India by way of the Ganges. This makes one suspect that there was still very little trade between China and India via any route in South-east Asia in the first century A.D. ⁽¹⁶⁾

b) Early Contacts with China

However, there is a famous passage in the Han shu which is to some historian, it attached special significant

evidence of early maritime communications between China and India. It describes mission sent by Han Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.) to Huang-chih which Ferrand identifies with the name Kanci, inland on the Coromandel coast.⁽¹⁷⁾ But due to the uncertainty of the location of the Huang-chih, this evidence is of limited value. O. W. Wolters in his Early Indonesian Commerce and The Origins of Srivijaya has stated that the earliest Chinese references are no more helpful than the Indian or Mediterranean ones for fixing the time when the Straits were first used by foreign ships. He further argues that it must remain a matter of opinion whether Han Wu Ti's mission inaugurated a continuous maritime trade between India and China. In the first and second centuries A.D. Indian ships were occasionally sailing down the Straits to Indonesia from Southern India as well as from the Ganges and down the coast of Burma. He also emphasized that when one considers the voyage from Indonesia to China there are grounds for believing that it began much later than the voyages from India to Indonesia.⁽¹⁸⁾ The first reliable evidence for the voyage from Indonesia to China is in fact not earlier than the fifth century A.D. Moreover, in his opinion merchants reaching the neighbourhood of the Straits of Malacca from India were still unlikely to have found their way to China by any all-sea route before the end of the second century A.D. The evidence points to some date between the third and the fifth centuries A.D. when the voyage across the South China Sea was first undertaken by merchants' ships.⁽¹⁹⁾

c) Period of Kingdoms before Srivijaya and Early Buddhist Sea-Voyages and Pilgrimages

The sailing situation as it had developed by the fifth century is reflected by the records of two pilgrims, the Chinese Fa Hsien and the Indian Gunavarman. The former returned from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to China in 413 A.D. and travelled by the sea all the way while the latter, a prince from Kashmir, a few years later travelled to China from the Indian Ocean by the same means. Other pilgrims were soon to follow.

Victor Purcell believes that the Chinese became interested in South-east Asia long after they had been in contact with the non-Chinese world of Central and Western Asia.⁽²⁰⁾ The earliest Chinese interest in South-east Asia, apart from their province of Tongking, was on account of a trade route which passed through Funan and across the Malay Peninsula, but not through Straits of Malacca, leading to the Indian Ocean. Funan was the name given by the Chinese to a kingdom in the lower Mekong valley. Its dynastic traditions reach back perhaps to the first century A.D. However little is known about its influence on the mainland. But there can be little doubt about its commercial importance in the first centuries A.D. In addition to miscellaneous details in Chinese texts about Funan's links with India, its ships and its embassies to China and the description of its maritime possessions, the archaeological evidences from Oc.Eo. in the trans-Bassac region of Cochin-China reveal that Funan eventually controlled much of the earliest international trade

routes in South-east Asia. The Oc.Eo discoveries confirm the cosmopolitan nature of Funan's foreign contacts.⁽²¹⁾ Especially noteworthy is the fact that at the beginning of the third century A.D., a Funanese ruler conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and brought under his control Tun-sun, a small but prosperous entrepot at the head of the Peninsula, which formed a trading link between Persia, Northern India, Funan and the Chinese province of Tongking.

Tun-sun⁽²²⁾ familiar with the students of South-east Asian history, has a close bearing on the conditions of Malay commerce in the third century A.D. The information we have about Tun-sun makes it clear why it was a busy centre. It lay on the conventional maritime trade route, which took a short overland cut across the neck of the Peninsula. To show the significance of Tun-sun, we have to remember that in the first half of the third century A.D. foreign traders preferred to cross the Peninsula rather than sail along the east coast and the Straits of Malacca. The long Peninsula which was Tun-sun's advantage, was a positive hinderance to the use of the Straits of Malacca by merchants with cargoes bound for southern China.

In the first half of their century A.D. according to O. W. Wolters, there were two trans-Asian trade routes. The route with the longer history led to northern China through Turkestan from Roman Syria or from the Red Sea via north-eastern India. The state of Wu of the Period of the Three Kingdoms had to rely on the other and newer route, which was from north-western India, overland to the Ganges or to

southern India and Ceylon, to ports on the northern part of the Malay Peninsula.⁽²³⁾ However, in this system of international commerce the straits had no role to play.

The beginning of the fifth century A.D. saw the flourishing maritime trade through the Straits of Malacca, but Briggs believes that it soon declined as a result of piracy and that the ancient trade route across the Peninsula and through Funan were opened up again. But Fa Hsien did not refer specifically to pirates in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Malacca and anyhow presence of piracy is indicative of an active and prosperous trade in the region. Moreover, as O. W. Wolters further emphasized that in the fifth century A.D., it was Funan and not the Western Indonesian kingdoms which was losing contact with China. He argues that Funan had sent a mission at the beginning of the 357-367 A.D. period, the next one did not come until 434 A.D., followed by further missions in 435 and 438 A.D., but at this time Cham ships were regularly raiding the Tongking coast that compelled the Liu Sung emperor to mount a major campaign against the Cham in 446 A.D. Piracy along the coast of mainland of South-east Asia must have interfered with the Funanese trade with China.⁽²⁴⁾

Much have been discussed about the role played by this region in the ancient overland trade and maritime trade up to the fifth century A.D., but it is not known exactly when and how far the Malays participated in these trades. It is clear that part of Indonesia and Malay Peninsula was in maritime contact with China in the early fifth century A.D.

No direct evidence
K-1 s Malay.

References in Chinese literature make specific mention of Malay ships. The richly packed ships that Chang Ching-chen and Wei Shou met in the fifth and sixth centuries were called Kun-lun.⁽²⁵⁾ The Chinese had used the term Kun-lun to designate the prominent maritime people of South-east Asia. In the seventh century A.D., I Tsing mentioned about the visit to Tongking and Canton by the peoples of Kun-lun countries which O. W. Wolters however believes to refer to Indonesia.⁽²⁶⁾ Before the seventh century A.D., the contribution of the Malay Peninsula in this international maritime trade seems to have been restricted to providing transit port facilities for merchants and cargoes from many parts of maritime Asia.⁽²⁷⁾ But the Malays had become active sailors and were employed as crew on ships owned by the Indians, Persians and Chinese. No doubt that native Malay crews were available in the earlier centuries too.

Kun-
Tun

It is unreasonable as O. W. Wolters has pointed out to think that the Malays only became skillful navigators in the lifetime of I Tsing, who sailed to India in one of their ships.⁽²⁸⁾ In fact, one can positively state that the accomplishments in the seventh century A.D., must have been preceded by a long period of bold exploratory sea-voyages by seafaring Malays despite the hazards and peril involved. Literary records, although unhelpful source material on early navigation in the Malay world, give at least a fleeting glimpse of the prowess by linguistic evidence in the Austronesian language group in the third century A.D., when islanders in the Philippines were sailing 800 miles

and more across the open sea to Funan. (29) Three centuries earlier, Chinese envoys had made their journey to the Malay Peninsula by means of 'barbarian' ships. The rare Sanskrit borrowings in Malagasy which is an extension of the Austronesian languages to Madagascar, provides the proof for the great antiquity of Malays sea-voyaging. Some scholars maintain that the Malays who migrated to Madagascar came at a time when the Indian influence in the Malay Archipelago were still slight. (30)

Malay
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However, new theories suggesting the navigational maturity of the Malays during the early centuries A.D., fail to reason why the Malays entered the 'Persian' Spice Trade, also known to us by extension of idea and with recognition of the Far Eastern involvement as China Trade or Nan-hai or South Sea trades. A distinction must be made between migratory voyages leading to barter contacts among neighbouring island communities within the Austronesian language family and ethnic groups, and a pattern of regular maritime trade within the framework of trans-Asian trade reaching East Africa via the Persian Gulf.

At this juncture, it is necessary to examine the process whereby the Malays originally adapted themselves to international trade. The diffusion of the metal cultures, widening the scope for the performances of specialist functions, and the earliest trade contact with India, especially with north-western India, with a magnificent heritage of commercial experience, were the main contributory factors in the development of the Malay skill in

navigation and trade. What are the motives that led certain Malays to enter the China trade for the first time? The first recorded evidence of the voyage across the South China Sea is provided by the Fa Hsien in the early fifth century A.D. The reason behind this success according to O. W. Wolters was years of coastal voyaging which prepared the ground for long voyage out to sea. Due to extensive inter-island and Indian trading contacts, traditional maritime skills were to be gainfully employed with the new opportunities and advantages offered by trade. Travels connected with early Buddhist pilgrimages to India also stimulated gainful employment of maritime skills.⁽³¹⁾ He further believes that the earliest sea-voyages to China must have been made in the second half of the fourth century A.D., when the Chin dynasty had lost control of the traditional overland route and when the maritime trade soon to be known as the 'Persian', 'Spice Trade' or 'China Trade' or 'Nan-hai' trades, was beginning to be continuous, with constant demand for imported goods in South China.⁽³²⁾ This explanation of the Malay initiative implies that before the fourth century A.D., Indian Ocean trade with China had been on a small scale, intermittent, and insufficiently attractive to bring about the involvement of the Malays. K'ang Tai of the Wu Dynasty of the Period of the Three Kingdoms in the first half of the third century was certainly interested in the trade that made its way via the Malay Peninsula and Funan but neither literary nor archaeological evidence has thrown much light on its volume.

The origins of trans-Asian sea trades in the second half of the second century coincided with the political decline of the Eastern Han dynasty. K'ang T'ai's Wu dynasty, existed only for about sixty years and perhaps not long enough to permit the trade to gather much momentum. The Wu dynasty was succeeded in by the Chin, which temporarily succeeded in reopening the overland supply of Western Asian goods. However, during the second half of the fourth century A.D., a new trend of regular maritime trade with China was initiated, and it was hardly even interrupted during the following two hundred years.

In the early days of the Nan-hai trade, many of the coastal Malays operated it probably owed permanent allegiance to no one. They would have been organised in small groups under a trusted leader. Their situation must have been similar to that of companions of the founder of Malacca in the fifteenth century. In the fifth and sixth centuries the ancestors of those whom in later times the Portuguese knew were not men of more settled habits. They were sea-rovers and probably made the voyage across the Bay of Bengal to India and Ceylon in response to the voyages made by the Indian traders to South-east Asian waters. For the ambitious rulers of Kan-to-li a maritime kingdom before the emergence of Srivijaya, they would have been a nuisance and sometimes a danger. But the rulers of Kan-to-li had one means at their disposal for diverting the energies of the coastal Malays to commercial activities based on their harbours. The ruler, unlike the free-lance shippers, was able to send missions to China, establish his ability

to supply the goods in demand there, intercede on behalf of shippers in trouble, and receive a seal of office or imperial presents as a token of his standing with the Chinese emperor. His privileged status in China, with its commercial implications, could then be dangled as a bait to attract roaming Malay shippers to his harbours; they would be reminded to the advantages of trading in the name of a ruler who had won imperial favour. In this way the link between Kan-to-li and the coastal and the island population of the region was strengthened, and fleets were mustered to compel pirates to keep the peace in their seas. In a similar way O. W. Wolters believes Malacca became great and prosperous in the fifteenth century. (33)

Another similarity between Malacca and Kan-to-li is noted by O. W. Wolters. Namely, the rulers of Malacca had the wisdom to submit to the contemporary Ming emperors in order to obtain protection against Malacca enemies and especially against the Thai. (34) Earlier, Srivijaya had ^{the} been an assiduous sender of mission to China, and the mission was something which the Palembang ruler of Malacca probably ^{substantiated} consciously inherited from Srivijaya. The origins of the technique was a commercial expedient perhaps as old as the "Persian" trade of the fifth and sixth centuries, when Kan-to-li sent its missions to China. Three purposes were served. Firstly, the mission placed the trading state under at nominal Chinese protection. Secondly, the tribute served to advertise the range of trade goods handled by the merchants frequenting the tributary kingdom. And thirdly,

the tributary relationship played its part in persuading the coastal Malays to concentrate their activities on an established trading settlements, for the emperor's vassel was to claim that shippers acknowledging his authority were identified and accepted by the ports officials in China.

d) Period of Srivijaya and Majapahit

The seventh century A.D., as O. W. Wolters has demonstrated, saw the emergence of Srivijaya as the foremost commercial power in western Indonesia. Its rulers, with their capital at Palembang and masters of Jambi, inherited the maritime communications of the coast with the liveliest trading history in the region. What were the reasons which led the rulers of Palembang to the Straits of Malacca? Within a short period from our first reference to Srivijaya by I Tsing in 671 A.D., the kingdom had obtained an outpost on the Straits. The sudden expansion of Srivijaya is a similarity in one respect with the events of the fifth century A.D. In both periods several decades of missions from a number of kingdoms are followed by a time when only one kingdom remains in dominating diplomatic relationship with China. Between 430 A.D. and 473 A.D., five kingdoms had sent twenty missions; of these, six had come from the trading kingdom of Ho-lo-tan, eight from P'o-huang and two from Kan-to-li. But after 473 A.D., the only trading kingdom to send missions was Kan-to-li which was situated in the west coast of the Straits of Malacca. Kan-to-li probably enjoyed a monopoly of a China trade. The pattern of the

mission recorded of the seventh century is very similar. The total number of missions was not so great, but again several kingdoms were originally in communication with China and afterwards only one remained. But after 670 A.D. a blanket falls on the mission history of all these kingdoms, and Srivijaya, like Kan-to-li before it, is left alone in the field.

According to O. W. Wolters the explanations for the multiplicity of states sending missions in the first half of the seventh century A.D. are that there were now exceptionally favourable trading opportunities for Western Indonesia, when the demand for Indonesian produce was ceasing to be merely for substitutes for Western Asian produce and there happened to be no single kingdom capable of monopolizing the trade with China. (35)

The prosperity of this Nan-hai trade right through the centuries depended largely on the economic and political conditions in China. In 618 A.D. the short-lived but powerful Sui dynasty, was succeeded by the great T'ang dynasty. The capital as under the Sui, was now in northern China, but this did not mean that the trading connections of South China, built up during the fifth and sixth centuries, became obsolete. In fact, South China was a source of wealth for the whole empire, and Yangchow on the lower Yangtze was not only the commercial focus of the South China but also the main centre for the transmission of merchandise to the north by means of the Grand Canal, constructed under the Sui dynasty. (36) In the seventh century the T'ang

government exercised authority in Turkestan, and as a result the ancient overland route prospered for the last time before the establishment of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century. But great changes were now taking place in Western Asia, and these temporarily affected the ability of the merchants in the Persian Gulf to send regular supplies of goods to China by land or by sea. In 637 A.D., Ctesiphon was sacked by the Arabs and the days of the Sassanid empire were numbered. Sauvaget has expressed the opinion that, from the fall of Ctesiphon until the foundation of Baghdad by the Abassid dynasty in 762 A.D., no important urban centre existed in that region capable of sustaining long-distance commerce.⁽³⁷⁾ Instead there was disorder and political agitation. Nor did the Ummayyad caliphs in Syria stimulate any great demand for oriental goods, certainly not for goods brought in by sea. For these reasons, there was a marked regression in navigation based on the Persian Gulf. The new political conditions in Western Asia affected considerably the volume of the 'Persian' trade, and as a result O. W. Wolters suggests that producers in Western Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula found "less competition in supplying the flourishing Chinese market with their produce."⁽³⁸⁾

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The power of early T'ang China as O. W. Wolters further observes attracted foreign missions from many parts of Asia, but the temporary absence of the strong maritime kingdoms in South-east Asia during this period was also responsible for some of these missions.⁽³⁹⁾ On the coast

of mainland South-east Asia, the fall of Funan left a power vacuum. Already from the second half of the fifth century mission had occasionally come from Fan-p'an and Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula. Chen-la, Funan's successor in the seventh century A.D., never became an important maritime power and Funan's complete destruction was brought about by the Khmers from the north.

The significant feature of the decades immediately preceding the appearance of Srivijaya are the tribute missions to China from Ch'ih-tu, Kedah, P'o-lo and perhaps from Barus too, all taking place between the years 608 A.D. and 699 A.D. These missions make it clear that ports on or close to Straits of Malacca were at least venturing to trade with China, supported by an advantageous position on the sea route to China and access to the jungle wealth in hinterland. The missions to China are a token of their determination to trade their produce to China without relying so much on middlemen operating from other bases in Indonesia. It is to this period one can attribute the information in the Hsin T'ang shu about Lo-yüeh,⁽⁴⁰⁾ a kingdom which Chia Tan later describes as laying at the extreme southern end of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. According to P. Wheatley, this state is known only by name and could not have been more than a collecting centre for forest products. The absence of the archaeological evidence has led him to conclude that it was not a regular port of call on the route to India, though it must have occasionally benefited from the casual trade with vessels awaiting there for the change

of the monsoon.⁽⁴¹⁾ One cannot imagine that, when Srivijaya controlled Kedah at the end of the seventh century, this form of independent trading would have been tolerated.

The rulers of Palembang and the trading interests associated with them would have been quick to realise that the embassies from Kedah in 638 A.D. and P'o-lo in 642 A.A. and 666 A.D. to China represented a threat to the hitherto privileged commercial status of the coast which had prospered from the China trade in the fifth and sixth centuries. By an assertion of naval power in the Straits of Malacca the rulers of Srivijaya successfully nipped in the bud the challenge from the newcomers to the China trade and safeguarded the south-eastern Sumatran coast's preponderance in the trade. By 695 A.D., at the latest, Kedah became a dependency of Srivijaya. The objective of the naval expeditions against Kedah and the other rival harbours according to O. W. Wolters was not the winning of a large territorial empire but like the Portuguese eight hundred years later, the Srivijayan rulers were only concerned to occupy strategic points on the main trade route.⁽⁴²⁾

The future of the empire of Srivijaya was very much dependent on the survival of the ancient trade route which led from the Straits of Malacca to south-eastern Sumatra and only then to China. The emergence of a number of harbours, equally suitable for the transit trade, in Sumatra and in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula which traders considered as the advantages of putting in as well as before proceeding to China or returning to the Indian Ocean, can be seen as a challenge to the survival of the Srivijaya.

Harbours on the Straits of Malacca, for example, were closer to certain centres of production than Palembang was and were also on the direct sailing route to and from China. The battles of early Srivijaya were fought not to stake a claim to become the chief centre of trade in the region but to remain so by destroying new rivals. But for how long the Srivijaya managed to stand for these challenge?

One important indirect influence damaging to Srivijaya can, however, as O. W. Wolters has further expressed, be explained by the growing number of foreigners taking part in the Chinese trade. The vessels of Srivijaya, possessing potential harbour facilities, would have seen new opportunities for wealth by welcoming foreign traders to their centres. Although by the eight and ninth centuries A.D. Arab shipping was increasing, the major threat from the foreign shippers to Srivijaya's interest came later and from other quarters, especially from southern Indians, Javanese and finally the Chinese themselves. (43)

In the eleventh century, the Tamils under the powerful Chola dynasty became of the foremost trading peoples of maritime Asia. In fact, already in the ninth century a Tamil trading inscription was erected at Takuapa on the Malay Peninsula. A special impetus to Tamil trade would have been provided when Muslim merchants began to use the ports of southern India as an advance base for the China trade. In 1017 A.D., warfare broke out between the Cholas and Srivijaya and by the end of the tenth and in the early eleventh centuries, the situation of Srivijaya became even

more critical. Back in 932 A.D., Srivijaya was invaded by the Javanese - a reflection of the Javanese resentment to the Srivijayan trade monopoly. During the next two hundred years, Srivijaya's vessels were gradually challenging the monopoly of the favoured coast by encouraging foreign merchants to visit their harbours. In the twelfth century, the archaeological evidence of Kedah sites, reflected the presence of international trade goods⁽⁴⁴⁾ and, for example in 1225 A.D., ships from Kedah were sailing to India.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The expansion in Chinese overseas shipping in later Sung times became a major threat to Srivijaya empire and in the twelfth century, when the state trading system of China was falling into abeyance, Chinese merchants were helping to corrode the monopoly of Srivijaya by trading where they wished. By the end of the thirteenth century Srivijaya was no longer an extensive maritime trade power. The centre of the trade of the region now was centred in Java and the Majapahit⁽⁴⁶⁾ was the powerful kingdom in the region.

The most eminent name of this dynasty is not that of a king, but of a commander, Gajah Mada, who became the prime minister and the effective ruler from 1331 to 1364 A.D. He extended the authority of Majapahit over Sumatra where he completely demolished the weakened Srivijaya kingdom as well as dominating Bali and other islands. The empire attained the peak of its power under Rajasanagara (1350-1389 A.D.), commonly known by his personal name, Hayam Wuruk. He ruled all the principal islands in the Archipelago and the large part of the Malay Peninsula. He established cultural and

trade relations with neighbouring countries, such as Kambuja, Champa, China, Siam and India. After his death the kingdom disintegrated and supremacy over the various islands, including Sumatra and some states on the Malay Peninsula, gradually fall to Malacca, a newly-risen maritime kingdom. The Majapahit Kingdom, however, continued until 1520 A.D. About the middle of the fifteenth century Islam had begun to penetrate Java; the new religion gradually became powerful enough to bring about the downfall of the last great Indianized kingdoms in Java, as of others in Indonesia.

Indonesia

e) Islam and the Birth of Malacca Sultanate

The expansion of the Indian cultural influence and the introduction and expansion of Islam to this region can be largely attributed to maritime trade. According to C. A. Majul, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ the first contacts of the Malays with Islam came over the trade routes. Even before their Islamization, Arab and Persian traders were living in some of the major southern ports of China, notably in Canton. At this time, there was lively trade between Arabia and the Malay Archipelago too. With the rise of Islam, the Arab lands became a centre of empire, wealth, population and culture. They became an important commercial centre for the products of India, China and South-east Asia. To a great extent the Arabs became the intermediaries between European merchants and other Asian traders. Like the Indian traders in the early expansion of Indian culture to this region, the Arab traders have been the most outstanding transmitters of culture. It has been generally argued that by the beginning of the ninth century,

by whom?

Arab merchants and sailors and other Muslims, had begun to dominate the Nan-hai or South-east Asian trade. The earliest known Arab accounts of this trade belong to this century. In the second half of the ninth century of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), however, Arab trade with China declined. But during the Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) foreign traders were once more encouraged to return and, foreign traders in Chinese seaports during Sung times were remained mainly Arab.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Their chief port now became Chüan-chou instead of Canton.

It was in 878 A.D., that an important event involving foreign merchants took place in Canton. The rebel leader Huang Ch'ao sacked Canton and massacred according to reports, thousands of foreign merchants. Because of the general deterioration of the political situation in China and increased piracy in the China Sea, thousands of these foreign merchants, mostly Muslims, left China and flocked to Kalah in the Malay Peninsula. This sea port then became the major entrepot of the Arab trade and possibly for some time their eastern most base. Although the traders were welcomed once more to China by the second half of the tenth century, Kalah retained its importance as a trading colony of Arabs and other Muslim merchants. According to Tibbets, however, from 970 A.D. onwards, and especially after the rise of the southern Sung, the Nan-hai trade was revived and continued uninterrupted throughout the Sung and Yüan dynasties into Ming times.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Parallel with Islamic expansion from northern Sumatra as a starting point, Islamization also took place in the

eastern Malaya. The "Trengganu Stone" dated to 1303 A.D. suggests that if the ruler of the principality of Trengganu at that time was not yet a Muslim, it had, at least, a Muslim settlement and important trading colony there. More significantly at nearby Patani, Islamization had already commenced. Facing these two Malay coastal principalities of Patani and Trengganu was across the China Sea, Phan Rang, in the south of ancient Champa state in Indo-china. Here, two inscribed stones were found, one dated 1039 A.D. and the other for the period between 1025 and 1035 A.D., testifying to the existence of Muslim settlements there. These three centres, Phan Rang, Patani and Trengganu, lay along the trade route from South China and Hainan to the southern tip of Malaya.

actually
from
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It has been noted above that as early as the seventh century there were a few trade colonies scattered along the trade routes in the Malay Archipelago and that there was a decided increase in their number during the ninth and tenth centuries. Muslim traders, Arabs, Persians and Gujeratis did not found colonies for their mother countries. They simply established trading communities for the traders had to remain at the trading settlements frequently for some length of time to await the movement of ships dependent on the monsoons. It was the existence of Muslim trade colonies widely scattered along the trade routes that made the expansion of Islam possible, for it was to these places, particularly during the thirteenth century, that Muslim missionaries came, to reinforce Islam among the traders. By the end of the thirteenth, and in the early fourteenth

century Islamic influence became very pronounced. An acceleration of Islamization was to follow this in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁽⁵⁰⁾ especially during the period of Malacca sultanate.

Malacca was certainly an established trading centre by 1403 A.D., when the Chinese envoy Yin-Ch'ing visited it. The record of the embassy as related in the Ming-shih leaves the impression of a prosperous chiefdom nominally subject to Siam. But in an effort to end the Thai suzerainty the ruler of Malacca lost no time in seeking the protection of China. Malacca's supremacy over the Straits was ensured when Iskandar Shah fitted out a fleet of patrol boats, manned by Celates, to force vessels to call at Malacca. As in the days of Srivijaya, the Straits became again a private sea. The need for such action emphasizes the essential character of Malaccan trade. Whereas the other ports on both the Sumatran and Penseinula coasts existed for the export of products of their hinterlands, Malacca was, by reason of history and geography, an entrepot, dependent for its prosperity on the volume of trade passing through the Straits. Malacca was tied to the full flow of South-east Asian commerce.⁽⁵¹⁾ But to enforce her monopoly, she needed to implement and facilitate - control of the sea by extension of her authority over the neighbouring coasts, and during the fifteenth century this task was accomplished by a succession of able rulers. By the end of the fifteenth century Malacca controlled all the northern shore of the Straits, the most important part of the southern shore, the archipelagoes athwart its eastern approaches and other

island bases which had formerly harboured pirate fleets preying on the commerce of these seas. This was the state of affairs when Malacca came under the Portuguese control in 1511 A.D.

Chinese maritime trade with the South Seas and the Indian Ocean, which had been developing steadily since the days of former Han dynasty and which had attained considerable importance under the T'ang, reached its apogee under the Southern Sung. Confined after 1127 A.D., to the southern territories of their former empire, and thus cut off from the Central Asian trade routes, the Chinese turned towards the Southern Seas and began to venture out to the ocean in their own ships using the navigational aid of the mariner's compass - a major contemporary invention of the Chinese.

To the Chinese the Peninsular states were sources of jungle products, notably aromatic woods, spices, ivory and rhinoceros horn. In return for these primary commodities, the Chinese merchants supplied the Malays with varieties of goods ranging from the basic and necessities goods such as salt and rice to luxurious goods such as silk, porcelain and lacquer ware.⁽⁵²⁾ Since ceramics was the only trade's item which had survived until today, it is become a theme of this study and to use them as the evidences for formulating the early history of this region, especially the period before the expansion of European powers to this region.

Chinese commercial contacts with South-east Asia, the local trade or entrepot trade, as suggested by A. Lamb, are capable of being investigated by archaeology. One of the major Chinese exports at all periods since at least the end

of the Han dynasty has been ceramics, and this is a category of artifact which though fragile yet most durable in tropical climate. There is hardly a region in South-east Asia where Chinese ceramics of Sung and later date cannot be found; T'ang and earlier wares are however not so common. By Sung times, as A. Lamb has further stated, Chinese ceramics were being exported in large quantities to remote corners of South-east Asia; and even tribes in the mountain jungles of New Guinea had learned to cherish vessels of Chinese porcelain used for their rituals. From T'ang times onwards Chinese merchants were meeting merchants from the Middle East at entrepots in the general region of the Straits of Malacca. In sites like Takuapa in Southern Thailand and Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah, archaeology has revealed Persian and other Middle Eastern ceramics and glass in association with Chinese wares.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, it is possible to show a detailed picture of the extent and nature of early Chinese commercial penetration into South-east Asia, including the Malay Peninsula, but a great deal of research is still required.

The great quantities of Chinese ceramics found in South-east Asia as well as in West Malaysia suggests that they were very much demanded by the natives of South-east Asia. Its stylistic studies indicate that they also left a greater impact on the development of local ceramics industries. This will be discussed in the following chapters.

Notes to Chapter I

- (1) The Malay Peninsula is a long narrow strip of territory which forms the most southerly extremity of the mainland of Asia. The peninsula is bounded on the north by Siam, and is surrounded by the sea in all other directions; by the South China Sea and the Gulf of Siam on the east, by the Straits of Singapore on the south, and by the Straits of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal on the west. Malay Peninsula includes modern Malaya and southern Thailand. The present political border between West Malaysia and Thailand is not a meaningful division in respect to their cultural past.
- (2) R. C. Majumdar (1963), p.9
- (3) A. Lamb (1961 a), p.26. For further discussion on the Middle Eastern ceramics found in West Malaysia, see Chapter III, p. of this thesis.
- (4) V. Purcell (1966), p.16 .
- (5) V. Purcell (1966), pp. 239-240 .
- (6) V. Purcell (1966), p.240 .
- (7) V. Purcell (1966), p.240 .
- (8) V. Purcell (1966), p.242 .
- (9) V. Purcell (1966), p.242 .
- (10) Cf. A. Lamb (1960) .
- (11) Cf. A. Lamb (1960) .
- (12) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.33 .
- (13) R. C. Majumdar (1963), p.13 .
- (14) R. C. Majumdar (1963), p.8 .
- (15) P. Wheatley (1973), p.xxi .
- (16) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.33 .
- (17) This is based on the information he gathered from Henri Maspero that Huang-chih would have been pronounced as Yüan-ts'i, a phonetic equivalence which J.J.L. Duyvendek thought was imperfect, see O. W. Wolters (1967), p.268, footnote 14 .
- (18) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.34 .
- (19) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.35 .

- (20) Among the works consulted are F. Hirth (1885), Wang Gungwu (1958), pp. 1-135; and V. Purcell (1966), pp. 8-23 .
- (21) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.37 .
- (22) For detail description of Tun-sun see P. Wheatley (1973), pp.15-21, and O. W. Wolters (1967), p.44. For discussion on the location of Tun-sun see footnote 75, O. W. Wolters (1967), p.272 .
- (23) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.48 .
- (24) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.152 .
- (25) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.153 .
- (26) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.153 .
- (27) P. Wheatley (1973), p.17 and 115 points out that according to Fu nan chi there were 500 families of hu lived in Tun-sun. They were probably represented of Persians, Sogdians, and people from western Turkestan. "There is no reason" says O. W. Wolters, "to suppose that they suddenly ceased to take an interest in overseas trade," op. cit. p.314, footnote 108 .
- (28) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.154. Probably the Orang Laut forms part of the human manpower resources of the Malay shippers. For more about the culture and recent history of the Orang Laut, see D. E. Sopher: The Sea Nomads: A study based on the literature of the maritime boat people of Southern Asia, a Monograph Published in 1965 by the National Museum, Singapore.
- (29) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.154 .
- (30) Madame Solange Bernard-Thierry, "A propos des emprunts sanskrits en malgache", Journal Asiatique, no. 247, pt. 3 (1959), pp. 311-348, cited by O. W. Wolters (1967), p.155 .
- (31) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.156 .
- (32) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.156 .
- (33) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.223 .
- (34) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.225 .
- (35) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.231 .
- (36) For a summary of the facts relating to Yangchou and its position in the internal communications of China, see Wang Gungwu (1958), pp. 71-72 .

- (37) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.232 .
- (38) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.232 .
- (39) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.234 .
- (40) For the discussion on the location of Lo-yüeh, see P. Wheatley (1973), pp.58, 60 and 296 .
- (41) P. Wheatley (1973), p.60 .
- (42) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.239 .
- (43) O. W. Wolters (1967), p.249 .
- (44) A. Lamb (1961 c), pp.82-85 .
- (45) A. Lamb (1961 c), pp.82-85; P. Wheatley (1973), p.72 .
- (46) For the history of this kingdom, see D. G. E. Hall (1955), pp. 71-84 .
- (47) C. A. Majul (1973), p.37 .
- (48) C. A. Majul (1973), p.37 .
- (49) C. A. Majul (1973), p.38 .
- (50) C. A. Majul (1973), p.41 .
- (51) Until today, the most reliable account of early history of Malacca as well as the role played by Malacca as an entrepot can be found in Tome Pire's Suma Oriental, Vol. II .
- (52) For the list of goods exported by the States of the Malay Peninsula and goods imported by the states of Malay Peninsula in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see P. Wheatley (1973), pp.74 and 87; and also see P. Wheatley (1959), pp.1-140 .

CHAPTER II

CHINESE CERAMICS

Introduction

The study of the Chinese trade ceramics exported to South-east Asia is a comparatively recent field of oriental art studies both in the West and in South-east Asia. The works of H. O. Beyer,⁽¹⁾ Tom Harrison,⁽²⁾ E. W. Van Orsoy de Flines,⁽³⁾ and others in South-east Asia have given us a fairly clear picture of their distributions, uses and of their local value and significance. In many local or native non-Muslim communities, porcelain vessels and dishes were used as grave furnitures even until the present day. In New Guinea, large celadon dishes were still until recently kept buried in the sand on the seashore, to be dug up and used only on festival days. In Borneo such dishes, bowls, and jars form part of the treasure of the family, handed down for generations in the long-house, and they played a significant role in ritual ceremonies of the Sarawak natives. Michael Sullivan, based on the reports from R. Fox states that among the Tagbanuwa on Palawan Island, husked rice, betel preparations, and other ritual foods are placed in a bowl or plate, held above the head

by a medium and tapped five or seven times to call the spirit-relatives and deities to partake of the offering, some fifteenth century vessels are still being utilised in this ritual ceremony.⁽⁴⁾

It is not possible in the context of early maritime trade to draw a clear distinction between domestic Chinese wares exported to South-east Asia and wares made solely for export. It is doubtful whether before or even during T'ang period, Chinese trade ceramics were made primarily for export in any given type, shape or form. Indeed, it seems likely that the export of ceramics was at first an accidental by-product of the maritime trade. Chinese merchants buying birds' nests, pearl, king fisher feather, damar gum, turtles' eggs, and other local products of South-east Asian islands⁽⁵⁾ may have found that the crockery and storage jars they were using on board were of more use to the native than any other barete goods or even Chinese cash currency. As M. Sullivan observes, they would have at first parted with such as they could spare and later they came regularly to carry a surplus for barter. A further stage came later when South China kilns started to produce specifically for export. Certain ceramic shapes so far alien, like that of the celebrated kendi entered the repertoire of the Chinese potter at this time in recognition of this export need. A number of examples of kendi made in coarse white porcelain or stoneware, have been found in Borneo and Java.⁽⁶⁾

Some of the typical wares made for South-east Asian market, ranges in date from the late Sung to the present day, and in quality from the fine underglaze copper red

through the blue and white 'kraak porcelain'⁽⁷⁾ of the Wan-li (1573-1619) period to the very coarse South China wares of the nineteenth century.

Another type of ceramics which are often found in the sites of the South-east Asian countries are celadons of the Lung-ch'üan wares. Indeed, from Southern Sung onwards, they formed a large proportion of China's export trade. Also exported in large quantities, was a beautiful thin translucent porcelain with a granular sugary body and pale bluish glaze known as ch'ing-pai. These types will be analysed separately below with specific typological reference to those found in the West Malaysian sites.

It is worth noting here that South-east Asian ceramics were also found in Sarawak, Indonesia, the Philippines and West Malaysia associated with Chinese trade ceramics. These wares will be discussed in Chapter III below.

H. O. Beyer has given a useful summary of archaeological discoveries in Borneo up to the beginning of the war.⁽⁸⁾ Before the end of the nineteenth century a large number of cave burials containing Chinese ceramics dated by him roughly from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries had been discovered in Sarawak and Sabah, beginning with the discovery by A. H. Everette of twenty such burials in Sarawak in 1878-1879⁽⁹⁾ and followed by further comparable finds in Sabah by C. C. Creagh in 1895⁽¹⁰⁾ and by I. H. N. Evans in 1912-1931⁽¹¹⁾ Some of these were similar to, though not so spectacular as Tom Harrison's discoveries at Niah.⁽¹²⁾

At the Niah sites, apart from prehistoric finds, Tom Harrison has also discovered later burials. Associated with

these burials is a considerable quantity of undamaged Chinese ceramic material of Yüeh-type greenware bowls, plain white ware, some with typical T'ang foliated rims; South China stoneware jars with loop-handles round the shoulder, covered with dark olive glaze; ch'ing-pai ware of what he calls 'Marco Polo type' with moulded decorations; a small quantity of Honan greenware; earthenware dishes with foliated rims and floral designs moulded under dark green glaze.⁽¹³⁾ Most of these Tom Harrisson has considered to be of T'ang date. However, the presence of the ch'ing-pai and the green glazed earthenware suggests that while some of the oldest burials are probably as early as T'ang and possibly slightly earlier, others may be as late as the thirteenth century A.D. Since neither early Siamese wares nor early Chinese blue and white porcelain appears at any of the Niah burials he has suggested a ca. 1300 A.D. date as the latest.

At Tanjung Kubor, excavated in 1955⁽¹⁴⁾ a vast quantity of sherds of local earthenware and over one thousand pieces of sherds of glazed stoneware were discovered. The latter included grey-green Yüeh-type ware, hard white ware similar to the dish excavated at Bukit Batu Lintang in Kedah⁽¹⁵⁾ and a heavy brown glazed ware.⁽¹⁶⁾ At Tanjung Tegok across the mouth of Sarawak River, similar material was found, with celadons and white wares, some with combed designs under the glaze, which Tom Harrisson has correctly dated for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁽¹⁷⁾ Near the mouth of Santubong River, at Bongkisan, a large quantity of celadons and white wares has also been found, which Michael Sullivan has rightly dated for the period between the twelfth and

fourteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁽¹⁸⁾ At this site, in 1960, Michael Sullivan found and dated sherds of Sung celadon, part of heavily-potted fluted celadon jars of thirteenth and fourteenth century dates, parts of 'dragon jars' with relief moulding, ch'ing-pai, white ware with trailed decoration and fine pink stoneware with dark green glaze.⁽¹⁹⁾ While at Buah, across the Santubong River, a large deposit of iron slag has been found⁽²⁰⁾ in association with Sung-type wares, some of high quality. Tom Harrisson claims that this site yielded the only example of Tz'u-chou ware in Sarawak.⁽²¹⁾ The finds from the extensive site on the bank of the Sungai Ja'ong, up-river from Bongkisan, has been illustrated by Tom Harrisson in TOCS for 1953-54. They include Yüeh type ware, good quality celadon, and South China celadons, the white wares include roughly made white dishes, ch'ing-pai and all, according to Tom Harrisson, probably dated between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries A.D.

However, no early Chinese blue and white of fifteenth and sixteenth century dates has been found in any of the Sarawak sites. Furthermore, there is no evidence of any early Ming blue and white there either. This phenomenon was called 'Ming gap' by Tom Harrisson. Michael Sullivan⁽²²⁾ believes that this was caused by several factors. Namely, by the decline of the Majapahit Empire, of which Santubong settlements were a part; by the cultural migrations into the Philippines in the thirteenth century; by the state of anarchy and instability at the time of the Islamization of the area; and by the rise of the Brunei sultanate and the

(Indonesia?)

concentration of trade on Brunei. Closely parallel in West Malaysia is the rapid decline that followed Kataha's conversion to Islam in the fourteenth century and the shift of the focus of trade and prosperity south to the Malacca sultanate. Latter Chinese porcelain of early Ch'ing South China export ware, mainly blue and white and enamelled wares, were found at Song sites, on the Rejang River in Central Sarawak excavated by Barbara Harrisson in 1955.⁽²³⁾

Chinese trade ceramics had not only a wide distribution in Sarawak and Sabah, but large quantities of export ceramics have also been found on the Philippines and the Indonesian Islands.

Due to the large quantities of Chinese and other Far Eastern pottery and porcelain found in the Philippines, H. O. Beyer has designated the name 'Porcelain Age' to the period between the arrival of Chinese wares and the coming of the Spaniards in that country in the sixteenth century.⁽²⁴⁾ But this terminology cannot be applied to the West Malaysian context due to the relatively scarcity of the finds. Indeed, Chinese ceramics dating from roughly the tenth to the sixteenth centuries have been found in virtually every region of the Philippines. They have been found in cave burials, jar burials, and extended burials in open cemeteries.⁽²⁵⁾ Moreover, in his study, H. O. Beyer has also shown that not only Chinese trade wares but South-east Asian export ceramics were also found on these sites. The question of these South-east Asian wares, their typology, origins, and distribution will be discussed at length in Chapter III.

The finds of possible late T'ang date with Sung and

Yüan wares have been found in Luzon, notably at Novaliches, the sites which have been excavated by H. O. Beyer and in the Pasig-Tagig area just to the south of Manila. Other important sites in Luzon include Balicaguin (Pangasinan Province), a jar burial site found in 1928 with T'ang, Sung, and Yüan wares, and Porak (Pampanga), an extended burial site and two village sites dating from late T'ang through Sung to the fourteenth century. This site yielded high quality ch'ing-pai wares and tobi-seiji celadon jars. There was also among other Southern Sung wares a quantity of greenware which Michael Sullivan has called "Yuchou" and presumed to be of Hunanese origin.⁽²⁶⁾

At San Pablo, Tayabas, a quantity of fine Southern Sung and Yüan stoneware and porcelain was discovered in 1959.⁽²⁷⁾ The finds which Michael Sullivan and H. O. Beyer inspected shortly after its discovery includes the following twelfth and thirteenth century wares: Lung-ch'uan celadon bowls and jars; ch'ing-pai bottles and boxes; Fukien white ware; brown glazed jars with four squared loop-handles on the shoulder of a type which Tom Harrisson used to call T'ang;⁽²⁸⁾ white glazed kendi with straight spout. Fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries wares include a small jar with relief designs under a splashed yellow and green glaze; and several bowls and dishes of blue and white with a bare ring in the centre decorated with transfer or stencil designs which in the Philippines as Michael Sullivan reports are called "Singapore ware".⁽²⁹⁾ They have been hitherto considered as middle and late Ming, but their presence and

associated with twelfth to fifteenth centuries wares suggests, as Michael Sullivan has observed, that some of them may be among the earliest types of South China export blue and white.⁽³⁰⁾ Comparable blue and white finds from West Malaysia will be discussed below. While at the Zobel estate on the Calatagan peninsula in Bantangas Province, south west of Manila, a pre-Spanish period burial ground and several village sites were accidentally uncovered in 1934.⁽³¹⁾ They yielded quantities of Chinese and South-east Asian ceramics but unfortunately most of this material was destroyed in the war. In 1940 O. Janse excavated twenty nine graves on this site and in 1958-1959 W. G. Solheim⁽³²⁾ explored the area and collected about 4000 sherds of Chinese and South-east Asian wares.

The most extensive excavation were conducted at Kay Tomas and Pulung Bakaw by R. Fox from February to May 1958 and published the result in 1959 under the title 'The Calatagan Excavation: Two fifteenth Century Burial Sites in Batagas, Philippines'. This important excavation enabled him to study the very important question of proportion of Chinese trade ceramics to South-east Asian export wares. R. Fox has reported that, of the more than twelve hundred whole pieces of Chinese, Annamese and Siamese wares discovered at these two sites, 75% of the pieces of the export ware from Kay Tomas were Chinese, 22% Siamese, and 2% Annamese.⁽³³⁾ While from Pulung Bakaw 85% were Chinese, 13% Siamese and 2% Annamese.⁽³⁴⁾ The Chinese wares consisted of 68% very coarse South China blue and white of fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries date; 22% monochrome, mainly celadon; 3% coarse white wares; 6% stoneware; and 1% overglaze enamel.⁽³⁵⁾ R. Fox observes that 92% of all pieces found were dishes and bowls and none of the material can be dated as early as Sung, none as late as Chia-ching (1522-1566) or Wan-li (1573-1619) periods. Michael Sullivan has concluded that this site as a whole may be firmly placed between the late thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁽³⁶⁾ But in the opinion of John Addis, R. Fox's Calatagan material contains nothing earlier than the late fifteenth century and some material at least as late as the mid-sixteenth century. He further stressed that Celatagan is essentially not a fifteenth century but a sixteenth century site.⁽³⁷⁾

A number of stoneware jars with loop-handles on the shoulder and a brown or greenish-brown glaze ending in sweeping curves well short of the base were also found at these sites. The handles on the shoulder and of the glaze have both been considered as typical T'ang characteristics in the Chinese domestic wares. However, their discovery in a site as late as the mid-sixteenth century shows that in South China at least these T'ang characteristics persisted until the Ming period. A teapot-shaped ewer with lotus flowers incised under a green and yellow glaze was also discovered at Pulung Bakaw. It is of a type which is attributed to Sung and Yüan periods in the Jakarta Museum.⁽³⁸⁾

Three further important excavations in the Philippines during the 1960s provided further significant advancement for the typological study of Chinese export wares in South-east Asia.

Firstly, L. and C. Locsin carried out controlled but limited excavations at Santa Ana in Manila. Their carefully observed and recorded associations are, however, of real value and are published in their book Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines published in 1967.

Secondly, in April 1967, at another extraordinarily rich group of sites in Laguna, at the western end of the Laguna de Bay, about 50 miles from Manila, many thousands of pieces have been excavated, mostly small pieces and in the opinion of John Addis, they are dating from the Yüan dynasty, with some middle Ming material from the outer fringes of the sites. The finds include much early blue and white, much iron-spotted white ware, underglaze-red, a number and variety of shu-fu types, water droppers, a few ch'ing-pai figurines of high quality, as well as lead-glazed wares, early white ware from Te-hua, various stonewares with buff, grey or black glazes, and Chekiang celadons. (39)

Thirdly, in September 1967, the Locsins, in cooperation with the University of San Carlos, Cebu City, sponsored a controlled excavation in part of the Laguna site. A preliminary report was published in March 1968. The third levels of this excavation is characterised by secondary cremation - the bones of previously inhumed corpses have been cremated and reburied in storage jars - and two samples of charred bones from this level have given the Carbon-14 dating 1375 and 1350 A.D. While the fourth level is characterized by simple inhumation, and at this level a total of sixteen Sung coins have been found in association

with ceramic material. Some ceramic types have been found at both the third and fourth levels; notably, celadon jarlets and celadon dishes with two moulded fish in the centre, and early Te-hua white covered boxes and bowls. But the early blue and white, the iron-spotted white ware and the underglaze red have only been found at the fourth level.

In Indonesia, in spite of the extensive work carried out by the Dutch archaeologists on the shrine of Hindu-Javanese period, only two excavations of a porcelain-yielding sites have been conducted in 1936 and 1970 respectively. The earliest type of ceramic found in Indonesia is a chance discovery of earthenware identified by de Flines as being of Han type, include a dish unearthed at West Borneo and a jar from Banten in West Java. He also mentioned jars with engraved lines of relief decoration under a felspathic glaze, which appear to be post-Han Chekiang and Southern types.

Besides that, a number of typical examples of T'ang earthenware with coloured lead glaze have been found, including amphorae with dragon handles. T'ang white porcelain of fine quality has been found at the site of the eighth century capital on the Dieng Plateau in Central Java, in East Semarang, Bali and South Sulawesi. De Flines notes that jars with dragon handles are found almost exclusively at the religious centres of Central and East Java, suggesting that they had a ritual function. White porcelain phoenix-head ewers have been found in South Kediri, South Malang,

Central Java and East Sumatra, while ewers with hunting scenes in relief, generally broken during excavation, have been unearthed in Central Sumatra, Central Java, Bali and the Molluccas.

A quite large quantity of late T'ang and tenth century green wares of Hunan type have been found in South Sumatra, Java, South Sulawesi, and Bali. From the same site also has been found some of fine quality of Yüeh ware, including bowls with lotus leaves carved on the outside. Sung and Yüan wares have been discovered in East Java, centre of the empire of Majapahit, and also in Sulawesi. These include according to de Flines' descriptions, a variety of Tz'u-chou types, and a four pieces of black Honan ware, Chün-yao and Chien-yao. Lung-ch'üan and other Chekiang celadons are widespread. De Flines also mentions about Ju, kuan and ko wares that have been unearthed in the islands of Indonesia. South China wares, including what Michael Sullivan called 'imitations of Ting ware (presumably from Chi-chou and Te-hua) consists mainly of vases with wide necks and foliated trumpet mouths, jugs, pitchers, some similar to Tom Harrisson's 'Marco Polo ware', and bowls decorated with tendrils, clouds and combing under the glaze. Most of these date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In the Museum Pusat, Jakarta there are a number of stoneware pieces, mostly jars and kendi, with floral decoration swiftly incised in the paste found by Tom Harrisson at Niah.⁽⁴¹⁾ They have somewhat Cantonese taste, and are probably thirteenth to fourteenth century in date. Ch'ing-pai has been found in many parts of Indonesia. It ranges from fine Ching-te chen porcelain

to a coarse white ware with floral and other designs in raised slip or moulded under the glaze, which was probably made at Te-hua.

Among the Ming wares, heavy celadons and blue and white are abundant. Late Ming kendi include a variety of shapes, many of which are grotesque. The Museum Pusat, Jakarta has also a few examples of early Ming porcelain decorated in underglazed. The systematic excavation of ceramics site in Indonesia was carried out in 1936 by two Japanese archaeologists at Kampong Pareko, near Maccasar, Sulawesi. It yielded 181 pieces of Chinese ceramics, mainly fifteenth century blue and white, but also including 43 pieces of celadon, mostly with designs incised or moulded under the glaze, 7 white pieces and 4 pieces of enamelled ware.⁽⁴²⁾ Also found associated with those finds are some South-east Asian export wares, notably Sawankhalok.

In West Malaysia, the situation presents a striking contrast with that of Indonesia. Although nearly all the ceramics found in West Malaysia consist of fragments, much of it has been scientifically excavated or at least comes from precisely known sites. The museum in Jakarta, on the other hand, is filled with whole pieces, many of the finest quality, but the provenance of which is in most cases unknown,⁽⁴³⁾ and Michael Sullivan notes that, the Guide to the ceramics in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta written by de Flines contains a number of very general statements as to where these wares were found.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The quantity and variety of porcelain exported by China to South-east Asia since Sung times is enormous, but

there are no traces of pre-Sung greenwares at all West Malaysian sites. Only a few of typical wares like Lung-ch'üan celadons are present at West Malaysian archaeological sites of this date. Besides the refuted⁽⁴⁵⁾ Han wares found at Kota Tinggi, ceramics of more certain Chinese origin are, sherds of Lung-ch'üan celadon which have been found in the ruins of several of Indian temples (Buddhist and Hindu) excavated by H. G. Q. Wales in Kedah in 1940, and illustrated here with some examples in Pl. 9. H. G. Q. Wales has ascribed these finds to a period roughly from the eighth to thirteenth centuries and emphasizing the similarity of the type with sherd materials found at Fostat in Egypt and Brahminabad in India.⁽⁴⁶⁾ While some T'ang export seems to have included trade ceramics already, for instance, the Hsin-type earthenware where porcelain found at Samarra and three-colour earthenware (san-ts'ai) found in Central Asia, it appears, in the light of recent finds, particularly in the Philippines that a number of san-ts'ai type earthenware was exported from yet unknown Chinese kilns in late T'ang and early Liao times towards South-east Asian islands.

By the Sung and Yüan dynasties, the Chinese export trade in ceramics had greatly increased, although as some scholars believe, West Malaysia itself as yet played but a small part in it. Various types of greenwares have been found in Kelantan, Kuala Selinsing (Perak), Kedah and Johore. The discoveries were reported casually and no detail study has so far been undertaken. As far as the finds from Kelantan and Perak are concerned, my observations are based

on previous reports.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Other Sung and Yüan types, with the exception of Lung-ch'üan celadons and ch'ing-pai have been conspicuous by their absence in West Malaysia.

The Ming and Ch'ing trade porcelain especially of blue and white wares have also been found in West Malaysia and are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

The main group of Chinese ceramics will be discussed here but the following wares such as lead-glazed wares, Tz'u-chou wares of Sung and Yüan periods and shu-fu type ware of Yüan and underglazed copper-red porcelain are omitted because so far none of the representatives of any of these wares have ever been found in West Malaysian archaeological sites.

a) Celadons of the Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing Periods

No traces of early greenwares have so far been reported as come to light in any of West Malaysian archeological sites. In the recently published work by Mary Tregear, this subject of greenwares has been studied at length.⁽⁴⁸⁾ With the absence of this greenwares indicate that the history of Chinese export in ceramics to West Malaysia only started with the celadon of the Sung period.

The European name for this ware is believed to be derived from that of celadon, a shepherd dressed in green robe who appeared in a pastoral romance, *l'Astree* by the French novelist Honore D'Urfe (1567-1625) which was first produced in Paris in 1610.

Probably, of all Chinese ceramics, the celadons are the

most widely admired and has received the attention of many scholars⁽⁴⁹⁾ even in the context of South-east Asian export ceramics. Their works have given us a clear picture of the origins of this celebrated ware, their shapes, decorations and designs and certainly enriched our knowledge relating to this ware.

We know from their studies that celadon ware was being produced in Southern Chekiang from at least the tenth century through Northern Sung, Southern Sung, Yüan and Ming. According to Gompertz, Northern Celadon evidently was closely related to Yüeh ware, indeed prior to the identification of the latter, most of the examples in England and America were attributed to Northern Celadon. He further described that the shapes of Northern Celadon are often analogous and the carved designs are not dissimilar, the glaze is usually a dark olive-green with somewhat frothy appearance, distinguishable from the pale green or olive of Yüeh ware, though a few examples exhibit the tender green of growing plants or leaves. The finely incised decoration characteristic of Yüeh ware in the Five Dynasties or early Sung period also is not found in Northern Celadon, which relied more often on the use of moulds. The foot-rim too, are generally heavier and have 'burned' a deep brown or show a rough brownish gloss.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Gompertz has emphasized that Northern Celadon is a "direct descendent of Yüeh ware and a close relative of Chün".⁽⁵¹⁾ He has further stated that since methods and designs were freely copied by contemporary potters at

different kilns, it will not be surprising that links have also been traced with other wares made at the same period, for instance the practice of combing detail and cutting radiating lines on the undersides of bowls after the style of ch'ing-pai and the use of moulds for impressing patterns in the manner of Ting wares. However, the difference between Northern Celadon and the other contemporary wares can be seen in the strongly individual character of its shapes and carved decoration. Some of the jars and vases have strongly angular outlines, while the dishes and bowls variant types of rim, turning inward at the edge and outward in a flattened roll. Whether carved, incised or moulded, the decoration is executed with sureness, the floral designs are well composed and normally cover the whole vessel or the inner surface of a dish or bowl. The common designs are flying phoenixes set against a background of floral scrolls or ducks are seen swimming amidst waves and also the boys playing among flowers. (52)

A major compendium and a detail stylistic study of Northern Celadon and all major type of Sung wares have recently been studied by Jan Wirgin which was published in the BMFEA. (53)

The recent excavations has shown that some of the finest wares in the Northern Celadon group were in Yao-chou in Shensi Province, and this place also seems to be the source of that fine and rare group of celadons usually attributed to 'Tung-yao' in Western and Japanese publications. The report of the four main investigations into the kilns

in Lin-ju hsien have been published in Wen Wu⁽⁵⁴⁾ and an abstract report in English translation of the last excavation carried out in 1964 has been published by Oriental Ceramic Society, Chinese Translations Series, No. 3. The three main kiln sites excavated in Lin-ju hsien are Yen-ho tien, Ya-hua ko and Hsia-jen ts'un. More than 86,000 sherds have been found during excavation and it has been established that these kilns were in operation from the T'ang dynasty until the Yüan dynasty, but their prosperous time seems to have been during Northern Sung and Chin.

The other major type of celadons produced already in Sung times came from the famous Lung-ch'üan kilns. This type is usually referred to either as Lung-ch'üan celadon or simply frequently misguidedly as celadon ware.

In 1963, Chu Po-Ch'ien wrote an article which was published in Wen Wu 1963, No. 1.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In this article he gives a summary of the excavations and research carried in the Lung-ch'üan area during the 1950s and early 1960s. About 200 kilns have been researched and classified to the Five Dynasties, Northern Celadon, Southern Sung, Yüan and Ming. Two of the most famous kiln centres were in operation as early as the Five Dynasties, that is Ta-yao and Chin-ts'un, which proves that Lung-ch'üan took over when the Yüeh-yao production declined. The excavated vessels were bowls, dishes, vases and ewers.

Bo Gyllensvärd maintains that although production during the Northern Sung was extensive, it was modest compared with that during Southern Sung. The Lung-ch'üan potters had then to satisfy a much more greater demand arising from the needs of the capital at Hangchow now. The original kilns

increased their output and new kilns were established at Pa-tu in the western and at Chu-k'ou, however, remained still the main centres having 48 and 13 kilns respectively. (56)

During Yüan and Ming period, a great deal of the production was intended for export to South-east Asian countries and the Near and Middle East. The kiln activities now were concentrated at Ta-yao and Chu-k'ou. About 50 Yüan kilns have been identified near Ta-yao and 10 near Chu-k'ou. The total number of Yüan kilns found is about 150. (57)

The majority of the shapes of the Southern Sung celadon shows affinities with that of Northern Sung. (58) On the whole, the glaze is thicker and more opaque and the finest glazes give the surface jade-like quality.

Apart from the lotus flower applied fishes and vertically fluted sides on bowls, dishes and cups, Southern Sung celadons, which as a rule are seldom decorated otherwise. (59) Nearly all the classical Chinese shapes of this period are plain and their beauty, for the most part, depends upon the simple harmonious shape and the refined opaque glaze. Among the well known are the mallet of bottle-shaped vases, the jars with dragon designs around the neck, various types of ewers, incense-burners on low feet, plain bowls and dishes. However, most of these vessels were made for Chinese domestic market and not intended for export.

It is still impossible to draw a distinct border line between the lotus or chrysanthemum bowls and dishes from the Southern Sung and those from Yüan. Especially relating to the export wares, the shapes and patterns of Southern

Sung did not change under a new dynasty, but instead continued. Similarly, it is also almost impossible to draw a border-line between late Yüan and early Ming. However, a few dated pieces throw some light on this subject.

Chu Po-ch'ien gives the following description concerning the Yüan Lung-ch'üan ware:

"Yüan Lung-ch'üan celadon possesses characteristics peculiar to the period. The body tends to be heavy, the glaze is thin and tinged with yellow. The foot of vessels is generally straight and even, neither splayed nor bevelled. There is marked tendency towards large size. Vases as tall as a meter in height and dishes as large as 60 cms in diameter were produced in large numbers at Ta-yao, Chu-k'ou and other places. A new decorative feature is the use of spots of brown in the glaze. Decoration is executed in many ways: by carving, incising, impressing, applique and openwork. There is a rich repertoire of motifs: some (such as waves, chrysanthemums, banana leaves and the cloud scroll) in imitation of Five Dynasties and Northern Sung motives: others (such as lotus petals, the dragon, for example as shown in Pl.12, the phoenix and fish, for example as shown in Pl. 10) in imitation of Southern Sung motives, and still others which were new in the Yüan dynasty. The last includes the thunder pattern, the ju-i, the Eight Immortals, the Eight Trigrams, the coin pattern, for example as shown in Pl.13, the prunus, the peach, the orchid, the ipomea, the hibiscus, bamboo leaves, the ling-chih (the sacred fungus, symbol of longevity), the muskmelon, the tortoise, the crane and so on. Inscriptions on Yüan pieces are common. Certain pieces found at Ta-yao and Pao-ting are inscribed with the Pagspa script. This script occurs only on Lung-ch'üan celadon of the Yüan period." (60)

However, Chu Po-ch'ien does not discuss Ming kilns.

The Ming kiln sites found is smaller in number in spite the fact that many of the Yüan kilns continued to operate during Ming times.

It has been established that celadons are among the most ancient stonewares of Asia. Indeed, long before

Europeans became acquainted with them, they had travelled along the silk-route northward, from China into Central Asia and on to the Middle East, to Fostat⁽⁶¹⁾ in particular. In terms of maritime trade, they stacked on ships and sailed south, along the coast of China and Indo-China, to Indonesia, Philippines, West Malaysia, India, Middle East and East Africa.

In West Malaysia, Lung-ch'üan celadon of South China has been discovered in Kelantan, Trengganu, Pahang, Johore and Kedah.⁽⁶²⁾

b) Black- and brown-glazed Wares of Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing Periods

Another type of wares which were widely exported to South-east Asia are the black- and brown-glazed of Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods.

Among the finds at Pengkalan Bujang sites, A. Lamb had discovered three tiny fragments of porcellaneous ware with a glaze varying from dark brown to a deep purple, and suggested them as of Temmoku type.⁽⁶³⁾ Each of the sherds was so small as to prohibit any more precise description, beyond typological identification.

Temmoku⁽⁶⁴⁾ is the Japanese equivalent of Tien-mu, a mountain near Hangchow, whence certain of these southern wares were shipped to Japan as early as tenth century as tea-ceremony ware. The true temmoku made at Chien-an in Fukien Province of South China consisted almost exclusively of the type of tea-bowls which proved so popular in Japan. They have a dark stoneware body decorated with a thick,

oily iron glaze running to big drops at the foot. The colour is basically a very dark brown verging on black, often streaked with blue or a steel grey, producing marks known as hare's fur, or bluish 'oil spots', caused by coagulation of grey crystals. These were imitated in a rather coarse lustreless ware made at Chi-chou in Kiangsi, often confusingly called 'Kian ware' by earlier scholars.

Unlike the restricted forms of Ch'ien wares, the North Chinese Honan black-glazed stonewares made in wide variety of shapes, while the black glaze of a tea-bowl was sometimes set off by a band of creamy-white round the lip. Indeed, earlier, among the most striking of the northern wares are those decorated with black glaze or black slip sometimes cut through with vigorous floral designs, which have been found in a number of North China sites. A black ware was made at Ting-chou, T'zu-chou and in Honan whose products used to be called 'Honan temmoku'. (65)

The black bowls of Chien an with their brown markings like 'partridge feathers' or 'hare furs' are mentioned in Chinese sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries and investigations by Chinese archaeologists have revealed that temmoku was not only made in the Ch'ien-yang kilns discovered by the late James Marshall Plumer in 1935. (66)

In April 1965 an extensive kiln site was discovered at Kuang-che, on the Fukien-Kiangsi border north-west of Ch'ien-yang. (67) Sherds found there include a black glazed ware, a ware black outside and mottled yellow inside very similar to Chi-chou ware, and a ch'ing-pai

with carved decoration under the glaze. Inferior versions of temmoku were turned out in kilns discovered at Pan-ts'en-yao in 1958, at the east gate reservoir of Fu-ch'ing, south of Foochow, which also made a celadon with incised decoration of a type widely exported to South-east Asia.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The kilns at Nan-an just inland from Ch'üan-chou, investigated in 1957, are reported as having made a wide variety of wares during the Sung dynasty, including a small quantity of temmoku.

The so-called Chi-chou form the major group of southern black- and brown-glazed wares of the Sung dynasty. Chi-an is about 280 kilometers south-west of Ching-te-chen in Kiangsi Province, the great ceramic centre of Ming and later times. The old name for Chi-an used during the Five Dynasties and Sung was Chi-chou. The ruins of the Chi-chou kilns are situated at Yung-ho, about 9 kilometers from the city of Chi-an in Kiangsi Province. The site was discovered by A. D. Brankston at Yung-ho in 1938 but before that, the black- and brown-glazed wares of Chi-chou had been located in Kiangsi Province and were known as Kian temmoku.

However, this kind of ware was not being produced after Sung period.

In comparison with Pengkalan Bujang sites, Sarawak sites have yielded quite a number of temmoku type ware. The earliest fragments were discovered in the T'ang period cemetery of Tanjong Kubor (Santubong) and identification was confirmed by John Pope.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It occurred there with proto-celadon of Yüeh type, heavily spur-marked, a plain, coarse white ware, and a dark-brown glaze ware, related to

what Tom Harrison called 'black Yüeh'.⁽⁷⁰⁾ At later sites such as Niah temmoku appears regularly, but sparsely and always of one shape - small almost conical bowls, with beautifully preserved glazes. Most of the material found in Sarawak is 'southern Temmoku' as described by Gompartz (1956) and originating from Te-ch'ing, 25 miles from Hangchow.

The black-glazed wares were also found in the Philippines. They are moulded in sections, with flat or concave base and no foot rim, and have a very rough gritty body. A few temmoku type bowls, some with lustrous black glaze, others with almost hare's fur markings, have a greyish buff body are clearly not from the sites either of the classical Ch'ien temmoku or of which M. Sullivan believes to be its northern imitations.⁽⁷¹⁾

At Kota China, North Sumatra, E. E. McKinnon claims to have found a few fragments of temmoku wares.⁽⁷²⁾

Another example of South China wares exported to South-east Asia is the 'dragon jars' or Martaban ware (so called because they reached the Indian Ocean by way of the Burmese port of Martaban). These are large stoneware jars, often decorated with dragons or other auspicious motifs in relief under a green or brown glaze.

Ibn Battuta⁽⁷³⁾ mentions such vessels as early as the fourteenth century. They were well-known to Duarte Barbosa and other sixteenth century Portuguese travellers, and long before 1605 Dutch merchants had come across them in the Indian Archipelago. A Dutch account of 1661 says, "In Martavanen certain large pots or earthenware vats are made

called Martavanen of which some hold two pypen. They are much used throughout the whole of India to put fresh water and oil and wine in them, for which reason they are also much desired in Portugal for use on the ships that go to India. As Barbosa writes they are made of porcelain and varnished black, and are held in high esteem by the Moors who transport them for the best terms they can get for them."(74)

Pieter van Dam, writing about 1700 mentions of "large pots for storing fresh water ... these pots come from Pegu, that is the country round the Gulf of Martaban and when transported are put into rice and filled with the same; in this way they take up very little room."(75) Smaller vessels of the same kind were no doubt used for pepper, snuff and tea, all useful articles of ballast and opium.(76)

It is generally believed that they were made primarily for storing salt-vegetables and other supplies on sea voyages, but were often bartered to the natives of South-east Asia and the Malay Archipelago. Among the Dayaks, Kelabits and Murut, the natives of Sarawak, they became status symbol and social prestige,(77) and until today, some of the finest examples can still be seen in the remote interior of Sarawak. Old vessels change hands only for very large sums of money. They are believed to have a supernatural qualities, ground for medicine and used for burial. The natives of the interior of Luzon, Palawan and Mindanao use them for ceremonial purposes and only willing to part with them when a bridal dowry demands it.

The present state of knowledge cannot permit the writer to state whether or not these type of jars were also used in West Malaysia for burial of ceremonial purposes although some of the finest examples of this ware can be seen in the antique shops in Kuala Lumpur. The jar illustrated here in Pl.14 is the only perfect piece known to the writer to have surfaced in the West Malaysian archaeological site. It was discovered in Pahang.

The recent information on this subject is compiled by the Indonesian Ceramic Society in their recently published book Tempayan (Martavans in) di Indonesia. In this book, this least documented ware - their provenance and dating was briefly discussed. (78)

c) Ch'ing-pai Wares of the Sung and Yüan Periods

Ch'ing-pai literally means 'bluish white'. The name is given to a white porcelain with a clear glaze, slightly tinted blue or washy green; this tinting is easily discernible where the glaze runs thick in the hollows. It was an important export ware for the South-east Asian market from Sung times, especially for the Philippines and Indonesian islands.

The characteristic of the body is hard and compact, and the decoration is either incised or moulded. Floral designs are the most common. First made in the Sung dynasty at a large number of kilns, it was to continue well into the Ming times. Another name for this ware is ying-ch'ing 'shadow blue', but the name ch'ing pai is used in connection with the ware in Chinese texts as early Southern Sung in

the fourteenth century and therefore more commonly used name today in preference to ying-ch'ing. (79)

This rather fragile ware was made in large quantities in the kilns at Ching te-chen in Kiangsi while a provincial variant was made in Hopei Province of North China, where it is related to its underglaze carved or moulded decoration to the olive-green 'Northern Celadon' from which it is probably derived.

It is not always possible to distinguish between the white wares of North and South China. It is often said that those from North China kilns show a reddish hue by transmitted light, due to their having been fired in oxidizing atmosphere, whereas those of Kiangsi, fired under reduction, have a bluish green tint. While this seems generally to be true it cannot be confirmed except by careful examination.

The ch'ing-pai wares of South China embrace an enormous family ranging in date from the T'ang to the Yüan and early Ming, in place of origin from Kiangsi to the coast Chekiang and Fukien, and in quality from the most delicate and refined to rough grave goods and export wares.

It may be assumed that the finest Sung ch'ing-pai was made in the region of Ching-te-chen, but pieces of good quality were also made at Chi-chou and at Kuang-che, in the hill to the north-west of Chien-yang. A study of the vast Ching-te-chen industry, published in China entitled 'Ching-te-chen t'ao-tz'u shih-kao', Peking 1959, gives a chronological list of kilns in that area from T'ang to Ming

times, is quoted by M. Sullivan in his The Chinese Ceramics, Bronzes and Jades in the Barlow Collection. (80)

Ch'ing-pai was primarily household ware, whose shapes include tea-pots, vases, stem-cups and bowls, often with foliated rim and dragons, flowers or birds incised with incredible lightness of touch in the thin paste under the glaze.

With their bluish-white glaze and increasingly firm which porcellaneous body, ch'ing-pai wares proved to be the foundation for later Chinese porcelain. In the Yüan Dynasty, the kilns at Ching-te-chen in Kiangsi Province gradually became the fountain head of Chinese porcelain; and what had been a fragile, often rather coarse, product in the Sung Dynasty (suitable for lesser domestic use and foreign export) became a hard, durable, and clean porcelain suitable to the highest aims of Imperial patronage and for the native Chinese taste of the upper-middle and aristocratic classes.

The Sung ch'ing-pai tradition continued into the beginning of Yüan in moulded, less often incised, mass-produced wares of moderate to poor quality. Only the reverse-curve shapes betray its post-Sung date; while the bold scale of the relief decoration seems more closely related to celadon than to its Sung prototypes. (81) Some other ch'ing-pai types follow the route of the fully moulded pattern not unlike the "guri" lacquers. The cloud-arabesque patterned is a type widely exported to South-east Asia, where complete examples have been found in the Philippine

and Indonesian islands. This particular decorative formula is also to be found in the neighbouring 'Kian' kilns of Kiangsi Province, where the cloud-arabesque was used on brown wares with slip decoration. The incised ch'ing-pai wares in the Sung manner did not completely die out but they often have a decoration that can be termed pictorial, in a rudimentary sense.⁽⁸²⁾ That is, the decoration is oriented in one position - in this case, that determined by the standing figure of the haloed divinity. In this decorative system is comparable to the similarly oriented decoration of many of the blue and white plates.⁽⁸³⁾ A far more important and characteristically Yüan category of incised, or lightly curved ch'ing-pai wares abandons the thin bodies and bowl or dish shapes of the usual Sung examples. The bodies of the pieces in this group are heavier and the paste less sugary.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The wide-mouthed jar, very similar to those found in Tz'u-chou ware, makes its first appearance in the ch'ing-pai wares at this time. This subject has been discussed in detail by John Ayers in his article entitled 'Some Characteristic Wares of the Yüan Dynasty'.⁽⁸⁵⁾ It has also been discussed by Margaret Medley in her book Yüan Porcelain and Stoneware.

The once-lost 'Fonthill Vase'⁽⁸⁶⁾ now in the National Museum of Ireland, is a well-known example of this group. Its last, but one, most famous owner was William Beckford of Fonthill Abbey; its first Western owner was Louis of Hungary who died in 1382 A.D. The documentation provided by the now-lost silver gilt and enamel mounting is quite precise and the dating of this ch'ing-pai vase with beaded,

modelled and ajoure decoration to before Ming dynasty is unquestioned.

This ware was much in demand abroad is attested by the quantities found in South-east Asia, in India, Southern Arabia and East Africa.

The main archaeological site in West Malaysia where a few examples of ch'ing-pai ware has been unearthed, is about 250 miles from Kuala Lumpur (see Map 1). The published report of this excavation is appeared in the Federation Museums Journal, 1961. (87)

The finds comprise of sherd material only. They are white porcellaneous wares and of fragile paste.

The glaze are varies from white, off-white, pale blue to pale green. The white-glazed fragments have unglazed rims similar to ting ware, and some fragments are translucent.

Due to fragmentary nature, only the following shapes can be reconstructed: one miniature bottle of vase shape with flaring mouth and globular body which A. Lamb called 'bottle', illustrated in Pl. 15 and fragments of small cups, bowls, dishes and covered jars.

Some fragments were decorated with a lotus petal design on the exterior in relief outline, some with a fret pattern around the interior of a foliated rim, some with radially fluted design on the cavetto, and some with incised under-glaze floral designs.

The associated finds are sherds of shallow earthenware cooking pots, probably of Indian or local origins, stonewares, porcelain black and brown-glazed wares, notably

Temmoku, Sawankhalok (Pl.45) and other unidentified South-east Asian wares, fragments of glass bottles and beads, probably of Middle Eastern origin.

For many of these types, though by no means all of them A. Lamb has been able to find close parallels in the wares discovered by Tom Harrisson in his Santubong sites in Sarawak.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The fragments from these sites, which are now preserved in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, includes, for example, part of the base of a miniature vase identical with that illustrated here in Pl. 15. Tom Harrisson describes his comparable Sarawak specimens as 'Marco polo ware'.⁽⁸⁹⁾

In the private collection of Zakaria Hitam of Kuantan, Pahang, there are two small miniature vases of ch'ing-pai porcelain. Found on the bank of the Pontian River, Pahang, they stand about 4 inches high and are identical in shape and size to the vessel from Pengkalan Bujang site as illustrated in Pl. 15. Both are well-preserved (not illustrated). One has the same moulded relief lotus-petal decoration on the body as the Pengkalan Bujang specimens, and the other has a plain body with the exception of a slight relief design round the base of the neck. Both have the same kind of high foot base with a moulded petal design around it. The two vases, like the example of Pengkalan Bujang are rather crudely made and it seems reasonable to suppose that they were containers rather than vessels in their own right.

A. Lamb who conducted the excavation at Pengkalan Bujang identified the finds as of the Sung and Yüan dynasties.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Similar types of vases have also been found in the Philippines

and now in the Loosin's collection⁽⁹¹⁾ which John Addis has illustrated as Plate 30a in his study of the 'Chinese Porcelain Found in the Philippines'.⁽⁹²⁾ The Philippines specimens are moulded in sections, with a deeply concave almost hemispherical base. Decoration, when it occurs, is always moulded in linear style with formal leaf-patterns or scroll designs. It is not true porcelain. The body is very fine and entirely white. There are no spots caused by iron impurities, but sometimes a portion of the base unglazed and left untreated from the mould. The glaze is usually faintly yellowish; but some examples, perhaps more highly fired, have almost ch'ing-pai tinge. According to John Addis⁽⁹³⁾ all the finds including the miniature vases in question which he grouped as early Te-hua are to be taken as of Yuan date. He believes that they are identical with what Tom Harrisson called Marco polo ware. His assumption is based on the article by Feng Hsien Ming in Wen Wu, 1965, No. 9.⁽⁹⁴⁾

The thirteenth century writer Chao Ju-kua recorded in his 'Chu-fan chih' that ch'ing-pai was one of the many commodities of Chinese merchants trading to Indonesia.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Ch'ing-pai wares indeed, have been found in many parts of Indonesia. Next to celadon, it is the most common of the early Chinese export wares in the South-east Asia.

d) Early White Wares and Te-hua Porcelain

The archaeological site in Kemaman, Trengganu yielded an important isolated find of early white ware with moulded

design which can be identified as "Marco Polo type" white porcelain of Yuan date. This item is illustrated in Pl.19. No additional early white ware have so far been found in West Malaysia until the arrival of Te-hua porcelain.

The porcelain of Te-hua became famous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has for long been termed as blanc de chine in Europe. P. J. Donnelly maintains that it first began to appear as early as the latter part of the Sung dynasty, but little is known about the production of these early years, or indeed, any of it, until late Ming times.⁽⁹⁶⁾ It was Ch'en Wan-li⁽⁹⁷⁾ who first began investigations and his preliminary survey of the Te-hua area in Fukien Province of South China led him to conclude that early production was almost exclusively intended for export.

The pieces which can be assigned with a degree of certainty to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the basis of Ch'en Wan-li's report are those that have been found in the excavations in the Philippines and from undocumented earlier sites in Indonesia. Kota China site in Sumatra also yielded some Te-hua fragments.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Most of the examples from the Philippines and Indonesian islands are simple bowls and boxes made using moulding techniques. The best and most easily recognisable type of bowl is that taken directly from the mould with the foot left unfinished, so that instead of the conventional neatly cut foot ring there is no more than a slight ridge with a rounded contour.

The glaze, which is transparent and virtually colourless, does not reach the foot and the base is also unglazed,

in many cases the mouth rim is also not glazed. The body is generally a very pure white and of fine grain, but in less good quality pieces, the paste may be coarse and have faint yellowish tinge, which is also imparted to the glaze, especially where this pools. However, on the best quality wares, the pooling of the glaze usually tends to a faint blue, not unlike ch'ing-pai but yet distinct from it. The best quality bowls are remarkably translucent when the glaze covers both inner and outer surfaces; the absence of glaze on any area on one of the two faces seems to inhibit translucency. On the less fine quality wares with the coarse body such translucency is not common, partly due to the character of the paste and glaze, but also perhaps on account of a lower firing temperature, which has been too low to allow sintering of the body. (99)

Decoration where this occurs is moulded, a simple band of overlapping lotus petals, it appears on the exterior surface of some bowls, and some, less commonly perhaps, with floral elements freely disposed round the interior surface. Both types have been found in the Philippines (100) while, the first type has recently been found in quite large quantities in Indonesia. (101)

The similar characteristics of body and glaze as of the bowls can also be seen appears to the boxes types, the high-quality body fired to the correct temperature resulting in an object of unequalled character. The poor quality boxes which have various sizes are rather chalky, dry and friable, very light and brittle, the glaze showing a marked

tendency to craze and in some cases to peel off. The shape of the boxes are round with a curving lower half and a low-domed cover, both parts being pressed out in moulds in which the decoration is incorporated. There is no foot ring, the base is perfectly flat, or slightly concave due to sagging in kiln, since the base section seems to have fired on the rim despite the fact that the glaze rarely reached the base. (102)

The most common decoration used are based on scrolling motifs of various kinds strongly reminiscent of guri type lacquer or based on varieties of simple floral scrolls and sprays. Those with flower sprays in a central panel on the top are less common than the rest and generally known to those of rather good quality boxes. (103) The smaller sized boxes ranging from about eight to thirteen or fifteen centimeters in diameter are particularly common among the Philippines examples, but a number of very fine large ones have also come to light during the last few decades. (104)

In West Malaysia, the only complete piece of Te-hua porcelain, probably of 17th/18th century in date, known to the writer is a rhinoceros horn-shaped cup (Pl.21) which has a swastika moulded into the base in high relief, found in Kedah. A fragment (Pl. 20) from what appears to be a bowl has also been unearthed in Johore Lama site and is also of 18th century in date.

e) Blue and White of Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing Periods

In the long history of the development of decorated pottery and porcelain, no single type has had a more

widespread influence than that which is known as blue and white. It became one of the most widely exported wares which soon rivalled celadon and ch'ing-pai in importance and gradually replaced them not only as the most important export ware but also as most favourite household ware all over China. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Although production is believed by a number of experts to have started during the Yüan ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ it reached its popularity in the Ming and Ch'ing times. It was well distributed in the countries of North-east and South-east Asia, the Near and Middle East and finally in Europe. However, West Malaysian finds of blue and white porcelain do not seem pre-date the Ch'eng-hua period (1465-1487) as illustrated in Pl. 22. This fragment was discovered at Kota Tinggi, Johore.

Blue and white means white porcelain decorated in blue on white ground under a transparent glaze or sometimes the design being in reverse decoration in white on blue ground. The blue was obtained from oxide of cobalt ground to a fine powder and mixed with water. The design was then painted with a brush on the raw body of the ware which would subsequently be glazed and fired, only one firing being necessary for the baking of the body and glaze and developing the blue colour. The cobalt-blue pigment applied for decorative purposes directly to the body was extracted from two types of cobaltiferous ore, that is Mohammedan blue (su-ni-po or hui-hui ch'ing), an imported ore containing arsenic impurities, and the local cobalt containing manganese as an impurity. ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Although the development of blue and white is generally associated with China, it was not there but in the Near East that the method of painting designs in cobalt oxide to produce a blue colour was first developed.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ However, the shapes of the vessels and the techniques of painting were for the most part Chinese.

The exact date when the Chinese first created blue and white is a matter of debate but certain evidence suggests that production was not started much before beginning of the fourteenth century.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The questions naturally arises as to the extent in which the Chinese were influenced in their early blue and white by the Persian wares. There are a good deal of contact between eastern and western Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during the Mongol Yuan period, and it is likely that the Chinese were acquainted with the Near Eastern wares. But Chinese designs bear little relation to the Near Eastern ones. No example of this type has so far been found in West Malaysia.

Although the main centre of manufacture of blue and white in China was confined to a small area of Kiangsi in the neighbourhood of Ching-te-chen, blue and white was made in many other parts of China e.g. at Shek-wan in Kwangtung Province of South China during the Ming and Ch'ing periods.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Another distinctive type of blue and white was also made in the southern province of Fukien as early as the seventeenth century, or possibly even earlier.⁽¹¹¹⁾ This was broadly speaking the time when the first Japanese export blue and white, particularly the Nabeshima kilns,

first appeared. This question is discussed at length in Chapter IV below.

Harry Garner notes that blue and white in the first half of the fourteenth century was still in its early development and had not yet reached the stage of being accorded Imperial favour.⁽¹¹²⁾ But before the end of the fourteenth century, dishes, jars, vases of fine quality were already being made in blue and white, destined to point towards the highest achievement of the fifteenth century. By the time of the manufacture of the David Vase (the vases in the David Foundation dated 1351 are the only documented pieces of blue and white of the fourteenth century at present known to us), and possibly sometime before then, blue and white has reached a stage at which mastery of a medium had been attained and definite styles of painting established.⁽¹¹³⁾ There are no further landmarks similar to these vases, until we reach the pieces marked with the reign-period (nien-hao) of the early Ming emperors. Harry Garner has also pointed out that during the seventy four years that elapsed between the making of David Vases and the ascent to the throne of Hsüan-te there were considerable changes in design and technique. But we have no evidence when exactly these changes took place.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ West Malaysian archaeological sites may possibly contribute evidence in the future further to clarify this important question.

The common pieces of the early blue and white, featuring among the early exports too are large dishes with unglazed

bases. The dishes are deep with a horizontal rim decorated with a border of diaper or waves, or more rarely with a flower scroll. The edge is sometimes plain and sometimes foliated.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Inside this border, in the wall of the dish, is a wider continuous scroll of flowers. The border is almost invariably repeated on the exterior wall of the dish. Decorations in a central panel, sometimes consist of a landscape, with a rather haphazard collection of flowers and plants in great variety, sometimes with a ch'i-lin phoenixes, ducks and water weeds, fishes and weeds, or more formal arrangements such as phoenixes in flower scrolls.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ In some dishes the design is quite formal, with clouds and waves enclosed in original borders and emblems in petal-shaped panels. Quite often in some of the dishes the inner border of flower scrolls and sometimes the central panel, consists of white flowers and leaves against a blue ground. In a few dishes the flowers are slightly raised in a moulded or carved design.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

The blue and white of the classical wares of the fifteenth century has been regarded in China as the outstanding period for blue and white. The most important reigns are those of Yung-lo (1403-1424)⁽¹¹⁸⁾, Hsüan-te. (1426-1435) and Ch'eng-hua (1465-1487), but the reigns of Hung-chih, (1488-1505) was not so popular. Harry Garner has also pointed out that the porcelain of Ch'eng-hua reign presents some puzzling features and it is the most difficult dating wise of the classical Ming reigns.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ It is, indeed, interesting to note that among the sherds discovered

at Kota Tinggi, Johore, there is one sherd which bore six-character mark of Ch'eng-hua reign period (1465-1487)(Pl.22) as reported by Colin Jack-Hinton. He argues that according to John Pope⁽¹²⁰⁾ there are only some thirty odd pieces of blue and white made in the Ch'eng-hua reign and marked with nien-hao are known to exist. Other examples of fragments bearing the Ch'eng-hua nien-hao have been found in Ceylon and Jack-Hinton further argues that John Pope himself has noticed two examples from Kota Batu, Brunei.⁽¹²¹⁾

Although the fragment from Kota Tinggi is not perhaps one of the finest examples of a period when Chinese pottery reached a level of particular perfection, Jack-Hinton believes that the nature of the clay, the pale shade of the underglaze blue, and the calligraphic style of the nien-hao all point to its authenticity.⁽¹²²⁾

The cobalt mined locally at Ching-te-chen was of a rather poor quality and produced a dull greyish blue. The imported Mohammedan blue of the Hsüan-te period was a more brilliant, deep blue which was costly and as a rule only reserved for imperial wares. During the Ch'eng-hua (1465-1487) period the supply of the Mohammedan blue was exhausted and forced the potters to use a less brilliant local blue. However, the porcelain of this period was white and more finely potted, the glaze being smoother to the touch and more vitreous. The supplies of the Mohammedan blue were again available during the reign of Chia-ching (1522-1566) and this explains the deep, freely applied purple-blue characteristic of this period⁽¹²³⁾, as seen in the Kota

Tinggi sherd as well. Chia-ching (1522-1566) porcelain is frequently of coarser grain which was perhaps due to the depletion of the kaolin deposits in the Ma-ch'ang hills.⁽¹²⁴⁾ The splendid Chia-ching bowl and Chia-ching dish found at Johore Lama as illustrated in Pls. 27 and 29 are a good example of this type. Another interesting example, a small chia-ching cup illustrated in Pl. 28(a) should also be mentioned here. It is also forms a part of Johore Lama finds.

The blue and white of each reign has its own character. In the Cheng-te period, for example, there was a great demand among the Muslim eunuchs at court for the so-called Mohammedan wares, consisting of mainly brush-rests, lamps, boxes, and other articles with Persian or Arabic inscriptions.⁽¹²⁵⁾ They were also made for Muslim both in China proper and in South-east Asia.⁽¹²⁶⁾ While blue and white porcelain of the Chia-ching (1522-1566) and Wan-li (1573-1619) reigns shows a change from the old flower decoration to more naturalistic scenes, figures and landscapes, as shown in some fine examples from the Johore Lama site in Pl. 26, many of which owed their inspiration to the illustrated books of the period. Several examples of Wan-li period blue and white from Pahang and Johore Lama sites illustrated in Pls. 30-33 should also be mentioned here with special reference to West Malaysian archaeological finds. This group represents a common type of blue and white porcelain exported to other South-east Asian countries during this period and influenced the style of decoration of certain Swatow type wares of the early 17th century as

illustrated in equally fine example of early 17th century dish in Pl. 35. This change leads gradually into the style associated with the K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) period when a free disposition of elements over the space combines in a new way with diaper patterns and formal bands. A fine example of this from the collection of Kedah Museum is illustrated in Pl. 37. Thus the often gay and spontaneous style of the late Ming period crystallizes out to form the highly sophisticated style of the early Ch'ing period.

M. Sullivan has also drawn attention to another distinct type of blue and white porcelain with Persian or Arabic inscriptions on it.⁽¹²⁷⁾ This type of porcelain was once widely exported to South-east Asian countries and greatly admired by the natives of South-east Asia and used for medicinal purposes. Kamer Aga Oglu believes that they were made solely for the Moslems.⁽¹²⁸⁾ An interesting sub-group of this type of export porcelain utilizes the use of sun-flower design with highly stylized imitation of Arabic script as shown in late 17th/early 18th centuries example of blue and white in the Muzium Negara's collection illustrated in Pl. 37. Ch'eng Te-k'un has divided this type of porcelain into two groups according to their quality. The finest one he believes were made at Ch'ing-te-chen and exported to Middle East; the less fine ones to Near East; while the coarser ones which were made in Fukien known as 'Swatow' ware for the South-east Asian markets.⁽¹²⁹⁾ This type of porcelain he further observed has not only Arabic or Persian inscriptions but they also contained 'magic square'. He believes that this type of porcelain is popular

in Islamic world because they are believed to have a powerful virtue for protecting life and "warding off sickness".⁽¹³⁰⁾ Quite a number of examples of this type of export porcelain still can be seen in antique shops in Trengganu, West Malaysia.

The most pleasing blue and white of the last hundred years of the Ming dynasty are the wares made in numerous commercial kilns.⁽¹³¹⁾ These are of two kinds: the so-called export ware and the even more roughly modelled and painted provincial wares catering particularly for the export markets of South-east Asia and termed as 'people's ware' (min) by contemporary Chinese scholars.⁽¹³²⁾ An important sub-group of this late 16th/early 17th centuries blue and white export ware with cracked glaze applies over a coarse body can be seen in what is frequently termed as "Swatow" type export ware. None of these wares, usually painted with floral patterns in a greyish blue, as shown in Pl. 38, is date marked, but they are generally assigned to the Wan-li period. Beamish⁽¹³³⁾ and Gibson-Hill⁽¹³⁴⁾ observes that animals, as for example, stylised dragon as shown in Pls. 23 (top three - right) and 39 are among the common design on this type of Chinese blue and white porcelain exported to West Malaysia. Soon after 1600, a thin Wan-li export blue and white began to reach Europe which was called 'kraak porcelain'.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Many examples of this porcelain can also be seen in either public or private collections in West Malaysia. A good example of this can be seen in a dish from the collection of Muzium Negara illustrated here in Pl. 34.

The best K'ang-hsi blue and white rivals that of the Ming period. Further more its success was undoubtedly due to excellence of manufacture.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The K'ang-hsi blue is a brilliant, deep sapphire blue, sometimes pale and silvery. It is always pure and clear and is combined with the finest body and glaze material. Graded washes of blue are commonly used over outlines which are faintly drawn and less bold than those of the Ming period, but give greater emphasis to the interplay of various shades of blue. The cobalt itself was subjected to the most vigorous process of purification and with the resultant material the potter was able to produce the most pleasing results, as shown in the dish illustrated in Pl. 36. The superbly executed K'ang-hsi landscape decorations also bring out the best of the shades of blue masterly applied by the Chinese brush.

After the K'ang-hsi period the manufacture of the blue and white deteriorated with the rising vogue of the enamelled wares. The Hsüan-te and Ch'eng-hua designs were freely copied and marked the increasing archaism of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1736-1795). This is also the period when the Chinese porcelain were copied widely by the Japanese potters.

The absence of underglaze copper-red porcelain in West Malaysia suggests that they were not widely exported to West Malaysia compared with the Philippines where they were found in large numbers.

f) Polychrome Wares of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods

Unlike the wares of the earlier dynasties Ming taste is typically expressed by coloured wares.⁽¹³⁷⁾ The first

flowering of the polychrome style took place during the fifteenth century in the technique of painting in both underglaze blue and overglaze enamels was successfully mastered. Imperial patronage encouraged the potters to produce the best works in both blue and white and the full range of polychrome, a large number of which is represented among export ceramics destined for South-east Asian markets during this period too.

Ming coloured wares fall into two major types known in Chinese term as san-ts'ai 'three-coloured', and wu-ts'ai 'five-coloured'. San-ts'ai should be regarded as a name referring to a technique in Ming times. The background was usually glazed in one colour, the design in combinations of two or three colours. Indeed, the most characteristic Ming polychromes are the so-called san-ts'ai wares. They are in fact decorated in medium-fired lead-silicate glazes, usually called in French couleurs du demi-grand feu. The colours of these lead-silicate glazes were obtained from metallic oxides: manganese for aubergine or dark wine purple, cobalt for a deep purple blue, copper for green and rich turquoise, antimony or iron for yellow, while colourless glaze takes the place of white. (138)

Generally, the term san-ts'ai is applied to decoration in three colours: green, yellow, and white or cream on T'ang pottery and it is for this reason perhaps that it was applied to the green, yellow, and aubergine decorated wares of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. However, there is a significant difference between them. In the T'ang period, the glaze colours were applied directly to the raw unfired body

and the ware was fired only to the low temperature of about 900°C, equally suitable for both pottery and glaze. During the Ming times, these colours were applied to a pre-fired or biscuited porcelain body.⁽¹³⁹⁾ The glaze colours were of essentially the same chemical constitution, that is they were lead-silicate glazes maturing at temperatures not exceeding 900°C, which meant that as the porcelain body had to be fired to a temperature in excess of 1250°C in order to vitrify it and make it impermeable, the lead-silicate glazes could not be applied to the raw body, but had to be painted on after the body had been fired. The whole piece was then refired but only to the low temperature necessary to fuse the glaze colours.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

The separation of colours normally done either by incised lines or by small, carefully applied threads of slips, like the cloisons of enamelled metalwork. This cloisonne-style decorated Ming san-ts'ai porcelain is also named fa-hua by the Chinese. The technique appears not to have been introduced before about the middle of the fifteenth century and reached its popularity from the Cheng-te period (1506-1521) onwards. Fa-hua is a term applied to decoration in which threads form the design and serve to separate the different colours, but incised lines can also be used for a similar purpose and there are some very decorative pieces in which this technique is applied. The combination of colours may be yellow and green, yellow and purple, turquoise and purple and so on. Flowers and bird, and figures are the common motifs of the fa-hua and this style

follows a very old tradition at first associated with tomb burials but later applied to Buddhist figures and architectural decoration. Some representatives of the later Ch'ing types of these can be seen among the ceramic decoration roof-tiles of early Chinese temples in Malacca and other cities in West Malaysia. This subject itself calls for detailed and separate study.

A peculiar variant of polychrome enamelling, that lies between this biscuited type and fully developed overglaze enamel-decorated wares, is represented by a group of porcelain in which the decoration has been incised into the paste and is partly glazed, the enamels then being applied after the first firing to the biscuited area as well as partly over the glaze. Sometimes this type is called the green and white, or green enamel or biscuit group.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ The technique is unusual in that the dragons, with which the pieces are normally decorated are coated, with the exception of the claws and streamers, with wax before the application of the feldspathic glaze. The glaze seems fail to adhere to the thick layer of wax and when placed in the kiln the heat dissipates the wax; owing to the viscous nature of the glaze and this does not run over on the bare area when it melts. The following step is to paint the dragons green directly on the biscuit and then fire the piece again at the lower temperature required for the lead-silicate enamels. The final result is gay but the surface decoration is sometimes uneven. Several examples of this type of late 18th/early 19th century dates can be found in a ceramic volitive

images in Chinese temples sites in various parts of West Malaysia. Their detailed cataloguing and study would also call for a special study beyond the scope of this present study.

A major group of Ming polychromes among export wares include the wu-ts'ai wares, of which many belong to the Chia-ching (1522-1566) and Wan-li (1573-1619) periods. Wu-ts'ai, especially in relation to ceramics, can be defined as a combination of underglaze blue used in washes and overglaze colours with the outlines of the decoration drawn in overglaze red, or sepia, or black. The enamels were derived from soft lead glass tinted with metallic oxides, similar to those used for the san-ts'ai type glazes.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The presence of lead in the enamels makes them more fusible and permits them to be fired at a relatively low temperature in a muffle-kiln. It was the common practice to outline the design first in a dull red or black pigment and subsequently wash in the enamels. The colours cover more or less the same range as the san-ts'ai glazes.⁽¹⁴³⁾

In the Ch'ing period several shades of green, amber, yellow, aubergine, and a turquoise green was replaced by a violet blue. There is also a thin opaque tomato red derived from iron and a composite black formed by a wash of green over the black pigment which was used for drawing the outlines. These enamels are highly translucent and can be applied directly on the biscuit or over the white glaze, in the latter case the piece had to be fired twice. A representative of this type can be seen in various private collections in West Malaysia.

Another important group of Ming polychromes specially outstanding among Chinese trade ceramics is the Swatow type polychrome wares. These wares appear to have been produced in large quantities in the Fukien Province during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ It is probably wrongly called Swatow⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ after a small village on the south coast of China which was never opened to foreign ships and therefore is not even mentioned in contemporary Chinese records.

The designs of this robust and attractive ware are executed in overglaze black, turquoise, red and green usually in bold style and show a high degree of spontaneity that is frequently lacking in the more refined imperial wares of Ching-te-chen as shown in the late 16th/early 17th centuries dish with split pagoda decoration from the Muzium Negara's collection illustrated in Pl. 40. The milky glaze is often lavishly and carelessly applied with the result that grit and sand frequently adhere to the base which is therefore invariably rough. The decorations are often unusual ranging from mariner's compass to the strange landscapes, and birds and flowers decorated with a freedom unrivalled by other wares of the period.

Also categorised in Swatow ware group is a type of jar usually of kuan-shape with four loop handles on the shoulder, normally bear the motifs of large dragons with snake-like bodies and spidery legs as seen in the jar from the collection of Muzium Negara illustrated in Pl. 39. Rarely this type of jars are embellished with flowers

combined phoenixes, lion or wading birds. In term of dating, as suggested by M. Sullivan⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ they can be assigned probably to late Ming period. They were one of the Chinese trade items exported to Japan, South-east Asia and India from the sixteenth to the later eighteenth centuries.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

One of the benefits gained by the people of South-east Asia through prolonged contact with the Chinese was the art of manufacturing pottery. The various types of ceramics produced by the ceramic centres in South-east Asia is discussed in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter II

- (1) Cf. H. O. Beyer (1947), (1949) and (1964) .
- (2) To mention but a few of his works, see Tom Harrisson (1953-1954) and (1959) .
- (3) Cf. Van Orsoy de Flines (1949) and (1969) .
- (4) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.63 .
- (5) Cf. Tom Harrisson (1965), p.70. He regarded 'export ware' as those which were made in China to be carried abroad and exchanged for other objects ranging from rhinoceros horn to medicated barks and all the other oddities which were valued in China in those days.
- (6) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.63 .
- (7) The name is derived from the 'carrack', a type of Portuguese ship from which a large quantity of these thin, brittle, blue and white ware were first captured by the Dutch in 1602 and 1604.
- (8) See Michael Sullivan (1962), p.68 .
- (9) Cf. A. H. Everette (1880), pp.273-287; Michael Sullivan (1962), p.68 .
- (10) See Michael Sullivan (1962), p.68 .
- (11) Loc. cit.
- (12) Cf. Tom Harrisson (1954) .
- (13) See Michael Sullivan (1962), p.69 .
- (14) Cf. Tom and Barbara Harrisson (1957), pp.18-50 .
- (15) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), p.32; (1962), p.69 .
- (16) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.69 .
- (17) Loc. cit.
- (18) Michael Sullivan (1962), p.70 .
- (19) Loc. cit.
- (20) Loc. cit.
- (21) Cf. Tom Harrisson (1953-1954), p.9 .
- (22) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.70 .
- (23) Cf. Tom and Barbara Harrisson (1959), pp. 42-51 .

- (24) See Michael Sullivan (1962), p.71 .
- (25) See Michael Sullivan (1962), p.72 .
- (26) Loc. cit.
- (27) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), pp.72-73 .
- (28) Cf. Tom Harrisson (1950), pp. 271-273; Michael Sullivan (1962), p.73 .
- (29) This term applies to a type of rough South China export ware of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bearing stencilled patterns in blue under greyish glaze. Undoubtedly, it is wrongly applied due to the ignorance of the exact place of origin of the Swatow ware.
- (30) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.73 .
- (31) Loc. cit.
- (32) Cf. O. Janse (1941) .
- (33) Cf. R. Fox (1959), pp. 361-362; Michael Sullivan (1962), p.73; L. & C. Locsin (1967), p.10 .
- (34) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.73 .
- (35) Loc. cit.
- (36) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.74 .
- (37) See John Addis (1969), p.17 .
- (38) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.74 .
- (39) See John Addis (1969), p.18 .
- (40) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.67 .
- (41) Loc. cit.
- (42) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.68; R. M. Brown (1977) p. 2 .
- (43) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.66 .
- (44) Loc. cit.
- (45) It is worth noting that a large number of earthenware sherds bearing stamped designs that have a wide distribution in South-east Asia have been found at Kota Tinggi, Johore. The motifs of which are very similar to those found on pottery excavated by Lim Hui-hsiang at Wu-ping in Fukien (Cf. Lim Hui-hsiang,

Liang Hui-pu, and Liu Tze-huang, 'A Neolithic site in Wu-ping, Fukien', Proceeding of the Third Congress of the Pre-historian of the Far East, Singapore, 1940). Their presence understandably aroused much interest among scholars. Han Wai-toon contends that Johore Lama near Kota Tinggi was the site of an important ancient settlement. He identifies with all of the following names recorded in Chinese sources, such as, the Huang-chih mentioned in the Han shu, Tun-sun in the Liang shu, Lo-yueh in the Hsin T'ang shu and Tan-ma-hsi in the T'ao Yi Chi Lüeh (Cf. Han Wai-toon, 'A Study on Johore Lama', Journal of the South Sea Society, Singapore, No. 5, Pt. 1, 1948, p.17).

These hypotheses were based on textual evidences, on circumstantial and geographical evidences, as well as on the presence of stamped earthenware fragments. The close similarity of the formal impressed and stamped designs of sherds excavated by O. Janse at Han-period kilns in Than-hoa Province of Annam. H. G. O. Wales also dated these Johore sherds to an early period but considered them as the product of the Indonesian (Wales, H. G. Q. (1940), pp. 61-62). Since the Kota Tinggi sherds were basically surface finds mixed with Ming blue and white, the site was subject to frequent flooding and no proper stratification was established, and that pottery of the similar type has been made by local potters in the region up to the nineteenth century, Gibson-Hill doubted the age of these sherds (Gibson-Hill (1954), p.233). However, one cannot rule out the possibility that Han wares did actually reach the shores of West Malaysia, but this matter requires further detailed study.

In this context, as another point of observation it is interesting to note that in a recent article published by Wen-Wu (1977), pp. 40-57, sherds with similar designs, notably with fish-bone design illustrated in Fig. 12, p.52, were also found in the Kiangsi Province. Certain sherds found in Kiangsi Province appear to have similar designs, notably the fish-bone design to those found in West Malaysia and North Sumatra. One could also speculate in the light of this evidence that in ancient times, the South-east Asian countries were not only the recipient of the Chinese ceramics but ceramics from South-east Asian countries also managed to find their way into China.

- (46) Cf. H. G. Q. Wales (1940), p.38; Michael Sullivan (1957) p.146; Michael Sullivan (1962), p.64 .
- (47) For example see I. H. N. Evans (1932), Vol. XV, pp. 102-103 .
- (48) Cf. M. Tregear, 'A Catalogue of Chinese Greenwares in the Ashmolean Museum', (1976) .

- (49) For example, see Gompertz (1959); Jan Wirgin (1970); Bo Gyllensvärd (1973 and 1975); and B. Harrisson (1978b) .
- (50) Cf. Gompertz (1958), p.38 .
- (51) Loc. cit.
- (52) Loc. cit.
- (53) Cf. Gompertz (1959), pp. 38-39; Jan Wirgin (1970) pp. 3-272 .
- (54) See Wen Wu, 1951, No. 2; 1956, No. 12; 1958, No. 10 and 1964, No. 8 .
- (55) See Wen Wu, 1963, No. 1, pp. 27-35 .
- (56) Cf. Bo. Gyllensvärd (1975), p.94 .
- (57) Cf. Bo Gyllensvärd (1975), p.95 .
- (58) Cf. Bo Gyllensvärd (1975), p.101 .
- (59) See Oriental Ceramic Society Translations No. 2, 1968, pp. 10-11 .
- (61) Cf. Bo Gyllensvärd (1973 and 1975) .
- (62) As reported in the series of articles entitled 'Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Malaya', appeared in JMBRAS. Since their present whereabouts is unknown, the writer is unable to give the description of the finds except the celadons found in Kedah. See also Michael Sullivan (1957), p.146 .
- (63) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), p.25 .
- (64) For a definition of Temmoku see Margaret Medley (1973), pp. 84-85 .
- (65) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1963), p.58 .
- (66) For more detail about this discovery, see J. M. Plumer 'The Place of Origin of the World Famous Chien Ware Discovered', Illustrated London News, 26th October, 1935 and see also 'Temmoku, A Study of the Ware of Chien' by James Marshal Plumer, Edited and Arranged by Caroline F. Plumer, Tokyo: Idenitsu Art Gallery, 1972 .
- (67) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1963), p.120 .
- (68) Loc. cit.
- (69) See Tom Harrisson (1959), p.47 .

- (70) Loc. cit.
- (71) Cf. E. P. E. McKinnon (1977), p.74 .
- (73) Ibn Battuta, who was born in Tangiers in 1304, made four pilgrimages to Mecca and visited Ceylon, Bengal, the Maldiv Islands and China in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. He mentions of these jars being filled with ginger, lemon and mangoes.
- (74) Quoted by Nanne Ottema (1946), p.125; see also Tom Harrisson (1950), pp. 270-273 .
- (75) See Nanne Ottema (1946), p.126 .
- (76) A reference also made about the Malays upon buying opium immediately throw away the chests and put it into glazed jars ;... see footnotes 26, of Jim Warren's article 'Balambangan and the Rise of the Sulu Sultanate, 1772-1775' in JMBRAS, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 77-78 .
- (77) See E. Moore (1970), p.2 .
- (78) For the review of this book, see Barbara Harrisson (1978), pp. 85-86 .
- (79) Cf. Margaret Medley (1973), p.64 .
- (80) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1963), pp. 105-106 .
- (81) See S. E. Lee & K. H. Ho (1968), p.16 .
- (82) Op. cit., p.17 .
- (83) Loc. cit.
- (84) Loc. cit.
- (85) This article is appeared in Trans. O.C.S., Vol. 26 (1954-1955), pp. 69-86 .
- (86) For the history and the significance of this vase, see Lane Arthur, 'The Gaignieues 'Fonthill Vase': A Chinese Porcelain about 1300', The Burlington Magazine, (April 1961) .
- (87) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), pp. 21-37 .
- (88) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), p.30 .
- (89) Cf. Tom Harrisson (1959), pp. 48-50 .
- (90) Cf. A. Lamb (1962), p.69 .
- (91) Cf. L. & C. Locsin (1967), Plate 134 .

- (92) Cf. John Addis (1969), Plate 30a .
- (93) Cf. John Addis, (1969), p.24 .
- (94) See Oriental Ceramic Society Translations No. 1, p. 30. The article in Chinese language was published in the Wen Wu, No. 9, 1965 .
- (95) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1962), p.66 .
- (96) Cf. P. J. Donnelly (1969), p.44 .
- (97) Cf. Ch'en Wan-li, 'Tiao-ch'a Min-nan ku tai yao-chih hsiao-chi', Wen Wu, No. 9, 1957 .
- (98) Cf. E. P. E. McKinnon, op.cit., p.69 .
- (99) Cf. Margaret Medley (1974), p.134 .
- (100) Loc. cit.
- (101) Loc. cit.
- (102) Loc. cit.
- (103) Loc. cit.
- (104) Loc. cit.
- (105) Cf. I.L.Legeza (1972), p.ixxi .
- (106) John Addis has speculated that the first tentative experiment in blue and white were as early as the Sung dynasty and the Yuan dynasty was the period of their exploitation on a mass scale, see John Addis (1969), p.35
- (107) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixxi .
- (108) Loc. cit.
- (109) See Harry Garner (1954), p.2 .
- (110) For further discussion about this issue, see L. C. S. Tam (1977) .
- (111) L. C. S. Tam (1977), pp. 8-10 .
- (112) Cf. Harry Garner (1954), p.12 .
- (113) Loc. cit.
- (114) Cf. Harry Garner (1954), p.13 .
- (115) Cf. Harry Garner (1954), p.17 .
- (116) For example, see John Pope (1952), Plate 73 .

- (117) See Harry Garner (1954), p.17 .
- (118) The recent information about porcelain produced during Yung-lo reign can be obtained from John Addis's article in Trans. O.C.S., see John Addis (1977), pp. 35-37 .
- (119) See Harry Garner (1954), p.25 .
- (120) See Colin Jack-Hinton (1963), p.33; see also John Pope (1956), pp. 107-108 .
- (121) Cf. John Pope (1958), pp. 267-269 .
- (122) Cf. Colin Jack-Hinton (1963), p.33 .
- (123) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixx .
- (124) Loc. cit.
- (125) Loc. cit.
- (126) See Michael Sullivan (1961), p.187 .
- (127) See Michael Sullivan (1957); pp. 150-151 .
- (128) Cf. Kamer Aga-Oglu (1951), pp. 12-16 .
- (129) Cf. Ch'eng Te-kun (1972), p.147 .
- (130) Loc. cit.
- (131) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixx .
- (132) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1961), p.185; L. & C. Locsin, (1967), pp. 125 and 131 .
- (133) Cf. H. H. Beamish (1955 a), pp. 53-63 .
- (134) Cf. Gibson-Hill, C. A. (1955), pp. 179-183 .
- (135) See footnote (7) of this Chapter .
- (136) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixxi .
- (137) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p. ixxvi .
- (138) Loc. cit.
- (139) Loc. cit.
- (140) Loc. cit.
- (141) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixxviii .

- (142) Cf. I. L. Legeza (1972), p.ixxviii .
- (143) Loc. cit.
- (144) See Michael Sullivan (1961),pp. 186-187 .
- (145) The name comes from one of the ports through which the were passed out of China.
- (146) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1957), p.149; H. H. Beamish (1955 a), p.59; H. H. Beamish (1954 b), p.9 .
- (147) Cf. Michael Sullivan (1957), p.187 .

CHAPTER III

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CERAMICS

Introduction

South-east Asia has recently experienced such an astonishing development in archaeological research. Once a backwater in this respect, it has in the past few years become one of the centres of attention of world archaeology, as this area's importance for the understanding of the early cultural history of other parts of Asia is slowly being recognised. In this crowded backwater of the world, culturally over-shadowed by Indian and Chinese influences,⁽¹⁾ the people of South-east Asia have still maintained their integrity of their own cultural genius. From their highly developed aesthetic sense have come new forms and styles to enrich almost every aspect of the arts, especially ceramics, which are the subject matter of this study.

This study presents examples of some of the most important types of wares produced by the Khmer, Thai, and Vietnamese potters found in West Malaysia. Ranging from subdued green and brown monochromes of the Khmers to Vietnamese stonewares decorated in vivid polychromes over-glazed enamels, these pieces testify to the sophistication

and variety of the potter's art in mainland South-east Asia. Some, such as the blue and white wares of Vietnam or the celadons of the Sawankhalok kilns in Thailand reflect the influence of Chinese prototypes, but indigenous potters also developed their own wide repertoire of ceramic shapes, glazes, and styles of decoration. As archaeological evidence shows, West Malaysia was also receptive to these ceramic products.

Indeed, the popularity of these wares extended far beyond the communities in which they were made. Many ceramics were produced for distant markets and large quantities of Thai and Vietnamese pottery, including some of the finest known examples, have been excavated in the Philippines, Indonesia, and as well as in West Malaysia.

The study of South-east Asian ceramics was given a boost in the late 1920s and 1930s when H. O. Beyer began unearthing Thai and Vietnamese wares besides Chinese ceramics in the Philippines at the same time as excavations were taking place in Vietnam, and hundreds of buried pieces were being discovered on Sulawesi in Indonesia. It was during this time, too, that E. W. Van Orsoy de Flines was building up his superb collection of export ware found in Indonesia. This collection now is on display at Museum Pusat, Jakarta.

In 1930, H. O. Beyer privately circulated an unpublished brief report of his excavations of Filipino burial sites near Maila said to pre-date the Spanish period, but his preliminary conclusions, were summarised in the same year in two-part article by Walter Robb who claimed that H. O. Beyer's dating rested on stratified habitation sites. But because no

actual excavation reports have been published, this has led John Addis⁽²⁾ to question this findings. However, as Roxanna M. Brown⁽³⁾ has points out W. Robb's article indicates that H. O. Beyer gave a thirteenth to fourteenth century date to Sukhothai pieces (which are illustrated, though labelled Sawankhalok), a fifteenth to sixteenth century date for Sawankhalok, and generally a fifteenth century date for Vietnamese blue and white which are mistakenly illustrated as Sawankhalok.

Investigation and research was soon interrupted by the Second World War, and renewed local interest in ceramics did not develop in the Philippines until the Calatagan excavation by Robert Fox in 1958, at a site already partially investigated by Olov Janse in 1940,⁽⁴⁾ and the Santa Ana excavations by the Locsins.⁽⁵⁾

In Indonesia, only two sites so far known to have yielded ceramics, that is at Sulawesi and Northern Sumatra.⁽⁶⁾ The early discoveries of Sulawesi finds were fortuitous; villagers uncovered ceramics along with bits of gold and silver jewellery in their fields. Further digging was solely in search for more precious metals until a Japanese artist visiting Macassar in May 1936 reported seeing old pottery in some of the local shops. His enquiry reveals that they are from Kampong Pareko, 40 kilometers south of Macassar along the Macassar-Takalar railway line. Following this, an excavation was conducted and lasted for three months from August to October 1936. The report of the excavation was written in Japanese by Chuta Ito and

Yositaro Kamakura⁽⁷⁾ has so far not been published in English. This site has yielded about 600 pieces of ceramics and were sent to Japan. The description of this find forms the subject of their book. They classified them into three categories: Sino-Siamese, Sino-Annamese, and Chinese.

The Sino-Siamese included Sawankhalok but no Sukhothai. They were 140 in number and comprising just over 20% of the total finds. Mostly underglaze black wares, mainly covered boxes, celadons and brown-glazed wares. Photographs of 116 of them appear in the book. But according to R. M. Brown⁽⁸⁾ the number of Sino-Annamese, or Annamese is more difficult to judge, of 104 of those illustrated, only about 50 are actually Vietnamese. The illustrations are mainly of blue and white, some with overglaze enamels, along with three copper-green pieces, and two underglaze black bowls. Most of the others pictured as Sino-Annamese are Chinese, a small number of Sawankhalok. Generally, the assemblage of wares is very similar to that recorded later at Calatagan in the Philippines; and the majority belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Another excavation was carried out in Sulawesi⁽⁹⁾ by the Fine Art Department of Indonesia. But apart from yielding Sawankhalok celadon and sherds of Vietnamese blue and white in close association, the result was negligible and the site was found to have been previously distributed.⁽¹⁰⁾

William Willets⁽¹¹⁾ observes that the proportion of South-east Asian wares is significantly higher in Indonesia

than in the Philippines. More Sawankhalok and Vietnamese pieces, and in much greater variety, have been found in Indonesia than in the Philippines. Conversely, Philippines collections are far richer in early Chinese types than Indonesia. Moreover, as H. O. Beyer has shown that the proportion of Chinese ware compared to South-east Asian wares is not uniform throughout the Philippine Islands. The amount of South-east Asian wares increased as one goes south. R. Fox reports⁽¹²⁾ that of the more than twelve hundred whole pieces of Chinese, Annamese and Siamese wares discovered at Kay Tomas and Pulung Bakaw in the northern Philippines, 75% of the pieces of export ware from Kay Tomas were Chinese, 22% Siamese and only 2% Annamese, while from Pulung Bakaw 85% were Chinese, 13% Siamese and 2% Annamese. This had led H. O. Beyer to postulate a trade route from China running down through the islands from the north, another, carrying the wares of Siam and Indo-China, coming up from the south by way of Indonesia and Borneo. Earlier, Walter Robb has summarised that the number of Siamese compared to Chinese ceramics found in the graves varied greatly from north to south in the Philippines archipelago. From 20% to 40% of the ceramics excavated from the burial grounds in the Visayan Islands were Sawankholok wares, whereas in the Luzon stratified deposits, which represented old village sites, between 2% and 5% were from Sawankholok kilns.⁽¹³⁾

The number of South-east Asian ceramics found in West Malaysia is not so numerous compared to those found

in the Philippines and Indonesia, but their presence, though scarce, indicates that the Malaysians were also appreciating the imported wares and used them in their daily life.

a) Khmer ceramics

Of all the South-east Asian ceramics, the Khmer wares are the most delightfully unique. Their existence has been known at least since the visit of Aymonier to Phnom Kulen in 1883, but Khmer ceramics until today have remained one of the least documented South-east Asian wares. Besides the brief descriptions of the Phnom Kulen kiln site, research into Khmer glazed pottery has included only a short chapter in George Groslier's Recherches sur les Cambodgiens ⁽¹⁴⁾ recognising their existence and suggesting that, by style, the fragments at Phnom Kulen could not date beyond the fourteenth century; a chapter in Arts et Archéologie Khmeres ⁽¹⁵⁾ which includes a rudimentary classification of the wares; a section in William Willets's Ceramics Arts of South-east Asia, ⁽¹⁶⁾ a catalogue of the first ceramic exhibition to ever include Cambodian wares. A further exhibition of South-east Asian ceramics which includes Khmer ceramics were held in United States in 1976, ⁽¹⁷⁾ in Germany from March to April 1977, ⁽¹⁸⁾ the same exhibition was held at Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge from January to February 1978. In 1977, Roxanna M. Brown published her M. A. thesis entitled South-east Asian Ceramics - Their Dating and Identification where she discussed all types of the South-east Asian ceramics at a great length.

It has been suggested that⁽¹⁹⁾ judging from the litter of sherds and kiln wasters, the place of manufacture of Khmer ceramics is on the hill called Phnom Kulen, 40 kilometers north-east of Angkor. Although there has been no excavation of the site, but it appears that production continued over at least three centuries after the establishment of the Khmer dynasty at Phnom Kulen by Jayavarman II in 802 A.D. The site was first visited by Aymonier in 1883. According to him the place was called by the local people Sampou Thleai, and was devoid of trees but covered with high bushes. Along the dyke he saw sherds of pale and yellowish-green bowls, covers, heavy tiles, and architectural ornaments. The site was later visited by Parmentier which he noted the presence of bottles and other simple vessels with or without covers.

Local legend has that, the founders of the Kulen kilns were the industrious passengers of a Chinese junk that was swept away by a strong storm and was stranded at the slopes of the plateau. This incident accounts for the name of the place, Sampou Thleai, literally means 'smashed junk'. These Chinese were also believed to be the first planters of a fruit called 'Kulen' (the same name as the plateau), the appellation is often referred as lichee of South-eastern of China. Although akin to lichee, the kulen is unique to Phnom Kulen and it is unlikely to be imported from China. Moreover, it is more improbable that there were ever such violent storms on the Tonle Sap, that a junk could have been tossed as far afield as Phnom Kulen. Thus the legend suffers, though the question of Chinese influence remains.

Even though the Khmer ceramics reveal an individuality that sets them apart from the major groups of South-east Asian ceramics that show Chinese affinities, some scholars are of the opinion that Chinese tradition and technology played a dominant role in their development and production. However, as observed by R. M. Brown, if the original potters were Chinese, their influence was fleeting, for apart from a few early Kulen shapes which do have a vague similarity with T'ang Chinese ceramics, the highly architectonic Khmer wares are wholly distinctive⁽²⁰⁾. Chinese influence can probably be traced to some extent in the shapes of the earliest Kulen covered boxes which are circular and flattened in shape with fluting on the cover. There may be Chinese prototypes, too, in a series of bottles that reflect strong horizontal alignment seen in T'ang wares, but such shapes may just as easily have been derived from the Indian amrita kalasa, or ambrosia flask, an attribute of some Indian dieties. The Khmer civilization was, generally, strongly Indian - and Hindu-orientated.

Strictly speaking, it is more rewarding to search for Indian influences on Khmer pottery shapes (unglazed or glazed) than for Chinese. The most common of the surviving Kulen bottles can be traced almost directly to the Indian purna ghata, a vessel associated with fertility and abundance, which is widely depicted on Indian bas-reliefs from the first millenium B.C. until at least the Gupta period. The Indians, however, had no knowledge of glaze technology, and this must have come, indirectly, from China. G. Groslier

no
excav.
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argues⁽²¹⁾ that the modern Khmer language does not contain specific words for ceramic materials and processes and that the art of glazed pottery, and the use of potter's wheel and the kiln are no longer known to ethnic Khmer. As R. M. Brown states glazed pottery in modern Cambodia has been made only by Vietnamese or Chinese people.⁽²²⁾ It is difficult to believe that ceramic technology in the as yet not fully consolidated kingdom of Kambuja could have progressed in a mere hundred years from the production of crude earthenware made in the eighth century to the fine glazed wares of the ninth century. Even in highly centralised agricultural setting of the early China such an evolution took several hundred years. The other possible sources of glazing technology, apart from China, was Vietnam, where glazed ceramics were known since the first century A.D.

Other sources of information on Khmer ceramics, apart from Phnom Kulen, are limited to reports of recent discoveries by farmers of impressive deposits of ceramic debris and undamaged pieces near the remote small villages of Ban Kruat and Ban Sawai, 15 kilometers south-west of Surin in Thailand. Numerous minor deposits of sherds of Khmer pottery have also been found scattered over a considerable area along the southern periphery of the Korat Plateau. In addition, there were chance discoveries of pottery with the confines of some ancient architectural ruins. Furthermore, a number of pieces have been uncovered periodically during the routine of agricultural activities in lands within the former, widespread frontiers of the Khmer Empire.

As far as the dating and classification of Khmer ceramics are concerned only G. Groslier⁽²³⁾ and A. Silice with Groslier⁽²⁴⁾ have made any attempt at classification. In the past, identification of Khmer ceramics was a matter of conjecture and speculation. Furthermore, earlier studies have hampered any attempt to identify this ware scientifically. According to R. M. Brown, when H. O. Beyer⁽²⁵⁾ and de Flines⁽²⁶⁾ describe of Khmer ceramics, their identifications are incorrect. There are no Khmer ceramics in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta, and only two examples to her knowledge, have ever been reportedly excavated in the Philippines. She further stressed that, what H. O. Beyer and others, for stylistic reasons erroneously described as Khmer in the Philippines are admittedly Khmer-influenced unglazed wares of Sukhothai and Sawankhalok origin. No similar examples are included in the Museum Pusat collection. What de Flines mistakenly describes as Khmer appear to be of as yet unidentified origin.

While some efforts have been made to identify and classify ceramics as of Khmer origin no attempt, apart from a vague Angkorian period attribution, has been made to date them. Until there are proper excavations, such attempts remain impossible and fruitless. Unlike Thai and Vietnamese wares they are so different from Chinese wares that no stylistic parallels could be readily established.

The excavations by G. Groslier in 1953-1969 at the Royal Palace and elsewhere in the Angkor area began to remedy the deficiency. Although Groslier excavations were

Quoted from RMB
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never specifically directed towards the dating of ceramics, but on the basis of sherd finds at dated level, he has been able to assemble together at least a preliminary outline of Khmer types and chronology. A brief version of which has been published by W. Willets⁽²⁷⁾ and has also been summarised by R. M. Brown⁽²⁸⁾ as follows: Kulen ca. 879 A.D.; Lie de Vin ca. 900-1050 A.D.; Baphoun ca. 1050-1068 A.D.; Jayavarman VI ca. 1068-1110 A.D.; Angkor Wat ca. 1110-1177 A.D.; and Bayon ca. 1177-1350 A.D. These types are discussed in detail below which is actually a summary of R. M. Brown's work.⁽²⁹⁾

Although no excavation has been conducted of sites posterior to the gradual abandonment of Angkor beginning in 1431 A.D., Groslier doubts that any ceramics, except perhaps architectural ornaments, were produced in the centuries following that date. He has seen no likely fifteenth century examples in any of the country's Buddhist wats or in any antique shops in Phnom Penh or Bangkok. Only excavations at later capitals such as Lovek, Oudong and Phnom Penh would probably reveal the post-Angkorian wares.

Evidence from North-east Thailand sites, once an integral part of Khmer Empire, points to the demise of local ceramic production even before the fourteenth century. The majority of the examples found there correspond with sherds material found scattered in the debris around nearly all temples on the Plateau, most of which were built between 1000 and 1150 A.D. and dedicated to Hindu dieties. It is

believed that all of these fell into disuse by the end of the thirteenth century following a decline of Angkor power and the widespread introduction of Hinayana Buddhism. In addition, the only Chinese ware with which the Khmer pottery of North-east Thailand is ever associated are white-glazed wares, mostly in the shape of covered boxes. Many of these are similar to those unearthed at the late eleventh to early twelfth century burial site at Sra Sang. Chinese celadon or blue and white are never found alongside Khmer ceramics in the North-east Thailand kilns.

The decline in production of indigenous pottery may have been hastened less by the political instabilities than by the appearance on the market of inexpensive high fired Chinese export wares. Compared with the Khmer ceramics, Chinese ceramics have unlimited shapes; there were boxes, jars, vases, cups, bowls, plates and dishes. The Khmer had only a dozen or so traditional forms. There was also a wide range of glazes among the Chinese wares, while the Khmer wares, for the most part, had only two glaze choices - green and a black-brown.

~~G.~~ Groslier notes in his excavations of four layers of the Royal Palace at Angkor an increasing proportion of the Chinese wares in the later levels. By the fourteenth century 80% of the ceramics excavated were of Chinese origin. Chou Ta-kuan, an envoy of Yüan court who visited Angkor in 1296, provides further evidence of the use of Chinese ceramics by the Khmers when he notes that celadons shipped from the southern Chinese port of Ch'üan-chou were among the products which in great demand in Cambodia at that time. (30)

Indeed, the technical superiority of the imported Chinese wares is undeniable, but it is somewhat puzzling, as noted by R. M. Brown⁽³¹⁾ that the Khmers never took care to upgrade their potting industry and participate in the lively ceramic trades of the Sung, Yüan and early Ming times. Even as late as the fourteenth, the former vassals of Khmer the Thai of Sukhothai were able to master the required technology and gain a healthy stake in the trade. The fact is that Khmer pottery was not commercially exported at the time of its manufacture. It was made solely for the local consumption. Had there been full-time commercial kiln centres, there would certainly have been surplus for export, as well as technical innovations. Except in rare instances which have not been archaeologically verified, Khmer ceramics today can only be found within modern Cambodia and in the lands formerly under the rule of the Angkorian empire. These former territories include Southern Vietnam and Laos, and large parts of Thailand, from the Korat Plateau to Sukhothai and down to the Malay Peninsula.⁽³²⁾

The body of Khmer wares, although it may be finely levigated, is sandstone-based, of low quality, and normally coarse and grainy. Sometimes, specially among the large storage jars and the unglazed earthenwares, it seems to include crushed laterite or shell. There is discernible visual difference between the exposed body of the Kulen wares and that of the green-glazed Ban Kruat which is usually grey on the thickly potted pieces and whitish-buff

or sand-coloured on the thinly potted. A cross-section of newly broken fragments of thinly potted pieces, however, also shows a grey interior, which indicates that the pale colour may be due to soil leaching. There is evidence that Khmer ceramics have been turned on wheel, though primitive turn-table may have been used only. All are coil-made, usually with the coils began from the perimeter of a clay base disc. On the footed urns, where the coils were usually set on the top of the base disc, the coils have not been smoothed on the interior which can be clearly seen on broken pots. Chemical analysis of the glaze indicates that the pottery was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere at probably no more than about 1000 to 1100°C.

The first excavation finds of Kulen wares were at the temples of Rolous which date from 879 A.D. The wares may have been produced earlier but unfortunately excavation evidence for the previous century and a half is scarce. The shapes are relatively simple, often with a strong horizontal aspect reminiscent of contemporary T'ang pottery. (33) They are potted with a finely levigated sandstone-based clay that is pale yellowish-cream to medium grey in colour. The base of the wares is flat or slightly concave, and most often glazed. The prominent shapes are short-necked bottles, bowls, flattened oval-shaped covered boxes with fluting on the covers that are similarly found among the sherds of Ban Kruat. They appear to have been produced before 1050 A.D., but the covered urns appear after that date.

One characteristic of a great number of Kulen pieces

as well as many from Ban Kruat, R. M. Brown⁽³⁴⁾ observed, is a fabrication mark on the base. The purpose of the marks is unknown. Perhaps individual potters marked their own pots so that they could be easily identified after being fired in a communal kiln.

Not long after the advent of Kulen wares appeared the thickly potted lie de vin (1090-1050 A.D.), a group of hard-fired stonewares, so named by Groslier because of their resemblance in colour to the residue left in old wine bottles, a colour varying between violet and red. Their production began in the early years of the tenth century and evolved into dark-glazed wares towards the middle of the eleventh. Base on the discolouration of the lie de vin wares, it is likely that, like the contemporary Khmer pottery, the pots were fired in an open flame rather than a kiln. Although unglazed, the pots often have a slight kiln gloss. Wood ash falling on baking clay forms a natural gloss; wood ash, indeed, is the primary component of many glazes.

All the lie de vin wares so far discovered, comprising primarily utilitarian medium-sized storage jars and basin. They are sturdy, flat bottomed, coil-made and until the late tenth century, largely undecorated. Their angular shapes, along with the flaring mouth of the jars and the beginnings of the carved and punctured decoration in the early eleventh century, presage the later dark-glazed wares. Decoration, when it occurs, consists of carved bands on the shoulders of the vessels, ornate mouth rims that are carved

into rounded tiers, and the bands of jabbed points that were punched into the body. A small number of other unglazed stonewares with black-speckled grey paste than can be attributed to the late tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries sometimes have bands of an incised cross-hatch, the line of which were begun from the same type of point jabbed into the body and pulled across the clay; small nicks can be clearly seen where the point entered.

After the lie de vin group and at the end of early Kulen appear the short-lived Baphuon wares. During this period (ca. 1050-1068 A.D.) experiments with dark glazes were begun. Large size basins and water or storage jars are amongst the earliest of these wares and datable from the fourth decade of the eleventh century. By the beginning of this period brownish and blackish tones were achieved, but for several decades afterwards they often retain a faint olive undertone. The colour was never homogenous, the flowing of brownish and blackish glazes are often mottled with rust-coloured patches, opaque and slightly more shiny than the surrounding glaze, effected perhaps by iron concentrations in an unsufficiently ground glaze material. Occasionally, throughout the eleventh century and in the ensuing periods, the olive-coloured glaze continues to be seen. This is the period of two-glaze wares, perhaps inspired by Vietnamese inlay brown wares. Green-glazed wares continued to be produced during this period but the only shape continued from the early eleventh century is the bowls with the stacking scars.

New shapes that appear are perfume boxes, zoomorphic lime pots with stopper lids and covered urns. Decorations, evolved from unglazed stonewares, include jabbed and carved designs. Incised decoration has a distinctive scratchy quality and is common on green glazed wares which other periods rarely display any incised decoration.

Ceramics produced during the last three decades of the eleventh and the first decade of the twelfth centuries (Jayavarman VI, ca. 1068-1110 A.D.) have been well-defined by Groslier as a result of the discovery and excavation in 1964 of a burial ground near Sra Sang at Angkor. Characteristics acquired about the mid-eleventh century are continued into the beginning of the twelfth, along with the gradual improvement of the dark glaze and the adoption of a few new shapes. The dark-glazed wares may have a thick flowing glaze that loses the rust-coloured patches of the Baphuon wares but which, instead may be marred by minute bubble bursts, perhaps caused by improperly levigated iron that crystallized during the firing, it gives the surface of the glaze a speckled or 'powder' appearance. Also distinctive to the period are small, bulbous, sometimes almost hemispherical jars with disproportionately small constricted short neck and equally small mouth with flange. During this period, footed urns are numerous.

However, as R. M. Brown further notes that ⁽³⁵⁾ the best of the twelfth century wares, the most beautiful classic and sombre of all the Khmer ceramics, with their fine integration of soft lustrous glaze colour, delicate incised

decoration and uniquely Khmer shapes, mark the height of Khmer ceramic tradition, and it is fitting that they were produced during the era of the construction of Angkor Wat, the most beautiful of all Khmer temples. Generally the Angkor Wat period (ca. 1100-1177 A.D.) wares are glazed a thin-caramel-coloured brown that was probably brushed on. Apart from some moulding of shapes, the designs are incised on the pot under the glaze. The small objects (some began appearing in the second half of the eleventh century) include many zoomorphic lime pots, small covered boxes, angular-perfume boxes, small bottles and a small number of miniatures. Slightly larger are the wide squat jars; probably used as lamps, bottles and squat jars with zoomorphic handles and tiny spouts; probably honey pots. Two-glaze wares practically disappear except for a small number of footed urns with the upper portion in green.

By the last quarter of the twelfth century, the delicate wares of the Angkor Wat period begin to give way to the weighty masculine shapes and thick blackish-brown and blackish glazes of the Bayon period (ca. 1177-1350 A.D.) wares. Incised decoration becomes less important and more roughly and deeply cut as the glaze becomes thicker and darker and the number of surviving examples and shapes diminishes. Most common are water and wine jars, mortar bowls, footed urns and large chunky elephant lime pots. By the fourteenth century, the glazed ceramic craft seems to have disappeared from Khmer empire, but the ceramic tradition did not vanish altogether and its influence can be seen on the character of Thai ceramics.

Only further archaeological excavations in West Malaysia could produce further evidence for the distribution

of these important types of ceramics of Khmer origin in West Malaysia.

b) Thai Ceramics

It is interesting to note that, at about the time when the manufacture of glazed ceramics disappeared from the retracting Khmer empire other ceramic kilns appeared in North-central Thailand at the newly established kingdom of Sukhothai with its twin cities of Sukhothai and Sri Sachanalai. Sukhothai, the first Thai kingdom was founded ca. 1220-1250 A.D. Under its third and famous king Rama Khamhaeng, who ruled during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it experienced glorious though brief expansionist period. Following that, the kingdom was much reduced and in 1378 A.D. it submitted peacefully to Ayudhya, which have been founded in 1351 A.D. By the mid-fifteenth century it suffered as a battlefield between the warring forces of Ayudhya and Chiengmai, and its cities were probably depopulated during some devastating raids by Chiengmai forces in about 1512 A.D.

The Rama Khamhaeng stele dated 1292 A.D. has revealed that many advantages were offered to the people living in Sukhothai, a lenient policy on free trade was certainly encouraged the growth of an extensive ceramic industry, unlike in the Khmer empire before that, where heavy tax were imposed on the population. The same policy was adopted later by Ayudhya and during its heyday it was a renowned international trading centre and the important

port through which many of the Sukhothai wares must have been exported to other neighbouring countries such as Philippines, Indonesia and West Malaysia. The relevant finds from Pengkalan Bujang site are discussed in detail below.

Like the Khmer, the Thai legends too credit the beginning of their ceramic manufacture to a group of 500 Chinese potters, a gift from the emperor of China to 'Phra Ruang', a general title for all the Sukhothai kings, who personally visited Middle Kingdom and was also given a Chinese wife.⁽³⁶⁾ Though the king in question reputed to be the Rama Khamhaeng but contemporary Chinese court chronicles contain no record of that visit. Nevertheless, there were a number of diplomatic contacts between Sukhothai and newly established Mongol court in the last decades of the thirteenth century, and the Chinese records do acknowledge an audience with an heir to the Sukhothai throne in 1299 A.D. Probably, it was he who returned with the potters but the records mention that he only requested horses. The Thai legends are not so specific. However, this question is debatable.

There are two old kiln centres at the kingdom of Sukhothai of which 49 have been surveyed at the centre outside the walls of the city of Sukhothai, and their wares are known as 'Sukhothai'. The other, which is located about 60 kilometers north at Sri Sachanalai, consists of 3 groups of kilns along the banks of Menam Yom: 20 at Pa Yang, 5 at Tukatha, and 120 at Ban ko Noi. Although, most of the architectural ornaments and many of the figurines seem to have been made at the Pa Yang group, the sherds debris at

all three sites is substantially similar and the wares are known as 'Sawankhalok', after the current name of the district.

Until now the exact dates of the wares has never been conclusively determined, it rests on deduction, induction, inference and stylistic reference. However, R. M. Brown made a serious attempt to date this ware. Archaeological evidences pointed out by R. M. Brown suggest that they were contemporary with the kingdom of Sukhothai since the product of both centres mentioned earlier were incorporated into the architecture of both Sukhothai and Sri Sachanalai, while the excavation evidence abroad, for example, the finds of Sawankhalok together with Chinese wares of as late as the first half of sixteenth century, suggests that the kiln could have operated until the final Chiengmai raid in 1512 A.D. (37)

Sawankhalok ceramics found during excavations at Angkor indicates that they do not date before an attack on the city in 1350 A.D., but they must have begun arriving any time after that date until the abandonment of the city as a capital about 1431. Sukhothai pottery, which has not yet been identified at Angkor, is generally thought to have preceded Sawankhalok. However, H. O. Beyer claims to have found Sukhothai wares at earlier sites than the Sawankhalok wares in the Philippines. H. O. Beyer's chronology tends to be supported by the fact that although large numbers of Sawankhalok wares have been excavated at sites such as Calatagan and Kampong Pareko, they have never (at least in

excavations on which published date exists) been found in association with the Sukhothai. But while archaeological data and stylistic evidence tend to corroborate the idea that the Sukhothai kilns were established earlier, it does not necessarily mean that Sawankhalok kilns only started producing when the Sukhothai kilns ceased its operation.

Both Sukhothai and Sawankhalok potteries were found as cargo on the same sunken ship off the coast of Koh Khram Island in the Gulf of Siam,⁽³⁸⁾ this has led R. M. Brown to speculate that the two centres were contemporaneous at least for a time. But the lower percentage of Sukhothai as compared to exported Sawankhalok wares found aboard indicates that Sukhothai kilns did not operate throughout the full tenure of those Sawankhalok.

No reference was made about pottery or foreign trade in the Sukhothai stele of 1292 A.D. and the ruined temples of Sukhothai known to have ceramic architectural fixtures were not built until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, suggests that the Sukhothai kilns were probably not built before 1300 A.D. It is not known when the kilns actually began operating, although H. O. Beyer has given the wares a thirteenth to fourteenth century dating on the purported basis of stratified sites in the Philippines⁽³⁹⁾. However, R. M. Brown⁽⁴⁰⁾ is of the opinion that, the kiln must have been operated after 130 A.D. by virtue of the wares having been found on the Koh Khram sunken ship mentioned earlier, in association with Sawankhalok, which on the basis of excavation at Angkor cannot be dated before the mid-fourteenth

century. The resemblance of certain of their decorative motifs to those used in Vietnam or decorative elements of style, together with the absence of more sophisticated glazes or decoration techniques of Sawankhalok wares, strongly implies that the Sukhothai wares were confined to the fourteenth century and that the kilns began to close not very long after those at Sawankhalok were built.

A large number of Sawankhalok wares have been excavated in the Philippines, Indonesia, although in West Malaysia, as discussed below, the number was small. They were found in association with Chinese and Vietnamese blue and white wares, generally attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since they were found on the sunken ship with Sukhothai wares which on stylistic ground can be dated to the fourteenth century, R. M. Brown further argues that Sawankhalok wares were probably begun to be produced towards the end of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, excavations either in Thailand or abroad have not so far revealed any chronological order among the Sawankhalok wares.⁽⁴¹⁾

i) The Sukhothai wares

After a careful examination of the sherds, discards and wasters at the kiln sites in Thailand, R. M. Brown⁽⁴²⁾ concludes that the underglaze black, underglaze brown, monochrome white and unglazes wares are the wares of Sukhothai.

The most abundant wares of the kilns were plates and bowls decorated in underglaze black with an encircled

sprightly fish on the centre medallion. Other decorative motifs include floral patterns, solar whorls (or cakra), sun-bursts, fern-like sprays, summary classic scrolls, and chevron bands on mouth rim.⁽⁴³⁾

Of all the South-east Asian ceramics, the Sukhothai glazed wares are perhaps the most easy to recognise. The coarse, grainy clay which necessitated the heavy slip covering is essentially grey in colour and speckled with bits of white impurities. On the exposed surfaces on the clay, such as on the base which is never glazed, the body colour has often turned brownish or reddish brown in the firing, though the diagnostic white-speckling remains visible. Normally have an unevenly applied slip that smears on the base, roughly cut foot rings and a glaze marred by the pin holes of escaping gas bubbles.

In the interests of mass production, and poor quality of clay that was available to the potters, reflects by the sturdy, somewhat careless, potting of the majority of the wares, and this contributes to the less examples of relatively fine Sukhothai wares. Usually, sturdy wares could easily withstand rough handling during transportation. In the firing process, for maximum utilization of kiln space, the plates and bowls stacked one upon the other, separated by disc-shaped supports that left spur marks on the interior bottom of the piece below. The stacks themselves were set on tubular supports that sometimes left a circular scar on the base of the bottom-most dish. The tubular supports and the Sukhothai wares appears to be made from the same clay.

The underglaze brown and monochrome white are minor wares and share the shapes of the underglaze black. Underglaze black shapes include bottles, jars, dishes, bowls, stem-plates and mortar bowls. Also manufactured are architectural ornaments. The unglazes Sukhothai wares comprise of Khmer-like jars with brownish or greyish bodies and incised or applique decoration, mortar bowls that are rough-bodied and greyish or red. The kendi have thin, brittle bodies, tall tubular necks, funnel-like spouts that are sometimes carved, and a flat foot.

The question of distribution of Sukhothai trade ceramics still awaits further investigation in West Malaysian archaeological context.

ii) The Sawankhalok wares

Of all the Thai ceramics, those from the Sawankhalok kilns have been found in large quantities throughout Southeast Asia including West Malaysia. This should not be surprising, because there is considerable evidence to support the view that the wares were made for the export trade.

Probably the first reports published in English language on ancient indigenous ceramics of Thailand were written by Thomas Lyle⁽⁴⁴⁾ formerly attached to the British Consular Service in Thailand. These describe his two visits to an abandoned ceramic centre or kiln site near ruined city of the Sri Sachanalai, on the west bank of Yom River, about 19 kilometers north of the modern city of Sawankhalok. Following Lyle, the French archaeologist

E. L. de Lajonquiere visited the kilns in 1904 and published his observations two years later. From the architectural ceramics debris found at the kilns he concluded that they were contemporary with the old city of Sri Sachanalai and probably dated from the thirteenth century. (45)

Seventeen years after his first visit to Sawankhalok, Lucien Fournereau in 1908 published an important paper on Thai ceramics. Fournereau's conclusion relating to the sudden abandonment and destruction of the Sawankhalok kilns is supported by events that took place between the early fourteenth and middle of sixteenth centuries. This period witnessed the rapid decline of the Sukhothai kingdom after the death of Rama Khamhaeng and the equally rapid rise of a new, powerful, Thai kingdom Ayudhya. This kingdom not gained control over the middle and lower chao Phraya basin, much of the Malay Peninsula, and parts of modern Burma, it exercised an uneasy suzerainty over Sukhothai, launched periodic wars with Cambodia, and carried on a relentless war for decades with the kingdom of Chiangmai, its northern enemy. In these northern wars Sukhothai and Sawankhalok could not avoid becoming involved, and thus suffered destruction.

The ceramic centres at Sawankhalok, apart from being three times as many kilns, had produced astonishingly wide variety of wares ranging from large water jars and architectural ornaments to Buddhist figures, tiles, bowls in various sizes, ewers, kendi, vases, bottles, dishes, jarlets, water droppers and covered bowls, as well as

miniature figures of people and animals, and large figures of mythical demons. Indeed, they had such a wide repertoire of glazes and shapes compared with Sukhothai. R. M. Brown has divided Sawankhalok ware into 8 types of wares: underglaze black, celadon, brown monochrome, brown and pearl, white glaze, black monochrome, olive glaze and unglazed ware.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The paste, as further stated by R. M. Brown, forming the bodies of these wares shows a wide variation in texture, colour and chemical composition. The clay is finer-grained, though still slightly coarse, than that used at Sukhothai and the wares are potted more carefully. Foot rings are always nicely carved, usually squarely on the celadons and with the interior side bevelled on the wares. The body, which is medium grey in colour and often black-speckled, on the exposed surfaces may be reddish, reddish-orange, brown or brick red as can be seen in a jarlet illustrated in Pl.41. Like the Sukhothai, the bases are always unglazed.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Many of the wares have a black circular scar on the base as a result of having fired set upon a tubular kiln support.

The glazes, as further observed by R. M. Brown, also vary in colour as well as in quality. But the celadons (see Pls. 42-49) include the greatest range of shapes are the most numerous of the existent Sawankhalok wares. On some of them, the influence of Sukhothai still can be seen. This perhaps, the work of the re-located Sukhothai potters. The decoration includes geometric for example Pl. 48, and vegetal motifs for example Pls. 45-47, 49. The classic scroll bands and lotus petals for example Pls. 45 and 46, resemble those in use on Chinese and Vietnamese wares, and some, such as the fish, and certain floral designs, must

have been derived from Sukhothai wares, while other possibly have been copied from textiles. (48)

Unlike Sukhothai, plates and bowls are relatively rare among the Sawankhalok underglaze ware, while the major products is covered boxes with various shapes as shown in two fine examples in the collection of Muzium Negara illustrated in Pls. 50 and 51. Kendi with a flattened body and a tall flanged neck are the other departures from Sukhothai wares as can be seen in the example in the collection of Muzium Negara as shown in Pl. 52.

Also produced at Sawankhalok kilns are miniatures of covered boxes, jarlets and bottles, which are common among the Vietnamese blue and white and some southern Chinese wares, and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. The zoomorphic are represented by such animals as duck, chickens, birds, dogs, turtles, elephants and horses. While the most common human images are of a woman holding a child, others portray a woman holding a fan, men cuddling fighting cocks, amorous couples, polo players astride horses, or wrestlers.

Although the underglazed black wares are quite common, they are completely overshadowed in quality and in number by celadon which includes bottles, jars, dishes, plates, bowls, kendi and figurines. They are normally more sturdily potted. The translucent celadon glazes, often thick glassy, and usually crazed, have a tendency to form pools in the bottom of the large, heavily potted dishes and bowls. A large variety of plates, dishes and bowls, and numerous globular bottles of distinctive shape with small loop handles

on the shoulders, are unknown among the underglaze black wares. Decoration on celadons, incised and carved under the glaze, include floral and geometric motifs. Other decorations include lotus petals, lotus flowers, peony blossoms, bands of an undulating vine and onion-skin medallions that sometimes enclose flower blossoms. But a notable peculiarity of the plates, dishes and bowls is that the incised decoration almost invariably includes two or more concentric circles at the centre of the interior bottom; indeed, they are a feature unique of Sawankhalok celadons.

The next most common Sawankhalok ware is group of the brown monochromes (see Pls. 53-56). As R. M. Brown observes, the glaze is normally runny and varies from dark (for example Pl. 53) and lustrous to a thin (for example Pl. 55) and dull, while the shapes include bulbous and elongated ring handled bottles, covered jars, potiches, covered boxes and figurines which are undecorated for incised horizontal bands (for example Pls. 53-56) and sometimes vertical gouges.⁽⁴⁹⁾

A pitted, thick, opaque, greyish white glaze is found on jars and boxes of various sizes. However, so far no moulded tiles, roof finials, Buddhist images, and grotesque guardians or demons have been found in West Malaysia. Some of the kilns in Ban Pa Ying area near the north wall of old Sukhothai specialised in architectural ceramics which do not seem to have reached West Malaysia. In any case, they are relatively uncommon among the exported pottery from Sawankhalok.

Throughout the literature of Thai ceramics one

encounters the ever-present argument that Chinese potters were responsible for the technological and artistic development of the various indigenous potteries found in Thailand. The shapes of all Thai ceramics in the opinion of R. M. Brown, appear to be more Thai, Khmer and Vietnamese, but the evidence of Chinese artistic influence is unquestionably present. However, as she further emphasized that it does not necessarily follow that they could have been created by Chinese craftsmen. Although the glazes and workmanship of Sukhothai and Sawankhalok ceramics display a fundamentally Chinese character but they are tempered by Khmer and Vietnamese elements as well as by native Thai genius. (50)

It is strange that the blue and white wares is absent in Thai ceramics since the blue and white were being produced in a big scale in China and Vietnam during the same centuries. The possible explanations for this, says R. M. Brown⁽⁵¹⁾ is that, the making of glazed pottery was introduced to Thailand at a time when the production of blue and white was not yet popular or the Chinese and Vietnamese had a monopoly over the cobalt trade.

iii) Northern kilns

It was generally believed that, especially before the discovery of additional kilns at Kalong, 80 kilometers north-east Chiangmai, the history of Thai ceramics was only confined to Sukhothai and Sawankhalok kilns.

The kilns at Kalong, located near a village of Wieng Papao in Chiangrai province was discovered by Pnya Narkon Prah Ram in 1933 and first reported in 1936 and since then

a few more probable sites have been reported, the most recent discovery was made by J. R. Galloway, S. Limmanant and Dean Frasche of a complex of eight kiln mounds, on the east bank of Menam Mae Liap, some 60 kilometers west of the village of Ban Thuang Hua.⁽⁵²⁾ A number of these ancient ceramic manufacturing centres have not been fully studied and the feature of this ware and its history is still not definitely known. The possibilities that they did not enter the port trade is supported by the fact that they so far have not been reported by unearthed either in any excavation abroad or closer to their sources as Sukhothai, but with one exception of the two Kalong sherds found in Pahang, West Malaysia which R. M. Brown claims to have seen in the National Museum Singapore collection.⁽⁵³⁾

The wares produced by the Kalong kilns are considered among the finest of all Thai ceramics. They are well-potted, fine-grained, whitish body, high-fired stonewares from local clays of good quality which varied after firing, from off-white and pale-beige to various shades of grey and brown. Like the other Thai ceramics, the bases are unglazed, the thickness of the base and meticulously carved foot ring just as thin as the walls of the vessels. The absence of scars on the wares indicate that the disc-shaped or tubular supports were not used during firing. Most of them were decorated in broad strokes with underglaze black.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Flower motifs in brown, grey or black are most usual, but stylized birds and animals, celestial being, and mythical beasts are also portrayed. The wares produced include

vases, pear-shaped bottles, bowls and dishes in various sizes.

There has been some speculation relating to the origin of the Kalong potters and the dating of their kilns.

Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda and Spinks believe that the Kalong potters may have been artisan refugees who were taken prisoner in the Sukhothai-Sawankhalok district during the wars between the kingdoms of Chiangmai and Ayudhya in the fifteenth century and settled in the Kalong area.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Sankampaeng, 23 kilometers east of the old walled city of Chiangmai is another northern kilns centre. Most of the kilns are situated near the small village of Pa Ting. The kiln was discovered in 1952 by Nimmanahaeminda.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In a subsequent survey of the area, 83 more kiln mounds were recorded and many of these were found to be surrounded by heaps of sherds. On the basis of the information revealed by the inscribed stone he had uncovered near the ruins of an old wat, the text of which commemorates the establishment of a Buddhist pagoda in 1488 A.D. and mentions a gift of 25 families of slaves, Nimmanahaeminda believes that the slaves were potters and that the kilns of the district date from that time.

Earlier Nimmanahaeminda⁽⁵⁷⁾ and Spinks⁽⁵⁸⁾ have assumed that all the northern kilns were the handiwork of the former Sawankhalok potters. But a recent information⁽⁵⁹⁾ suggests that the potters must have come from Laos. In fact the Sankampaeng shows few stylistic similarities with either Sukhothai or Sawankhalok pottery. For example, none of the typical Sawankhalok shapes such as covered boxes, the

potiches, the stem-plates, or any zoomorphic vessels were copied at Sankampaeng. The shapes of the plates and jars have similarly no traceable counterparts. No tubular stands and disc supports such as used at Sukhothai have been found in the kiln debris at Sankampaeng, but the potters evidently used saggars. Bowl and dishes with unglazed rims, foot rings, and bases were fired in tiers, rim to rim and base to base.

However, R. M. Brown⁽⁶⁰⁾ observes that Sukhothai and Sawankhalok influence is not totally absent and can be seen and traced in the shape of unglazed Khmer-like baluster jars which, though less elaborately decorated, resemble those of Sukhothai wares. It also appears among some of the design patterns of the underglaze black undecorated wares, which at Sankampaeng often have an olive tone beneath a slightly greenish glaze. The fish, mostly in pairs reveal Chinese influence while the solar whorl motifs, floral and leaf sprays and the occasional use of classic scroll borders and lotus panels are all reminiscent of Sawankhalok designs.⁽⁶¹⁾

There are also unpublished finds of Sankampaeng sherds unearthed from Pengkalan Bujang sites.

Sankampaeng wares are normally thinly potted, brittle and all are low-fired, except for the thickly constructed utility jars. The plates have carved, though short, foot rings. Other shapes have flat bases which are often so sharply cut that the edges are jagged and none of the bases are glazed. A poor quality of clay mixed with

sand forms the body of the wares and the grit adhering to the bottom of many jars proves that they were set on the floor of the kiln for firing.

Many of the kilns when discovered by Nimmanahaeminda⁽⁶²⁾ were overgrown with large teak trees and base on this he believes that the kilns must have ceased operating for several hundred years. Probably, they have been abandoned in 1558, after, perhaps only seventy years of production, when King Bayinnaung's reported re-location of artisans to Burma took place. The termination of all the northern kilns perhaps can be attributed to that date.

c) The Vietnamese ceramics

The advent of the twentieth century saw the discovery of a large number of widely diverse types of indigenous ceramics dating from the pre-Christian era to modern times in what is now Vietnam. This region was dominated by the Han Chinese before and during the early part of Christian times, and in the early T'ang period became the Chinese protectorate known as Annam, means 'Pacific South' and remained under Chinese rule until 979 A.D. and again from 1407 to 1428 A.D. The Vietnamese, eventually managed to establish their national identity as an independent country, but the Chinese influences on their customs, language, architecture, and the other aspect of arts has remained apparent to the present day.

Among the many cultural benefits derived from China was the art of ceramics, which appears to have flourished,

especially in Northern Vietnam, from the fifteenth century onwards. The ceramics of Vietnamese are also known as 'Annamese', 'Sino-Annamese', and 'Tongkinese'.⁽⁶³⁾ Their wares are in many ways as exciting as those of China itself and was first recognised during the extensive excavations in Thanh-hoa province in Vietnam in the 1920s and 1930s. They show extremely wide varieties as to types, paste, shapes, glazes and decorations. The excavations at Thanh-hoa have yielded thousands of objects, mostly earthenware and some bronze, mainly from burial grounds of the first to third centuries, and the tenth to thirteenth centuries, periods which parallels with late Han and Sung dynasties of China.

Many of the kiln-sites in Vietnam have no historical records and their dates of origin remain unknown. With the exception of the archaeological investigations in Thanh-hoa province, where Han and Sung kilns have been reported, there have been few systematic investigations of the Vietnamese wares or of the places where they might have been manufactured. However, W. Willets⁽⁶⁴⁾ is in the opinion that, by virtue of differences in mode of decoration and type of glaze, Vietnamese wares can be divided into seven groups. While R. M. Brown⁽⁶⁵⁾ has outlined and classified the wares into seven periods; from late Han period ca. first to third centuries to domestic cult wares ca. fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. But this study is mainly concerned with the fourth, fifth and sixth periods of her classification, that is from ca. thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, a period which she called "Export era".

The glazed wares which was excavated by O. Janse⁽⁶⁶⁾ from burial grounds at Lach-tru'o'ng and Bin-so'n north of Thanh-hoa provincial capital, suggests that the ceramic history of Vietnam began about the first century of our era and undoubtedly under Chinese auspices. But these wares are distinguishable with the Chinese wares, for they are the earliest glazed white-bodied wares so far known in the Far East. The body of the contemporary or earlier Han Chinese wares is usually reddish-brown to buff, never the off-white of the Vietnamese wares. The glaze of the Vietnamese wares is slightly translucent cream-white sometimes with pale-greenish tinges, while the dominant contemporary Chinese glaze colour was opaque green in various shades.

The wares which can be assigned to the Han period are well-baked and probably turned on potter's wheel. The glaze has withstood the wear of time and burial with little or no chipping, and of the decomposition that mars Chinese green glazes which almost universally decomposed into a gold or silver irridescence. They are usually strong and simple, the shapes normally include oval cups, incense-burners, vases, bowls, basins, jars and tripod forms, with incised bands and sometimes applique handles or zoomorphic spouts and handles. The thick, translucent, crackled dark green glaze, with the implication that they were flaws is one of the common characteristics of these wares. But although they are often seen on interior bottoms or flattened mouth rims where a liquid glaze might

easily gather, they sometimes occur too, in places where some extra glaze may have been applied deliberately.

The presence of the numerous and elaborate brick Chinese tombs in the territory of Annam dated to the first centuries A.D. may indicate a former important commercial centre. In Ptolemy's Geographike Hyphegesis mentioned is made about port of Pagraasa of which G. E. Gerini⁽⁶⁷⁾ believed that it must have been located at the mouth of the river Song Ma, the site of the Thanh-Hoa provincial capital near which many of the Han period artifacts were excavated. Evidence in Chinese sources⁽⁶⁸⁾ also points to this region as having been the location of the southern most Chinese port during these years.

According to Arab sources,⁽⁶⁹⁾ it appears that during the years between the third century and the end of the tenth or early eleventh centuries, the importance of Annam as a commercial centre have been declined and instead saw the rises of Canton and Champa. During these times very few ceramics appear to have been produced and not many examples have been attributed to the period. From the only two tombs of T'ang period (seventh to eighth centuries) excavated by Janse, only an assortment of simple cups with a whitish body and cream to brown and greenish glaze of possible local origin, a jar, and an olive glazed bowl have been unearthed.

Vietnamese ceramics assigned to the ninth century includes bowls, vases, dishes, wine pots and jars which show strong Chinese influence of the Sung period, this period is

contemporary with the beginning of the first of the great Vietnamese dynasties, the Ly (1009-1225 A.D.) and from this time, the Vietnamese ceramic history begins to become clearer and have been regarded by Vietnamese historians as an age of the artistic renaissance.

It seems that this period too marked by the establishment of maritime trade, but the Vietnamese sources quoted by Le Tanh Khoi⁽⁷⁰⁾ indicate that Vietnam did not seriously engage in maritime commerce until the reign of Emperor Ly Anh-tong (1137-1175 A.D.). Initially the trade was conducted with China via overland routes. But in 1149 A.D. boats arrived from Java, Lo-lac⁽⁷¹⁾ (Malay Peninsula) and Xiem-la (probably Siam). Consequently, the trading points were opened on the Van-don Islands near what is now Haiphong harbour which later also attracted vessels from Fukien and Southern China. However, there is no evidence yet that ceramics were exported at this time. No comparable pieces have been excavated abroad similar to those which have been excavated by O. Janse at Thanh-hoa.

The Vietnamese wares of Sung period include a variety of shapes, such as dishes and bowls, probably used in daily domestic life, along with covered food and beverage containers that may have been solely funerary. Glazes used ranging from brown-inlay to crackled cream, copper green, brown, white, celadon and black.

Probably the earliest of the Vietnamese Sung-period glazed ceramics are the inlay brown wares, a group perhaps inspired by the tone of contrast of Chinese Ts'u-Chou-type,

which according to B. Gray⁽⁷²⁾ were already popular in China by the beginning of the Northern Sung. The shapes are restricted to covered urns, some with hollow stand-type bases; tall cylindrical urns; wide, sturdy basins, and squat jars with flaring mouth rims. Decorations are covered within outline with wide scrapes and the space within inlaid with brown. The remainder of the vessel is then covered with an often runny, transparent or slightly greenish glaze. Bases are usually flat, unglazed, and the body whitish or pale grey. The decoration patterns are mostly vegetal with vines and simple flower blossoms, probably lotus, predominating, but there are also cloud forms, human figures, birds, fish, and other animals such as tigers, monkeys and elephants.⁽⁷³⁾

It is with this group of wares, R. M. Brown⁽⁷⁴⁾ notes that the spurred disc-shaped kiln support first make an appearance in Vietnam. The scars left by the small feet of the firecaly stand are often apparent on the inside bottoms of both basins and urns, indicating that those vessels played the role of saggar in the kiln with smaller pieces stacked within. This practice continued with the Vietnamese potters until the introduction of blue and white. Because of the inlay brown wares do not include dishes, bowls, or beakers, shapes that mark the evolution toward the exported ware, this group was probably discontinued well before ceramics were exported from the country. No finds of this type have so far been made in West Malaysia. The wares that must have been developed only shortly before ceramics began to be exported are the underglaze black decorated and the celadon groups.

The underglaze black include a variety of bowls, some of them large and covered, and small jars. The glaze on these is often milky white, obstructing the clarity of the underglaze decoration. Carved foot rings, rather than flat bases, begin to become common as they do also on other Thanh-hoa finds, such as copper green, white, and brown-glazed vessels that are presumed to date to the years immediately preceding the first exports. Decorations on underglaze black wares include sun-bursts designs that are later seen on Sukhothai and Sawankhalok wares of Thailand, stylistic flower motifs, simple band on an otherwise white monochrome vessels, or groups of the thick amorphous brush strokes.

One can only see rare examples of Vietnamese celadon, and the most common shape in the Thanh-hoa collection is an undecorated, heavily potted bowl with a carved foot ring and usually spur marks on the interior, a chocolate base, and foliate mouth lip.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The body is most often greyish, and the glaze, commonly applied over a white slip, is murky, thick, and olive green. Another shape is the beaker, sometimes with a thick, unctuous, medium green glaze.

The few examples of Vietnamese celadon that have been found abroad, and none from West Malaysia, that can be stylistically dated to the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries suggests that they were produced for a short period only. The situation as suggested by R. M. Brown⁽⁷⁶⁾ probably due to the decision of the Vietnamese potters that the glaze was too difficult to handle or that blue and white

was preferred by their customers, and another possibility suggested by her is that perhaps the potters who specialised in this ware moved to the kingdom of Sukhothai to initiate the making of celadon there. If such were the case, it would not be mere historical coincidence that about the time celadon production disappears from Vietnam, it begins in Thailand at the Sawankhalok kilns.

It is not definitely known when the Vietnamese first made pottery solely for export but stylistic evidence indicates that the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries when commercially-minded Chinese refugees from the encroaching Mongol invaders may have settled in the country and help to ply the local wares abroad. The early trade, however, was on a small scale, but showed signs on expansion in the late fourteenth century, probably as a result of the first Ming Emperor T'ai-tsu's (1368-1398 A.D.) attempted ban on Chinese overseas voyages⁽⁷⁷⁾ and reached its height in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, their preference among the Chinese export pottery consumers is very small. Only an estimated 2% or 4% of the fifteenth and sixteenth century wares excavated in the Philippines⁽⁷⁸⁾ are Vietnamese compared to 20% or 40% of Thai wares during the same period.

The Vietnamese export wares fall into three groups. The first, or the early, group are believed to belong to the late thirteenth or fourteenth century; they comprise probably the majority of the monochromes and the underglaze black wares which are often found in the Philippines associated with earlier Chinese wares than are the blue and

white and none of this can be seen in the West Malaysian finds.

Those belonging to the second group are almost exclusively blue and white and are unearthed in Indonesia as well as in the Philippines in association with Chinese wares believed to be fifteenth and sixteenth century in date and are found in association with Sawankhalok wares. Examples of this are illustrated in Pls. 57-61. None of the third group which consists exclusively of post sixteenth century blue and white wares, has been located in any reported excavations anywhere in South-east Asia outside Vietnam. This was largely due to Japanese export competition in the seventeenth century.

Most abundant of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century wares are those decorated in underglaze black. This type was soon followed by the green-glazed imitation celadon type. The brown-glazed wares include only bowls with an everted rim and brown exterior, but they differ both in shape and glaze from earlier examples, none of this have so far surfaced among the West Malaysian export ware finds. The glaze is usually matt rather than lustrous as on earlier wares, and the most common shape is a previously unknown flat-bottomed jarlet.⁽⁷⁹⁾ New shapes of the fourteenth century includes small cup-like bowls, dishes in various sizes, oval-shaped covered boxes, flat based jarlets, and but rarely, small gourd-shaped ewers and bottles. Most pieces have been carved foot rings, sometimes straight and tall, sometimes very wide and shallow but very often short and with an inside bevel. The underglaze black designs are

relatively limited, the most ubiquitous being a feathery flower blossom, probably a peony, usually encircled and sometimes with three stems.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Others include lotus panels and bands of a summary classic scroll as seen in Pls. 60 and 61.

The chocolate base (as illustrated in Pl. 58b) first introduced among the late Thanh-hoa wares⁽⁸¹⁾ becomes common in the fourteenth century, it consists of a brown slip that can be applied either to flat-based vessels or those with carved foot rings. Adrian Joseph⁽⁸²⁾ notes that on the fifteenth and sixteenth century wares, the spirals of the brush stroke are often clear, they most often unwind from the centre in an anti-clockwise direction - the opposite from the glaze marks on the basis of Chinese wares. On the fourteenth century wares the slip is normally too dark to tell the direction of the strokes. The direction, as A. Joseph further noted, indicates that the Vietnamese potter's wheel turned in an opposite direction from that of the Chinese.

Generally, as it has been agreed by majority of ceramic historians, that the most important of the Vietnamese ceramics are the blue and white wares which are related in both shape and design to the Chinese ceramics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as seen in Pls. 59 and 60. Indeed, the turning point in the development of Vietnamese ceramics in the fifteenth century must undoubtedly be the result of the Ming invasion of the country in 1407 A.D. and its occupation by the Chinese until 1428 A.D.⁽⁸³⁾ Once again the country was subjected to the full impact of Chinese

culture and probably, also, the immigration of Chinese potters. Moreover, the voyages of Cheng Ho (between 1405 and 1433), and with the establishment of Chinese Bureau of Trading Junks in Tonkin earlier, soon after the invasion indicate a renewed Chinese interest in the Nan-hai trade. As a result, as never before, the Vietnamese wares after the beginning of the fifteenth century were exported in a large scale.⁽⁸⁴⁾ They comprise, perhaps exclusively by the mid-fifteenth century, blue and white with or without overglaze enamels. With the introduction of cobalt for underglaze blue decoration, the underglaze black and monochrome wares began to disappear.⁽⁸⁵⁾

It is not known whether or not the Vietnamese potters used cobalt for underglaze decoration before the Chinese occupation, but at first its inclusion in their repertoire is subtle. Initially, as noted by R. M. Brown⁽⁸⁶⁾ it begins to replace the underglaze black in decorations and shapes that remained unchanged from those assigned to the fourteenth century; these transition pieces probably belong to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Sometimes the blue even occurs on the same piece along with the underglaze black, this evidences that some underglaze black wares were still being produced besides the first underglaze blue. The remaining blue and white wares, however, mark as R. M. Brown observes, an almost total disaffinity with the past. There is a profusion of Chinese-inspired shapes and a whole array of new decorative motifs and arrangements. The spur marks and unglazed stacking rings of earlier wares practically

disappear; the very wide, shallow foot rings typical of many fourteenth century wares are no longer seen; and nearly all the former shapes are changed or discarded. R. M. Brown⁽⁸⁷⁾ believes that it is with these blue and white wares the potters of Vietnam reached the pinnacle of their craft.

The best of the Vietnameses blue and white wares were probably all produced about the mid-fifteenth century, according to the date of the inscribed bottle in the Topkapu Sarayi Museum in Istanbul which was first reported by R. L. Hobson.⁽⁸⁸⁾ With this inscribed bottle most of the finest pieces are analogous. However, Adrian Joseph⁽⁸⁹⁾ notes that although the Chinese wares may have been the inspiration of the main-stream of Annamese blue and white, but there is no slavish copying; instead, a new freshness and virility is apparent. While patterns such as lotus scroll (e.g. Pl. 60), the trailing vine with peony (e.g. Pl. 58a) and the fish in ell-grass were borrowed from Chinese ceramic decorations, but they are never exact duplicates.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The shapes of Vietnamese wares, in seemingly variations which ranging from bottles, jarlets to zoomorphic water droppers, and miniatures, very few of this have so far been found in West Malaysia. The addition of overglaze red and green and sometimes yellow enamels appears to have been optional on any of them and to have been practiced throughout most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an example of this can be seen in a polychrome vase illustrated

in Pl. 62 in the Muzium Negara collection. The body remains unchanged from that of earlier wares, although it is sometimes fired to porcellaneous hardness. Occasionally the bases are covered with a thin transparent glaze. Foot rings are often bevelled on the interior, although they can be either tall, thin, and straight; short and squared; or short and rounded. Flat bases are rare. The unglazed raised outer edges on the mouth rims of the larger plates suggest that these were either stacked upside-down on ridges in saggars or piled face to face and base to base in a similar manner to the Sankampaeng wares discussed earlier. The others were probably fired upright on their foot rings the bottom of which are unglazed.

It is difficult to place the Vietnamese blue and white wares in a convincing chronological order due to the internal homogeneity and scarcity of archaeological data. But it is likely that they begin towards the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century and probably extend to at least the end of the sixteenth century. H. O. Beyer claims to have excavated them alongside fifteenth century Chinese wares.⁽⁹¹⁾ R. Fox has also discovered at Calatagan excavation the Vietnamese blue and white wares associated with Chinese wares of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in dates.⁽⁹²⁾

At least one attempt at dating the wares in a more scientific way which involved X-ray fluorescence spectrometry tests has been conducted at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology in Oxford in which the manganese content of the cobalt pigment was determined.⁽⁹³⁾

The Vietnamese blue and white wares or sherds, besides those found at Kampong Pareko, Sulawesi and at Calatagan in the Philippines, have also been collected from Java, at a site said to have been occupied between 1292-1500 A.D., some examples of them are on display at the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. Numerous sherds, mainly of carved boxes, have been found among the ruins of the Thai kingdom of Sukhothai, a small bottle with a tall tubular neck, reportedly from there, can be viewed at British Museum.⁽⁹⁴⁾ In the collection of Tokugawa Museum, Nagoya, there is a large cup or bowl with a tall carved foot and overglaze enamels.⁽⁹⁵⁾ This vessel is said to have been in Japan since the end of sixteenth century. The Musée Royaux D'Art et D'Histoire, Brussels⁽⁹⁶⁾ has a superb collection of Vietnamese wares, so do the Musée Guimet in Paris. However, neither of these two collections of Vietnamese wares have published catalogue so far. For the wide trade distribution of Vietnamese trade wares, it is important to note that Vietnamese sherd material have also been found at Fostat in Egypt.⁽⁹⁷⁾ At later West Malaysian sites at Johore Lama, a number of Vietnamese blue and white wares, mostly sherds, have also been uncovered in association with Chinese blue and white wares of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries date. This unpublished material is in the Muzium Negara today. A hoard of Annamese porcelain has been discovered at Kerubong, Malacca in the early 1960s (Pl. 61).

During the seventeenth century, the trade of oriental ceramics was very much centred in the hands of the Dutch. Their East India Company's headquarters in Batavia (now

Jakarta) had offices in Japan, Cochin-China (South Vietnam), Cambodia, Thailand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma. An office was also established in 1640 in Tonkin, but no mention of Vietnamese ceramics enters the company records, as first noted by T. Volker⁽⁹⁸⁾ until 1663 when a junk from Tongking arrives at Batavia with 10,000 pieces of coarse porcelain bowls.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The implication is the pre-existence of a substantial ceramic centre in Tonkin and since there is no mention of them in Dutch East India Company records, one must assume that the Vietnamese shipped such pottery for export on their native craft.

Reference was first made in Company records regarding the trade of Vietnamese wares in 1672 when a company's vessel sailed from Batavia to Arakan (western coast of Burma) with shipment of Tonkinese porcelain cups. According to Volker⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ the reason for the inauguration of Dutch trade in Tonkinese pottery was the scarcity of fine Chinese wares during the troubled transition from the Ming to Ch'ing dynasties and the destruction brought about by the rebel of San-kuei at Ching-te-chen between 1673 and 1681.

The Vietnamese wares assigned to seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is less numerous in Indonesia than the earlier wares. Vlekke⁽¹⁰¹⁾ notes that the reason for this was the introduction of Islam to Sulawesi in 1605, which discourages the use of the burial grave furnitures.

As the evidence of South-east Asian archaeological finds generally and West Malaysian archaeological finds particularly indicate, the South-east Asian kilns products

featured prominently among the trade ceramics. The other important source of trade ceramic was of course from the early 17th century Japan. Let us now turn our attention toward ceramics from this country.

Notes to Chapter III

- (1) Dean Fräsche believes that of all the South-east Asian countries, only the Philippines has hardly been touched by either Indian or Chinese influences (see D. Fräsche, (1976), p. 14 and 18, and see also his map on p. 20, which he shows that the Philippines was not touched by any of the two influences mentioned earlier). Contrary to his opinion, it has now been proved that the Philippines too was indirectly or directly influenced culturally by the Indian and Chinese, see for example, Beyer, H. O. (1964), pp.2-18 .
- (2) Cf. John Addis (1968), pp. 371-380 .
- (3) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.2 .
- (4) Cf. O. R. T. Janse (1944-5) .
- (5) Cf. L. & C. Locsin (1967) .
- (6) Cf. E. E. McKinnon (1975) .
- (7) Cf. Chuta Ito and Yositaro Kamakura (1937 & 1941) .
- (8) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.2 .
- (9) For more detail about the history of ceramic finds in Sulawesi, see R. M. Brown (1974) .
- (10) Cf. Uka Tjandrasamita (1970) .
- (11) Cf. William Willets (1971), p.6 .
- (12) Cf. M. Sullivan (1962), p.73 .
- (13) Cf. W. Robb (1930), p.253 .
- (14) Cf. G. Groslier (1921) .
- (15) Cf. A. Silice and G. Groslier (1921-1923) .
- (16) Cf. William Willets (1971) .
- (17) The catalogue of this exhibition was prepared by Dean Fräsche, see Dean Fräsche (1976) .
- (18) The catalogue of this exhibition was jointly prepared by R. M. Brown, O. Karrow, P. W. Meister and H. W. Siegal, see Legend and Reality: Early Ceramics from South-east Asia (1977) .
- (19) Cf. William Willets (1971), p.7 .

- (20) This opinion was also shared by William Willets (1971) p.9; R. M. Brown (1977), p.31 .
- (21) Cf. G. Groslier (1921), p.9 .
- (22) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.32 .
- (23) Cf. G. Groslier (1921), pp. 129-133 .
- (24) Cf. A. Silice and G. Groslier (1921-1923), pp. 31-63 .
- (25) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.33; H. O. Beyer (1947 & 1960) .
- (26) Cf. Van Orsoy de Flines (1949) .
- (27) See William Willets (1971), p.8 .
- (28) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.34 .
- (29) During the 'Symposium of Trade Pottery in the East & South-east Asia' in Hong Kong last September, the writer had the opportunity to discuss various aspects of South-east Asian ceramics with Miss R. M. Brown.
- (30) Cf. Pelliott (1951), p.27 .
- (31) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.35 .
- (32) J. Stargardt claims that she has found a spouted-vessel which she identified to be of a Khmer origin at Pengkalan Bujang, in Kedah, West Malaysia, see Man (March 1973), p.25; Journal South Asian Archaeology (1973), p.290. However, its present whereabouts is not known to the writer.
- (33) See for instance, William Willets (1965), pp. 229-288
- (34) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.38 .
- (35) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.41 .
- (36) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.30 .
- (37) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.46 .
- (38) For more detailed account of this sunken ship and the classification of ceramics found aboard, see R. M. Brown (1975), pp.356-370 .
- (39) Cf. H. O. Beyer (1930) .
- (40) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.47 .
- (41) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.47 .
- (42) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.49 .

- (43) For the illustrations of the Sukhothai decorative motifs and for bowls and plates centre medallion, see R. M. Brown (1977), Figs. 17 and 18, pp. 48-49 .
- (44) Cf. Thomas Lyle (1901 and 1903) .
- (45) Cf. E. L. Lajonquiere (1906), p.335 .
- (46) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.51 .
- (47) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.52 .
- (48) Loc. cit.
- (49) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.54 .
- (50) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.56 .
- (51) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.59 .
- (52) Cf. Dean Franche (1976), p.53 .
- (53) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.62. R. M. Brown has informed the writer that she had seen the sherds among the sherds collection in the National Museums, Singapore, but neither the writer nor the Director of that museum has managed to locate the said sherds when the writer made a visit to National Museums Singapore in July 1977.
- (54) For their illustrations see R. M. Brown (1977), Fig. 23, p.63 .
- (55) Cf. K. Nimmanahaeminda (1956), pp. 15-18; C. N. Spinks (1971), pp. 112-117 .
- (56) Cf. K. Nimmanahaeminda (1956), and (1960) .
- (57) Cf. K. Nimmanahaeminda (1960) .
- (58) Cf. C. N. Spinks (1972) .
- (59) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.64. She was informed by Krajsri Nimmanahaeminda that while on his recent visit to Ban Houie Sai, a Laotian town on the Thai border north-east of Chiangmai, he met two former officials at Phu Kha, who said that Phu Lao was located on the banks of the Mekong River near their former home in northern Houa Khong province. They also said that many old pottery sherds could be found at the village.
- (60) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.65 .

- (61) For the illustrations of the Sankampæng underglaze black plate centre medallion, see R. M. Brown (1977) Fig. 24, p.64 .
- (62) Cf. K. Nimmanahaeminda (1960) .
- (63) Probably a mispronunciation of the name of the capital at Hanoi which was then called Dong Kinh.
- (64) See William Willets (1971), p.11 .
- (65) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.8 .
- (66) See Bibliography for his work .
- (67) Cf. G. E. Gerini (1909), p.304 .
- (68) Cf. Hirth (1885), p.42 .
- (69) See for example, Ferrand (1913-14) .
- (70) Cf. Lee Thanh Khoi (1955) .
- (71) Perhaps 'Lo-cac', a kingdom on the Malay Peninsula which was visited by Marco Polo at the end of the thirteenth century, see Yule, II (1929), pp.276-280; see also R. Latham (1976), p.252 .
- (72) Cf. B. Gray (1953), p.24 .
- (73) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), Fig.2,p.11 .
- (74) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.12 .
- (75) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.14 .
- (76) Loc. cit.
- (77) See T. Volker (1970), p.49 .
- (78) Only nine out of 510 ceramics disinterred were identified by H. O. Beyer as Vietnamese; the percentage at Kampong Pareko seems to have been similarly small .
- (79) See the observation of R. M. Brown (1977), p.15 .
- (80) For the illustrations of fourteenth century underglaze black decorative motifs, see R. M. Brown (1977), Fig.6, p.16 .
- (81) Loc. cit.
- (82) See A. Joseph (1973), p.138 .
- (83) Cf. William Willets, (1971), p.11; A. Joseph (1973), p.135; and R. M. Brown (1977), p.16. For more detail history of Vietnam see D. G. E. Hall (1955), pp. 169-175 .

- (84) See R. M. Brown (1977), p.16 .
- (85) Loc. cit.
- (86) Loc. cit.
- (87) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.17 .
- (88) Cf. R. L. Hobson (1934). According to Hobson, the inscription on this piece reads: 'Painted for pleasure by Chuang, a workman of Non Ts'e-chou in the 8th year of Ta Ho' (1450). Hobson assumes, probably from the way in which it is inscribed, that Chuang was Chinese. But R. M. Brown has pointed out that the name character, the tenth in the inscription, has been found to be P'ei rather than Chuang. The character that follows it is a classifier that in Chinese means merely 'person', with no sex distinction. When translated into Vietnamese, however, the classifier is 'Thi', which can be applied to a woman. This means that at least one skilled woman was involved in the potting industry in Vietnam, see R. M. Brown, (1977), p.19 .
- (89) Cf. A. Joseph (1973), p.135 .
- (90) For the illustrations of fourteenth century underglaze black decorative motifs and underglaze blue decorative motifs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see R. M. Brown (1971), Figs. 7 and 8, pp.16-17, see Also John Pope (1952) .
- (91) Cf. R. M. Brown (1977), p.18 .
- (92) Cf. Robert Fox (1959). Although he dated Calatagan to the fifteenth century in his preliminary report, he later expressed the opinion 'see L. & C. Locsin (1967), p.105) that the site included wares belonging to at least the first half of the sixteenth century, an opinion held by other Orientalists as well (e.g. J. C. Y. Watt, 1971).
- (93) For more detail about the tests and its result, see A. Joseph (1973), p.137 .
- (94) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1953), Plate 38A .
- (95) Cf. F. Koyama and J. Figgess (1961), Plate 150 .
- (96) The writer wishes to thank Madame Schotmans for her kindness in showing the South-east Asian ceramics in her museums collection during the writer's visit to Brussels in April 1978.
- (97) Cf. Bo Gyllensvärd (1973 and 1975) .

- (98) Cf. T. Volker (1954) .
- (99) Cf. T. Volker (1954) .
- (100) Cf. T. Volker (1954) .
- (101) Cf. B. Vlekke (1965), p.106 .

CHAPTER IV

OTHER ORIENTAL CERAMICS

Introduction

The other oriental ceramics found either in archaeological context or in private collections in West Malaysia are very limited in numbers. However, in comparison with ceramics of Indian and Middle Eastern origins, the Japanese ceramics, over and above those of the Chinese and South-east Asian origins, were mainly in demand and preferred by the West Malaysians.

The supplies of Chinese porcelain not only to the European but also to the South-east Asian markets were interrupted due to the political instability in China following the collapse of Ming Dynasty. The Dutch, the prominent carrier of Chinese porcelain to Europe in the seventeenth century, who had their trading base in many parts of South-east Asia, found that their regular source of supplies were cut off. As an immediate alternative they encouraged the Japanese potters to produce for export. This put the Japanese potters into a race for the capturing of the highly profitable ceramic markets in South-east Asia. As believed by many scholars, this also marked the beginning of the history of the Japanese export trade in ceramics.

a) Japanese ceramics

The history of Japanese ceramic art represents a long period of development which had its beginnings in the Neolithic period and has continued to the present day. The development of Japanese art generally has been shaped to a large extent by successive waves of influence from the Asian mainland, sometimes directly from China, often through Korea. However, the stylistic and technical innovations imported from outside were assimilated into the mainstream of Japanese art resulting in a distinctly Japanese style.

Although Japanese ceramic shows some affinities with Chinese ceramics, several important differences can still be seen which distinguish them from other export ceramics. Firstly, Japanese ceramic industry never operated on a large scale compared to the porcelain factories at Ching-te-chen, where output was on a massive scale during the Ming and early Ch'ing periods. The porcelain industry at Arita, even at its height in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, never attracted more than a few thousand workers. Secondly, Japanese art often encouraged the emergence of strong personalities and markedly individual styles, and in ceramics there are a number of most renowned potters, such as Chojiro (d. 1592), Kenzan (1661-1742), Ninsei (1595-1666) and Dohachi II (1784-1858) and Dohachi III (1783-1855). In China a totally different attitude towards the art of ceramics prevailed. Lastly, Japanese ceramic exhibits a more personal relationship between the potter and his work. Indeed, the potter's art was an extension of the potter's

personality, a reflection of the artist's tastes, which shows a notable difference with ceramics produced at Ching-te-chen where the process of making ceramic was divided into various stages, and no individual potter can exert his influence. This observation is by and large true for Japanese export ceramics as well.

The art medium of porcelain was not fully exploited in Japan until early seventeenth century, late compared to China and Korea. In China the development of true porcelain manufacture began at least as early as T'ang times and grew during the Yüan and early Ming to become the primary focus of the ceramic industry. Even though, porcelain clay was available in Japan and the Japanese knew what could be achieved with it from the Chinese example, they failed to exploit it. Japanese taste in pottery was much influenced by the rough glazed earthenware and stoneware vessels produced originally in China during the Sung and used since in Japanese Tea Ceremonies. Consequently porcelain was not so highly valued in Japan. However, from the late seventeenth century, Japanese porcelain production quickly grew in importance, partly in response to a fashion for Chinese porcelain, and partly to compete with China for the export trade mainly directed towards European countries.

The porcelain of Japan first appeared in the district of Hize, which had been a centre of earlier ceramic manufacture in Kyushu. However, until today, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to when the Japanese first exactly succeeded in making porcelain and to whom the credit should go for it. A good summary of the history of early

Japanese porcelain production and development of trade relations can be found in Martin Lerner⁽¹⁾ exhibition catalogue published under the title Blue and White, Early Japanese Export Ware. It is generally believed that the porcelain was the creation not of Japanese potters but a group of emigrant Korean craftsmen. They arrived in Japan in the wake of Hideyoshi's invasions of their country in the last years of sixteenth century. These potters skilled in advanced techniques, built kilns and manufactured ceramics in Kyushu during the years following their migration to Japan. Their leader is said to have been a man named Ri sampei (Yi sam-p'yong in Korean).⁽²⁾

It is also believed that Ri sampei lived and worked at Tengudani in the Shirakawa district of Arita. At this place an ancient kiln site has been discovered and believed to be the oldest known kiln in the Arita area. The shapes, glazes of the finds and the very structure of the kiln itself are all identical with the production of Yi dynasty of Korea. Arita wares in the initial phase were produced according to Korean taste and technique.

Soame Jenkyns argues in conclusion of the above that Ri sampei is in fact now generally credited with the invention of porcelain in Japan, although no incontestable examples of his ceramic work survive. He was brought back to Japan from Korea after the second Korean campaign in 1594 by the Lord Taku, who was in the service of Nabeshima clan. Chinese and Korean porcelain, of this period were popular and widely admired by the Japanese, and large quantities of them were entering Japan by way of Hirado,

Nagasaki, Hakata, and Sakai ports. This probably contributed to the domianial desire to copy these wares locally in Hizen in an attempt to meet part of the demand.⁽³⁾

It is not definitely known when the Japanese porcelain products were first made for export. But both Soame Jenyns⁽⁴⁾ and John Figges⁽⁵⁾ and many other authorities believe that porcelain would not have developed so rapidly in Japan except for a stroke of good fortune - the disruption of the Chinese porcelain trade to Europe caused by the civil disorders in China following the collapse of the Ming dynasty. Together with Chinese ban on foreign trade and the depredations of the rebel pirate Koxinga based on the coast of Formosa, who controlled the Chinese coasts made it impossible for the Dutch East India Company, who had been conducting a highly profitable trade in Chinese porcelain after 1657 to obtain their supply for the European markets. This has led them to encourage Japanese merchants, who shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, were able to supply them with Japanese made porcelain in increasing quantities from kilns in the vicinity of Arita. As a result much of the Japanese porcelain in South-east Asia and Europe today is of export type and does not reflect Japanese taste. Nevertheless, the period between 1660-1730 saw the production of an immense variety of decorated Japanese porcelain - the famous Kakiemon (see Pl. 71) and Imari decorated wares (see Pls. 64-70) (which were to have such profound influence on the European porcelain) and also the much rarer porcelain wares of Ko-Kutani, very few of which entered the channels of export trade of the period.

The typical examples of this early Japanese export porcelain are the blue and white apothecary bottles and large plates with the initials V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) which means the Dutch East India Company. However, the volume of Japanese porcelain exported to the West via the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean steadily declined when the Chinese under the Manchu dynasty, began to export porcelain again. Soame Jenyns observes that the Chinese competition began in 1695 (although direct trade was not opened till 1729; and serious repercussions were probably not felt until 1713 and onwards) soon taking over Japan's position as a regular supplier of porcelain for the European market.⁽⁶⁾ In turn the Chinese commercial supremacy in the trade of porcelain only lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the rivalry of European porcelain factories became strong enough to make their role less important and the demand for the Japanese porcelain have declined accordingly.

The failure of the early experiments in western-orientated export wares of Japan has led the Japanese to retreat from the European markets temporally, and from the later half of the eighteenth century concentrated on her own domestic market and catered for her own art-loving native public and, "it is" says Soame Jenyns "probable that some of the kilns were abandoned and Japan went back to her small family pottery concerns working for a clan lord, or to individual studio potters working for various patrons".⁽⁷⁾ But a trickle of Japanese export ceramics continued to reach South-east Asia even during the nineteenth century.

The first Western record of the export of Japanese porcelain occurs in the Dagh Registers, or official records of the Dutch East India Company for 1657. However, the first large scale export of fine as well as coarse Japanese porcelain from Nagasaki (via Imari) for the European and Asian markets occurred during 1658-1659. This subject has been discussed at length by Volker in his two very important works entitled Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers, 1602-1682, and The Japanese Porcelain Trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683 of which important data were used by Soame Jenyns for his book entitled Japanese Porcelain.

As important as were the Arita export wares in shaping contemporary Western attitudes about Japanese ceramics, they were but one part of the porcelain industry at Arita. After the initial phase of porcelain production had passed, distinct wares emerged, with own characteristics of body, glaze and design motifs. These were the Ko-Imari, Kakiemon, Nabeshima and Satsuma wares.

i) Imari wares

The majority of the Japanese ceramic authorities agreed that the discovery of how to make porcelain took place in the vicinity of Arita.⁽⁸⁾ The rise of Arita seems natural, with ideal situation for the production of porcelain, as there is a virtually unlimited supply of kaolin in the nearby slope of Izumiyama mountain. Hizen province had two important ports open to trade, that of Nagasaki and

Imari from which large quantities of ceramic manufactures of the province have been shipped. Imari is Kyushu port through which Arita ware exports passed destined for other parts of Japan as well as to China and Europe. Hence the name if Imari became attached to the ware which might otherwise have been more simply known as Arita porcelain. In fact, Imari ware is a general term for porcelain from Arita and the surrounding area distinguished for its success in reducing the imported Chinese decorative techniques to Japanese taste.

R. A. Miller⁽⁹⁾ noted that the wares generally known as Imari are thus best described simply as elaborately decorated porcelains from the Arita area, designed largely for export and normally mass-produced, often not very high standards of excellence. He further observes that the body of this ware was first decorated with blue underglaze and then fired at relatively high temperatures, after which the resulting porcelain was once again decorated with overglaze enamel colours, followed by a second firing at somewhat reduced heat.⁽¹⁰⁾ One may notice that Imari ware shows all three of the known porcelain decorative techniques, namely:

- 1) blue and white (i.e. underglaze cobalt blue painted design)
- 2) overglaze red, green, yellow, purple, and other enamel colour decorations
- 3) combination of the two other techniques, the some nishiki of the Japanese collectors

The third type produces the most pleasing effect and therefore is not surprising that all the six items illustrated

from the private collections of ^{the} Sultan of Johore in this study belong to this category (see Pls. 63-69).

The Arita porcelain, notes T. Mikami⁽¹¹⁾ is hard, durable and relatively resistant to breakage. While Soame Jenyns further notes that the bodies of the Arita porcelain are coarser and greyer compared to Chinese wares and the glaze of the seventeenth century Arita porcelain is full of minute pin holes and sometimes show spur marks on the bases.⁽¹²⁾

Although the earliest porcelain shapes and decoration were inspired by Korean models especially in the pictorial designs ornamenting blue and white ware, but as further stressed by T. Mikami⁽¹³⁾ Chinese influence soon became evident. The streamlined Korean-style motifs of the earliest period gradually gave way to florid and complex patterns in the Chinese manner, with flowers for example Pls. 63 and 64, and beasts, for example in Pl. 68, landscapes and topical subjects as well as a variety of conventional auspicious patterns and geometric designs (for example Pls. 63, 66, 67-69) also derived from China, notably of T'ien-ch'i (1621-1627) and Ch'ung-cheng (1628-1644) eras of Transitional Period.

During the so-called Old Imari phase almost every category of ceramic were produced by Arita kilns, ranging from jars, pots to sake bottles, plates, bowls, incense burners, figurines and utensils for scholars table. Very few of this however survived in South-east Asia. The pictorial old Imari porcelain (nishiki-de and some nishiki) is characterised by the gorgeousness of the ornamental

colours and designs. The pictorial decoration normally covers every inch of the vessels, while there are many variations of colour with a combination of underglaze blue, red enamel and gold, green, yellow, aubergine and sometimes blue and black enamel were added too. Soame Jenyns⁽¹⁶⁾ note that the most common and typical Japanese export Imari, together with its Chinese counterpart, was decorated only in iron-red enamel and underglaze blue with touches of gold. A good example of this can be seen in the collection of Sultan of Johore illustrated in Pl. 64.

The subjects used for the decoration of enamel wares are rich in variety. There were pictorial subjects and purely decorative patterns as well as the combinations of the two. While figurative subjects included pictures of birds and flowers, landscapes and animals executed in the Chinese or the Korean manner as illustrated in Pl. 68 with a splendid Imari plate, as well as themes derived from Japanese school of painting as can be seen in Pl. 67. Subsequent to Genroku (1688-1704) era, representations of Europeans, notably the Dutch, and other Europeans subject matter like ships, also appeared. The designs of nishiki-de porcelain shows that they were taken from textile as shown in Pls. 64 and 65. The common design is the Hanarkago-de or flower basket pattern, which is also common on the K'ang-hsi famille verte.⁽¹⁷⁾

Although early Imari designs and decorative schemes emphasized Chinese patterns and styles, there was also a

move on the part of decorators to utilize more purely Japanese themes, sometimes mixing the various elements freely as shown for example in Pl. 65.

The influences of the Transitional and other early Ch'ing ware, such as designs of flowers, birds and rocks in brightly coloured enamels, resembles that of the decorative motif of the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722) sometimes can be seen in the designs of the early Kakiemon pieces as shown in Pl. 70, a dish in the collection of Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. But later, designs became more Japanese in taste.

ii) Kakiemon wares

The enamelled porcelain was successfully produced at Arita by Sakaida Kakiemon and his followers in 1643 and consequently its techniques began gradually to spread throughout the district. The later seventeenth century also saw the development of overglaze porcelain in a style not associated with the Kakiemon style which is known as Old Imari ware. According to T. Mikami, old Imari is a term used to identify porcelain produced in Arita during relatively early times and it does not, however, include Nabeshima and Kakiemon.⁽¹⁴⁾ As Soame Jenyns further observes, the most striking of all the enamels made by the Japanese was their enamel blue which is slightly different from the famous blue enamel used by the Chinese for their famille verte porcelain of the Kang-hsi (1662-1722) period⁽¹⁵⁾ as can be seen in the late seventeenth century large dish in the private collection of Muzium Negara.

The development of Old Imari, indeed, parallels with Kakiemon ware, but unlike Imari, the Kakiemon ware was never a common export ware. In contrast to the bold Imari, Kakiemon ware exhibits an elegant reticence in pure, brilliant enamel colours of persimmon red, blue, green, black and yellow. On the blue and white pieces, designs are painted with a thoroughly refined, sapphire blue cobalt pigment and the Kakiemon transparent glaze is remarkable for its clarity. The nigoshi-de, the finest Kakiemon pieces, are noted for the glossy, milk-white ground, and from the earliest phase Kakiemon ware shows an attention to precise execution and careful handling which is never attained by Imari.⁽¹⁸⁾ No representative piece of this type is known to me from early Japanese exports to West Malaysia.

It is interesting to note that as pointed out by Soame Jenyns, from 1672 onwards the so-called Kakiemon enamels were copied not only by other potters in Japan, but they were also copied by the Chinese. The Chinese copies usually belong to the K'ang-hsi period, but in these the blue enamel of the originals is usually replaced by under-glaze blue, according to the requirement of the tou-ts'ai ("contrasting colour") technique. He further suggests that probably most of them were made for the foreign market soon after 1700, to compete, like the Chinese Imari wares, with Japanese originals.⁽¹⁹⁾ The development of the Kakiemon style evolved with the successors of Kakiemon I, and attained its most notable achievement during the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (the period of activity of Kakiemon VI-VIII and Shibueemon, uncle of Kakiemon VI). However, the Kakiemon family still produces fine porcelain at Arita today.

iii) Nabeshima wares

The other porcelain production kilns at Arita belongs exclusively to Nabeshima family and their products are known as Nabeshima wares. There are several good examples of this type in West Malaysian collection. Indeed, the porcelain production at Arita contributed to the welfare of the feudal economy and also because of the prestige to fine enamelled porcelain, became status symbol. To give expression to this clan glory, the Nabeshima family established a kiln to produce an official ware, the production of which was jealously guarded and rigorously controlled. The first official kiln was founded in 1628 at Iwayakawachi at Arita⁽²⁰⁾ and produced white wares, underglaze blue porcelain, a good example of this in West Malaysia can be found in the collection of Muzium Negara illustrated in Pl. 71, and celadons which were still comparatively simple wares. But no examples of Nabeshima celadon can be found so far in West Malaysia. In the Kambun period (1661-1672), the kiln was moved to Nangawara, a phase known for the achievement of coloured Nabeshima, using overglaze polychrome enamel decoration in combination with outlines drawn in underglaze blue, a good example of this is illustrated in Pl. 71 from the collection of Muzium Negara. In 1675, the kiln was moved again to Okawachi, 3 miles

away from Arita, a place where good quality of clay was located.

Following the move to Okochiyama, further technical advances were achieved, possibly the kilns enjoyed a non-competitive 'official' status.⁽²¹⁾ Many of the finest examples are attributed to the Genroku (1688-1704) and Kyoho (1716-1736) periods and regarded as the high point of enamelled Nabeshima. As one would expect, the ware was essentially reserved for the use of the Nabeshima family, but some of the products were intended as presentation gifts to the Tokugawa Shogunate and other feudal rulers. However, the strict restrictions placed upon the Nabeshima ware were relaxed to enable execution of outside orders but the use of these was still limited to the aristocracy and feudal nobility. This took place after the Genroku era.

Nabeshima ware is characterized by its pictorial decoration, which is derived from textile designs, from subjects admired by the Kano and Tosa school of paintings, and from the decorative motifs fashionable in the Edo and Kyoto-Osaka areas as seen in a dish illustrated in Pl. 71. It was created out of the finest clays which were refined and aged so that the body is of an absolute purity of colour and uniformity of texture.

As for polychrome of Nabeshima ware of which no example is illustrated here one should note that the colours are relatively few, being limited to red, green, and yellow in addition to underglaze blues. Among these, it is the red that stands out as distinctly peculiar to

Nabeshima. Tinged with blege, it is a more restrained and settled in shades than the purer vermilion reds of Kakiemon ware.

The wares include a variety of ornaments and presentation objects, but most of the production comprised of table utensils for the use of the Nabeshima clan, especially shallow dishes made in sets of ten or twenty for use at official gatherings. These plates have a distinctive shape with a high foot and smoothly curving sides as seen in a dish illustrated in Pl. 71. Due to the similarity to shapes found in lacquer ware, one theory holds that many polychrome Nabeshima shapes were copied from contemporary lacquer wares. (22)

iv) Hirado wares

The well-guarded secrets of porcelain making processes by the Nabeshima family were finally discovered even though the lives and activities of the potters were under strict surveillance. Outside Arita, two major types of porcelain were produced, namely Hirado ware and Ko-Kutani ware. The Hirado ware have a long and complicated history, but represents a comparatively minor phase in the early Edo porcelain development. In the West, Hirado wares known only in the form of the fine white, or blue and white porcelain made at or near Mikawachi in the village of Use, Nagasaki Ken, in the latter part of eighteenth and the first thirty years of the nineteenth centuries, from the porcelain clay of the Amakusa Island. (23) While these types are today still to be seen in Western collections,

in West Malaysia no trace of them can be found. It is believed that the earliest Hirado potteries similarly with Arita wares were the works of Korean craftsmen, who turned over from making Kuratsu pottery to a rough blue and white porcelain. While the latter Hirado porcelain, like that of Nabeshima, was originally reserved to one princely house, in this case the Matsuura family, who were Lords of Hirado.

The early history of their kilns is still obscure, but it is believed that the earliest of the Hirado kilns was at Nanko village on Hirado Island dated on 1598. R. L. Hobson⁽²⁴⁾ also believes that the first Mikawachi porcelain was initiated by the Koreans about 1650. In 1751, the factory was taken under the patronage of Matsuura and until 1843, the finest porcelain in Japan was made here. Their ware is well-potted and the decoration, generally, neatly drawn in a pale delicate blue, consists mainly of landscapes, figures, trees and flowers. The early nineteenth century example from the collection of Muzium Negara illustrated in Pl. 72, a fine blue and white dish is a good example of this late Hirado export porcelain.

It is still unknown when actually the fine blue and white wares of Hirado kilns were first made. Soame Jenyns⁽²⁵⁾ maintains that these delicate wares did not come into existence until the second half of the eighteenth century. W. B. Honey⁽²⁶⁾ notes that the finest wares for which Hirado is famous were mainly made in the era of princes' patronage from 1751 to 1843, but were never marked, while

the latter nineteenth century Mikawachi porcelain were marked with a name, but the quality is very low. According to Soame Jenyns⁽²⁷⁾ there were 37 porcelain factories at Mikawachi by 1840, but by 1843 the patronage of the Matsuura family was withdrawn and by 1875 the kilns had degenerated still further making porcelain in polychrome enamels for the general industrial market. Many of these also found their way into South-east Asia. But no example from West Malaysian collections are discussed here.

v) Satsuma wares

The most well-known of all the ceramic wares of Japan is that produced in Satsuma. The original kiln is believed to have been founded by Prince Shimazu Yoshihiro, who, upon returning in 1598 from Korea, brought with him as captives a number of Korean potters. They were apparently settled in two divisions, one at Chosa while the other was at Sashiu.⁽²⁸⁾

In their initial stage of producing ceramics, the Korean potters at Chosa were very much influenced by their native Korean methods. They produced brownish or reddish-brown wares with translucent glaze and inlaid decoration (mishima), but, probably influenced by the prince's collection of Chinese wares. A good representative of mixed glazed Satsuma ware with gilt design, probably of early nineteenth century date can be seen in a large dish in the private collection of Sultan of Johore illustrated in Pl. 73, while no representative of the earlier Satsuma⁽²⁹⁾ types are known to me presently.

Another group of Korean potters established ceramic kilns in the district of Nawashiro and Kagoshima. At the Tadenô factory, in Kagoshima, wares like that produced by Hochiu were also made, but it is believed that it was here that the crackled ivory-white Satsuma faience was first decorated in enamels and gold with brocade patterns (nishiki-de). A fine mid-nineteenth century example is illustrated here from the private collection of Sultan of Johore in Pl. 74. This type of decoration was developed tremendously in the nineteenth century and was very popular in West Malaysia as well. This type particularly in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century was exported in very large quantities to Europe and several good examples can be seen in the collection of H. H. Sultan of Johore. The earliest examples of this ware are sparingly coloured, while later, the enamelled designs became more elaborate, and quantities of over-decorated wares were made for the European market at the end of the nineteenth century. This kind of porcelain was freely and widely imitated at Kyoto, Ota, and elsewhere in Japan. Much of the so-called Satsuma in modern time were painted in the enamelling kilns at Kyoto and Tokyo.

Significantly enough one should observe that no traces of ceramics produced in Korea proper can be found anywhere in West Malaysia.

b) Middle Eastern ceramics

The ceramics found at Pengkalen Bujang site were not only of Chinese and South-east Asian origins but also from

Middle East. This had led A. Lamb to conclude that at its height, Pengkalan Bujang was an important international trading port.⁽³⁰⁾ At Pengkalan Bujang, he had discovered a few fragments of a deep blue or green-glazed ceramics which he believed to be of Middle Eastern origin. He further reports that the paste of these sherds was white with a consistency almost of chalk. Also discovered were several fragments of what looked like very thin opaque pale blue glass, probably the glaze from such wares.⁽³¹⁾ It is also interesting to note that the comparable fragments were also unearthed by E. E. McKinnon at Kota China, East Sumatra. He reports that "a few fragments of a beautiful bright blue faience have been found at Kota China, but the glaze from this material appears to be easily damaged, so that sherds which have an almost white chalky appearance, may once have been glaze".⁽³²⁾ The provenance of this material cannot be fully ascertained although E. E. McKinnon suggests that, "it may prove to be Seljuq ware from Iran, dating from the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries".⁽³³⁾

In view of the fact that only a few number of such fragments have been discovered so far, it is reasonably believed that, unlike the glass,⁽³⁴⁾ Middle Eastern ceramic wares were not a major article of maritime trade in the Far East. These ceramic wares were of an inferior quality and therefore they could not possibly compete commercially with the ceramics of China or Thailand or other South-east Asian countries. Probably, they found their way to West Malaysia and Sumatra on Middle Eastern vessels as utensils of daily use by Arab and Persian

merchants and seamen. The presence of such ware is, in all probability, a good indication of the physical arrival of the Middle Eastern and or South Indian traders in West Malaysia and Sumatra.

c) Indian Ceramics

Fine bodied unglazed wares with a red or orange slip which display a characteristic potting technique not dissimilar to the Ts'u-chou-type export wares, suggest, in the light of sherds material from the East Sumatran site of Kota China to represent Kendi, or big vases. It has been suggested in the East Sumatran context⁽³⁵⁾ these are of Indian or Arab origins. The odd and so far not studied representatives of this type can also be seen in West Malaysian site, and it certainly deserves further detailed investigation. However, in the light of archaeological evidence, it appears that these wares could already have been produced as early as the twelfth century during the rule of the Malay kingdom of Haru⁽³⁶⁾ which is known to have been in existence until the early sixteenth century.

This question also raises the issue of possible export of low fired earthenwares from India. A. Lamb in the context of his excavation in Kedah in 1960-1961 found types of vessels which appeared to be of Indian design⁽³⁷⁾. The remains indicate a wide range of Indian shapes ranging from wide shallow bowls to globular pots and small roughly made saucers probably used as lamps.

d) Others

With special reference to the distribution of this type of earthenware, West Malaysian ceramic history can only be studied in association with other cultural sites in South-east Asia. E. E. McKinnon has drawn attention to this with special reference to contemporary production of low-fired earthenware in the Baru Bara⁽³⁸⁾ area of Eastern Sumatra which are believed to have been earlier exported to Malaysia.⁽³⁹⁾

Scattered ceramic industrial activities at village level as indigenous output of West Malaysian ceramic industry exist even today under the influence of imported Chinese celadons.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Johore, for example, maintains a local ceramic tradition of imitation celadon type production up to the present day.

Notes to Chapter IV

- (1) Cf. Martin Lerner (1978)
- (2) Before the discovery of his death register, the existence of Ri sampei was a matter of conjecture, but with the discovery and the excavation at Tengudani, at once clear any doubt regarding the accuracy of Ri sampei traditions. The death certificate was discovered in 1967 by Ikeda Chuichi while examining the archives of a small Buddhist temple. The document clearly establishes the identity of Ri sampei and his association with Tengudani, see City Art Museum of St. Louis and Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (1970), pp. 3-5; Henry Trubner (1972), footnote 20, p.41; Soame Jenyns (1965), p.81, said that Ri Sampei name in Korean was Kanigai.
- (3) See Soame Jenyns (1965), p.81 and Tsugio Mikami (1973) p.160 .
- (4) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), pp. 21-45 .
- (5) Cf. John Figges (1977), p.155 .
- (6) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.14 .
- (7) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.15 .
- (8) During my recent visit to Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Mr. O. Impey was very kind enough to show me a number of sherds which he had collected from Arita kiln sites in Japan .
- (9) Cf. R. A. Miller (1961), p.81 .
- (10) Loc. cit.
- (11) Cf. Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.160 .
- (12) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.50 .
- (13) Cf. Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.160 .
- (14) Cf. Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.167 .
- (15) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.51 .
- (16) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.52 .
- (17) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.52 .
- (18) See Henry Trubner (1972), p.34 .
- (19) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.153 .

- (20) See Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.162 .
- (21) Cf. Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.163 .
- (22) Cf. Tsugio Mikami (1973), p.162 .
- (23) See Soame Jenyns (1965), p.248 .
- (24) Cf. R. L. Hobson (1937), p.164 .
- (25) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.252 .
- (26) Cf. W. B. Honey (1945), p.188 .
- (27) Cf. Soame Jenyns (1965), p.253 .
- (28) Cf. R. L. Hobson (1937), p.137 .
- (29) Cf. R. L. Hobson (1937), p.138 .
- (30) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), p.34 .
- (31) Cf. A. Lamb (1961 a), p.26 .
- (32) Cf. E. E. McKinnon (1976), p.8 .
- (33) Loc. cit.
- (34) Since glass is beyond the scope of this study, it has not been discussed in detail, however, for more detail about it and its scientific analysis, see A. Lamb (1961), pp. 56-63 .
- (35) Cf. E. E. McKinnon (1976), p.8 .
- (36) Cf. O. W. Wolters (1967), p.43 .
- (37) Cf. A. Lamb (1961), pp. 25-26 .
- (38) It is interesting to note that during the second half of the nineteenth century a large number of Sumatran people from Batu Bara came and settled down at western coast of West Malaysia, see O. B. M. Yatim (1977), pp. 8-17 .
- (39) Cf. E. E. McKinnon (1976), p.8 .
- (40) The writer was informed by Mr. Legeza who in his recent visit to Tiram Estate in Johore where he has collected a few sherds on the ground, a fragment appeared to be that from a rubber tree-cup which looks like a Kalong ware. He was told that the rubber tree-cups used in that estate are locally made.

CONCLUSION

It has been clearly demonstrated that the early cultural history of the West Malaysia, unlike her neighbouring countries, is still least archaeologically documented, yet it cannot be studied in isolation. Although in the early Indian, Chinese and Arab literary sources references were made to various kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula, but their exact locations until the present time cannot be definitely ascertained. This is primarily due to the fact that there are no surviving historical architecture and remains of earlier material culture to provide clues. It has been proved that in the past most of the buildings were constructed of wood, an easily available material, for construction depended on the availability of local resources. Unfortunately, in the humid equatorial climate they perished in no time.

However, West Malaysian archaeological sites yielded finds of ceramics in moderate numbers, outlining the historical presence and archaeological associations of this fragile yet least perishable cultural material. In fact, this study emphasizes the importance of ceramic finds in West Malaysian archaeology. The presence of ceramics in the ancient sites is indeed a great help not only for the

archaeologist and the ethnologist, but also for the art historian. For the archaeologist they provide very strong evidence based on typological criteria in dating the sites; for the ethnologist, the usage of the specific ceramic types, shapes, etc. indicate the nature of culture that once existed at particular sites; while for the historian and art historian, these ceramics reflect the extent of relationship which existed between their countries of origin on one hand and the countries who imported them as trade ceramics on the other. This is true in the case of all export ceramics. Right through this thesis, it has also been stressed that ceramics could uniquely contribute to the study of the cultural history of the region as a whole.

Use if they are imported

This thesis presents evidence for early trade and cultural relations between maritime countries including West Malaysia. The archaeology of West Malaysia as this thesis has demonstrated is not yet well documented fully to explore the potentials of a typological study of oriental ceramics there. The case of Chinese celadons is a good example of this as shown in Chapter II. The available data from previous excavations suggest even after very careful consideration that West Malaysia only played an intermediary role in the entrepot trade of East-West maritime activities and utilized available inland river routes on a limited scale. Although not comparable to the importance of the Mekong, Menam and other major rivers of peninsular South-east Asia, the West Malaysian river routes still carried most of the wares discussed in

this study. They reached this part of South-east Asia in transit destined toward other places and countries. For example in Pengkalan Bujang, a port which in the Sung and Yüan times was engaged in the handling of wares from both the Middle East and Far East, of which the Far East played an ever increasing role from Sung and Yüan times. This role can be seen very clearly.

The survey of currently available publications relating to ceramics in West Malaysia leave one with the superficial impression that the natives of West Malaysia did not know how to appreciate the use of porcelain in their daily life. This also explains why West Malaysia is not mentioned in terms of export ceramic finds of both Chinese and South-east Asian origins in the same league with the Philippines and Indonesian islands. The only explanation behind this, as demonstrated in this thesis, is that no major excavations have so far been conducted in West Malaysia comparable in importance to that some of the celebrated sites for example Calatagan in the Philippines and no thorough archaeological investigations have yet been undertaken in the interior parts of West Malaysia.

Even a casual glance at the up-to-date map of archaeological sites yielding trade ceramics in West Malaysia as shown in Map I reveals a sporadic pattern of distribution of trade ceramics of Sung and post-Sung dates in West Malaysia and urgently calls for further archaeological investigation of potential archaeological sites in the interior of the country, particularly along trade routes

discussed in Chapter I. The further archaeological investigation of river deltas are bound to yield additional information for the distribution pattern of trade ceramics in West Malaysia both in terms of additional geographical areas and more specific chronological dates. The whole issue of further detailed study of pattern of distribution of trade ceramics is bound to help not only the ceramic studies in West Malaysia but it will also in the broader cultural historical sense throw further light on the nature of West Malaysian cultural history.

One of the major conclusions of this thesis is that such investigations in this area should take place in the near future to ascertain the rightful place of West Malaysia not in isolation but in relation to other South-east Asian countries during the period under consideration. The extent of Malay participation in the ancient maritime trade is one of the key-issues.

In this connection the importance of underwater archaeology cannot simply be ignored. The step taken by the Fine Arts Department of Thailand to salvage a few sunken ships in the Gulf of Siam is a decisive one in the right direction. In the future, similar projects will have to be implemented by West Malaysia, or at least in the initial stage, a general archaeological survey of the Malacca coastline must be carried out. The recent offer from the Fine Arts Department of Thailand through SEMEO (South-east Asian Minister of Education Organisation) to train museums personnel from South-east Asian countries for this task must be considered as a decisive step forward.

The Fine Arts Department of Thailand has estimated that there are about 40 more sunken ships still lying in the seabed in the Gulf of Siam. Expectation for the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea can be just as high.

As a major point of observation, in the Chapters II and III of this thesis, attention was drawn to major cultural influences, both direct and indirect, stimulated by the lucrative maritime trade in ceramics to involve in it Vietnam, Thailand and last but not least Japan in order to compete commercially by developing their own local ceramic industries. By the Yüan period, wares from kilns in Annam were widely exported, followed by kiln products of Central Thailand during the fourteenth century.

As this typological survey also show, strange as it is, but there are still no available documented references to native West Malaysian ceramic production during these centuries. Whereas her neighbouring countries such as ancient Khmer and Annam, probably even the Indonesian island of Sumatra did produce their own ceramics and some of them did find their way into West Malaysia. In the light of this, the study of local ceramic production in West Malaysia can be seen in conclusion, as another major field of research and combined art and archaeological investigation in the future. This thesis also concludes that the Chinese trade ceramics are the most favoured and prominent in West Malaysia from Sung time onwards. Secondly in importance are ceramics of South-east Asian origins. Apart from the 17th-19th centuries intake of Japanese

ceramics, the trade ceramics from other countries of origin remains relatively insignificant.

As is frequently the case, a study of this nature raised more questions than it can possibly answer. However, as far as West Malaysian ceramic studies are concerned, both in terms of field archaeology and making relevant material available for study from both public and private collections, a great deal more research work is still required for the whole period of export ceramics. The present study is only a modest contribution in the field of typological study based on presently available data.

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Excavations at Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah in 1960.

From the photographic collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A group of ceramics found at Kemaman, Trengganu.

Nos. 1 and 3 are Chekiang celadons of Sung dates, while Nos. 2, 4 and 5 are Annamese brown glazed wares of early 14th century dates.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Chekiang celadon jarlet found at Kemaman, Trengganu.

Ht. : 6cm.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West
Malaysia.

Unpublished.



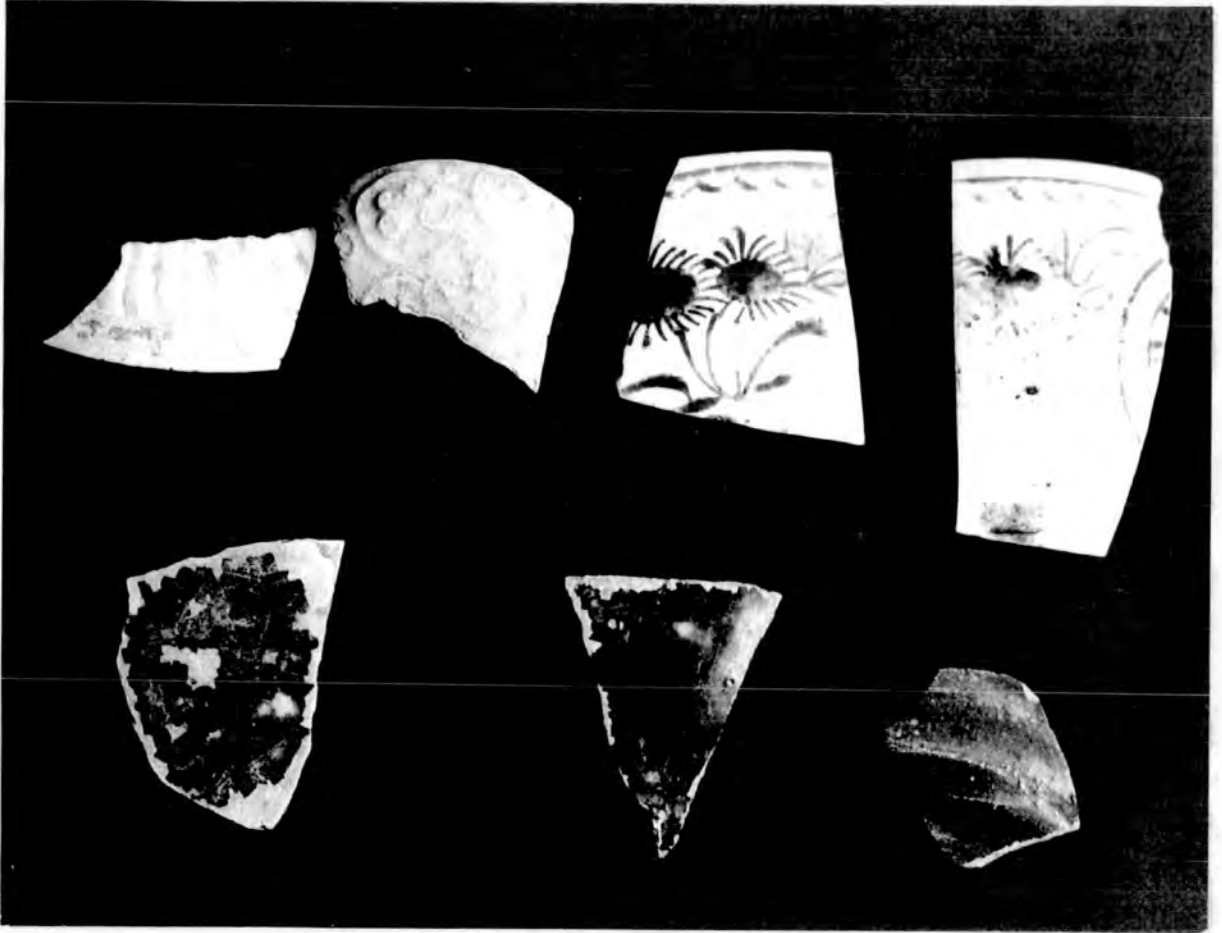
Lung-ch'üan celadon saucer found at Kemaman, Trengganu.

Diam.: 10cm.

Sung period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.

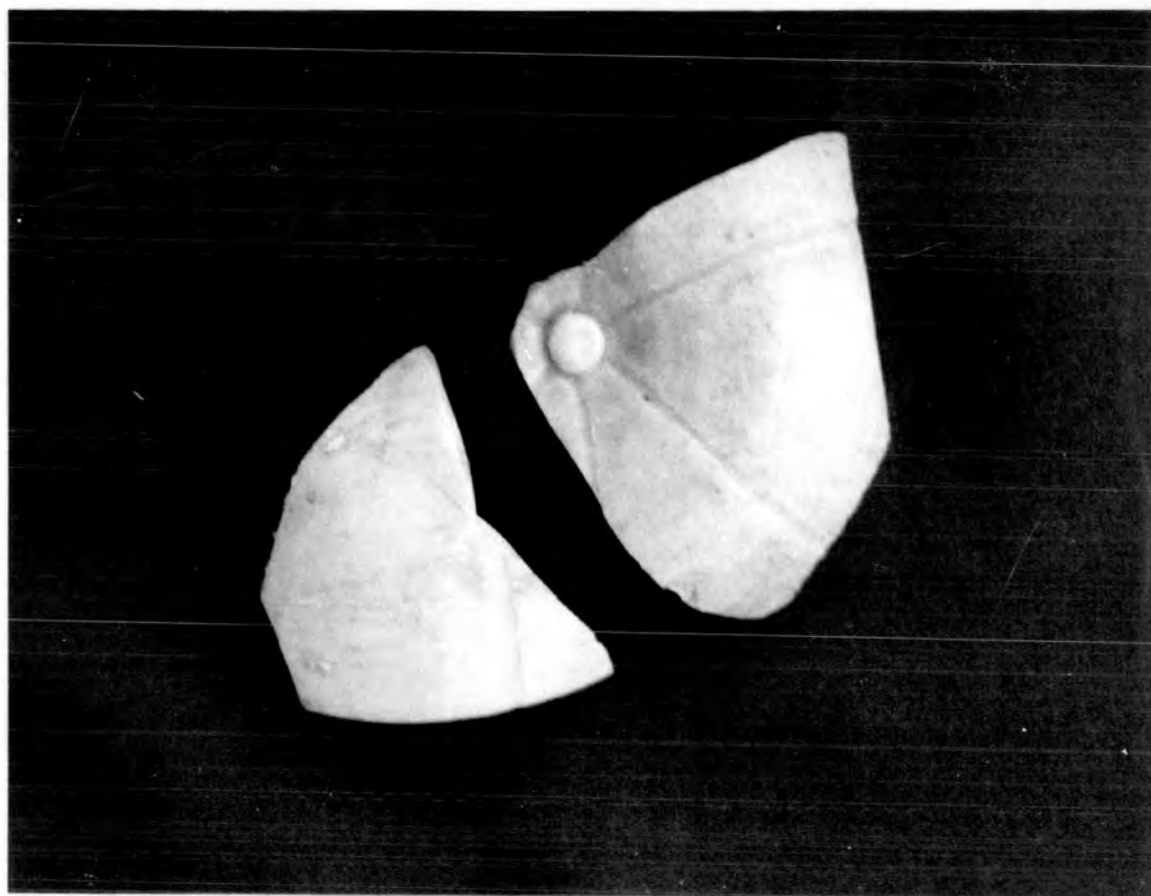


A group of sherds from archaeological sites in Malacca.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

For detailed discussion, see p. 9 above.

Unpublished.



Two fragments of Yüeh-type alms-bowl found at Pulau Tioman, Pahang.

A complete piece can be seen in the collections of the Muzium Sarawak, see Michael Sullivan, (1962), Pl. 53c.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A fragment of Chekiang celadon found at Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah.

Sung period.

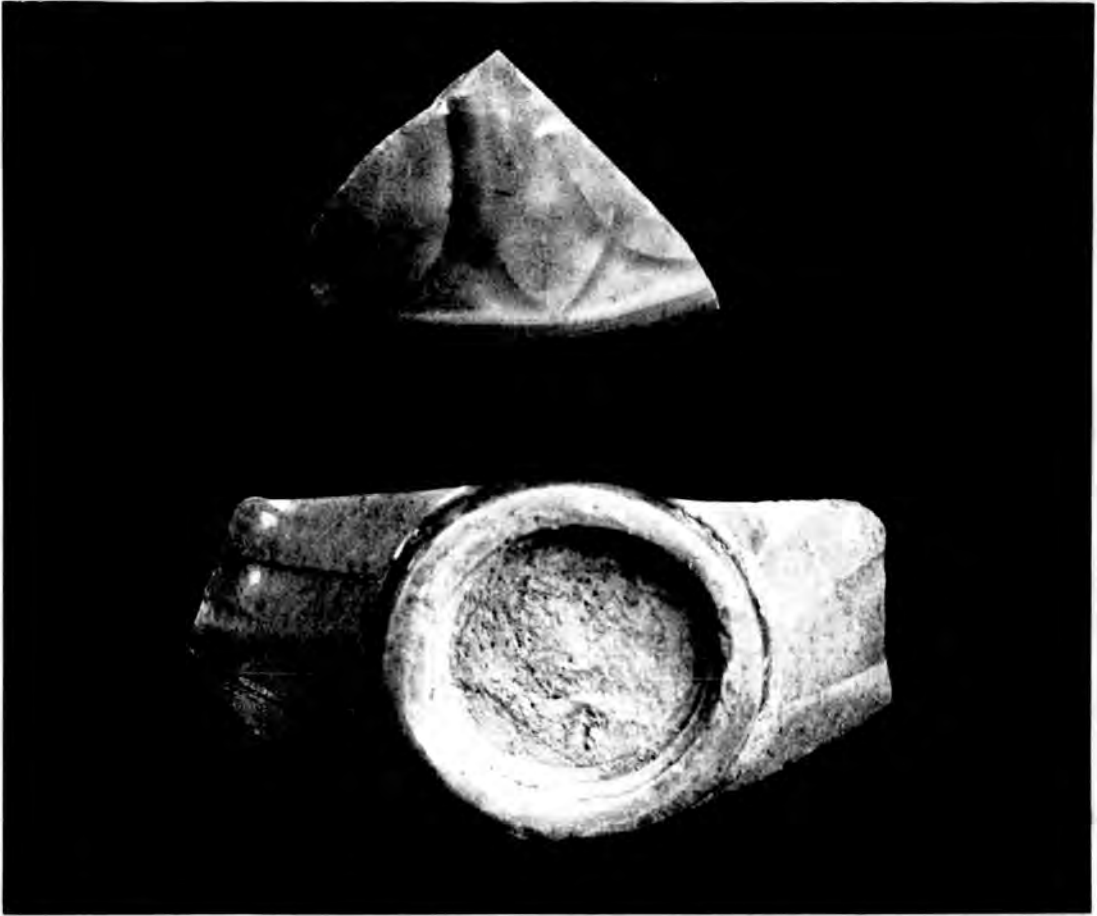
From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A fragment of Chekiang celadon bowl found at Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah.
Sung period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.
Unpublished.



Two fragments of Chekiang celadon bowl found at the Hindu or Buddhist tomb or temple in Kedah.

Sung period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Lung-ch'uan celadon saucer with a central relief moulded fish design, the sides rounded, the flattened rim slightly upturned at the edges. The exterior is plain, the glaze is dull-green. Found in Pahang.

Diam.: 11cm.

Sung period.

For comparable items, see B. Harrison, (1978), Pl. 51, p. 14;

L. & C. Locsin, (1967), Pl. 51.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Chekiang celadon dish with a freely drawn floral pattern incised on the centre with vertical grooves on the side producing a ribbed effect. The glaze is grey-green of the hard felspathic variety, and is remarkably thick and glossy. Found at Kuala Muda, Kedah.

Diam: 35cm.

Ming, 14th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Published: B. A. V. Peacock, (1959), pp. 33-35.



Chekiang celadon dish with a central design of dragon and carved band of leaves round the sides. The decoration is incised, the glaze is grey-green.

Diam: 42cm.

Ming, 14th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Published: B. A. V. Peacock, (1959), pp. 33-35.



Chekiang celadon dish with cash design and carved band of leaves
round the sides.

Diam: 28cm.

Ming, 14th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A Martaban jar discovered in Pahang.

Ht: 30cm.

Ming, 15th-16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A miniature vase was formed by joining three sections, namely the neck, the body, and the splayed foot. The glaze is creamish white.

Found at Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah. Similar pieces have been discovered in Sarawak, Sumatra and Philippines.

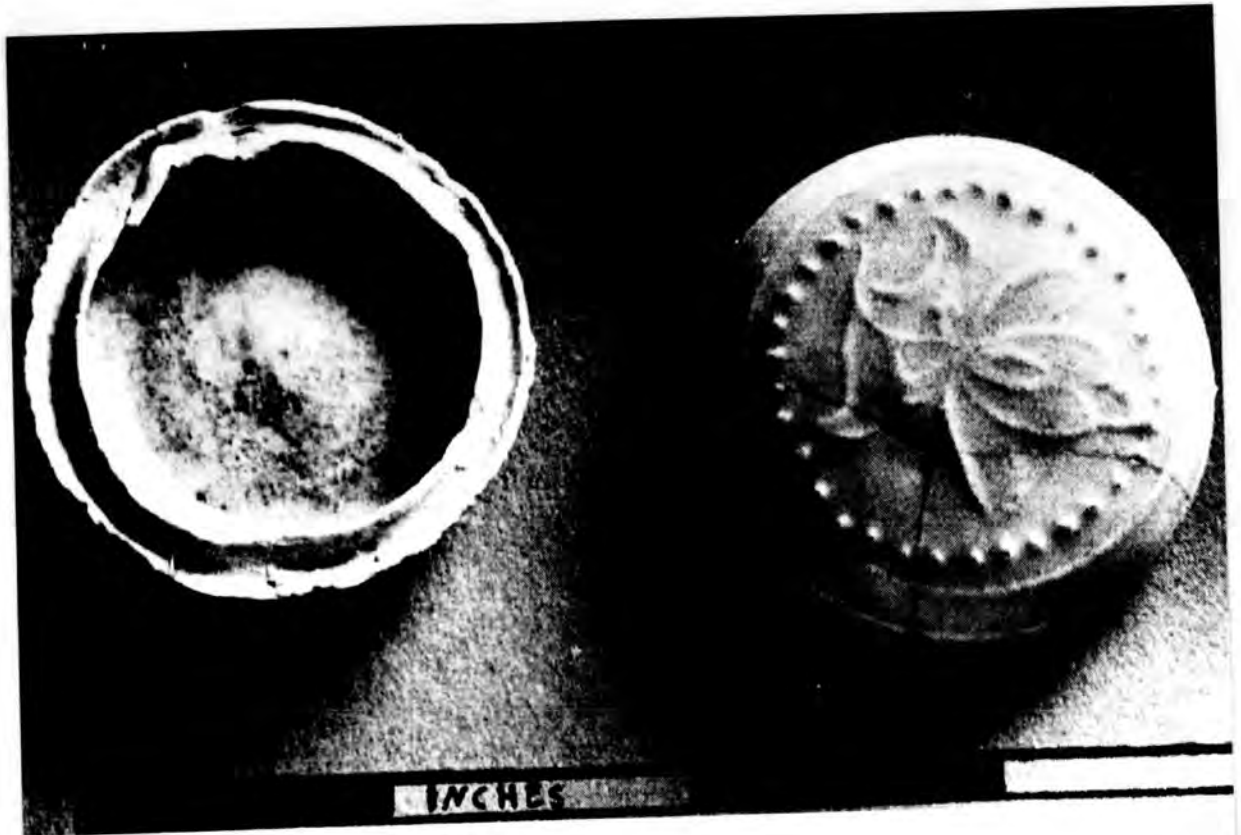
Diam: 8cm.

Sung/Yüan period.

For comparable item, see L. & C. Locsin, (1967), Pl. 134.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Published: Michael Sullivan, (1962), Pl. 49c.



Ch'ing-pai miniature covered box, of globular form, decorated in bluish green glaze. The lid with flattened centre decorated with floral designs. Found in Kedah.

Diam: 4.5cm.

Ming, 15th-16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Published: Michael Sullivan, (1962), Pl. 49a.



Two fragments from a ch'ing-pai rounded covered box found at Johore
Lama, Johore.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Ch'ing-pai rounded covered box with bluish green glaze, moulded decoration of floral designs.

Diam: 8cm.

Sung/Yüan period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Yüan white ware jarlet, "Marco Polo type" found at Kemaman, Trengganu.

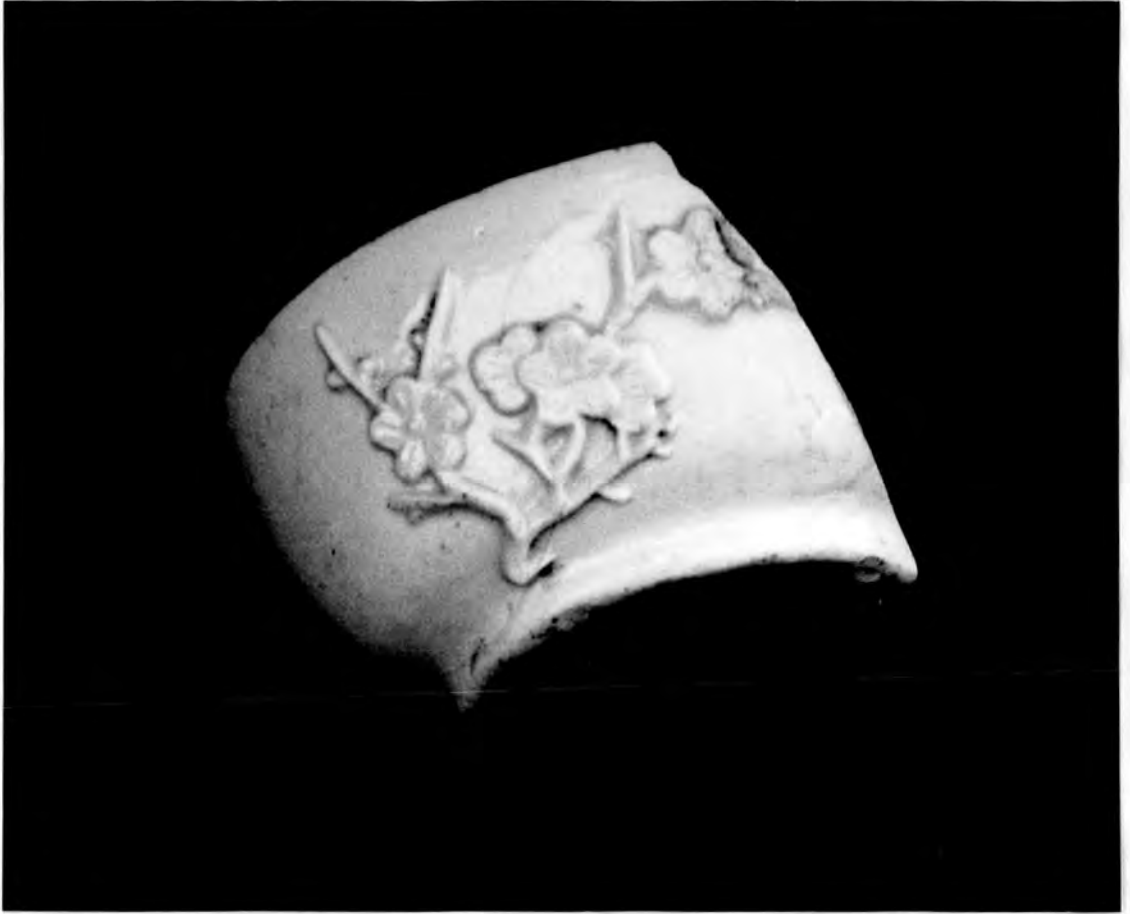
The mouth view is slightly chipped.

Ht: 5.5cm.

Yüan period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A fragment of bowl of blanc de chine type, decorated with prunus flowers. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

17th-18th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Taiping, Perak, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Eight-sided cup of blanc de chine type, derive from rhinoceros-horn shape, with peony or chrysanthemum design on its sides, the base has a swastika moulded in high relief. Found in Kedah.

Ht: 4.5 cm.

17th-18th century.

For comparable item, see P. J. Donelly, (1969), Pl. 26 (middle).

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.

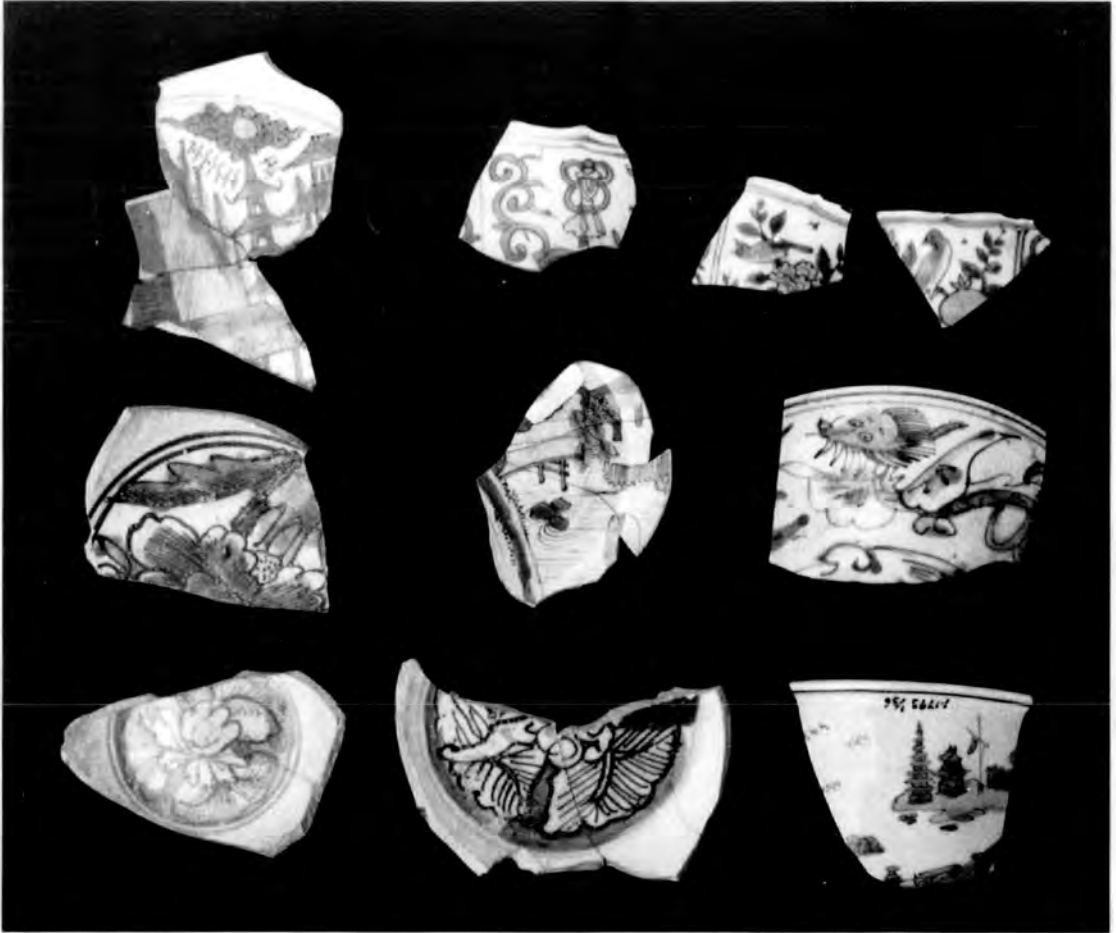


Base fragment of a blue and white porcelain found at Kota Tinggi,
Johore.

Ming dynasty, Ch'eng-hua period (1465-1487).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Published: Colin Jack-Hinton, (1963), Pl. XLI.

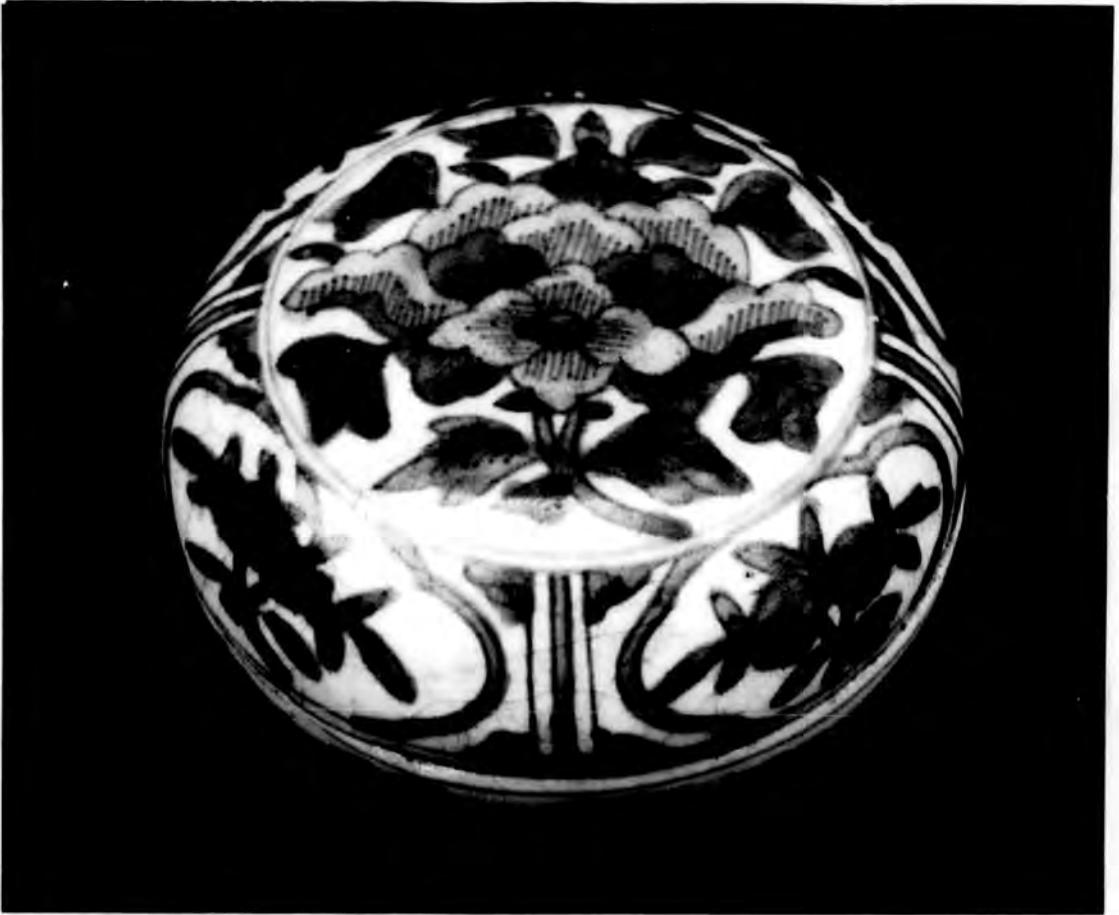


Chinese blue and white sherds found at Johore Lama.

Ming dynasty, 15th-early 16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white porcelain covered box decorated with lotus flowers and leaves, a peony in the centre surrounded by four panels of flowering shrubs on the lid. Found in Kedah.

Diam: 13cm.

Late Ming, 17th century.

For comparable item, see S. T. Yeo and Jean Martin, (1978), Pl. 75.

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white porcelain dish decorated in the centre with landscape design, the border with trees and flowers on the flattened rim. The outside decorated with lightly drawn prunus and birds. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Diam: 19.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collection of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A mixed group of Chinese blue and white porcelain discovered at Johore Lama, Johore.

Top row (from left to right): a Wan-li cup (for detail, see Pl. 28b) a Chia-ching bowl and a chia-ching cup (for detail, see Pl. 28a).

Bottom row (from left to right): a Wan-li dish (for detail, see Pl.25), a late Ming Swatow type dish, and a Chia-ching dish (for detail see, Pl.27).

All of the Ming period.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white dish with a talismanic design in the centre. Six cloud collars and flowers on the flattened rim. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Diam: 14cm.

Ming dynasty, Chia-ching period (1522-1566).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



- (a) Blue and white porcelain cup decorated on the outside with a dragon chasing flaming pearl. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Ht: 4.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Chia-ching period (1522-1566).

- (b) Blue and white cup decorated on the outside with a landscape and figures.

Ht: 4.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur,

West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white porcelain dish with a bird design in the centre, the flattened rim with four auspicious emblems and floral sprays.

Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Diam: 27cm.

Ming dynasty, Chia-ching period (1522-1566).

An identical piece can be seen in the collections of the Gulbenkian Museum, Durham, England.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white porcelain dish decorated in the centre with two deer amongst pine trees. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Diam: 24.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



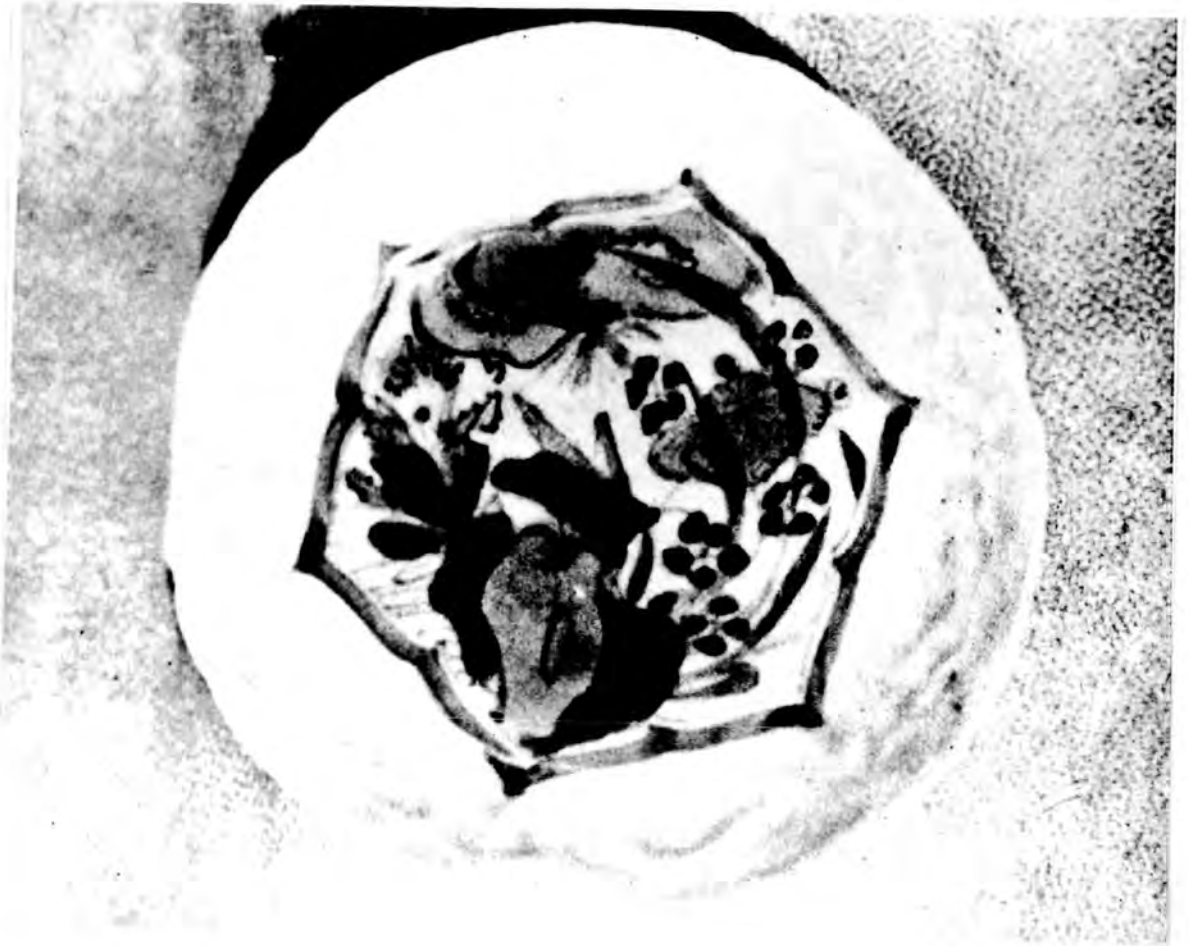
Blue and white porcelain dish with Chinese landscape design in the centre and alternating patterns of herons and water flowers on the border.

Diam: 14.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Blue and white saucer found in Pahang.

Diam: 18cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Published: H. H. Beamish, (1954), Pl. 1.



Blue and white porcelain dish with foliated rim, decorated in the centre with four cranes amongst aquatic flowers. Found at Johore Lama, Johore.

Diam: 26cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan -li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



A large blue and white porcelain dish with rounded sides, decorated in the centre with a pheasant amongst peonies, surrounded by six panels of flowering shrubs on a background of trellis pattern. Base glazed with patches of sand adhering. Swatow type.

Diam: 32 cm.

Late Ming, 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Swatow type blue and white dish.

Diam: 35.5cm.

Ming dynasty, Wan-li period (1573-1619).

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



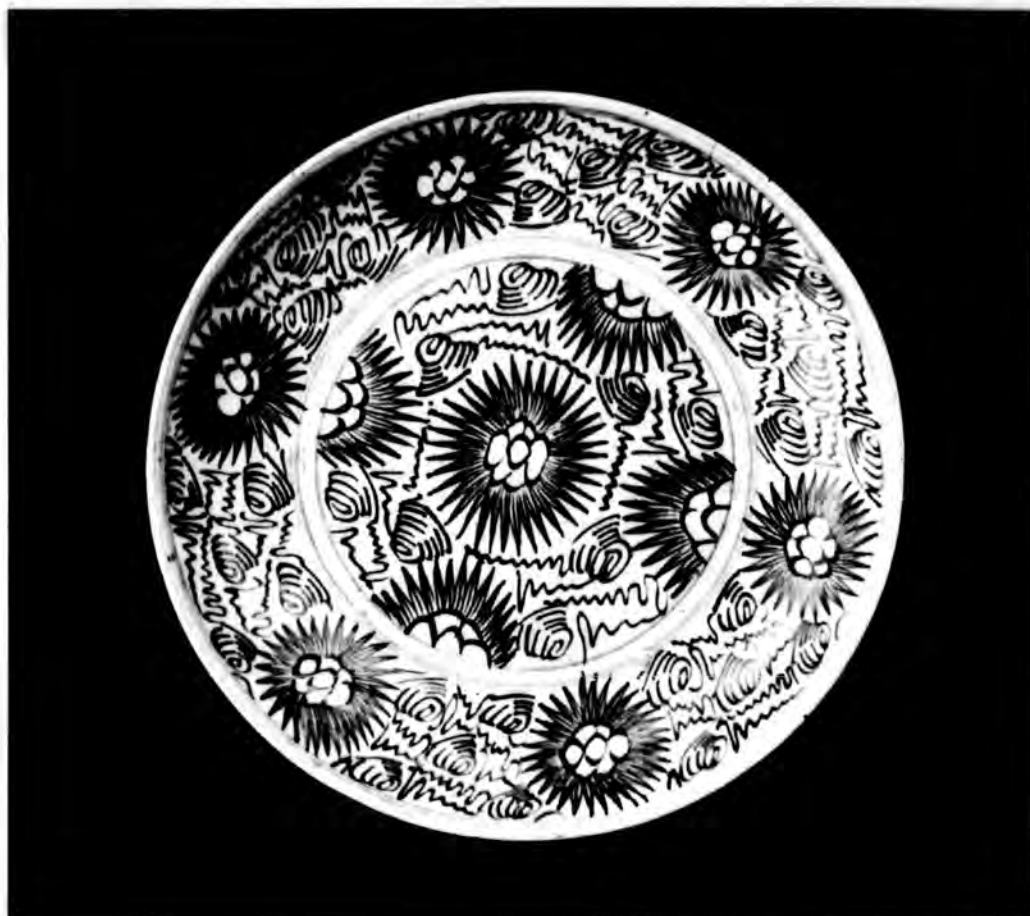
Blue and white dish with flower basket design.

Diam: 38cm.

Ch'ing dynasty, K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722).

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Blue and white dish with sunflower design. Found in Pahang.

Diam: 22cm.

Late 17th-early 18th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Swatow type dish.

Diam: 26cm.

Late 16th-early 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Large jar of kuan shape with underglaze blue decoration of two dragons amongst clouds design on a crackled brownish glaze with four loop handles on the shoulder and a floral band above the foot. Swatow type.

Ht: 37cm.

Late Ming, 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Polychrome Swatow type dish with "split pagoda" design.

Diam: 40.2cm.

16th-17th century.

For comparable items, see Michael Sullivan, (1963), Pl. 136a;

Margaret Medley, (1976), Fig. 182, p. 235.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok jarlet with two loop handles on the shoulder, globular form, short neck and body covered with brown glaze.

Ht: 6.5cm.

15th-16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok celadon jarlet of globular form with two loop handles on the shoulder. Light green glaze, the glaze at the lower part of the body is badly deteriorated.

Ht: 5.5cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok celadon jarlet of globular form with two loop handles on the shoulder. Light green glaze which is full of cracks.

Ht: 12cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok bottle with two loop handles, globular form, sloping shoulder, short neck, inverted lip covered with a deep brown to pale caramel matt glaze. Comb lines on the shoulder. Lower body and foot unglazed. Found in Taiping, Perak.

Ht: 14cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Taiping, Perak, West Malaysia.

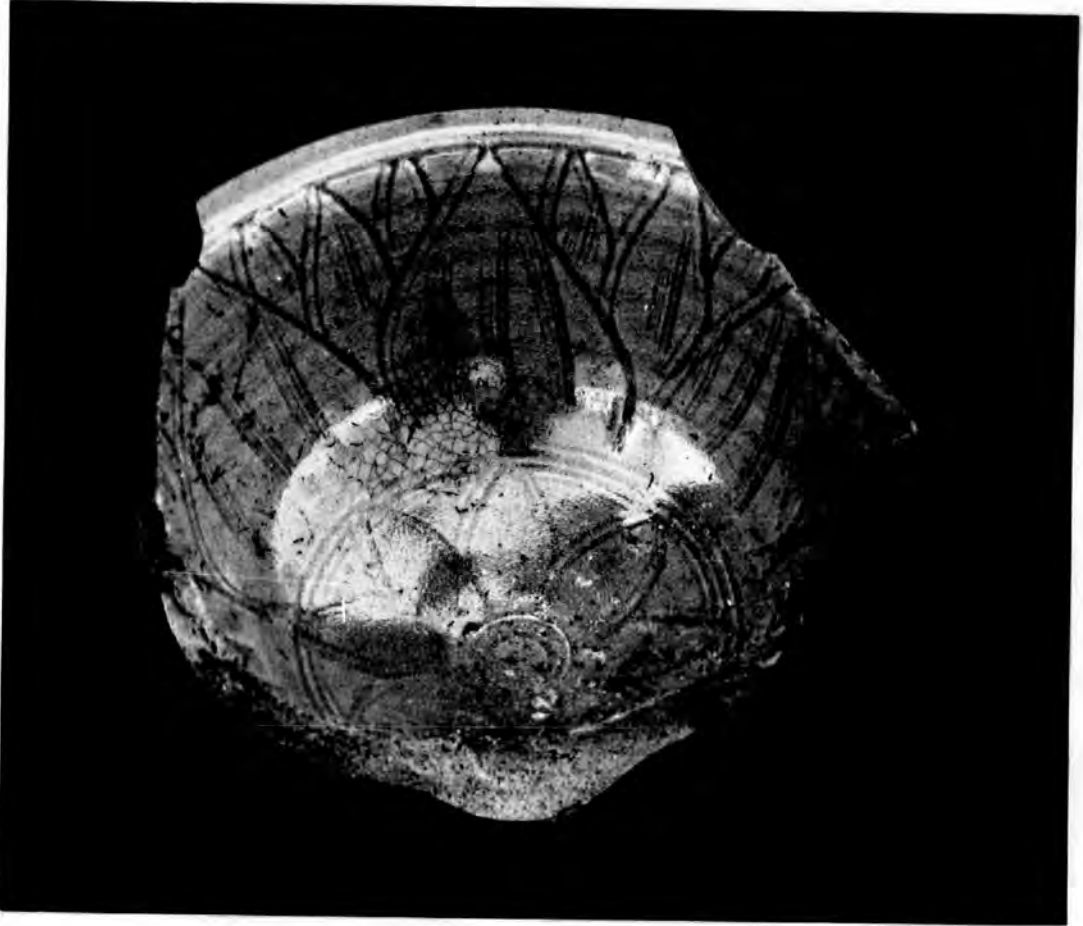
Unpublished.



Sawankhalok celadon fragment found at Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah.

From the photographic collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur,
West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Fragment of a Sawankhalok bowl with incised lotus petal design inside and a plain exterior, orange brown body, carved foot ring, tubular support scar on the base.

14th-15th century.

For a complete piece, see R. M. Brown, (1977), Colour Pl. (4)

From the collections of the Muzium Taiping, Perak, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



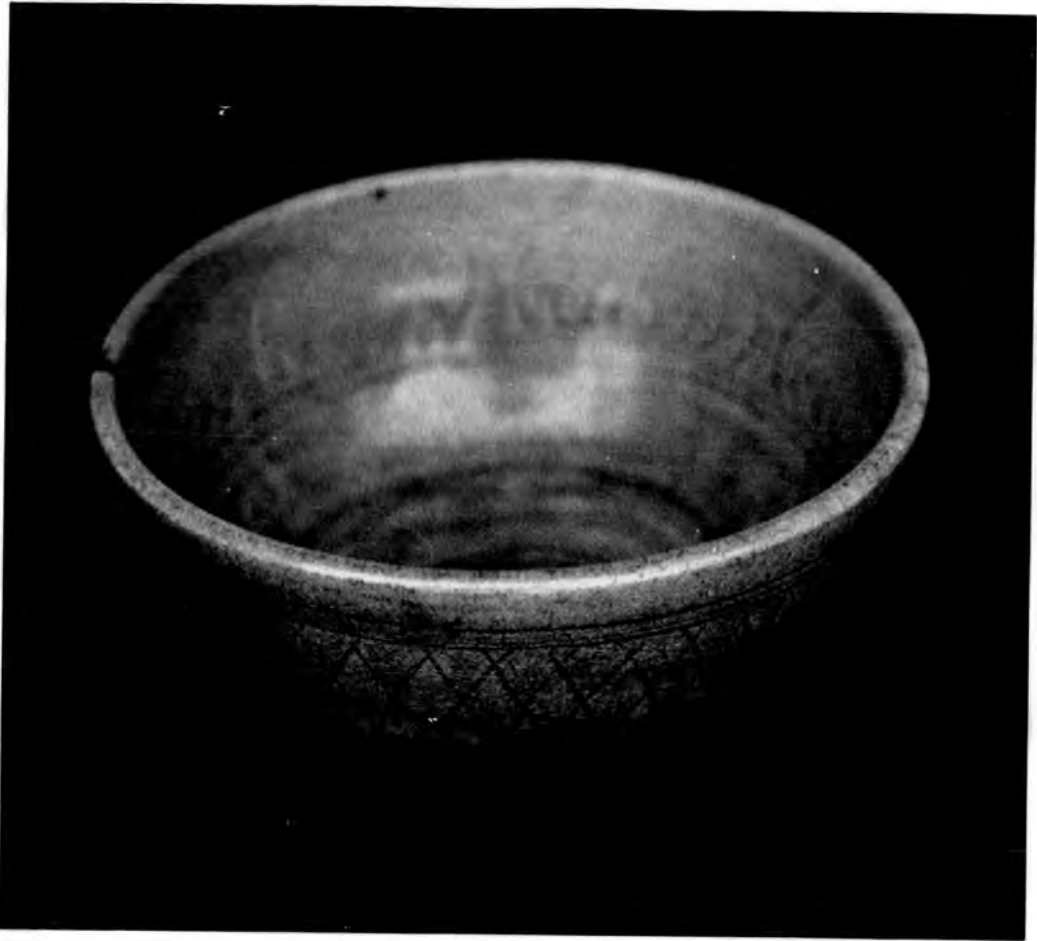
Sawankhalok celadon bowl, interior is decorated with incised floral design. Found in Trengganu.

Diam: 8cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Sawankhalok celadon bowl, interior incised decorated with floral design while on the exterior decorated with incised super-imposed lotus leaf design.

Ht: 8cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Sawankhalok celadon dish with underglaze painted centre medallion of vegetal scrolls and with a slightly greenish glaze. Found in Trengganu.

Diam: 25cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Sawankhalok covered box with underglaze black decoration combined with brown glaze, raised lobes on the body and cover, the flattened top of the lid with knob handle covered with brown glaze. The sides of the lid with twelve, the body with thirteen moulded and painted panels comprising alternating floral sprays. The lower body and foot unglazed, with a grey biscuit.

Ht: 14cm.

14th-15th century.

For comparable items but slightly different design, see William Willets, (1971), Pl. 207;

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia. Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok covered box with underglaze painted and incised decoration of floral design, the flattened lid with small flattened knob handle, bold vine scroll running around lid and roughly glazed simplified vine scroll and body. Glazed foot.

Ht: 10cm.

14th-15th century.

For comparable piece, see R. M. Brown and others, (1977), Pl. 189.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok kendi with underglaze brown and incised decoration of floral design.

Ht: 12.7cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Published: Lem Hong Heng, (1977), Pl. 118, p. 46.



Sawankhalok bottle with two loop handles, narrow pear-shaped form, short neck, inverted lip, covered with a deep brown to caramel glaze.

Ht: 11cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



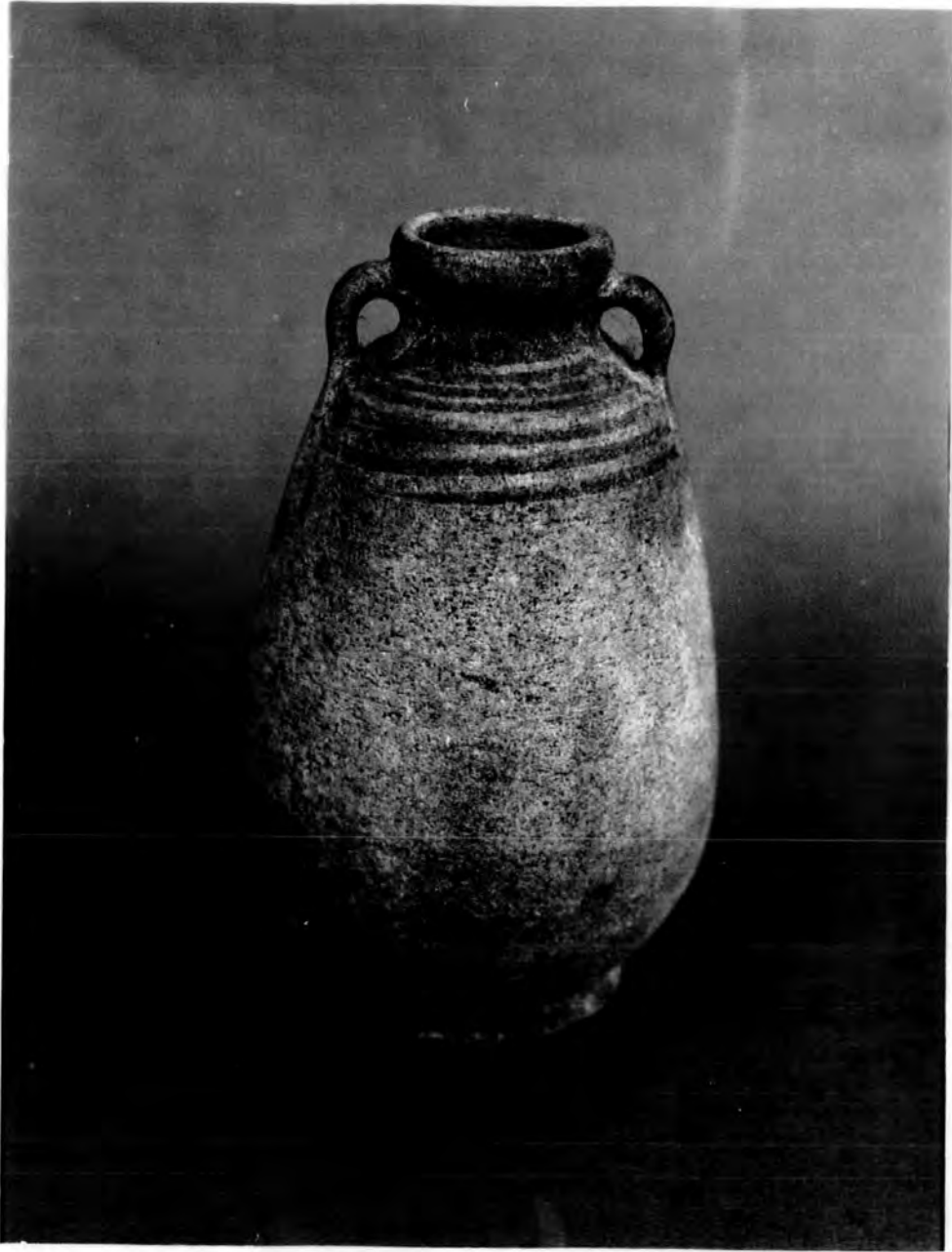
Sawankhalok bottle with two loop handles, narrow pear-shaped form, short neck, inverted lip covered with black glaze.

Ht: 11.5cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Sawankhalok brown glazed bottle with two loop handles, narrow pear-shaped form, short neck, inverted lip. The glaze is badly deteriorated. Found in Pahang.

Ht: 14cm.

14th-15th century.

From the private collections of Zakaria Hitam, Kuantan, Pahang, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Sawankhalok jarlet of globular form, short neck, whole body covered with brown glaze except the lower part of the body left unglazed.

Found in Trengganu.

Ht: 4.5cm.

14th-15th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Annamese jarlet of flattened globular form, decorated in underglaze blue with a collar of scallop petals, the exterior with four large panels containing plants and wave design. Found in Kedah.

Diam: 9cm.

16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Kedah, Alor Star, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Annamese blue and white dish, with unglazed upturned rim, the lip somewhat flattened and decorated with a classic scroll which is badly deteriorated. The cavetto with a band of six peonies in a scroll also deteriorated. The centre medallion with a chrysanthemum spray. Found in Malacca.

Diam: 36.5cm.

15th-16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Malacca, Malacca, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



The exterior of the Annamese dish illustrated in Pl. 58a, showing a band of lotus panels containing leaf-forms, standing on high carved foot with a dirty brown biscuit and a chocolate bottom.



Annamese jar of flattened globular form, decorated in underglaze black with a band of scrolls on the high shoulder; on the body a peony scroll; below this is a band of ten upturned lotus panels containing leaf-forms, standing on a low carved foot with an oatmeal-coloured biscuit and a chocolate base. The glaze much deteriorated and the decoration somewhat faded.

Ht: 14cm, Diam: 16cm.

15th-16th century.

For a similar type of jar but slightly different design, see L. Cheng and Abu Ridho, (1970), Pl. 5A84/2135, p. 60.

From the collections of the Muzium Taiping, Perak, West Malaysia. Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Annamese blue and white dish with chocolate base. The mouth rim which is flattened but upturned at the very edge is decorated with a scroll, followed by a wide band of trailing vines with spiky leaves. The central motif is a chrysanthemum spray. A series of lotus panels decorate the exterior walls. The base has a casting of brown wash typical of many Annamese blue and white ware.

Diam: 38cm.

15th century

For an identical piece but slightly different design see William Willets, (1971), Pl. 21, p. 93.

From the collection of the Muzium Taiping, Perak, West Malaysia. Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.

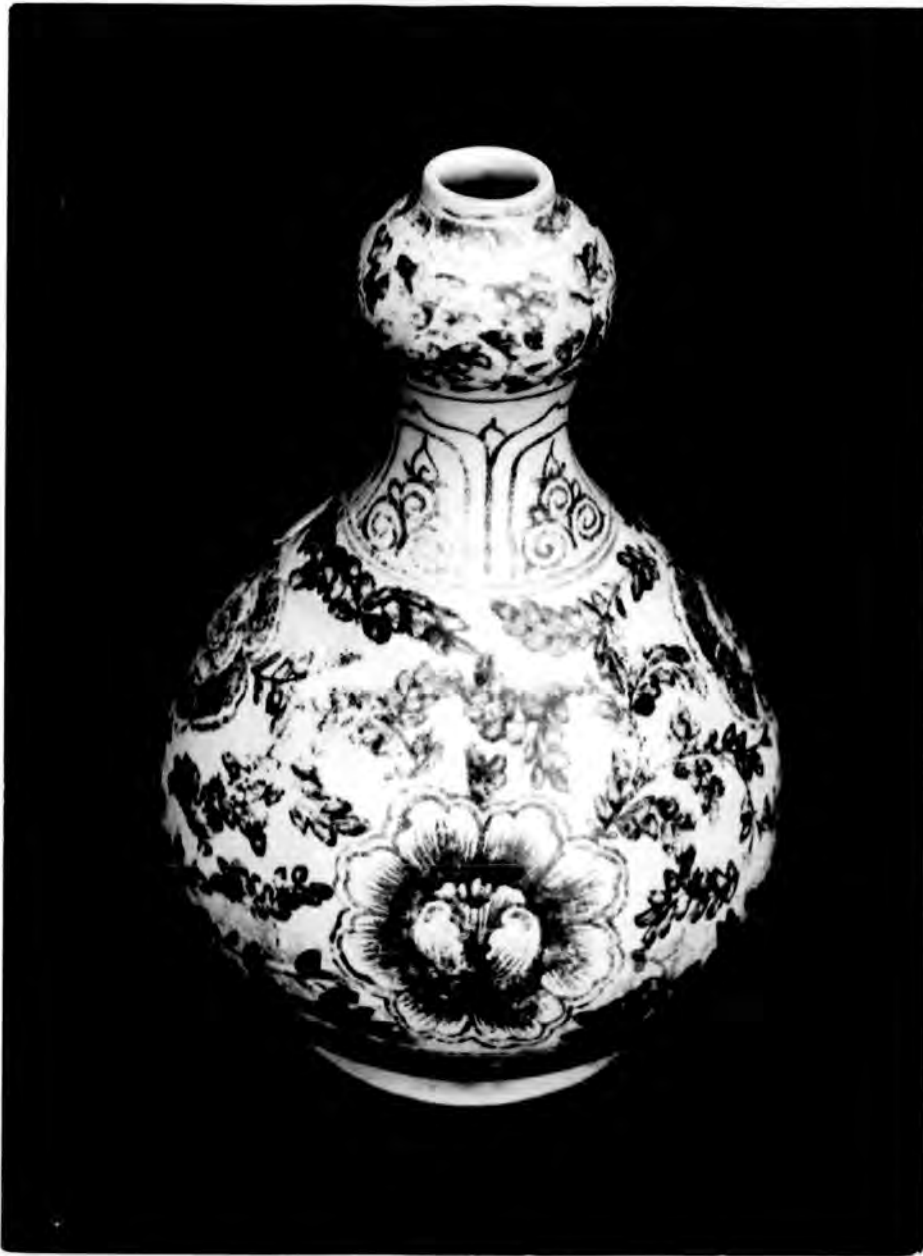


A group of Anamese porcelain found at Kerubong, Malacca.

16th-17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished.



Anamese polychrome bottle imitation of wu-ts'ai colours.

Ht: 12cm.

15th-16th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large and finely-painted Imari polychrome porcelain dish, in the centre is a bird amongst the flower. The rim with various panels of flowers, birds and trees.

Diam: 52.5 cm.

Late 17th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



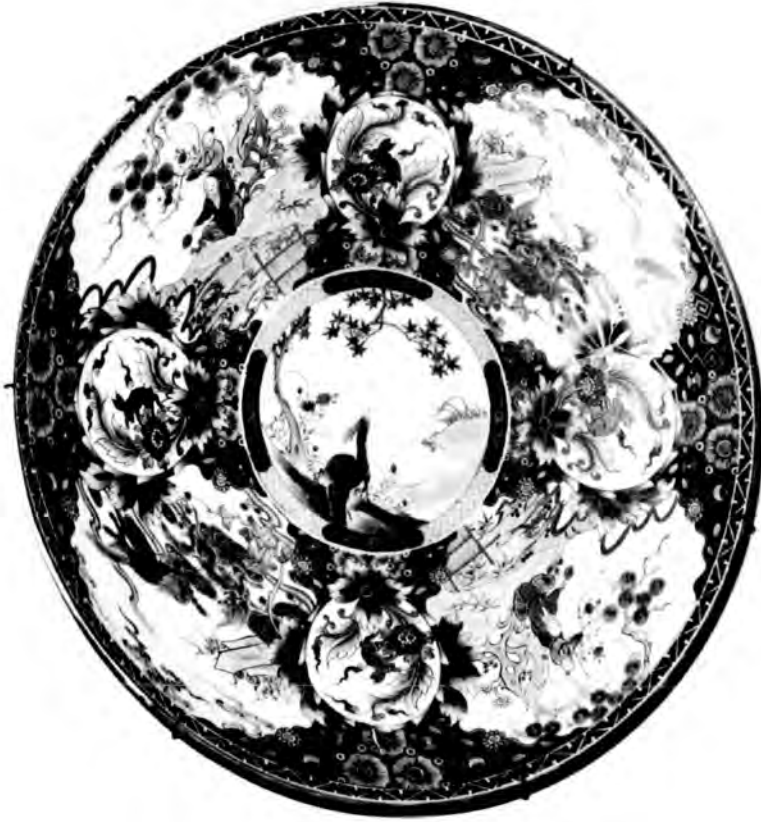
A large and finely-painted Imari polychrome porcelain dish, with foliated rim and a central design of a flower pot, the rim richly decorated with flowers.

Diam: 53cm.

Late 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Imari polychrome porcelain dish with a central design of a deer and tree surrounded by various panels of hares amongst the flower and two figures under a pine tree.

Diam: 48cm.

Early 18th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Imari polychrome porcelain dish with a central medallion decoration of a phoenix bird, the rim with various panels of flying cranes, flowers and geometric design.

Diam: 50cm.

Early 18th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Imari polychrome porcelain dish with a central decoration of birds amongst the flower surrounded by various panels of birds and figures under a pine tree.

Diam: 50.2cm.

Late 17th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Imari polychrome porcelain dish with a central decoration of monster-headed dragon amongst flames, surrounded by eight fan-shaped panels decorated with aquatic plants and animals.

Diam: 48.5cm.

Late 17th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Imari polychrome porcelain dish with a central decoration of a pair of cranes, in the garden of a pavillion amongst pines, surrounded by six alternating panels decorated with flowers and precious objects, the latter with a rattan-mat border.

Diam: 51.5cm.

Early 18th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Kakemon dish with a central decoration of prunus surrounded by six floral panels on the sides.

Diam: 38.8cm.

Late 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A blue and white dish painted in the interior with a blossoming
peony tree and bird.

Diam: 37cm.

Nabeshima, 17th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



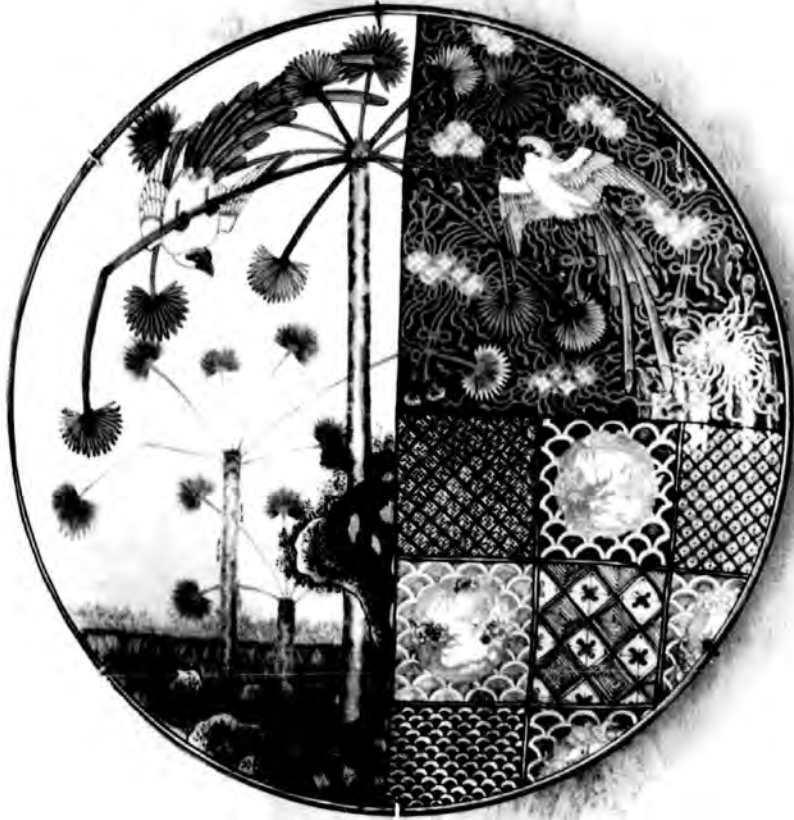
A blue and white dish painted in the interior with a pot of flowers surrounded by richly painted floral band.

Diam: 26cm.

Hirado ware. Probably 19th century.

From the collections of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



A large Satsuma dish of shallow shape decorated with brocade patterns in polychrome enamels and gilt design.

Diam: 50.2cm.

Early 19th century.

From the private collections of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



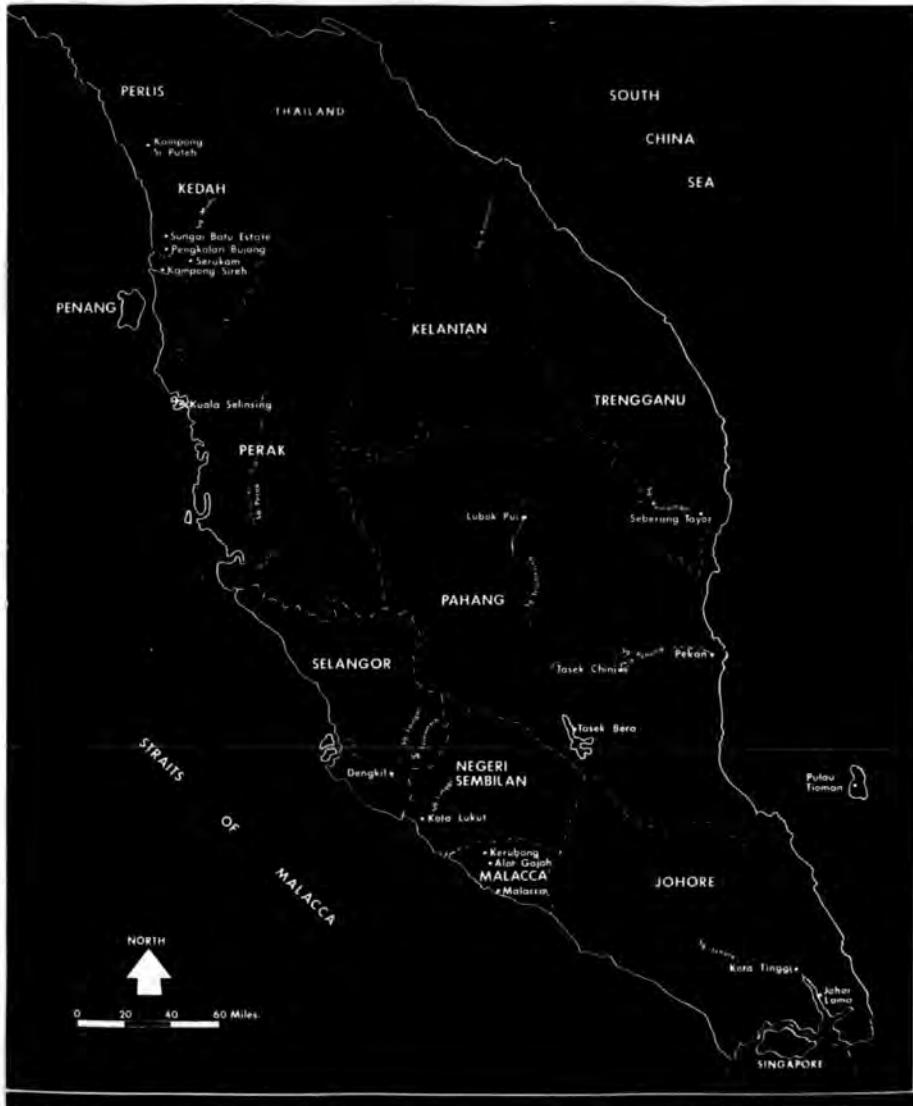
A large Satsuma dish of shallow shape decorated in polychrome enamels and gilt with blooming peonies, and two figure-painted panels, one contains a tiger, the other, a court scene.

Diam: 52.5cm.

Mid-19th century.

From the private collection of the Sultan of Johore, Johore Baharu, West Malaysia.

Unpublished. Archaeological provenance unknown.



Map 1. Archaeological Sites in West Malaysia
Where Trade Ceramics Were Found.



Map 2. Ceramic Centres of the Far East.