

# *The Martaban Trade: An Examination of the Literature from the Seventh Century until the Eighteenth Century*



PAMELA GUTMAN

THE STUDY OF BURMESE POTTERY is an almost virgin field, and the role of Burma in the ancient pottery trade of East and Southeast Asia has hitherto been neglected. This paper seeks to examine the importance of the ports of southern Burma, particularly Martaban, to that trade. Until recently, the few Burmese writers on the subject claimed that all pots known as “Martabans” originated at that port (Than Tun 1972–73). Western scholars, on the other hand, went so far as to assume that “the nomenclature arose from the fact that the port was an important trans-shipment centre for Chinese products to the West, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries” (Brown 1977: 1). Both are only partially correct. An examination of epigraphic and literary sources proves beyond doubt that the area around Martaban was renowned for its pottery from at least the seventh century A.D. In the absence of a standard collection of Burmese pottery it is difficult, although not impossible, to establish its origin and nature. The stoneware storage jars generally known as Martaban were produced in Burma by the eleventh century, long before the name appears as a generic term in the literature. We are not concerned here with those Martabans that do not originate from southern Burma nor passed through its ports, as these have already been dealt with satisfactorily (Adhyatman and Lammers 1977; Miedema 1964; Moore 1979).

## DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SEVENTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The *Chiu T'ang-shu* (197) and the *Hsin T'ang shu* (222B) refer to Chia-lo-she-fo (or fu), a country to the north of Dvaravati. In the *Ts'e-fu Yan-kuei* (970), the same place is called Chia-la-she-fen, and is located to the west. The name has been identified by P. Pelliot and G. H. Luce as Kalaśapura, “city of pots,” mentioned in the eleventh-century Indian *Kathāsarisagāra* as a coastal town of Suvarnadvipa (Luce 1969–70, 1, 20, n. 58; Pelliot 1904:360–361; Yamamoto 1979:1144). It has been considered that Kalaśapura was situated along the coast of the Bay of Bengal somewhere between Tavoy and Rangoon. That it was pos-

Pamela Gutman is Honorary Associate Fellow in the Department of History, University of Sydney.

*Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 1, © 2002 by University of Hawai'i Press.

sibly the coastal outlet for the Pyu capital of Śrīkṣetra is suggested by the inclusion of Ko-lo among the list of kingdoms subject to the Pyu (Luce 1925:182; 1985, 1:50). A fragmentary Sanskrit inscription recently found at Śrīkṣetra, and still unedited, refers to Kalaśapura at least four times, in a manner inferring that it was conquered or entered into a special relationship with the Pyu around the end of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> To be of economic or strategic advantage to the Pyu, Kalaśapura would have been at the mouth of the Salween, in the Martaban-Moulmein area, or near the mouth of the Irrawaddy. A number of laterite-walled towns usually assumed to be Mon are found along the coast between these two rivers.

Little archaeological excavation in this area has been undertaken, and still fewer reports have been published. However, Ayetthema and Winka sites reveal a pottery tradition related to those of Dvaravati to the east and eastern India to the west. The excavator, Myint Aung (1977), has, on the basis of a number of sprinkler-necked vessels with flanged rim-tops, proposed a link with the earlier Pyu pottery tradition and that of Yeleswaram near Nagarjunikonda in Andhra Pradesh, suggesting a date in the early centuries A.D. Spouts with a pouchlike bulge also indicate a connection with Pyu culture and with pre-Dvāravatī and Dvāravatī culture, as evidenced by discoveries at U-Thong and Kok Charoen (Loofs 1970:177–184; Myint Aung 1977:48–51, 53).

It is possible that the technique of glazing was introduced into Burma during this period. While we are familiar with the *Chiu T'ang-shu* account of the glazed-tile covered walls of the capital of the Pyu (Luce 1937:250), only one very small grayish green glazed jar was found during the recent excavations at Śrīkṣetra<sup>2</sup> (Luce 1937). Some evidence of glazed pottery at U-Thong in the late Dvāravatī period may confirm that the technique was known in the immediate region (Loofs 1970:183).

#### DEVELOPMENTS OF THE ELEVENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Our sources for the Pagan period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries are somewhat more conclusive, although almost no archaeological evidence is available. Aniruddha, king of Pagan (fl. c. A.D. 1044–77), in a series of campaigns from the middle of the eleventh century, conquered Lower Burma from Khabin west of Rangoon, Pegu, the famous capital of Thaton, Mergui, Tenasserim, and perhaps even reached beyond the Isthmus of Kra. Khmer (Old Mon *Krom*, Old Burmese *Krwam*) attempts to invade Lower Burma probably urged Aniruddha to absorb the region (Luce 1969–70:21–23). Khmer prisoners of war who settled near the sea at Khabin may have influenced local pottery production, and the Mon of Haripunjaya who are said to have retreated to Pegu in the late eleventh century could have also introduced their pottery styles and techniques.

Although Pagan itself was never an important trading center—the economy having been a model of self-sufficiency—there is some evidence to indicate that Lower Burma and Tenasserim were involved in trade with Java, and perhaps even at this time in the China-India ceramics trade. A Javanese inscription of A.D. 1021 mentions Remen, i.e., Mon ships, probably originating in Lower Burma, calling at ports at the mouth of the Brantes in the Bay of Surabaya, and further north,

Tuban (Brandes and Krom 1913:60, 1, inscr. 58, lines 6, 14; Krom 1914:1069). Morris Collis (1935–36:9–29, pl. 3d, pl. 4g), while deputy commissioner of the Mergui district, recovered Sung porcelain from the Tenasserim area and from shipwrecks offshore and suggested that the port of Tenasserim was an *entrepôt* between China and India from this time.

After the Burman invasions of Lower Burma, pottery regarded as Mon appears at Pagan, notably in religious contexts, which indicates the esteem in which it was held. An earthenware pot discovered in the relic chamber of a *stūpa* built by Anirrudha at Pagan is identical to one excavated at Twante, west of Rangoon. These are storage jars with a rouletted fig-leaf pattern around the shoulder; the Twante specimen has a recessed conical lid (ASB 1920, 2:25 and fig. 3, 1930–34, 1:177–178, 2, pl. 99a–d; Luce 1969–1970, 1:20, 3, pl. 452a, b). Rouletting may have been borrowed from the Pyu of central Burma, whose rouletted pots dating between the first and seventh centuries A.D., are well known. Burmese archaeologists usually, and probably correctly, trace the technique to Arikamedu in East India (Aung Thaw 1968). Twante remained an important center for pottery throughout the period. Luce (1969–70, 1:20, fn. 61) notes that at the end of the thirteenth century Queen Acaw ordered the Cakyap potters of the Tala (Twante) circle to supply pots (*Inscriptions of Burma*, plate 3, line 273, words 9–11 [653 Śaka era = A.D. 1291]).

Pottery types at Pagan are, fortunately, depicted in frescoes and relief sculpture. From our point of view, the most informative is a painting in the corridor of the Nagayon temple built by King Kyanzittha c. A.D. 1090 (Luce 1969–70, 1:311; 3: pl. 204), and in which, notably, the hall, corridor, and shrine are paved with green-glazed stone flags. The painting illustrates the Buddha Dipankara's prophecy concerning Sumedhapandita, from the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, *Buddhavaṃsa* (1–3). The Mon gloss under the painting reads "The people of Rammanagir<sup>3</sup> entertain [sic. invite] the reverend Buddha and his 40,000 saints. Thereupon also the hermit Sumedhapandit grasps the Law. The earth quakes. Jars and pots are shattered."

The painting illustrates numerous storage jar types, many remarkably similar to the "Indo-Javanese" Martabans illustrated by Adhyatman and Lammers (1977:42–47) and usually attributed to the eighth–tenth centuries A.D. The jars are normally broad-based and the bases of some are rounded. Most are sealed, probably with cloth or pig's-bladder covers, which are attached to lugs between half and three-quarters the height of the jar. Other types, normally round-based, have pointed lids in the manner of the Twante pot. The Indian-derived *kalaśa* shape, best known from Khmer ceramics and central Javanese sculpture (Frasche 1976:28–29), is also depicted.

The names and functions of the various types of jars used during the early Pagan period can largely be ascertained through an examination of the glazed terracotta plaques around the base of the Ananda temple, built by Kyanzittha in c. A.D. 1105. The series of plaques illustrates a number of minor deities bearing various types of jars. Fortunately, each is inscribed with an Old Mon gloss giving the name of jar. The main types are illustrated at least once, each showing some variation (Luce 1969–70, 1:360–361; Shorto 1966:163–164, fig. 2 and pls. 15–17). *Tron* is a storage vessel, rather more rectangular than the *tumbay*, the ordinary pot. The *tumbey* or *tambay* is a small rounded pot with a comparatively narrow neck. On the Nanda plaques it is depicted as having a large conical stopper with a base

protruding beyond the neck. *Klas* is the *kalaśa* type known at Angkor and in central Java. The word occurs widely in other inscriptions in the sense of "water vessel." It is much larger than the *tumbay*, and rather more ovoid in shape. In one instance, a series of *klas* are shown filled with foliage, recalling the traditional Indic auspicious symbol *purnakalaśa*, the "vase of plenty." Another series of *klas*, somewhat more rounded, are narrow necked and have elongated conical stoppers. Jars of the same types are also illustrated in bas-relief depictions of Jakarta stories, one depicting the Bodhisatta as a potter with a wheel, and in sculpture where they usually form part of an offering to the Buddha by a devotee (Luce 1969-70, 3, pls. 107d, 279b, d, 296b, 326d).

While little archaeological excavation has yet been undertaken at Pagan, greenish yellow glazed *kalaśa*-type jars have been attributed to the period. Fragments of unglazed wares are found in abundant quantities at Otein Taung (potters' hill) about 550 m east-southeast of the Sulamani temple, and glazed sherds are found around Myingaba village and the Abeyedana temple. An unpublished Burma Historical Commission report mentions the ruins of a beehive-shaped kiln for glost firing (that is, glaze firing, in which wares are fired to a temperature where the glaze will melt, as opposed to the preliminary biscuit firing) near Myingaba village, and this site should be investigated before a definite statement on Pagan ceramics can be made (Kyaw Nyein 1963).

The report, which investigated the glazing of bricks, tiles, votive tablets, and sandstone plaques, is a useful contribution in this direction. The glazes used were of a matte, opaque type, based on lead and colored by copper, tin, vanadium, and antimony oxides. Two colors, green and yellow, were known. The former varied from faintly green or bluish green to bright green, the different shades being obtained by varying the quantities of tin and copper oxide. The yellow glaze was obtained by adding either vanadium or antimony oxide. All the materials for making the glazes and the coloring oxides were available locally. The temperature employed for glost firing varied from 950°C to 1050°C approximately. The glazed surfaces appeared to have a strong matrix, and despite the crazing to which they were subject, there was a strong glaze interface with the clay body.

The decline of Pagan in the early fourteenth century facilitated the establishment of a Mon state in Lower Burma with its origins at Martaban in 1281. According to Thai sources, the state, for the first 30 years of its existence at least, accepted Sukhothai overlordship, and with its foundation, a new phase in the history of Lower Burma began.

#### DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Having established that a strong pottery tradition existed in Lower Burma at the end of the Pagan period, and that glazing techniques were also well known by that time, in central Burma at least, we come to the problems of the emergence of Martaban as an important port and the nature of the ceramics produced in the area.

The name itself presents difficulties. Martaban town is first mentioned in an old Burmese inscription of 1326, where it is called *Muttama*. Middle Mon inscriptions of 1479 and 1493 call the town *Mattma* or *Matma* (Luce 1969-70, 2, map of Ramaññadeśa). Morris Collis ingeniously proposed that the name Martaban was

derived from the Thai names for Mergui and Tenasserim *Marit* and *Tanau*, which together form the Thai and Malay names for Martaban, *Maritanao* (Luce 1969–70, 1:27–28). In view of the fact that Martaban was nominally under Sukhothai hegemony from A.D. 1281 to 1314, and that the area from Martaban to Tenasserim was under Ayudhya control from the mid-fourteenth to soon after the mid-fifteenth centuries, it is possible that the terms *Martaban* or *Maritanao* were used, during this period at least, to describe the coastal region from the Salween River to the Isthmus of Kra.

It has been suggested that ports along this coastline—notably Martaban and Mergui—were important links in the China-India porcelain trade as early as the Sung dynasty. Two routes are well-defined. The earliest, and the most continuous (existing in one form or another to the present time) is the overland route from Yunnan. According to Spinks (1956–57:86) the course passed through the Taping River, joining the Bhamo-Myitkyina road about 20 miles north of Bhamo, whence goods were shipped by boat down the Irrawaddy River to the delta for transshipment to India and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that in A.D. 1670 the Dutch East India Company, already established at Pegu, attempted to open a post at Bhamo in order to tap this overland trade from China closer to its source (Spinks 1956–57:86). With the rise of Ayudhya in the middle of the fourteenth century, another land route became important. As a great trading center, which came to rival even Palembang, Ayudhya was an essential link in the China trade. Goods were transhipped by junk or overland either to Pranburi or to Kui on the western shore of the Gulf of Siam, for transport by caravan across the narrow isthmus to Tenasserim and thence downstream in small river boats to the port of Mergui (Collis 1935–36:20; Spinks 1956–57:83). During this period the trade was principally in the hands of Muslim merchants, who shipped goods to India and further west (Ba Shin 1963; Grey 1964–66:35). The route was particularly favored during periods when pirates were more active than usual in the Straits of Malacca, and had the attendant advantage of avoiding long and hazardous sea navigation. Another overland route connected Sawankhalok with Martaban and passed through Raheng (Tak) and Mesot, the Thais using elephant trains for transport (Spinks 1956–57:78).

The demand of the Arab and Indian, and later, the European traders for large jars in which to store water, wine, oil, and other commodities was met by the supply at Martaban of Sawankhalok, Chinese, and local jars, so that the generic name, which has created so much confusion in the literature, was given to a broad range of jars from various sources. The first accounts of Martaban jars are from India and further west, reflecting the initial direction of the trade (Yule and Burnell 1968:559–560). Thus, in 1350 Ibn Batuta mentioned “Martabans or huge jars, filled with pepper, citron, and mango, all prepared with salt, as for a sea voyage” (Ibn Batuta 1853–1858). *Les Mille et Une Nuits* mentions “un grand bassin de Martabani,” which the French translator notes as “porcelaine verte,” perhaps a reference to Sawankhalok glazing (Yule and Burnell 1968).

By the middle of the fifteenth century Ayudhya had lost control of Martaban, and the cessation of the Burmese wars at about the same time ushered in a long period of prosperity. The Mon capital at Pegu (now the capital of a state of the same name) dominated the ports of Bassein, Syriam, and Martaban, which were well known to Chinese merchants by this time (Mills 1970:287). Peguan mer-

chants, who were (and often still are) Muslims, traded with India and Malacca and the Spice Islands (Jones 1928). Events of the sixteenth century, however, changed the nature of the Martaban trade. The most important for the region as a whole was, of course, the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. Ten years later, a Portuguese factory was opened at Martaban, and trade with Malacca was encouraged, particularly when the Javanese sought to attack the Portuguese and withheld food supplies intended for the precious spice islands of the Moluccas and Amboina. According to Schouten, "apart from food stuffs, the Peguans imported [sic] gold, rubies, musk, tin and Martaban jars into Malacca, which they exchanged for cloth, sandalwood, pepper, cloves, silks, porcelain and iron pans" (Meilink-Roelofs 1962: 138, 364 n. 13; Ikuta 1977: 55-67).

One of the earliest Portuguese accounts of Pegu, that of Duarte Barbosa, records Peguan trade with India—Quilon in the south and Bengal in the north—and with Malacca, Sumatra, and Siam, the latter notably through Tenasserim, which was still under Thai rule. His is the first eye-witness account of the local manufacture of glazed jars (Stanley 1966: 185):

In this town of Martaban are made very large and beautiful porcelain vases, and some of glazed earthenwares of a black color, which are highly valued among the Moors, and they export them as merchandize.

Pegu state was annexed by Tabinshweti of the Burmese dynasty at Toungoo in 1541 but this does not seem to have affected the coastal trade for at least a century. Thus, even in 1598 John Huyghen van Linschoten described overland routes to Tenasserim (now under Burmese control) and to Siam. The trade with India and the Portuguese at Malacca appears to have been proceeding normally. His account of Martaban (Burnell 1885: 101-103) illustrates this:

In this town many of the great earthen pots are made, which in India are called Martauans, and many of them are carried throughout all India, of all sortes both small and great; some [are so great that they] hold full two pipes of water. The cause why so many are brought into India, is for that they use them in every house, and in [their shippes] in steed of Caske. There are none in India but such as come out of Portingall, therefore, they use these pottes to keepe oyle, wyne, and water and it is a good thing for a traveller. There are many of them brought into Portingall, for that they use them for their shippes [that sayle] to India to [carry] water and oyle, etc.

He mentions, too, the famous "Nipa Arrack," wine from the Nipa palm, of which the variety made at Tenasserim was most prized and carried to "all places [of India] in great pottes of Martavan."

By the end of the century, however, the political situation and hence the trade was deteriorating. The Burmese had begun their attacks on Ayudhya, and the Siamese, on the other hand, had temporarily regained Tavoy and Tenasserim. In the seventeenth century the power of the Portuguese had waned in favor of Holland and England. An intimation of the future is found in Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* where he quotes a memorandum of 1664 preserved in the Public Record Office, London, entitled "The Trade of India": as "tis now managed by the English Company of Merchants trading in some parts of it is very invallid in comparison of what is now drove by our neighbour nation the Dutch." It states that "many sorts of clothing are sent to Pegu, a Port in Yt Bay [Bangala] which returns rubies and readie money, the coin or currant

money of that place, allsoe Martanans Jarres” (Temple 1893:364). The trade in jars with India, however, continued. In 1610 Pyrard de Laval (1679) noted (also see Gray and Bell 1887–89, 1:259):

des iarres les plus belles, les mieux vernis et les mieux façonnées que j’aye veu ailleurs. Il y en a qui tiennent autant qu’une pippe plus. Elles se font au Royaume de Martabane, d’on on les apporte, et d’ou elles prennent leur nom par toute l’Inde.

*Translation:* the most beautiful, best glazed and made jars I have seen anywhere. There are some that hold as much as a pipe [1 pipe = 2 hogshead = 105 gallons approximately], or more. They are made in the Kingdom of Martaban, from where they are brought and from where they take their name throughout India.

Rumphius (1741), the Dutch botanist, remarked in c. 1690 on their manufacture both in Siam and Martaban:

Sunt autem haec vastissimae ac turgidae allae in regionibus Martavana et Siam confectae, quae per Totam transferuntur Indiam and varios liquores conservandos.

*Translation:* There are these large and heavy jars that are made in parts of the Martaban and Siam and which are found all over India where they are used to conserve various liquids.

By the eighteenth century the great days of the Martaban trade were over, although the jars continued to be produced and manufactured and even increased later, under the British. Alexander Hamilton in 1727 wrote the final account of the trade (Foster 1930:34–35):

In former Times Martavan was one of the most flourishing Towns for Trade in the East, having the Benefit of a noble River, which afforded a good Harbour for Ships of the greatest Burden; but after the Barmaes conquered it, they sunk a Number of Vessels full of Stones, in the Mouth of the River, so that now it is unnavigable, except for small Vessels. They make earthenware there still, and glaze them with Lead-ear. I have seen some Jars made there, that could contain two Hogsheads of Liquor.

#### ON THE MANUFACTURE OF MARTABAN JARS

While the current excavations at sites around the Bay of Martaban are uncovering a range of kilns (Myo Thant Tyn and Rooney 2001:57–61), publication is still awaited. Meanwhile, it is useful to reproduce here colonial accounts of the industry as it existed in the nineteenth century, as it is anticipated that these documented a continuation of an older tradition.

Two nineteenth-century accounts of the manufacture of Martaban or “Pegu” jars are given in the *British Burma Gazetteer* (Spearman 1879–1880:418–419, 558–559). The industry was domestic, with little hired labor employed. All the potters were Mon and most of the technical terms used in pottery-making are of Mon origin. The work of making the jars was restricted to the dry season. Clay and sand were brought from river banks and the coast. The clay was then pounded and mixed with sand, normally in a ratio of two to one, trampled on mats and kneaded afterwards by hand, when all foreign substances were removed and it was formed into balls of a suitable size. The potter himself needed only a wheel, a wet rag, and a string. After turning, the pots were kept in the shade for a couple of days to dry, then beaten into proper shape with a mallet against an earthenware

mold held inside it, and were sometimes ornamented by figured and carved mallets before being put away to be thoroughly dried. Two descriptions of kilns are given. The *Thaton Gazetteer* (Tin Gyi 1929-1931, A: 64-65) relates:

The kiln consists of two square brick walls one contained inside the other, the wall measures six cubits square and two cubits high, the inner wall is only one cubit high and is at about 14 inches from the outer wall. The space between the walls is the hearth which is fed from four large holes and the corners of the outer wall, the heat passing through numerous open spaces in the inner wall. The pots are heaped mouth downward in the kiln to a height of six cubits, the whole heap is covered with straw and clay before being fired. The firing is done by men only and great experience is required to bake the pots exactly right; there should not be more than 50 broken pots in a kiln of 600 to 800.

The *British Burma Gazetteer* (Spearman 1879-1880:558) describes another type:

The kilns are built against the scarped side of a hill and have the draught-hole close to the hill and the entrance at the other end. The roof is somewhat dome-shaped and has much the appearance of a large, unkeeled boat turned topsy-turvy. The inside measurements vary. An ordinary sized kiln is about 20 feet long by 12 broad and 10 feet high from the floor to the centre of the roof. Many of the pots, owing to defective workmanship, crack and break in the burning, in some cases as many as 100 out of the 250 in the kiln.

Twante specialized in the manufacture of the large Pegu or Martaban jars (Spearman: 1879-1880:559, 849). Standing about 4 ft high, they were glazed with a mixture of galena and rice-water. These jars supplied the Rangoon market and the greater part of the delta of the Irrawaddy. The smaller pots of Bassein were much more ornamental, and were described (Spearman 1879-1880:419) as "flower-pots ornamented with applied tracery, if it may be so called, much as a sugar-covered cake is ornamented with patterns in lines of coloured sugar, and with flowers; and elaborate flower pot stands with figures of flowers and men in almost every possible and impossible positions."

#### NOTES

This paper was originally delivered at the symposium on Trade Pottery in East and Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, September 1978. Roxanna Brown acknowledged it as a seminal work in the 1988 edition of *The Ceramics of South-east Asia*, and it was drawn on by, among others, John Guy in his *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-east Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries* and John Shaw in *Introducing Thai Ceramics, also Burmese and Khmer*. It foreshadowed many of the finds since made in Burma, including the work of Hein and Barbetti at Pagan and in the south, and the more recent excavations of the Burmese archaeologists, which have now given substance to the suppositions that sites around the Gulf of Martaban, particularly from Twante to Martaban had been producing pottery from the Pyu period, and that Martaban itself was also an important entrepot for traded goods from Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai via Mae Sot and Tak and later from Ayudhya over the Three Pagodas Pass. The paper has not been updated in the light of the more recent discoveries, although some of these have been included in the references.

1. The discovery of the inscription is mentioned by Aung Thaw (1972:32), and it was partially edited by D. C. Sircar (1975-76:210-218). The size is typical of later longer Pyu inscriptions, e.g., the Pyu face of the Myazedi inscription (Taw Sein Ko and C. Duroiselle 1919), and is sculpted at the top with a *stūpa* flanked by two Buddhas in *dhyānamudra*. This, and the fact that the language is Sanskrit, suggests a connection with northern Buddhism. The script is northeast Indian, slightly earlier than that of the west face of the Shittaung pillar inscription in Arakan, c. A.D. 729 (D. C. Sircar 1975, 2:103-109) and the central Javanese Ratubaka inscription (de Casparis 1961:241-248). Notable is the retention of the older tripartite *ya* and the florid super- and subscript vowels. The king of Kalaśapura is called 'Śri Paramesvara' about four times, and also 'Śri Paramadeva' about twice, the former of which is identical with the name 'Śri Parameśvara' that Pelliot (1904:350) restored from the *Hsin l'ang shu* account of Chia-lo-she-fu.



2. The report on the Śrīkṣetra excavations (1964–68) has not, to my knowledge, been published. I am grateful to Than Shwe of the archaeological department for giving me access to this material.
3. Rammāna is the Pali name for the Mon country of Ramaññadesa, from Old Mon “Rmen.” It is noteworthy that the *Buddhavaṃsa* story associates jars and pots with the Mon country even at this early date.

## REFERENCES CITED

- ADHYATMAN, SUMARAH, AND CHENG LAMMERS  
1977 *Tempayan Martavans di Indonesia*. Jakarta: The Ceramic Society of Indonesia.
- ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA  
1920 *Archaeological Survey of Burma, Report of the Director*, Pt. 2. Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing.
- ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
1930–1934 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*. Pts. 1–2. Delhi: Manager of Publications.
- AUNG THAW  
1968 *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano*. Rangoon: Ministry of Union Culture.  
1972 *Historical Sites in Burma*. Rangoon: Sarpay Beikman Press.
- BA SHIN  
1963 The coming of Islam to Burma down to 1700 A.D. Burma Historical Commission Report. Unpublished.
- BRANDES, J., AND N. J. KROM  
1913 *Oud Javaansche Oorkunden*. Batavia: Verhandeling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- BROWN, ROXANNA M.  
1988 *The Ceramics of Southeast Asia: Their Dating and Identification*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- BURNELL, A. C., ED.  
1885 *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies from the Old English Translation of 1598*, Vol. 1. London: Hakluyt Society.
- COLLIS, MORRIS  
1935–1936 Fresh light on the route taken by export porcelains from China to India and the Near East during the Ming period. *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*, Vol. 13.
- DE CASPARIS, L. G.  
1961 *New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times*, Vol. 24, Pts. 3 and 4. Ascona: Artibus Asiae.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM, ED.  
1930 *A New Account of the East Indies by Alexander Hamilton*. London: The Argonaut Press.
- FRASCHÉ, DEAN  
1976 *Southeast Asian Ceramics*. New York: Asia Society.
- GRAY, A., AND H.C.Y. BELL, EDS.  
1887–1889 *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. 1. London: Hakluyt Society.
- GREY, BASIL  
1964–1966 The export of Chinese porcelain to India. *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*, Vol. 36.
- GUTMAN, PAMELA  
1977 Ancient Arakan, with Special Reference to its Cultural History Between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Ph.D. diss., Australian National University.
- GUY, JOHN  
1986 *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-east Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.  
1989 *Ceramic Traditions of Southeast Asia*. London: Oxford University Press.

- HEIN, D., AND M. BARBETTI  
 1998 Brief site observation notes made during an inspection trip to the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma 23/30 May 1998. NWG MacIntosh Centre for Quaternary Dating, University of Sydney. Working paper.
- IBN BATUTA  
 1853– *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*. Texte Arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. De Fremery et le B. R. Sangvinetti. Paris: Société Asiatique.
- IKUTA, S.  
 1977 Portuguese trade between Malacca and Pegu in the early sixteenth century. *Shiroku* 10:55–62.
- INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA  
 1933– Portfolios 1 to 5. Plates 1 to 609 arranged chronologically down to 1364 A.D. and the  
 1956 foundation of Ava, with introductory notes by U Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce. Collo-type reproductions made by Oxford University Press. Rangoon: University of Rangoon.
- JONES, JOHN WINTER, TRANS.  
 1928 *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1510*, by John Winter Jones, F.S.A. in 1863 for the Haklyut Society, with a Discourse on Varthema by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, B. T. London: The Argonaut Press. Reprint.
- KROM, N. J.  
 1914 Remen. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- KYAW NYEIN  
 1963 The ceramic industry of the Pagan period. Report for the Burma Historical Commission Bulletin. Unpublished.
- LOOFS, H.H.E.  
 1970 A brief account of the Thai-British archaeological expedition, 1965–70. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 5(3).
- LUCE, G. H.  
 1925 Countries neighbouring Burma. *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 16.  
 1937 The ancient Pyu. *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 27.  
 1969– *Old Burma—Early Pagan*. 3 vols. Ascona and New York: Artibus Asiae and the Institute of  
 1970 Fine Arts, New York University.  
 1985 *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma: Languages and History*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MEILINK-ROELOFSZ, M.A.P.  
 1962 *Asian Trade and European Influence: The Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and 1630*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhof.
- MIEDEMA, H.  
 1964 *Martavan*. Catalogus van het Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princeshof Leeuwarden, Leeuwarden.
- MILLS, J.V.G., TRANS.  
*The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores* [1433]. Hakluyt Society extra series 42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MOORE, EINE  
 1970 A suggested classification of stonewares of Martabani type. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 18.
- MYINT AUNG  
 1977 The capital of Suvannabhumi unearthed? *Shiroku* 10:48–51, 53.
- MYO THAN TYN, AND DAWN F. RONEY  
 2001 Ancient Celadon in Myanmar: A new ceramic discovery. *Orientations* 32(4).
- PELLIOT, P.  
 1904 Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bulletin d'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. 4.
- RUMPHIUS, GEORGE EVERARD  
 1741 *Herbarium Amboinese*. Amsterdam.

SHAW, J. C.

1987 *Introducing Thai Ceramics—Also Burmese and Khmer*. Chiangmai: Craftsman Press.

SHORTO, H. L.

1966 The *Devatá* plaques of the Ananda basement, in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*: 163–164, fig. 2, pl. 15–17, ed. Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, and A. B. Griswold. Ascona: Artibus Asiae.

SPEARMAN, H. R.

1879– *The British Burma Gazetteer*. 2 vols. Rangoon.  
1980

SPINKS, CHARLES NELSON

1956– Siam and the pottery trade of Asia. *Journal of the Siam Society* 44–45.  
1957

STANLEY, H.E.J., TRANS. AND COMP.

1966 *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*. London: Hakluyt Society.

TEMPLE, R. C.

1893 Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. *The Indian Antiquary*, December.

THAN TUN

1972– Pottery in Burma. *Mandalay Arts and Sciences University Annual*.  
1973

TIN GYI

1929– *Burma District Gazetteers—Thaton, A and B*. Rangoon.  
1931

YAMAMOTO, TATSURO

1979 East Asian historical sources for Dvāravatī studies: p. 1144. *Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Bangkok*, Vol. 2. Bangkok: International Association of Historians of Asia.

YULE, HENRY, AND A. C. BURNELL

1968 *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* [1903]. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal. Reprint.

#### ABSTRACT

Epigraphic and literary evidence for a pottery tradition in Lower Burma dating from the early centuries of the present era are discussed. The tradition is mentioned first in Buddhist texts, and is alluded to in Chinese and Indian histories. A Sanskrit inscription of around the eighth century A.D. referring to Kalasapura, the city of jars, coincides with finds at sites in Lower Burma where contact with both eastern India and Dvaravati is evidenced in unglazed wares. By the eleventh century, Mon people around the Gulf of Martaban, particularly between Twante and Moulmein, influenced the pottery of Pagan, seen in illustrations in frescoes and glazed terracotta plaques. Ports around this coastline were important links in the China-India porcelain trade and later in the export of Sawankhalok and other Siamese wares, as well as glazed wares from sites around the Gulf. Arab, Chinese, and European sources trace the history of this trade from the fourteenth century until its decline in the eighteenth century. KEYWORDS: Martaban, Pyu, Mon, terracotta, glazed wares, Lower Burma, Pagan.