

## 【論文】

# 貿易陶磁からみた10世紀から16世紀における琉球列島・ 中国福建・台湾の関係

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**Relationship between Taiwan, the Ryūkyūs and Fujian during the 10th – 15/16th centuries as seen from trade porcelain**

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## Abstract

Between the second half of the 11th century and the 12th century, the societies of the Ryūkyū islands were under influence from Japan and thus developed into agricultural societies, while during the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century, a direct relationship to Fujian in China was established. Then, in the latter half of the 14th century, this developed into an official, political and economic relationship with China, which rapidly resulted in the formation of a state. From this it is evident that the change in the second half of the 13th century is very important to understanding the historical process of change from prehistoric society to that of the Ryūkyū kingdom. In this paper, I explain how we searched the very early traffic between China and Okinawa via Sakishima Island, and the importance of recent archaeological finds in Taiwan from the viewpoint of the traffic between Fujian and the Ryūkyūs.

Keywords : during the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century, Ryūkyū islands, Sakishima islands, Fujian, China, Northern Taiwan, white plane porcelain, Talc stone pots, merchant, Gusuku, agriculture

## Introduction

The Ryūkyū 琉球 islands form an arc of 1260 km in length in the south of the Japanese islands. They are more than 200 islands south to the Japanese island of Kyūshū 九州, forming Ōsumi 大隅 shotō in the north, the Tokara rettō 吐噶喇列島, Amami shotō 奄美諸島, Okinawa shotō 沖縄諸島, and the Sakishima shotō 先島諸島 with Miyakojima 宮古島 and the Yaeyama shotō 八重山諸島, which are only 110 km from Taiwan in the southwest (Fig. 1).

Although this region has exchange with the island of Kyūshū 九州 since prehistoric times, it has its own history, adapted to the subtropic climate and environment with its coral reefs. The period called “kaizuka jidai” 貝塚時代 (shellmound period) was based on hunting and gathering and persisted over 7000 years until the 10th century.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, the culture of the Japanese middle ages expanded southwards and produced strong influence on the whole area of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands. People began to cultivate wheat and rice, the

former pit houses were replaced by houses built over the ground on pillars, and dishes changed radically. The prehistory of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands came to an end.

Although the influence from the north declined in the following period, settlements from the 11th to 12th centuries on the Okinawa 沖縄 islands as well as the Sakishima 先島 islands developed and became larger; and on this basis, fortresses called “gusuku”<sup>1</sup> began to be built in the 14th century and regional powers emerged. We know about envoys sent from the Ming 明 court to Okinawa 沖縄 in 1372<sup>2</sup>, so political and economic relations between Ryūkyū 琉球 and China began in these times in the form of tributary trade (朝貢貿易), large amounts of Ming 明 porcelain were brought to Okinawa 沖縄 from the 14th century on. The regional powers in

Okinawa 沖縄 gained strength from the tributary trade and struggled predominance, until at the beginning of the 15th century, Okinawa 沖縄 was united and the Ryūkyū 琉球 kingdom founded.

Therefore, the 14th century was revolutionary for the history of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands. This “revolution” was based on the internal development of a society based on agriculture, and the external development of tributary trade, but according to recent archaeological research, the external factors had an interesting history preceding these developments.

During the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, there was traffic between China and the Sakishima 先島 islands as well as the Okinawa 沖縄 islands. This can be inferred from porcelain that was burned in Mingjiang river area in Fujian 福建 province, which came via the Sakishima 先島 islands to Okinawa 沖縄 (MORIMOTO 森本 & TANAKA 田中 2004; KINOSHITA 木下 (ed.) 2009). This seems to be an unimportant phenomenon as far as the analyses of Chinese porcelain is concerned, but since Chinese porcelain had been brought to the Ryūkyūs 琉球 from Kyūshū 九州 island in the north in the periods before the first half of the 13th century, the change to the south and China from the second half of the 13th century is certainly not of small importance.

In other words, the societies of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands were under influence from Japan in the north between the second half of the 11th century and the 12th century and thus developed into an agricultural society, while during the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century, a direct relationship to Fujian in China was established. Then, in the later half of the 14th century, this developed into an official, political and



Fig. 1. Taiwan, the Ryūkyūs and Kyūshū

● the Ryūkyūs

economical relationship to China, which rapidly resulted in the formation of a state.

Recently, in several sites at the northern coast of Taiwan, porcellain from the Song 宋, Yuan 元, and Ming 明 dynasties could be indentified, and their archaeological investigation is progressing. Also, archaeological research in Taiwan tends to change the historical image of the movements in the 10th through 16th centuries as the period that connects prehistory and historical times (LIU 劉 2012).

So, after all, the interdependencies of the region around two seas - Fujian 福建, Taiwan, Ryūkyū 琉球 - during their history are being studied. In my paper, I want to start from this research stage and present the historical situtaion in the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands between the 13th and 16th centuries, explain some problems and prepare the direction of future research.

## 1 Prehistory - The Ryūkyū islands in the 12th and first half of the 13th centuries

### 1.1. Main finds

There is a set of finds that represent the change on the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands during that period. These are the Nansong 南宋 porcellain bowls, talc stone pots, and Kamuiyaki カムイヤキ stone ware. They are often found together on the same site.

Since Nansong 南宋 white porcelain bowls (白磁玉縁口縁碗) are found in abundance as trade ware in the Hakata 博多 site cluster in North Kyūshū 九州, they are dated to a period from the end of the 11th century to the first half of the 12th century (KIN 金武1989) (Fig. 3).

Talc stone pots are high quality pots, cut out from soft stone material, that flourished all over Japan during the 11th through 13th centuries with a center in West Japan. Those dating from the later half of the 11th century to the first half of the 12th century have handles (Fig. 2), from the second half of the 12th century to the 13th century, they change to the form of a brim. Their production sites are found in the Japanese prefectures of Nagasaki 長崎, Fukuoka 福岡, and Yamaguchi 山口, where the size of the Nagasaki 長崎 production center is the largest (SHINZATO 新里 2002).



Fig. 2. Talc stone pot with handles

Kamuiyaki カムイヤキ is a stone ware that was produced on Tokunoshima 徳之島 from the second half of the 11th century to the first halb of the 14th century (Fig. 3). A potter's wheel was used to form vessel forms like *tsubo*, *hachi*, pot, bowl and water pitcher. They were used in the large region from South Kyūshū 九州 through all of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, and they can be divided into an old form called "A Cluster" (2nd half of the 11th century to 1st half of the 13th century) and a later form "B Cluster" (2nd half 13th century to 14th century) (SHINZATO 2010).

White porcelain bowls, talc stone pots, Kamuiyaki カムイヤキ stone ware can be clearly dated, so that the

period to which the set of these three items belongs can easily be narrowed down to the years between the end of the 11th century and the beginning to the 12th century. Since finds of white porcelain bowls as well as of talc stone pots concentrate in the region of northern Kyūshū 九州, it is highly probable that those found together in the Ryūkyū 琉球 sites were imported via north Kyūshū 九州.

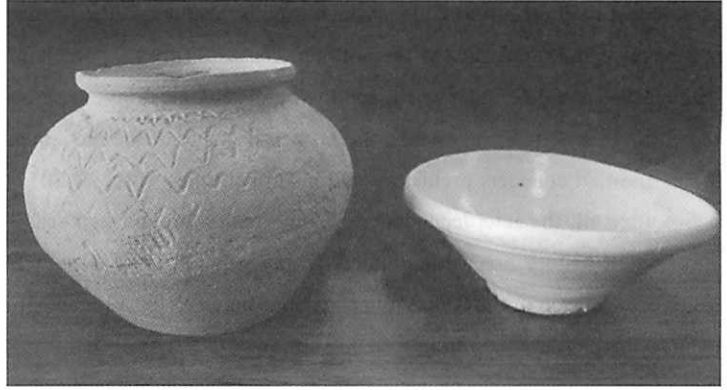


Fig. 3. Kamuiyaki (left) and white porcelain bowl (right): Gusuku Site, Kikai Island, Amami, 12<sup>th</sup> century

## 1.2. The Amami islands during the 12th through first half of 13th century

One or more sites with this set of three archaeological goods are known on each of the Amami 奄美 islands, e.g. on Kikaijima 喜界島, Amami Ōshima 奄美大島, Tokunoshima 徳之島. The Gusuku site cluster on Kikaijima 喜界島 dates mainly to the second half of the 11th century to the 12th century; it is a settlement site with more than 300 pillared houses and a blacksmith furnace. Beside the set of three, trade ceramics from the Japanese mainlands and the Korean peninsula, white porcelain and celadon from China have been excavated; which shows that there was a relation to North Kyūshū 九州. Until now, no signs of rice paddy fields or other fields have been found, but carbonised rice, millet, barley, wheat, legumes, and bones of cattles show a high possibility of agriculture. The site declined rapidly from the 13th century on (SUMITA 澄田, NOZAKI 野崎 et al. 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011). In the Gusuku 城久 site cluster and other contemporary sites, ceramic imitations of the talc stone pots have been found (SHINZATO 新里 2004); these are a new form of pottery in this stage.

Furthermore, on the ground of the Kurakizaki 倉木崎 sea in the southwest of Amami Ōshima 奄美大島, trade porcelain from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th century was found. It was mainly celadon bowls from the Rong-quan 竜泉 kilns, celadon plates from the Tong-an 同安 kilns, and ceramics from the Quan-zhou 泉州 kilns; in addition, there was a small amount of plates and vases of white porcelain from Fujian 福建 as well as Jingde-zhen 景德鎮 celadon (ADACHI 足立 1998). No remains of a sunken ship were found, but it is highly probable. The items drawn up are very similar to those unearthed in the Hakata 博多 site cluster, so it might be that the finds are from a trade ship that came from China travelling to Hakata 博多.

### 1.3. The Okinawa island group during the 12th through first half of 13th centuries

Among those sites in the Okinawa 沖縄 island group with the “set of three” from the end of the 11th through the first half of the 12th century, there are the Atta 熱田 shellmound (KIN 金武1978), the Kushi-Kanekubaru 後兼久原 site (YAMASHIRO 山城 and SHIMABUKURO 島袋 2003, KATAGIRI 片桐2004). They continue to exist with several developments during the 13th through 14th centuries. The change in the view of settlements during this period is particularly interesting. A set of pillar houses with a main house and attached houses becomes a main phenomenon, burials are erected near the settlements. Settlements show iron production sites and storage pits for sand iron; fenced enclosures are built, and sites of agricultural fields become more frequent. Carbonised rice, barley, wheat, several kinds of millet, and legumes are frequently found. In the Isa-Mēbaru 伊佐前原 site bones from cattle were found in a layer that dates to the 12th through 13th centuries (TÔME 當銘2001). During this period, ceramic imitations of talc pots with handles appear on the Okinawa 沖縄 island group, they are called Gusuku-pottery; and a subsistence based on agriculture and iron production starts.

### 1.4. The Sakishima island group in the 12 through first half of 13th centuries

There is only one site in the Sakishima 先島 island group between the end of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century with the “set of three”, which is the Shimiya 住屋 site on Miyakojima 宮古島 island; furthermore, the site is mixed with sites from the end of the 13th to the 15th centuries (SUNABE 砂辺 1999). Structural remains of this period are unknown as well, but the pottery imitations of talc stone pots start to appear, while the culture without pottery comes to an end (SHINZATO 新里 2004).

In the Yaeyama 八重山 islands, there is layer 4 in the Ōdomari-bama 大泊浜 shellmound on Haterumajia 波照間島 island and the Shinzato mura higashi 新里村東 site on Taketomijima 竹富島 island, where the “set of three” has been found (KIN 金武 and KINJŌ 金城 1986; SHIMABUKURO 島袋 and KINJŌ 金城 1990). The Shinzato mura higashi 新里村東 site dates to the 12th through 13th century, pillar houses were built. Like on Miyakojima 宮古島, ceramic imitations of talc stone pots with handles appear, and the former culture without pottery comes to an end.

### 1.5. Characteristics of the distribution of the culture from the Japanese mainland to the south

The Japanese culture of the middle ages reaches to the whole region of the Ryūkyū 琉球 between the end of the 11th century to the first half of the 12th century, which can be seen from ceramics with main distribution in the northern part of Kyūshū 九州: Chinese bowls of white porcelain, talc stone pots from Nagasaki, and Kamuyaki from the Tokunoshima 徳之島 island. Under the influence of such material, the prehistoric culture of the Ryūkyū 琉球 island changes significantly, which is shown for the different in regions in the following table.

Table 1. Elements of the culture in the Ryūkyū islands from the end of the 11th to the first half of the 13th century.

	“Set of three”	Agriculture	House building on the ground	Ceramic imitations of talc stone pots	Blacksmith furnaces	Main periods of the sites
Amami Ōshima	◎	○?	○	*	○	11th-12th c.
Okinawa island group	○	○	○	○	○	12th-13th c.
Sakishima island chain	*	○?	○	○		12th-13th c. and later

◎ : Many occurrences ○ : Occurrences \* : Few Occurrences

The table shows the following.

- The “set of three” is influential in the north, weak in the south.
- Beginning of agriculture and the change in house architecture is most obvious in the Okinawa 沖縄 island group.
- The “birth” of the new pottery that imitates talc stone pots is a matter of the whole region of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, it is more obvious in the Okinawa 沖縄 island group and the Sakishima 先島 islands than in the Amami 奄美 islands.
- Sites with the “set of three” tend to extinguish early in the north, while they tend to continue in the south.

We can understand the different level of the influence from the north in the different regions. In the Gusuku 城久 site on the Amami 奄美 islands e.g. enough goods from outside could be supplied, so there was no need to complement missing import goods with local pottery. Therefore, we cannot observe a local tradition of imitations of talc stone pots. In the Okinawa 沖縄 islands on the other hand, the supply of foreign goods was not as abundant, so pottery imitations were produced to compensate this lack of supply. While the developments on the Sakishima islands started a bit later, they resemble those on the Okinawa 沖縄 islands.

#### 1.6. What the “set of three” tells us

We know from written sources as well as from archaeological evidence, that the distribution of Japanese mainland culture to the south in this period was related to the demand of products from the Ryūkyū islands, that people on the mainland acquired (YAMASATO 山里 1999, KINOSHITA 木下 2002).

Among the products that merchants from the mainland imported, were sulphur, betel nut (*Livistona chinensis*), akagi 赤木- the “Red Tree” (*Bischofia javanica*), trumpet shell (*Charonia tritonis*), and the great green turban shell “yakōgai”. All these were important export goods in the trade between Japan and Song 宋 China.

The great green turban shell was a highly demanded good for lacquerware with mother of pearl inlays, that was just developed in Japan during this period (Fig. 4). The trumpet was a ritual instrument in buddhist

temples. Since the trumpet shell as well as the great green turban shell have their habitat in all regions of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, they were familiar food for the Ryūkyū 琉球 people. Sulphur was highly demanded by the Song 宋, and it can be found on Iōjima, an island near to South Kyūshū. 九州 So, the main incentive to go further south than Amami Ōshima 奄美大島 seems to have been the great green turban shell and the trumpet shell.

The demand on the mainland for the great green turban shell increased rapidly during the 11th and 12 century. In this period, noble families in Kyōto 京都, where the buddhist Mappō ideology 末法思想 flourished, tried to build a paradise for life after death in form of the Amida-dō 阿弥陀堂 temple (Fig. 5). For the decoration of the inner rooms of these temples, they began to use mother of pearl from the great green turban shell. Until then, this shell was only used for small handicraft, but now the consumption increased to a different level. It is assumed that several ten thousands of great green turban shells were exported to the mainland (KINOSHITA 木下 2002, 2010).

If we imagine the process of trade with the Ryūkyū 琉球 during this time, we can assume that merchant vessels were loaded in Hakata 博多 in North Kyūshū 九州 with white porcelain from Japan and talc stone pot among other goods, and while heading south they stopped in south Kyūshū 九州 and the several harbors of the the southern islands, loading Kamuiyaki カムイヤキ stone ware in Tokunoshima 徳之島, and after that collecting trumpet shell and great green turban shell in exchange for these goods.

There is more than 200 km distance between Okinawa 沖縄 islands and Sakishima 先島 islands, and it is impossible to see one island from the other. This seems to be the reason why there are no signs for exchange and travel between them during all of the Neolithic period, which ends in the 11th century. It is very likely that the “set of three” came as far as the Sakishima 先島 islands just because the need for great green turban shell suddenly increased to such dimensions. It seems that the merchant vessels were the first to cross the sea

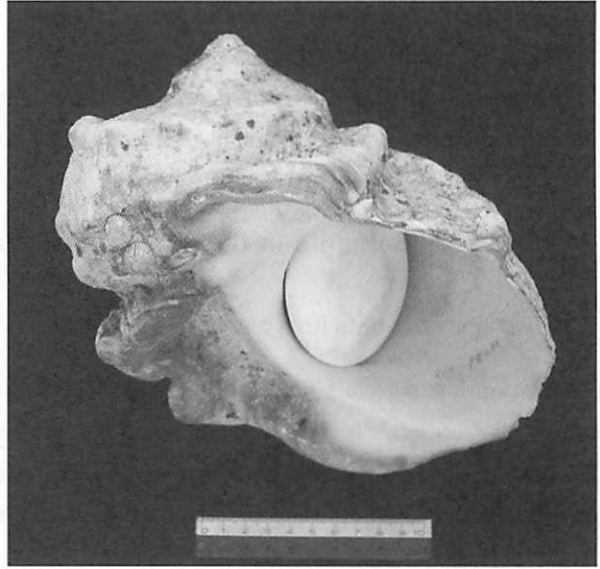


Fig. 4. Great green turban shell



Fig. 5. Restored picture of Amida-dō temple of Yanagino-goshi in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Hiraizumi  
Citation: Yanagino-goshi Museum, Iwate Pref.

between the island groups. So it may be that only because of the travel of merchants, people began to settle on these islands and brought agriculture right with them.

But finally, beginning with the 13th century, the need for great green turban shell on the mainland declined, the number of merchant vessels from the north decreased, and the trade with Kyūshū 九州 returned to the usual.

## 2 New developments in the later half of the 13th century

### 2.1. Two kinds of bowls from plain white porcelain

Chinese white porcelain found on the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands which is dating to the first half of the 13th century and earlier, shows no big differences to Chinese white porcelain from the Kyūshū 九州 region, therefore it seems to have come from the north. But from the second half of the 13th century to the 14th century, another type of white porcelain is found which is characteristic for the Okinawa 沖縄 region. According to KIN (金武 2009a, 2009b), there are two kinds, the Najikin type white porcelain bowl and the Birōsuku type white porcelain bowl; their characteristics are as follows (Fig. 6).

- *Najikin type* 今帰仁 type

It has a straight, thin neck with an edge at the inner side of the lip, which itself is flat. The bottom stand widens to the outer side, and inside there is a characteristic glaze scratched by broad rings. The type is divided into three subtypes I to III, which date to the second half of the 13th century to the middle of the 14th century. (Fig6-1: *Najikin type* I, 6-2: *Najikin type* II)

- *Birōsuku type* ビロースク type

It has a thick wall with a rounded, slightly closed body, and lots of ridged marks from the potter's wheel on the surface. Glaze is thin, covering the body from the lower part of the inside to the stand outside. It is also subdivided into three types I to III and dates from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century. (Fig6-3: *Birōsuku type* I, 6-4: *Birōsuku type* II, 6-5: *Birōsuku type* III)

SHINZATO 新里 has collected Chinese porcelain dating to this period from Kyūshū 九州 and the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands and analyses it as follows.

- *Najikin* 今帰仁 type and *Birōsuku* ビロースク type are rare in Kyūshū 九州 but frequent in the Ryūkyū 琉球.

- The number of site with Chinese porcelain in Kyūshū 九州 increases from the later half of the 11th century to the first half of the 13th century, but declines in the later half of the 13th century to the first half of the 15th century. In the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, the number of sites increases steadily from the second half of the 11th century to the first half of the 15th century. Therefore, a consumption of Chinese porcelain that was different to that in Kyūshū 九州, began at the time between the later half of the 13th century and first half of the 15th



century.

- The Nakijin 今帰仁 type and Birōsuku ビロースク types show some economic relation between China and the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, but their number is small, they seems to have been dishes for everyday life of the people on the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands.

## 2.2. The production regions of the two kinds of plain white porcelain bowls

In 2004, the specialist for ceramic research TANAKA Katsuko 田中克子 pointed out that the production region of the Nakijin type were the Pukou 浦口 kilns in Lianjiang 連江 in Fujian 福建; while the Birōsuku type may be from the 閩清 kilns in Fujian 福建. In 2005, she, myself and a group of researchers from the Fujian Normal University 福建師範大学 and the Fujian Museum 福建博物院 formed a joint research group tried to confirm these production centers. We could indeed find certain characteristics for procelain from the Pukou 浦口 kilns and the Yi 義 kilns in Fujian 福建, the results of our research were as expected (KINOSHITA 木下 2009).

## 2.3. Two kinds of white porcelain bowls in the Ryūkyū islands

MIYAGI 宮城 and SHINZATO 新里 analysed the collection of Nakijin 今帰仁 and Birōsuku ビロースク type white porcelain bowls found in the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands (type I and II) and pointed out that “Nakijin 今帰仁 type is found frequently on the Sakishima 先島 islands as far as the number of sites, the quantity of sherds in relation to excavation is concerned” (MIYAGI 宮城 and SHINZATO 新里 2009).

The diagram in figure 7 is based on their research. The consumption is clearly largest on the Okinawa 沖縄 islands, so the main destination was the Okinawa 沖縄 island group. Comparing the Amami 奄美 islands in the north and the Sakishima 先島 islands in the south, all numbers in the Sakishima 先島 islands exceed those of the Amami 奄美 islands. From this we can also infer that the trade was from south to north rather than from the north.

## 2.4. New developments in the later half of the 13th century (Fig. 8)

From the above we see that Chinese porcelain was carried to the Okinawa 沖縄 islands via the Sakishima

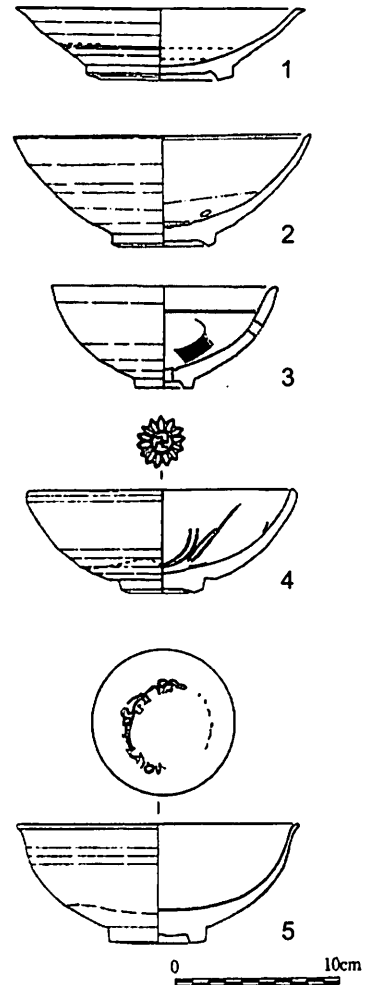
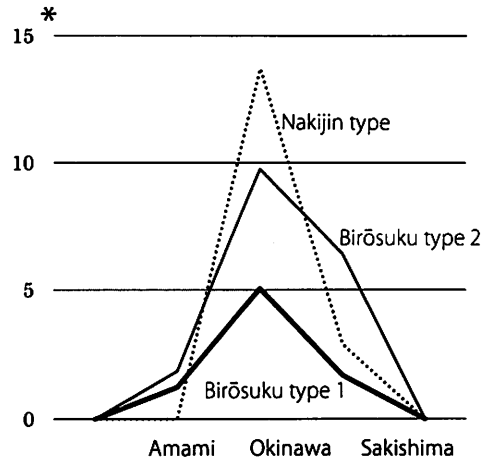


Fig. 6. Standards of the plane white porcelain characteristic of Ryūkyū

1・2 Nakijin type  
3-5 Birōsuku type

先島 islands, but the quantity is small, and it seems that the people of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands used them only as usual dishes.

The two types of white porcelain tell about some relations between Fujian 福建 and Okinawa 沖縄, and although they are on a very small scale, we now almost certainly know of relations between the regions before the period of tributary trade. Kin 金武, Miyagi 宮城, and Shinzato 新里 understand this as the beginning of trade between Fujian and the Sakishima 先島 islands or, between Fujian 福建 and the Okinawa 沖縄 islands (MIYAGI 宮城 and SHINZATO 新里 2009). IKEDA 池田 had already pointed out in 2006 that “it is reasonable to assume maritime trade of the Fujian region China” (IKEDA 池田 2006). On the one hand TANAKA 田中 postulates that, although she admits direct economic relations, the final destination of the goods was still Hakata (TANAKA 田中 2009). But since we now know that the amount of these two types of white porcelain is rather small, I would hesitate to understand these as a result of economic relations. I am concerned about the social background of the reason, why Chinese would go from Fujian 福建 to the Ryūkyūs 琉球.



\* number of pocelain/number of sites/area size

Fig. 7. Comparison of the number of plane white porcelain artifacts

### 3 Okinawa and Sakijima islands during the 14th through 16th centuries

#### 3.1 Changes in the Okinawa islands

Agricultural villages increase on the Okinawa 沖縄 islands from the 12th century onwards, and from the 13th to 14th centuries, the castle called *gusuku*, accompanied by a special facility appear on this basis. The ruins of the Nakijin 今帰仁 castle in the northern part of the Okinawa 沖縄 main islands is a typical example for the *gusuku*. It was built about 100m above sea level on a limestone hill. The excavation of the main enclosure show the change from the later half of the 13th century in nicely preserved layers, which I will describe from layer to layer chronologically.

Around the end of the 13th century, people settle at this place; white porcelain bowls of the Nakijin 今帰仁 type and celadon among others are found (layer 9).

From the end of the 13th century to the first half of the 14th century, people begin to prepare the land on the hill, pillar houses and a surrounding fence are built. This is the beginning of the later castle. White porcelain bowls of the Nakijin and the Birōsuku type, celadon and other items are found, the variety and quantity of Chinese porcelain increases (layer 7).

In the middle of the 14th century, a stone wall is erected, inside of it pillar houses with foundation stones and

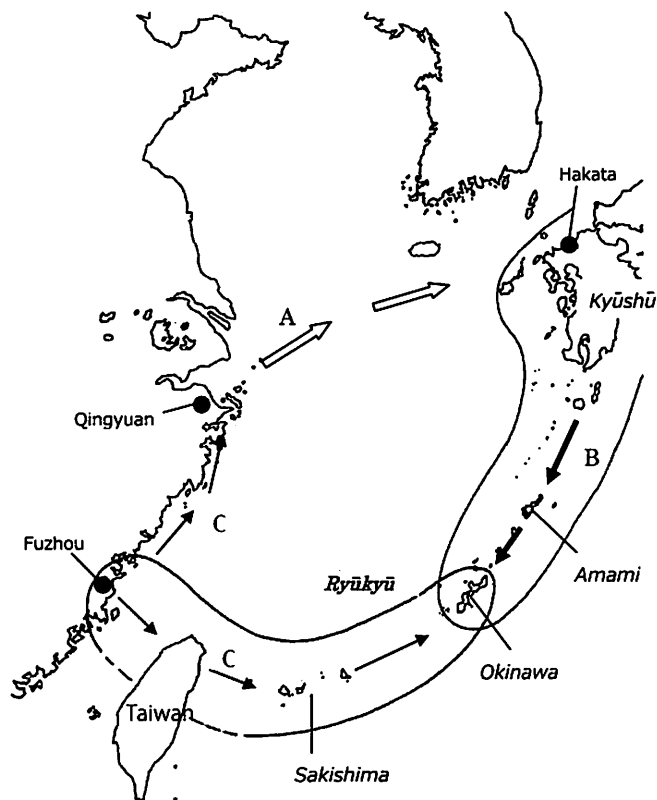


Fig. 8. Two blocs for exchange in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> through the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

- ⇨ A: Route of trade ships from Qingyuan to Hakata  
 → B: Movement of Chinese ceramics from Kyūshū  
 → C: Movement of Chinese Ceramics from Fujian

A: Main trade route from the time before the 11<sup>th</sup> century  
 B: Rout appeared at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century  
 C: Rout appeared at the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century

Ryūkyū 琉球 islands during the 14th through 15th centuries, more than 200 places are known on the Okinawa 沖縄 island group alone (TOUMA 當真 ed. 1983; TAKANASHI 高梨 2001 among others). During the 15th through 16th centuries, the unified country of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands became a partner to Japan, China and South East Asia in the transit trade. This is shown by porcelain from all these areas, that was excavated in the capital of Shūri jō 首里城 (KINJŌ 金城 2001).

### 3.2 Changes on the Sakishima islands

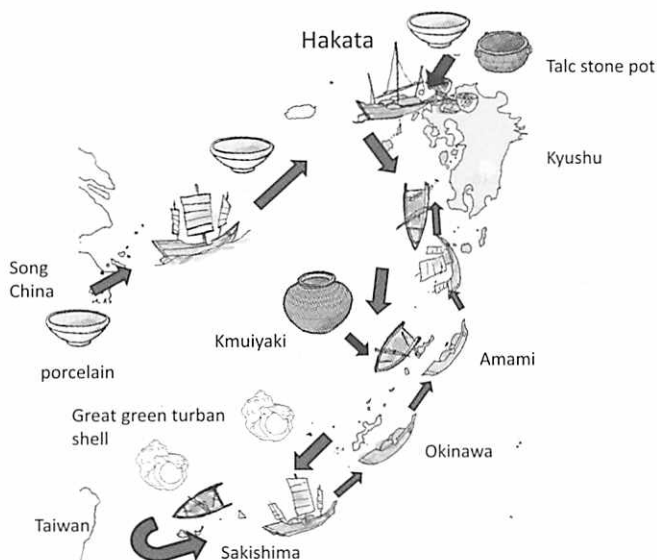
From the later half of the 13th century to the middle of the 15th century, lots of porcelain produced in China, among these the Nakijin 今帰仁 and Birōsuku ビロースク type bowls, were found in the Miyakojima 宮古

surrounding. White porcelain bowls of the Birōsuku ビロースク type, celadon, celadon from Goryeo 高麗 and other goods were found, porcelain from had again increased (layer 5, 6).

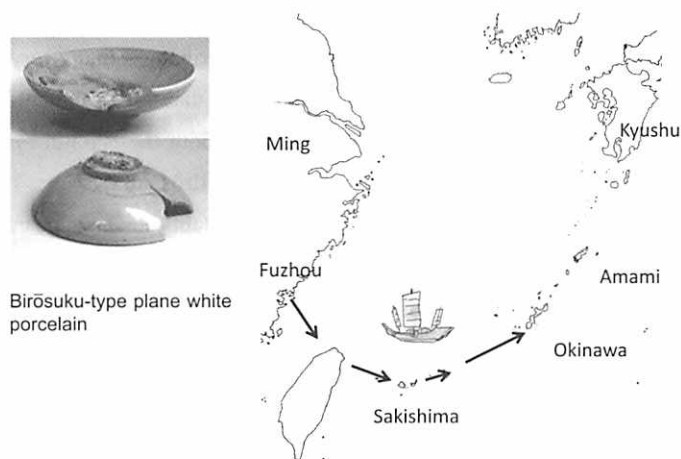
From the second half of the 14th to the first half of the 15th century, the plain area inside the walls was further enlarged, several buildings with stone bases were erected. An enormous amount of porcelain from Chinese production, including very large goods, were found. This period corresponds to the beginning of tributary trade.

The results of this excavation show the development from the erection of *gusuku* to the beginning of tributary trade very clearly. It is important that in the first half of this development, both the Nakijin 今帰仁 as well as the Birōsuku ビロースク type white porcelain bowls appear. They show that the contact between Fujian 福建 and the Okinawa 沖縄 islands was not unrelated to the the development of the *gusuku*.

The class of the *aji* 按司, who had accumulated wealth from trade with China, built *gusuku* all over the



① Exchange route before the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century



② New exchange route from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Fig. 9. Marine trading route in 3 periods ①②

appear. Many sites continue until the 15th through 16th centuries.

Based on the changes in the 11th through 13th centuries, settlements in the Sakishiima 先島 islands grow during the 14th through 16th centuries, population grows as well. Yet, no fields or rice paddies have been found during excavations, but a ((Korean)) source from the later half of the 15th century<sup>iii</sup>, on every island livestock was raised and land was cultivated. As a result of the excavations inside the stone walls of the settlements of the 15th century, researchers point out that there were rulers living inside the stone enclosures (Ono小野

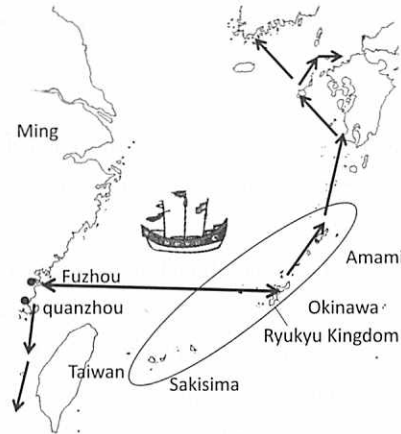
島 islands. Settlement sites with masonry, pit houses and burials appear, and from the later half of the 15th century to the 16th century, pillar houses appear, the number of sites is increasing, and settlements develop. Pottery becomes a set of *tsubo* pots for storage and *nabe* pots for cooking, which develop in a unique way; Chinese porcelain is found throughout the period.

On the Yaeyama 八重山 islands, the amount of Chinese porcelain, including white porcelain bowls of the Nakijin 今帰仁 and Birōsuku ビロースク type as well as celadon, increases explosively in the 14th to 15th centuries. It is important that Japanese jewelry (*magatama* 勾玉) are found among these goods. Pillar houses with surrounding stone walls are built, and on almost all islands the size of settlements increase. The Shinzato mura Nishi 新里村西 site is thought to have been a village surrounded by a stone wall and an entrance gate. Inside the stone wall, remains of storage houses, bones of cattle, horses, goats, pigs are found. As for pottery, *tsubo* and *nabe* form a set and develop in a unique way. Iron pots are brought to the islands, and pottery imitations



Benefit of the tributary trade

Citation of picture : Research  
Center for Buried Cultural  
Properties of Okinawa Prefecture, 2009



### ③ Tributary trade after the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Fig. 9. Marine trading route in 3 periods ③

Relating to the wealth of the Sakishima 先島 islands during the 14th through 16th centuries, ŌHAMA 大濱 points out that it was a result of “frequently occurring illegal trade between people of Japanese mainland and Chinese merchants during the 15th and first half of the 16th centuries, where the Yaeyama 八重山 islands were a transitory region” (ŌHAMA 大濱 1999, 231).

The Shitadaru シタダル site on Ishigakijima 石垣島 is thought to be the remains of a ship sunken sometime between the later half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century (ŌHAMA 大濱 1999, 288). The rule of unified Ryūkyū 琉球 over Sakishima 先島 started with the opening of a governmental bureau on Taketomijima 竹富島 in 1524. Until then, it might be correct to follow the view of ŌHAMA 大濱 in order to understand the situation on the Sakijima 先島 islands.

## 4 Towards a research of trade between Ryūkyū-Yaeyama and Taiwan from the later half of the 13th through the 16th centuries

Professor CHEN Xinxiong 陳信雄 from the National Cheng Kung University 国立成功大学 stated as follows on porcelain from the Song 宋 and Yuan 元 periods.

1) On the 18 islands of the Penghe 澎湖 island chain, more than ten thousand sherds from Song 宋 and Yuan 元 period porcelain were collected; 85% were produced in Fujian 福建, 12% in Zhejiang 浙江. They were shipped from the harbour of Quanzhou 泉州 and left on the Penghe 澎湖 islands, which was a transit region.

2) Porcelain from the Yuan 元 period that is found in the Danshui 淡水 area at the northern coast of Taiwan is slightly younger than that from the Penghe 澎湖 islands, their quantity and distribution being very sparse. It is hard to believe that these were trade goods brought directly from China or the Penghe 澎湖 islands. It

2010).

From the above we understand that during the 14th through 16th centuries, a society with a ruling class developed on the Miyakojima 宮古島 and Yaeyama 八重山 islands; that in both areas unique pottery developed, that precious Chinese porcelain was used, and that goods from Japan (*magatama and iron pots*) were also imported.

might rather be brought from the Ryūkyū islands, where porcelain from the Song 宋 and Yuan 元 periods is widely found.

3) The very few samples of porcelain from the Song 宋 and Yuan 元 period found in the center and southern parts of Taiwan, seem to have come there indirectly and by chance.

What exactly is the “Yuan 元 period porcelain found in the north of Taiwan near Danshui 淡水” mentioned under 2)? As CHEN 陳 points out, it may be white porcelain and celadon that resembles that found on the Ryūkyū islands. But if there were Nakijin or Birōsuku type bowls among the collected material, there is a chance to relate these finds with movements of people from Fujian 福建 to the Sakishima 先島 and Okinawa 沖縄 islands in the 14th century. This is an important questions for the understanding of the Ryūkyū 琉球 side.

WANG Shuqing 王淑津 and LIU Yochang 劉益昌 dealt with porcelain of Chinese origin from the 11th through 14th century, that was found in the Dapenkeng 大盆坑 site at the estuary of the same Danshui 淡水 river. Among the finds, those dating to the 12th through 13th century are the same as those found in kurakisaki 倉木崎 in Amami 奄美 and in Hakata 博多. Therefore, the estuary of the Danshui 淡水 river seems to have been a stop for merchant vessels from Fuzhou 福建 or Quanzhou 泉州 that were bount to the north via the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands (WANG 王 and LIU 劉 2010).

Since currently, it is commonly thought that Chinese porcelain dating to the 12th to the first half of the 13th century found on the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, has come there from Kyūshū 九州, this is an important problem which should lead to future research.

## Final remarks

The question remains, how did the movement to Taiwan and the Ryūkyūs 琉球 in the later half of the 13th century come to life? Which kind of people were behind this development, what were their aims? Why was the impact of the trade porcelain from Fujian so different in the neighbouring regions of Taiwan and the Ryūkyūs 琉球?

On the one hand, a kingdom was founded on the Ryūkyū 琉球 island during the 15th century, on the other hand, many varying groups on the island of Taiwan were included into the continental kingdom. Two insular countries with a contrasting historical development.

In order to find an answer to these questions, it is indispensable to do research into the three regions Fujian 福建, Taiwan and Ryūkyū 琉球, to extract their individualities and their commonalities. Joint research of researchers from all three regions is becoming increasingly important.

This paper was written for the tenth Annual Conference of the European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS) which was held during the period 2-4 May, 2013 at Lyon Normal Superior School, France. For this version, I have added some figures which do not appear in the original. I very much appreciate Dr. Maria Shinoto for helping me in many ways to finish my paper.

## Notes

- i “Gusuku” is a characteristic site type of the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands; it is surrounded by long stone walls, and many of them are built on limestone hills. Gusuku appeared during the second half of the 13th century and continued until the end of the 19th century. Gusuku is thought to have been not just a castle but also some religious place.
- ii Archive of Ming China【明太祖実録】洪武五年正月甲子条。
- iii Archive of Yi Korea【成宗大王実録】卷104-105. The document is about a castaway from Cheju-do 济州島 on the Ryūkyū 琉球 islands in 1477.

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