

The Origin and Development of Goryeo *Sanggam* Celadon

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Inlaid celadon (*sanggam cheongja*, 象嵌青瓷) is widely considered one of the most exemplary types of Goryeo celadon ceramics. This chronological re-examination of known inlaid celadons will reconsider the issues concerning the origins of this technique and how and when it developed.

1. The origin of inlaid celadon

In the absence of any extant records documenting exactly how and when Goryeo inlaid celadon began to be made, we can only conduct a thorough investigation of surviving examples.

Examples we have managed to gather so far date largely to the twelfth century, in the period corresponding to the reigns of King Injong (r. 1123-1146) and King Uijong (r. 1147-1170). They offer one way to understand the origins of inlaid celadon by investigating its production in the early twelfth century.

The most recent evidence regarding twelfth century excavated relics and celadons collected from kilns includes the melon-shaped (*guahyeong*, 瓜形) pot bearing celadon glaze

(1105) from the Jeonju (全州) site and records about celadon paraphernalia (1108); a bowl with phoenix (*bonghwang*, 鳳凰) design in relief under celadon glaze (1117), and a bowl with wild flower and plant (*chohwa*, 草花) design in relief under celadon glaze from the Goryeo tomb excavation site at Suweon (水原), Seokpo-ri (石浦里); references from the *Goryeo Dogyeong* 高麗圖經, 1123; and the recent discovery of celadons dating to 1146 from King Injong's tomb, which include a melon-shaped bottle with celadon glaze, a square (*banghyeong*, 方形) bowl with celadon glaze, a chrysanthemum-shaped (*gukhyeong*, 菊形) covered bowl (*hap*, 盒) with celadon glaze, and a bowl with lid (*yugae wan*, 有蓋碗) with celadon glaze.

In addition, there are the celadon pieces from a kiln that made celadon-glazed roof tiles and is also mentioned in the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 in 1157; an inkstone (*yeon*, 硯) with chrysanthemum and peony (*moran*, 牡丹) design in inlay under celadon glaze, with the two-character cyclical inscription “*Sinchuk* 辛丑” corresponding to the year 1181; and the undecorated cup with celadon glaze and the white porcelain *kundika* (*jeong byeong*, 淨瓶), excavated from the Songja (宋子) tomb at Gaepung (開豐), Weolgo-ri (月古里), dated 1198, and the Seungan Samnyeon (承安三年) tomb.

Even further, the most reliable evidence of inlaid celadon comes from a cluster of celadons from the burial site of King Myeongjong (r. 1171-97), dated 1202. Besides the soup bowl (*daejeop*, 大蝶) with lychee design in inlay under celadon glaze, there is a wide-mouthed bottle with celadon glaze bearing the cyclical inscription “*Gichuk* 己丑” corresponding to 1109; an iron-painted celadon-glazed ewer (*jujeonja*, 酒煎子) with the cyclical inscription “*Sinyu* 辛酉” corresponding to 1141, and a celadon-glazed offering bowl (*daeseong jibal*, 大聖持鉢) with the cyclical inscription “*Gyechuk* 癸丑” corresponding to 1193.

Along with these examples, there are the celadons from the Buan (扶安) kiln sites at Jinseo-ri (鎭西里), excavated in October 1990; a bowl with Buddhist-floral design (*bosanghwa*,

寶相花) in inlay under celadon glaze found at the grave site of Mun Gongyu 文公裕; and others from a Goryeo tomb site in Samcheok (三陟), Samhwa-ri (三和里).

(1) Among the twelfth century Goryeo celadon material evidence, there is a recently discovered melon-shaped pot with celadon glaze (Yonsei University Museum collection). This pot has a flared lip, and eight grooves running the length of the round body suggest the voluptuous shape of a melon. The pot is covered with an oxidized green-brown glaze and has a low and wide foot. Found inside this celadon pot was an ashen-black large earthenware covered bowl with nine other earthenware covered bowls that were arranged near it. The earthenware lids were flat like plates. Because coins inscribed with the four characters *haedongtongbo* 海東通寶 were found inside the bowls, it can be estimated fairly accurately that these bowls were used during King Sukjong's reign (r. 1095-1105). Cremated ashes, mixed with grains of rice and millet, were found inside this earthenware bowl, making this piece one of the earliest known examples of mortuary pottery.

(2) According to the *Goryeosa* 78, Book of *Sikhwa* 食貨, a change was made in the farm system and the resulting local system of taxation in 1108 (King Yejong's third year of reign):

Items made using bronze, iron, porcelain, paper, wood, etc., were relegated a very high tax, and the artisans who employed these materials requested that a distinction be made to readjust the taxation between 'special' materials and 'regular' materials. We can see that the increased demand for Goryeo ceramics in turn greatly burdened the artisans who produced them. Ceramic production during the early twelfth century posed a financial hardship for those creating them.

(3) In the Ho-Am Art Museum collection, there is a wide-mouthed bottle bearing celadon glaze with the inscription "*Gichuk* 己丑" dating 1109. This bottle is covered with a thinly-applied glaze resulting in an ashen-blue color. The foot was carved into the bottom and fired on small quartz supports. On the body of the bottle, the phrase "*Gichuk gu weol il* 己丑九月日" (literally, "*Gichuk*, ninth month, day) has been inscribed in relief, more precisely

dating the creation of the bottle to either 1109 or 1049 (corresponding to the two-character cyclical year inscription). Because of the slender, elongated shape and small quartz supports, the creation of this piece more likely belongs to the category of the older bowl form with halo-shaped footring, more accurately dating this piece to 1109.

(4) A Goryeo tomb site located in Seokpo-ri (石浦里), Jangan-myeon (長安面), Suweon (水原), Gyeonggi-do (京畿道) province, yielded—along with coins bearing the four characters *jeonghwatongbo* 政和通寶, indicating the years 1111-1117—a bowl with carved phoenix design under celadon glaze and a bowl with wild flower and plant design in relief under celadon glaze (National Museum of Korea collection).

The bowl with carved phoenix design under celadon glaze has an undecorated surface, but the interior of the bowl shows a carved phoenix design repeated in three places (it is likely that this may actually have been a parrot design), harkening to the many bowls and dishes carved with parrot designs. In the case of the bowl with wild flower and plant design in relief under celadon glaze, the design was created with a press mold, affirming that this particular design technique originated by this time. The base of the bowl with carved phoenix design under celadon glaze has traces of quartz supports like those found on roof tiles from the official government Ru (汝) kilns in Henan province, China, strongly suggesting an awareness of China's ceramic production styles.

(5) The following excerpts regarding ceramics appear in the *Xuanhe feng shi Gaoli tujing* 宣和奉使高麗圖經, a travel diary written in 1124 by Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153), a diplomatic envoy of Song China who spent one month in Gaegyeong (開京, the capital of Goryeo, later known as Gaeseong, 開城) during the first year of King Injong's reign in 1123.

Goryeo Dogyeong, Chapter 32, "Things 器皿條"

Do jun 陶尊 section:

The color of the ceramic is a blue color that the people of Goryeo refer to as kingfisher (*bisaek*, 翡色). The ones made this year show excellent craftsmanship and the color has much improved. The shape of the wine bottle is like a cucumber and the small lid on top is shaped like an inverted lotus flower. Although a bowl (*wan*, 碗), dish, wine cup, bowl, and vase were also made, those were based on existing designs. The wine dish is rather different, which is why it was noticed.

Do ro 陶爐 section:

The lion-shaped incense burner is also kingfisher-colored with a cowering beast on top and a lotus flower at the base that serves as a tray (for the incense burner). Among all the pieces, this one is the most virtuous; the others are similar to the old kingfisher-colored ones made at the Yuezhou (越州) kilns in China or at the new Ru kilns.

These observations of celadons made during 1123 contain some notable remarks. First, to say that “in this year, (celadon) production developed in skill and the luster of the glaze became more beautiful” implies that celadon technique reached its peak at this time, but this conclusion is not accurate. Indeed, around 1123, the technique did become more precise, and with the improvement of glaze color, we see the beginnings of the so-called kingfisher glaze. In actuality, the celadon color produced is quite similar to that found at the Yuezhou kilns in China. In the tenth century, during the Five Dynasties period (907-960) in China, the glaze associated with Yuezhou celadons had hints of gray in its diluted green-colored tonality and resembles the glaze found in the dish with incised parrot design under celadon glaze, the covered bowl with incised parrot design under celadon glaze, and the wine bottle with celadon glaze.

When we consider the bowl with carved phoenix design under celadon glaze, along with the other similar kinds of incised celadon dating to 1117, the bowl with carved

chrysanthemum vinescroll design under celadon glaze, the vase with carved peony vinescroll design under celadon glaze, and the *kundika* with carved peony vinescroll design under celadon glaze, all attributed to 1123, share similarities.

This is to say that the celadons made in 1123 have similar designs and glaze color as those found on celadons from the Yuezhou kilns. The needle-like incising tool that was used to achieve the exquisite carvings may have been used to design the similar parrot and flower designs, but to conclude that the technique of inlay and relief were implemented at this time is not accurate.

Secondly, the various celadon bowl, dish, vase, and wine bottle shapes produced at this time derived largely from the standard shapes found on Chinese celadons, and only the ewer and the lion-shaped incense burner, in differing from the other pieces, were considered to be exceptional.

Previously it was believed that this kind of production was similar to that found in the Chinese Ding kilns in Hebei province, but this cannot be considered accurate, since, in terms of shape, the ewer is quite similar to the bottle (*maebyeong*, 梅瓶) form of the Goryeo cucumber-shaped bottle with peony design in underglaze iron under celadon glaze, which existed at that time.

The lion incense burner has been assumed to be the same piece as the lion incense burner with cover under celadon glaze (National Museum of Korea collection), but this equivalence is also incorrect. Although the record refers to an incense burner with a cowering beast on top and a lotus flower towards the base, this lion incense burner does not have a lotus flower on the stand. Nonetheless, the celadon-glazed lion incense burner has been also assumed to be dated to 1123 along with all the other lion incense burners.

Thirdly, it is thought that the Goryeo celadons of this period were similar to the ones found at the new Ru kilns in China. For example, the soup bowl, dish, and flower-shaped table cup, all with celadon glaze, are similar to the ones found at the Ru kilns. It should be noted that the quartz supports used for celadons produced in the official government Ru kilns were

believed to have been used first in 1110 and changes in the quartz supports and vessel shapes were reflected in Goryeo celadons.

This type of quartz support was first observed on the bowl with incised phoenix design under celadon glaze (1117) excavated from the Suweon, Seokpo-ri tomb site. It appeared subsequently on Goryeo celadons and, according to the writings of Seo Geung in 1123, was quite similar to the supports used for the celadons of the new Ru kilns in China.

Fourthly, in the records of 1123, there is no documentation of inlaid celadons. If Seo Geung's intention was to introduce Goryeo goods to the ruler of Song China, Emperor Huizong (r. 1100-1126), it is difficult to believe that he would not have shared Goryeo's prized technique of inlaid celadon if he had seen it during his month-long stay at the Goryeo court.

(6) Although the iron-painted ewer with celadon glaze with the inscription of cyclical year *sinyu* 辛酉 dated to 1141 remains to us only as a photograph, the chrysanthemum and vinescroll designs in iron that encompass the surface of the body are representative of the celadons produced in this period.

(7) More celadon evidence was found at the excavation site at the tomb of King Injong (1146). This royal tomb, located in Jangdo-myeon (長道面), Jangdan-gun (長湍郡), Gyeonggi-do province, yielded a large vase with celadon glaze, a square stand with celadon glaze, a chrysanthemum-shaped covered bowl with celadon glaze, and a celadon-glazed bowl with lid (all from the National Museum of Korea collection), along with posthumous records of Injong, dated 1146 (Hwangtong 皇統, sixth year).

The cucumber-shaped vase with celadon glaze is shaped like a melon with a kingfisher-colored glaze, with traces of ashen-white refractory clay supports in seven places around the footrim. The square stand has a thick celadon glaze covering it entirely and also has the remains of refractory clay supports. The chrysanthemum-shaped covered bowl and the bowl with lid look to have been delicately glazed, with quartz supports carefully arranged before firing. The light blue-green color of the glaze was evenly applied, revealing a deepness and

purity without any crackle. The clay was carefully mixed and the shape is appropriate. There is hardly any use of design.

It is believed that the shape of the cucumber-shaped bottle under celadon glaze was taken from the same shaped bottle made at the Jingdezhen kilns located in Jiangxi province, China, and the square stand form can be traced to the Yuezhou kilns (Five Dynasties period, tenth century). The shapes of the chrysanthemum-shaped covered bowl and the bowl with lid can also be found in similarly-shaped white porcelains made at the Jingdezhen kilns.

Examples of celadon-glazed wares similar to the cucumber-shaped bottle include the round bottle with incised design, the bottle-shaped ewer, the cucumber-shaped ewer with incised peony design, the ewer with lion-shaped knob and with stand similar to the square-shaped stand, and the wide-mouthed bottle. Other examples from the National Museum of Korea include the flower-shaped celadon-glazed dish, which is similar to the bowl with lid, round dish, table cup, monkey-shaped water dropper, and bottle, all under celadon glaze.

Compared with the kingfisher glaze found on the celadons dating 1123, the glaze found on these celadons has been applied more thickly, but in a controlled manner, indicating that a more improved kingfisher glaze must have been made around 1146. Among the celadon examples from 1146, however, there is no evidence of the use of inlay.

In the many celadons that have been dated to either 1123 or 1146, in the cases where designs are found on shapes such as dishes, bowls, and soup bowls, they are finely incised or carved in relief on the interior. If the design is on the exterior, it is usually a lotus petal design in relief, but thus far, there are no extant examples of celadons of this period that include designs on both the interior and the exterior.

(8) The closest reference regarding the origin of inlaid celadons has been found in the *Goryeosa* 高麗使 1451. It is recorded that, in the fourth month of 1157 (the eleventh year and eighth month of King Uijong's reign), the king built a castle using celadon roof tiles. The celadon tiles that correspond to this reference include the celadon roof tiles discovered in 1927 in the royal precinct of Manweoldae (滿月臺) in Gaeseong, as well as the various celadon-

glazed tiles discovered in 1964-1965 during the excavations conducted by the National Museum of Korea at the Sadang-ri (沙堂里) kilns.

These celadon-glazed roof tiles include convex tiles with a peony design in relief and concave tiles with a vinescroll design in relief. The designs fill the entirety of the roof tile and some examples suggest the use of an inlay technique. In addition to these roof tiles, sherds of a duck-shaped water dropper under celadon glaze, a three-legged incense burner under celadon glaze, and a tripod with stylized animal designs in relief under celadon glaze were also discovered.

In the case of the convex tiles with peony design, the peony design is finely detailed and elaborate, right down to the stem, and the concave tiles with vinescroll design are also exquisite in their relief technique.

An interesting point to note is that this kind of chiseling technique can be found on other objects—the flower-shaped bowl with image of lotus pond and little boys carved in relief under celadon glaze, the flower-shaped dish with fish, lotus flower, and waterfowl carved in relief under celadon glaze, and the tripod with stylized animal designs in relief under celadon glaze. This strongly suggests that, along with the well-known celadon incense burner with openwork design (National Museum of Korea collection), all these pieces were produced around the same time. The veins of the lotus flower are quite similar to the stem of the peony design on the concave celadon roof tile, and the vinescroll design along the edge and lid of the incense burner exhibits the use of the same technique. The dotted-white inlay pattern found on the lid with the openwork design indicates that this piece can be considered an early example of inlaid celadon.

Among the celadon roof tiles, common designs that lent themselves particularly well to the celadon carving technique, such as the peony vinescroll design, lotus vinescroll design, and simple vinescroll design, fill the entire surface of the tile. This kind of special carving technique is believed to have been taken from the white porcelains found at the Ding kilns in China.

Celadons exhibiting similarly-carved designs with a deep-colored glaze include a gourd-shaped ewer with incised peony vinescroll design with saucer (*seungban*), a wine bottle with incised lotus vinescroll design with the inscription *Hyogugak* 孝久刻 (Nezu Museum collection), a bottle with incised phoenix and peony vinescroll design (Freer Gallery of Art collection, Smithsonian Institution), a ewer with incised lotus vinescroll design, a pillow with openwork design of incised lotus, peony, and vinescroll (National Museum of Korea collection), a bowl with incised peony vinescroll design (National Museum of Korea collection), a covered bowl with incised cloud and dragon design with the inscription *Sangyakguk* 尙藥局 and a bowl with carved lotus vinescroll design (Fitzwilliam Museum collection, Cambridge University).

The peony vinescroll design incised using this special technique is located on the interior of the roof tile where a vinescroll band design is outlined in white inlay. The similarly-carved lid with cloud and dragon design also has the inscription *Sangyakguk* in white inlay. The gourd-shaped piece with incised lotus vinescroll design has an inscription *si* 詩 in white inlay, and the covered bowl with incised peony vinescroll design under celadon glaze features the peony vinescroll design in white inlay as well.

Thus, it is believed that the roof tiles excavated at the royal precinct at Manweoldae in Gaegyeong and the celadon roof tiles bearing carved and relief designs using white-outlined inlay discovered at the Sadang-ri roof tile kiln site in Gangjin (康津) together provide evidence of celadon inlay as referred to in the Goryeo historical records dating to 1157. Furthermore, celadon sherds using incising, relief, and openwork designs from the Sadang-ri roof tile kilns correlate with the use of white inlay noted in the written records, further confirming the theory that inlay technique must have begun here by this time.

In addition to these celadon roof tiles, sherds of various three-legged incense burners and duck-shaped water droppers indicate that production of these kinds of incense burners and water droppers flourished at this time.

During the indulgent era of King Uijong (r. 1147-1170), splendid celadons using the aforementioned kinds of inlay, relief carving, and openwork techniques with inlay were

becoming more available, producing what has now come to be known as Goryeo's masterpieces.

Observing the overall repeat patterns of vinescroll, *ruyi* scepter head, and thunder designs on the body of these celadons, one can see that these types of patterns became prevalent at this time. They appear on celadon-glazed pieces such as the wine bottle with incised lotus and vinescroll design in relief with the inscription *Hyogugak*, the incense burner with *kylin*-shaped lid, and the tripod with stylized animal designs in relief. Based on the traces of quartz supports found on the smaller-sized celadons and refractory clay supports on larger-sized vessels, we can see that these types of supports became widely used at this time.

From the Jinseo-ri kiln site no. 14, Buan, excavated in October 1990, were discovered items using the previously-mentioned chiseling technique, such as the dish with vinescroll design, dish and soup bowl with lotus pond and birds design, sherd with incised lotus flower vinescroll design under celadon glaze, and the cup with thunder design outlined with white inlay under celadon glaze, also confirming that the inlay technique must have begun by this time.

The establishment of inlaid celadon came after 1170, after the Musin incident (武臣亂). (The Musin incident was a revolt staged by military officers resulting in the exile of King Uijong and the installation of a military governance beginning with King Myeongjeong [r. 1171-1197]). The nascent development of inlaid celadon in the decade between 1150 and 1160 was far less pronounced than production of incised celadons, carved celadons, and openwork celadons during King Uijong's rule. The special character associated with the various shapes, exquisite designs, and distinctive glaze of Goryeo celadons became realized after 1170.

In sum, the years of origin that have been proposed for inlaid celadon—1105, 1109, 1117, 1123, 1142, and 1146— are not supported by textual evidence, but the celadons discovered in the celadon roof tile kilns and the excavated sherds dating to 1157 reveal that the use of white inlay, combined with other designs, had its beginnings at this time. This evidence is compelling, and since it seems that incised and carved celadons were produced in higher quantities than

inlaid celadons at this time, it is possible to infer that, given the uncanny resemblance in shape and design found on the bronze *kundika* with cattail, willow, and waterfowl design from the Eunip Temple dated to 1117 (The Museum Yamato Bunkakan collection) and the *kundika* with the same designs in inlay under celadon glaze (Ganseong Art Museum collection), these two *kundikas* very likely directly influenced each other in the latter part of the twelfth century.

Discussion of the origin of inlaid celadon often refers to the bowl with Buddhist floral patterns in inlay with vinescroll designs under celadon glaze, found in the previously-mentioned tomb of Mun Gongyu, from 1159, as this bowl also has a stylized inlay pattern on the interior. For this kind of pattern to have developed, however, thirty or forty years would have had to pass, implying that such a technique would have begun during the reign of King Injong (r. 1123-1146). The fact that its mention does not appear in the records of the *Goryeo Dogyeong* in the year 1124 can be attributed to the hiatus of about one month during the transition period from King Yejong (r. 1106-1122) to King Injong, which would have witnessed an interruption in production, and any existence of inlaid celadon would have been too difficult to notice. Thus its emergence, if any, would not have been recorded.

The previously-mentioned bowl with Buddhist floral patterns in inlay with vinescroll designs under celadon glaze that was excavated from the tomb of Mun Gongyu was actually one of fifteen artifacts, including a polished stone sword and Chinese porcelains, that were purchased from a Japanese antiques dealer in Gyeongseong (now Seoul) named Ikeuchi Torakichi (or Torayoshi, 池内虎吉) by the National Museum of Korea (Accession Numbers 10128-10141). As such, the verifiability and thus the reliability of this particular celadon must be reconsidered. When comparing this celadon bowl with the more reliably authenticated soup bowl with lychee design in inlay under celadon glaze (1202) from the King Myeongjong tomb site, the design, carving technique, glaze color, and foot shape are quite similar, indicating that it is more likely that the celadon bowl from the tomb of Mun Gongyu is also dated around 1202.

When this celadon bowl is compared with the patterns, glaze color, and foot shape of the celadon sherds found at the celadon roof tile kilns dating to 1157, quite a number of differences are apparent. The design on the celadon bowl from 1157 is applied only on the interior of the bowl and, like the bowl from 1159, there is no evidence of a design on the lower exterior surface of the bowl. Even when considering the possibility that a change in glaze color could have occurred suddenly, it is still highly unlikely that such a change in glaze color could have transpired within two years.

Since the bowl with Buddhist floral patterns in inlay with vinescroll designs under celadon glaze was purchased from an antiques dealer, it is problematic to accept the reliability of its date of 1159. Even when comparing this piece with the more reliably-dated celadons of 1157 excavated from the celadon roof tile kilns, or with the ones dated 1202 from the tomb site of King Myeongjong, the evidence is not adequate to confirm that this bowl is also dated to 1159. To use this celadon bowl as evidence to suggest that the origin of inlaid celadon can be traced to the early twelfth century during the reign of King Injong is not appropriate.

Furthermore, there is no basis to conclude that the development of inlaid celadon could be dated to as early as the first half of the twelfth century, when one takes into consideration datable celadon-glazed objects including the cucumber-shaped bottle (1105), the bottle with a wide-mouth (1109), the bowl with a carved phoenix design (1117), the bowl with floral design in relief, and the bowl and dish carved with a parrot design (attributed to 1123), and another cucumber-shaped vase excavated from King Injong's gravesite dated to 1146.

Even when regarding relatively new evidence from the North Korean excavation site at Jinbong-ri (眞鳳里), Panmun-gun (板文郡), Gaeseong in Gyeonggi-do province, where a cup with inlay under celadon glaze was discovered along with coins dating to 1017 (suggesting that the origin of inlay could possibly have been as early as 1017), the lack of information surrounding the exact circumstances of the excavation, or any proper explanation of the relics found at this site, limits the trustworthiness of this evidence. Even the historical annals

referencing celadon do not suggest that the technique of inlay began as early as the eleventh century.

Thus, when considering the 1157 celadon roof tiles and the varying shapes of celadon inlay and relief-designed ceramics found at the Gangjin Sadang-ri and Buan Yucheon-ri kiln sites, the origin of Goryeo inlaid celadons should be attributed to the 1150s. It was at this same time that bronze wares were also being carved and the technique of imbedding silver wire by hand must have been attempted when designing celadons. One can speculate that while this “experiment” must have been initially tried with carvings on celadon, eventually this technique, now known as inlay, was used to express designs in the white inlay outlines, thus marking the beginning of inlaid celadons.

While incised celadons and celadons with relief designs were produced in greater quantities between 1150 and 1160 after the Musin incident, as the technique of inlay gradually came to be preferred, the production and demand for inlaid celadons flourished.

The bowl with Buddhist floral patterns in inlay with vinescroll designs under celadon glaze from the tomb of Mun Gongyu, which was used previously as a marker to assess the development of inlaid celadon, is unreliable; the celadons from the celadon roof tile kilns dating to 1157 and the inlaid celadons excavated from the tomb of King Myeongjong dating to 1202 are more accurate.

2. The development of inlaid celadon

The beginnings of inlaid celadon can now be traced to 1157, as the celadon roof tiles confirm that techniques of inlay, relief, and openwork were also used to create pieces such as the bowl with incised peony vinescroll designs, covered bowl with incised cloud and dragon design under celadon glaze with the inscription “*Sangyakguk*,” and the celadon incense burner with openwork design (National Museum of Korea collection). As we can see in these examples, the deep kingfisher color of the celadon glaze is believed to have begun being used in the 1160s, during King Uijong’s reign.

We can now conclude that the development of inlaid celadons began in earnest after 1170 after the Musin incident, as evidenced by the inkstone with chrysanthemum and peony inlay design under celadon glaze with the inscription “*Sinchuk*” (1181) produced during the reign of King Myeongjong, the cup under celadon glaze and white porcelain wine bottle excavated from the Songja tomb (1198), and the inlaid celadons from the tomb site of King Myeongjong (1202).

By the late twelfth century, during King Myeongjong’s reign, the use of inlay, combined with the techniques of carving, relief design, and openwork, gradually allowed for these combinations of design to be expressed on dishes.

The inkstone with chrysanthemum and peony inlay design under celadon glaze with the inscription of the cyclical year *sinchuk* (corresponding to 1181) (Ho-Am Art Museum collection) has the floral design in inlay on both sides and the main body; on the back, there is a cloud design in inlay. There is also a thunder-patterned band design in inlay on the sides with a cut chrysanthemum flower carved in inlay inside this pattern. On the bottom one can see traces of supports made of a refractory clay mixture. On the bottom of this inkstone, a prose text is inscribed:

sinchuk 5 weol 10 iljo widaegujeonhojeongseochwi(?)bu

辛丑五月十日造 爲大口前戶正徐取(?)夫

The name *cheongsakyeonilssanghwanghasa* 清沙硯臺雙黃何寺 is also inscribed. In this particular example, we can see that the use of both inlay and carving techniques were developing by around 1181.

More examples of celadons believed to have been made between 1170 and 1180, during King Myeongjong’s reign, include a covered bowl with incised lotus vinescroll design and cut chrysanthemum and peony inlay design, a bowl with inlaid chrysanthemum design and incised cloud and crane design (The Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka), a covered bowl with incised peony design in inlay, a gourd-shaped bottle with incised lotus vinescroll design with the inscription “*S*” in inlay (National Museum of Korea collection), a plum bottle with

incised peony and peach in inlay, a covered bowl with incised vinescroll design with peony inlay, a bowl with incised peony design with cloud and crane inlay, a soup bowl with peony design in relief and lotus vinescroll inlay design (Horim Museum collection), a silver-lipped soup bowl with lotus vinescroll design in relief with peony inlay, a bowl with lotus vinescroll design in relief with cloud and crane inlay, a dish with peony design in relief with Buddhist-floral vinescroll inlay, a large bowl with a grape design in relief and figures of little boys in inlay, and a cup for use when riding on horseback (*masang bae*, 馬上杯) with lotus petal design in relief with thunder pattern inlay.

Among celadons that have designs that occupy the entire surface, there are a gourd-shaped ewer with an inlaid parrot design, a ewer with peony design in inlay, a wine bottle with inlaid lotus pond and ducks, a jar with peony design in inlay, a covered bowl with peony design in inlay, a plum bottle with plum, bamboo, and crane design in inlay, and a table cup with chrysanthemum design in inlay (National Museum of Korea collection).

Among these examples, the ones that use inlay with carvings, inlay with relief designs, or just inlay, have designs that are realistically and simply depicted, and the designs using peony vinescroll, lotus vinescroll, cloud and crane, peony, and chrysanthemum are quite popular when depicting a small design. Those examples with designs that cover the entire body of the piece use the more painterly cattail, willow, waterfowl design or the plum, bamboo, and crane design. Designs with a continuously repeating pattern like the pointed nimbus, thunder, lotus petal, and the vinescroll band are also being popularly used.

In the case of the bowl with incised lotus vinescroll design and chrysanthemum inlay under celadon glaze, there is a thinly-depicted lotus vinescroll design in relief where the vinescroll band encircles the border. There is a cut chrysanthemum flower in four places on the exterior. The glaze is a kingfisher color and the bowl has been fired with a quartz foot. This kind of decoration and foot can also be found on the bowl with incised peony design with cloud and crane inlay under celadon glaze [National Museum of Korea collection] where in four places, there is a cloud and crane design on the interior accompanied by a vinescroll band

encircling the border. The exterior shows an incised peony design in four places without any other design. This piece was also fired with a quartz support. In addition, the bowl with lotus vinescroll design in relief with cloud and crane inlay under celadon glaze, the silver-lipped soup bowl with lotus vinescroll design in relief with peony inlay under celadon glaze, and the dish with peony design in relief and Buddhist-floral vinescroll inlay under celadon glaze [National Museum of Korea collection] all have relief designs on the interior and an vinescroll band that encircles the border with simple inlay designs on the exterior.

The most representative example among this kind of inlaid celadon with both carved and relief designs is the inkstone with carved peony inlay under celadon glaze with the inscription *sinchuk* (1181).

As these examples can attest, by the latter half of the twelfth century, 1160-1190, various kinds of celadon using inlay, relief designs, and openwork existed at the same time. At the beginning, the designs were limited and only used in select places, then gradually, the designs expanded to fill more of the space. As such, the earlier designs were more realistically depicted and based on simple patterns of inlay and relief. Eventually, and in degrees, a composition emerged and the design became stylized. To put it another way, in the beginning a pattern was sparsely applied in a random and scattered fashion, then a more painterly and organized configuration emerged. It was at this time that themes such as the cattail, willow, waterfowl, the lotus pond with ducks, and cranes with plum and bamboo became more prominent.

Also, by the latter half of the twelfth century, the color of the celadon glaze, originally a clear green color, changed to a more transparent, yet deeper green and the crackling effect increased. In shapes such as the dish, bowl, and large bowl, bands containing patterns with vinescroll design, pointed nimbus, and clouds start to appear and become more prevalent both on the exterior and the interior. The foot, in general, forms a V-shape as it slants inwards in such a way that the bottom of the foot is more recessed. On the smaller pieces, traces of

relatively larger quartz supports can be seen, and on the slightly larger bottles, and jars, the glaze is scarred by traces of refractory-clay supports.

Attributed to the year 1073, an alms bowl (*daeseong jibal*, 大聖持鉢) with inlay designs under celadon glaze, and with the cyclical inscription *gyechuk* 癸丑 (National Museum of Korea collection), has an unglazed foot with five or six scars of refractory-clay supports. The phrase *gyechuk nyeon josang dae seong jibal* 癸丑年造上 大聖持鉢 (alms bowl carried by a saint in the year of *gyechuk*, which in this case falls in 1073) is inscribed on the main body of the bowl. With its flared lip, this piece seems to have been made 120 years later, dating it to 1193, another *gyechuk* year. Based on the evidence presented, the waste heap of celadons excavated from the Goryeo site located in Samhwa-ri (三和里), Bukpyeong-eup (北坪邑), Samcheok-gun (三陟郡), once estimated to date to the latter part of the eleventh century, should now be considered to have been produced during the latter twelfth century.

In the case of the table cup with incised coiled dragon design under celadon glaze, the unusual design and thunder pattern relate to those found on celadon roof tiles mentioned earlier, and thus the table cup can be dated to around 1160. In the case of the incense burner with stylized animal designs in relief under celadon glaze, the relief designs and vinescroll band on the exterior also can be related to the celadon roof tiles and can be compared as such. The spittoon (*tagu*, 唾具) under celadon glaze of 1202 looks to have been made slightly earlier than the spittoon with incised peony design excavated from King Myeongjong's tomb, and when comparing their refractory clay supports, this spittoon from the king's tomb should be more accurately dated after the 1150s.

In addition, the bowl with cloud and crane relief design under celadon glaze has a deep green glaze and foot with clay mixture that is similar to the celadon covered bowl with cloud and crane relief design from King Myeongjong's tomb, and thus can also be considered to be dated to the latter half of the twelfth century. The white porcelain *kundika* (2 pieces) and white porcelain bottle with iron-painted vinescroll/floral patterns are quite similar in shape to the

white porcelain *kundika* excavated from the Songja tomb site in Gaepung-gun, Yeongbuk-myeon, Weolgo-ri and should also be dated to the latter twelfth century.

In particular, the plum bottle with vinescroll design under celadon glaze, with the inscription of the cyclical date *gyeongjin* written under the glaze in iron pigment (1170), and the aforementioned white porcelain plum bottle with iron-painted vinescroll design both have a long and slender shape with traces of mixed clay supports on the base that suggest that these pieces were produced in the latter half of the twelfth century, perhaps even earlier than 1170.

The bowl with the inlaid inscription *gyechuk*, originally estimated to have been made in 1073, now should be dated 1193, and the waste heap of celadons from the Goryeo tomb excavation site at Samcheok Samhwa-ri should be dated between 1160 and 1170, towards the end of the eleventh century. Even the plum bottle with iron-painted vinescroll design under celadon glaze with the inscription *gyeongin*, once dated to 1110, should be dated 1170. The critical development of inlaid celadon should be attributed to the early thirteenth century, during the reign of King Gojong (r. 1214–1259) and the era of the three Choes of the “Choe era” – Choe Chungheon, Choe U, and Choe Hang (*Choessi muin jeonggweon sidae*, 崔氏武人政權時代). After the Musin incident in 1170, these military men seized political power, and in 1196, because of Choe Chungheon, Korea became a military state for a span of sixty-two years.

The representative celadons of the early thirteenth century, a total of twelve pieces, come from the tomb of the exiled King Myeongjong (1202).

According to Seo Ryong Geum 今西龍, who worked at the Joseon Chongdokbu Museum (朝鮮總督府 博物館) in 1915, this group had been excavated from the tomb site of King Myeongjong located in Jireung-dong (智陵洞), Dumae-ri (杜梅里), Jangdo-myeon (長道面), Jangdan-gun (長湍郡) in Gyeonggi-do province (hereafter referred to as the Jireung site) and is considered one of the most significant examples of celadon evidence. The group included four pieces with inlay under celadon glaze: the soup bowl with lychee design, the dish with lychee design, the flower-shaped dish with chrysanthemum flower design, and the eight-sided dish

with floral design. They were part of a group that included other celadon-glazed pieces with both incised and relief designs: the bowl with incised lotus design, the spittoon with incised peony design, the covered bowl with cloud and crane design in relief, the flower-shaped dish with peony in relief, the dish with *ruyi* design in relief, as well as three other celadon dishes.

The bowl with lychee design in inlay under celadon glaze (National Museum of Korea collection) excavated from this site has a wide flaring rim and rounded shape with a transparent glaze. There is a narrow openwork design carved at the bottom and a decorative design of a fully-bloomed lychee flower in white inlay in five places that completely decorates the interior. A sharply delineated vinescroll band encircles the rim. The exterior exhibits a cloud design placed here and there encompassed by a vinescroll band, and the sides show a single peony bud in five places with a black and white double border. Separating the placement of these buds is a Buddhist-floral vinescroll band in reverse inlay and below this arrangement are five single chrysanthemums. The foot is slanted inwards and recessed with traces of quartz supports.

The dish with chrysanthemum design in inlay under celadon glaze also has a flaring rim. On the interior, there is a single chrysanthemum flower depicted with a double-pointed *ruyi* band that encircles it. The interior is decorated with a vinescroll band and the exterior shows a single chrysanthemum flower in four places. The color of the glaze is a transparent grayish-blue, and the quartz supports are quite elaborate.

The reverse inlay, transparent clear glaze, and traces of quartz supports of this piece are features similar to those found on other vessels. As a result, in terms of style and form, this piece, excavated as part of a scientifically-conducted excavation, serves as one of the most important pieces of evidence for understanding inlaid celadon.

At the same time, it is significant to note that among the twelve celadons exhumed at the Jireung site, eight were monochrome pieces without any inlay or other decoration, and from this we can conclude that as of 1202, while plain, relief, and openwork techniques

continued to be used, plain, undecorated celadon production accounted for more than two-thirds the production of inlaid celadon.

At this point, it seems appropriate to rectify what has come down to us from annals regarding inlaid celadon of the mid-twelfth century. As mentioned earlier, it has been demonstrated that the bowl with Buddhist-floral flower design in inlay under celadon glaze from the Mun Gongyu tomb site no longer can be considered as reliable evidence; rather, the celadon roof tiles of 1157, the inkstone from 1181, and the bowl with lychee design in inlay under celadon glaze of 1202 should serve as dependable markers instead.

Based on this evidence, one can deduce that the bowl with Buddhist-floral flower design in inlay under celadon glaze from the Mun Gongyu tomb site and the soup bowl with lychee pattern in inlay under celadon glaze from the Jireung tomb site dated to 1202 were both made around 1202, since both pieces share similar characteristics in terms of shape, pattern, color of glaze, foot, and firing technique.

Following this reasoning, many of the inlaid celadons previously attributed to the middle to late twelfth century are more likely to have been produced in the thirteenth century.

When considering that the peak of inlaid celadon production occurred in the thirteenth century, the most representative examples are the Goryeo inlaid celadons excavated from the Buan Yucheon-ri kiln sites. Excavated in the 1920s and analyzed subsequently, this group of celadons was featured in an exhibition at the Ehwa Womans University Museum as thirteenth century pieces, although latter twelfth century pieces were also included.

The range of inlaid celadons excavated up until now, from which we have been able to observe the detail of every curve and size of the inlay and relief designs based upon the celadon sherds of table cups, soup bowls, dishes, bottles, plum bottles, and the like, combined with the fully-intact flat-panels, plum bottles, jars, covered bowls, bottles, table cups, including varieties that use iron-wash, designs using a combination of iron and white inlay, and bronze-wash, all lend to confirm that inlaid celadons were diverse in their creations.

Among the inlaid celadon soup bowls, the soup bowl with lychee flower design in inlay under celadon glaze and the bowl with Buddhist-floral vinescroll design in inlay under celadon glaze, in particular, possess similarities that make it highly likely that both were made at the kilns at Buan Yucheon-ri.

From the first half of the thirteenth century, there are a number of thin, flat celadon-glazed panels, including those that are rectangle-shaped and those that are slightly bent like a rhombus shape whose edges have been cut. In the center is a chrysanthemum and peony design that has been bordered with a flower design, and in the same area are banded patterns of *ruyi* and vinescroll with chrysanthemum and cloud and crane designs. The color of the glaze is a deep-colored green with a delicately bright transparency.

In the case of the plum bottle, the upper part of the body swells outward, and towards the bottom of the narrowed neck are both thunder and lotus band designs. The main section of the bottle shows a painterly depiction of little boys with grapes and a budding cloud and crane design in black and white inlay.

The upper part of the S-shape curve is encircled with a *ruyi* band and the lower part of the "S" has a lotus-designed band. In between these two bands, the cloud and crane pattern completely covers the surface, and is reminiscent of the now-famous plum bottle with cloud and crane design in inlay under celadon glaze (Ganseong Art Museum collection) and the plum bottle with grape design in inlay under celadon glaze. As representative pieces of the early thirteenth century, these celadons are believed to have been produced at the Buan Yucheon-ri kilns. An excavated sherd of a plum bottle with water serpent design in inlay under celadon glaze, nearly one meter tall, dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century, indicates that not all Goryeo celadons were necessarily small in size.

It seems that, over time, the celadons produced at the Buan Yucheon-ri kilns began to exhibit thicker walls and larger quartz supports on the foot, but the findings of these types have not been properly organized. The larger-shaped vessels, which take on the shapes of

plum bottles, jars, and pots, have sandy clay supports. The glaze is still a transparent and bright deep green color, affirming that this type of glaze continued to be popular at this time.

In the political stability that was reached after the Musin incident, rather than any notable internal cultural progress, there was more of an emphasis on outwardly noticeable characteristics, and thus, instead of any distinct changes in the glaze colors, different decorative patterns became emphasized. In addition, due to a loss of relations with Southern Song China, external cultural stimulation weakened. It was during this time that the manufacture of Goryeo celadons resulted in an expansion of production that witnessed notable and distinctively Korean changes in style and design.

Among the celadon evidence dating to the thirteenth century, excavations from the Choe Hang (d. 1257) gravesite yielded, in addition to some stone tablets, a gourd-shaped ewer with copper-red painted lotus design in relief under celadon glaze (Ho-Am Art Museum collection). Shaped like a gourd, this ewer was decorated with a lotus leaf in relief and rows of lotus petals on the main surface of the body. The color of the glaze is a deep-colored green, and the foot has traces indicating that it was fired on supports made from a mixture of clay and sand. The tip of the lotus leaf has a distinctive form with a reddish, copper-colored mark.

Additional representative examples dating to the latter half of the thirteenth century include the gourd-shaped ewer designed with copper-red painted grapes and figures of little boys in inlay under celadon glaze, with accompanying stand (National Museum of Korea collection) and the plum bottle with lotus design in inlay under celadon glaze.

The gourd-shaped ewer resembles the celadon ewer of 1257 in shape, and the surface is decorated with an image of figures of little boys and grapes on an ashen-green glaze, portraying a thoughtful shape and design when considered as a whole with its stand. A recently discovered plum bottle with lotus design in inlay under celadon glaze has a lean and fluid contour decorated with a lotus-leaf design and is quite similar to the one found on the 1257 ewer.

The plum bottle has a shape similar to the plum bottle with inlay designs of chrysanthemum, peony, cloud and crane under celadon glaze (Ho-Am Art Museum collection) with its widening mouth and outwardly flaring base. The stylized design on the main body foreshadows the now famous inlaid celadon plum bottle with cloud and crane designs that would be produced later.

Many celadons of larger shapes, measuring almost one meter in height, were produced at this time, as evidenced by the plum bottle with coiled dragon inlay design under celadon glaze from the Buan Yucheon-ri kiln site, the vase with inlay of peony and cloud and crane designs under celadon glaze, and the celadon openwork dome (靑瓷透刻墩) (Ehwa Womans University Museum collection).

Gold-painted celadons, like those mentioned in the historical records of Goryeo, are estimated to have been made between 1289 and 1297. An example of this kind of celadon, the inlaid celadon vase with flattened walls with monkey and rabbit designs in gold, was discovered at the royal territories of Manweoldae at Gaeseong. This vase has the shape of a water chestnut, and the inlay-patterned bands visually divide the surface on each side with a Buddhist-floral vinescroll design revealing a new decorative pattern, while the lower region exhibits a more thickly-outlined lotus-designed band on a now more diluted, green-colored glaze. In addition to this example, the flattened vase with images of roof tiles and figures in inlay under celadon glaze and the flattened jar with cloud and crane design in inlay under celadon glaze (Ganseong Art Museum collection) indicate that this kind of vase form was popular at this time.

Besides these, inlaid celadons have also been excavated from the Yongjang castle (龍藏城) located in Jeonnam (全南) Jin-do (珍島), and destroyed during the Sambyeolcho Rebellion (1270–1273).

To think that inlaid celadon production was halted in any significant way as a result of the Mongol invasions in 1231 is unfounded, as the evidence shows that despite the forty years of prolonged struggles, inlaid celadon production continued.

This was due, in part, to the fact that the Mongols did not invade the peninsula all at once, but rather, infiltrated from the western sea borders to Ganghwa Island where the Choes maintained their defense, allowing inlaid celadon production to continue at the kilns at Gangjin and Buan. This more accurate reality can be confirmed by the continuing production of the gourd-shaped ewer with copper-red lotus design in relief (1257), the inlaid celadon pieces excavated from the Yongjang castle in Jin-do dated to 1270–1273, and the gold-painted celadons of 1289–1297.

Inlaid celadon production continued during the course of the thirteenth century, creating thoughtful shapes and remarkable designs, and this can be confirmed by the celadons produced at the Buan Yucheon-ri kilns.

The inlaid celadon traditions that characterized the latter half of the thirteenth century continued into the early half of the fourteenth century. In the early fourteenth century, a new class of gentry emerged with the support of the Yuan government in China. After the Musin-backed military government collapsed, this new class gained economic power by becoming large landowners and began to acquire political power as its members began to occupy high government positions.

As Goryeo and Yuan China shared close relations through both the royal family and the upper classes, Yuan's laws, customs, clothing, "pigtail" hair practice for males, and intermarriages, as well as changing conceptions of human nature and natural laws, were adopted by Korea, and a new school of Buddhism, known as Lamaism, entered the country. As a religion practiced by the royal classes, this new force inspired many extraordinary Goryeo Buddhist paintings and sutras, many of which are still extant today.

At this time, the production of celadon plum bottles decreased and flat-sided wide-mouthed vases became increasingly popular. Dishes became deeper and many different kinds of smaller dishes with straight edges and interesting shapes were produced. With these new preferences and changes in shape, the celadons increased in thickness and the color of the glaze began to transform into a more diluted and ashen-blue.

While the now customary patterns of cattail, willow, waterfowl, cloud and crane, lychee flower, peony, and chrysanthemum continued to be used, the cloud motif that had been part of the cloud and crane pattern began to change into dots surrounding the birds. The foot on these celadons also became thicker, with thicker quartz supports used on unglazed bases.

When comparing the inlaid celadon with the cyclical inscription *ganji* 干支, believed to be an example of early fourteenth century celadon, with the soup bowl with cattail, willow, waterfowl design in inlay under celadon glaze with the cyclical inscription *gisa* 己巳, the soup bowl has no carvings at the bottom region, but is decorated with a carefully arranged willow and reed design on the main surface of the body that has been encircled with a *ruyi* band design. An image of playing ducks has been depicted in between the willow and the reed. There is a vinescroll band design on a slant and the low foot was first on quartz supports. On some of the soup bowls with the inscription *gisa*, there is a big sunflower in gray inlay instead of the peony vinescroll design. In 1987, on the shores of Juk-do (竹島) island in Boryeong (保寧), Chungcheongnam-do province, nearly forty inlaid celadon soup bowls, dishes, and the like with the inscription *gisa* were discovered.

The soup bowl with cattail, willow, waterfowl design in inlay under celadon glaze inscribed with *gyeongo*, 庚午 is a shallow bowl with a flaring rim. The interior bottom is decorated with a *ruyi* band and the sides exhibit a willow and reed design in symmetry with ducks. On the exterior, there are vinescroll and lotus bands that are concise in detail, but the vinescroll band has been simplified and depicted on a slant. When comparing these kinds of celadons with those that are not so shallow, the designs found on them are still the same. The glaze continues to be a thinly applied ashen-blue. These celadons are quite similar to the soup bowls inscribed *gisa*, and besides the soup bowl shape, there are square dishes, round dishes, and incense burners that also have a delicate vinescroll band and a low and wide foot, making these features a characteristic type.

The three soup bowls, bearing the cyclical inscriptions *imsin* 壬申, *gyeyu* 癸酉, or *gabsul* 甲戌 are all quite similar.

The eight-sided dish with a simple chrysanthemum flower design was fired on sand supports.

The eight-sided dish with the inscription *jeonghae* 丁亥 has a double-budded chrysanthemum on each of its eight sides and was fired on low sand supports.

An inlaid celadon dish sherd with the inscription *jijeong* 至正 has evidence of the use of black inlay and depicts a double-outlined *ruyi* band that borders its square edge. The foot was supported on quartz supports for firing, making it similar to the *jeonghae* celadons. Aside from these examples, inlaid celadon sherds with the inscription *eulmi* 乙未 have been discovered recently.

Both the *jijeong* celadons and the *jeonghae* celadons were found in the same stratum at the Gangjin Sadang-ri kiln site. Excavated from a different layer at the same site were *gisa*, *gyeongo*, *imsin*, *gyeyu*, *gabsul*, and *imo* 壬午 celadons. Considering the shape, pattern, glaze color, foot, and firing technique of the *jeonghae* inlaid celadon sherd, now understood to be dated to 1347, as a standard marker, it is appropriate to estimate that these inscribed celadons were made between 1329 and 1347. Thus to claim that the inlaid celadons inscribed *ganji* are to be dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century, between 1269 and 1287, is incorrect.

Since the general quality of inlaid celadons changed distinctively after the Mongol invasions in 1231, the *ganji* inlaid celadons could not have been made in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Given that the flower-shaped soup bowl with inlay phoenix design (National Museum of Korea collection) and the pot with a sunflower-like peony design in inlay are quite similar to the flattened vase with gold-painted monkey and rabbit inlay design of 1290 (which also has a peony vinescroll design in inlay on the side that looks like a sunflower, along with another stamen design that also looks like a sunflower), these celadons would have been made

between 1290 and 1300. Furthermore, not only have the peony vinescroll design and band been simply depicted on the soup bowl with peony vinescroll design in inlay with the inscription *gisa* like the soup bowl mentioned before, but also the glaze and arrangement of the foot indicate that the inlaid celadon *gisa* could not have been made earlier. Yet, when the *gisa* inlaid celadons are compared with the soup bowl with peony vinescroll design in inlay under celadon glaze with the inscription *jeongreung* 正陵 (to be discussed later), the *jeongreung* soup bowl continues to have an even more simplified peony vinescroll design and vinescroll band with a glaze color, foot arrangement, and evidence of firing technique that testifies to the fact that the *gisa* inlaid celadons were made earlier.

Thus, when considering factors such as the inlaid designs, color of the glaze, and shape of the foot, the bowl with lotus and vinescroll design in inlay under celadon glaze with the inscription *gisa* cannot be dated earlier than the 1257 gourd-shaped celadon ewer with copper-red lotus, the celadon sherds excavated from the Yongjang castle in Jin-do dated 1270–1273, or the flattened jar with gold-painted monkey and rabbit design in inlay under celadon glaze of 1289–1297, but this bowl is definitively older than the bowl with vinescroll and chrysanthemum design in inlay under celadon glaze with the inscription *jangreung* and, like the similar *ganji* inscribed celadons, should be dated to the early fourteenth century, between 1329 and 1347. As such, the recently discovered *eulmi* inlaid celadon dish sherd with its U-shaped edged foot, traces of sand supports, and ashen-blue colored glaze suggests that it should be dated to 1355.

Given this new consideration, it is more appropriate to date the *gisa* celadons to 1329 (King Chung Suk's 16th year), the *gyeongnyeon* celadons to 1330 (King Chung Suk's 17th year), the *imsin* celadons to 1332 (the later King Chung Suk's first year), the *gyeyu* celadons to 1333 (his second year), the *gabsul* celadons to 1334 (his third year), and a few years later, the *imo* celadons to 1342 (King Chunghye's third year) and the *jonghae* celadons to 1347 (King Chungmok's third year).

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, as the Yuan dynasty transitioned to the Ming in China, the time was marked by upheaval and a powerful new class of gentry emerged,

becoming the ruling scholar-officials, demanding reform against the group that had monopolized political power and expanded its control over the farmlands following the political and economic chaos that had ensued. Members of this new scholar-official class, who had maintained ties with former government officers who now lived in the countryside, gradually had become small land owners and, through the civil service examinations, advanced socially to manage the activities of the central government during the reign of King Gongmin (r. 1372–1374) and undermined efforts to strengthen the power of the king as they propelled reforms to install a new king of Joseon.

Driven by the demands of this new ruling class, celadons that were more practical for daily life began to be produced.

When the official government kilns making inlaid celadon along the coast at Gangjin and Buan were plundered and destroyed by Japanese pirates, this new ruling class constructed new kilns in various interior areas of the peninsula, resulting in the establishment of 324 new pottery kilns in the early Joseon period (1392–1910), as recorded in the geographies of the Joseon records.

The *jeongreung* bowl with peony vinescroll design in inlay under celadon glaze (1365) and the soup bowl with concentric circle design in inlay under celadon glaze (1388) both serve as examples of celadons produced during this development. The *jeongreung* bowl is much simplified as compared with the inlaid celadons we have examined thus far, and the main decorative element is an unusual peony vinescroll design on the sides that has been carved in four places, which started to become a characteristic feature of later celadon bowls. The bowl with concentric circle design in inlay has a simpler, double-outlined inlay design that is supported by thick sand supports, and together with the other simpler inlay designs and shapes, is representative of the kinds of celadons that were discovered in kilns of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This new phase of inlaid celadon foreshadowed the production of *buncheong* (粉青) wares in the new Joseon period (1392–1910).

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