



Lion-shaped Goryeo celadon water dropper excavated from Koshitaka historic site in Kamiagata-machi, Tsushima Island.



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GORYEO CELADON IN JAPAN

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INTRODUCTION

The shards of Goryeo celadon excavated from the Hakata and Kamakura sites together with Chinese pottery have been of great interest since World War II.¹ The shards, albeit shattered pieces, could easily be discerned because of the unique embellishment of inlaid decorative designs. In 1953, a thesis on these Goryeo ceramics by Koyama Fujio was published.² However, this thesis was based on extremely limited resource due to the lack of available information on porcelain kilns in Japan at that time. For example, white porcelain that had been produced in China was often mistaken for Goryeo's and the distribution of Goryeo ceramics and their development over each period of time could not easily be mapped as a result.

For the past twenty years, however, archaeo-

logical excavations and studies on the Middle Ages and modern times have so advanced that the public interest in foreign ceramics excavated from historic sites has increased considerably. Most of the ceramics that have been excavated are, of course, Chinese and the excavation case of Korean ceramics is comparatively far fewer than those of Chinese. However, the number of reports on newly excavated Korean ceramics has been steadily increasing. In 1983, Nishitani Tadashi published a thesis on chronological recording of the distribution of Korean ceramics and its users based on the comprehensive study on the Korean ceramics excavated in Kyushu and Okinawa.³ In 1984, the Fifth Conference on Trade Ceramics was held under the theme of 'Goryeo and Joseon Ceramics Excavated in Japan,' giving us a better understanding of this area of study. Since then, a number of theses on this subject have been published.⁴ The purposes of this paper are to overview these preceding studies on Goryeo ceramics

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excavated in Japan (or preserved in Japan), to summarize several issues involved in the study results, and to present my views on the issues.

III

Needless to say, Goryeo celadon represents all the ceramics of the Goryeo period. Celadon is a type of porcelain unique to Asia first developed in now the northern part of Zhejiang Province during the late Han Dynasty. China has produced fine quality celadon unique to each period. Of all the celadon produced in China, those produced at the Yue Kiln during the Tang and Five Dynasties periods and at the kilns in Yaozhou, Ru, and Longquan during the Song period are the most renowned. Goryeo also introduced a unique celadon that is tantamount to the Chinese celadon in color and decoration, so deep and calm and yet rich and warm.

It is widely recognized that the Yue kiln in China deeply influenced the creation of Goryeo celadon on the Korean Peninsula. The Yue kiln collectively refers to a group of massive celadon kilns concentrated around Shanglin Lake (today's Cixi, Zhejiang Province that encompasses the cities of Yuyao and Ningbo as well as Shangyuxian Province). By the Late Han, celadon production in this area had gradually matured and a unique celadon called Ancient Yueware such as Shentinghu and Tianjihua was produced during the periods of Three Kingdoms China, Western Jin, and Eastern Jin. By the late Tang, the Yue kiln had already produced high-quality celadon in a massive volume and part of this fine-quality celadon was exported overseas in concurrence with the celadon trade boom then. Beautiful celadon thinly applied with clear bluish green celadon glaze was called celadon of mysterious color and widely praised by the world. Bowls of a simple shape with a broad circular foot that broadens straight upward to make a wide mouth were typical of Yueware style, and Goryeo produced a similar type of bowl as Yueware.

Studies on Goryeo celadon have advanced considerably thanks to important discoveries on the early phase of Korean celadon in recent years. Although there is no consensus on when celadon came into being on the Korean Peninsula, it has been pointed out that the first celadon may date back to before the ninth century, during the late Unified Silla period.

Looking at the Goryeo celadon that has been excavated in Japan thus far, no case has been confirmed to be a product from before the mid eleventh century and almost all of them have been discovered along with Chinese ceramics. This implies that the imports of Goryeo celadon into Japan

were supplementary to the imports and distribution of Chinese ceramics.⁵ At historic sites in Japan, imported ceramics dating to the late eighth century have continually been discovered. Most of the ceramics imported into Japan at this time were celadon from the Yue kiln, white porcelain, and yellow glazed pottery produced at the Changsha Kiln. These three types of Chinese ceramics are collectively called 'Early Trade Ceramics' as they were the first major ceramics to open an era of earnest ceramic trade. During this early trade ceramics period, there seems no indication that Goryeo celadon was imported into Japan, however.

From the late eleventh century through the twelfth century, these early trade ceramics were replaced by white porcelain produced in southern China and began to pour into Japan. Albeit in a small volume, there are some excavation cases of Goryeo celadon that were exported to Japan around this time. Yamamoto Nobuo⁶ and Morita Tsutomu⁷ conducted some researches on these Goryeo cases.

The celadon pieces dubbed 'Early Goryeo Celadon' by Yamamoto Nobuo can be classified into three groups. The first group is refined celadon produced with fine quality clay and glaze and it has two types: one with a *haemurigup* foot (a flat type of foot-ring with its centre hollowed out) and the other with a *yunhyeonggup* (wheel-shaped foot-ring). The second group is of bowls that widen towards the mouth and that are decorated with lotus patterns. This group has two types in terms of quality: fine and poor. The third group is mass-produced, poor-quality celadon of which the clay, glaze, and shapes are all poor. Fired in stacks (piled one upon another), this poor-quality celadon has marks of supports on both the interior and the exterior surfaces. Celadon of this third group was recovered in a massive volume from a sunken vessel discovered in 1983 on a seabed off of Wando Island, Jeollanam-do Province.⁸ It has been confirmed that this type of celadon was produced at kilns in Jinsan-ri, Jeollanam-do Province.⁹ Yamamoto Nobuo estimated the date of the 'Early Goryeo Celadon' that

had been excavated from Dazaifu based on the form of *Hajiki* (earthenware produced in the Tumulus period through the Ancient period) and concluded that both fine and poor quality celadon began to be produced in the late eleventh century and increased in volume well into the twelfth century.

The discovery of 'Early Goryeo Celadon' is concentrated in the northern part of Kyushu since many pieces were discovered in Dazaifu and Hakata and some in Heiankyo (today's Kyoto),¹⁰ Chikugokokufu (today's southern Fukuoka-ken Prefecture),¹¹ and Buzenkokufu (area covering eastern Fukuoka Prefecture and the northern part of Oita-ken Prefecture at present)¹² as well as Tsushima.¹³ Nevertheless, the volume is tiny compared with that of Chinese ceramics leading to a speculation that the early Goryeo ceramics were not produced for export. In particular, the excavation of the poor-quality celadon fired in stacks was strictly limited to Dazaifu, Hakata, Chikugokogufu, and Tsushima. Meanwhile, looking at the foreign ceramics imported into Japan from the latter half of the eleventh century to the first half of the twelfth century (when early Goryeo celadon appeared in Japan), white porcelain accounted for the bulk of Chinese ceramics while the percentage of celadon in Chinese imports decreased sharply. Based on this fact, some scholars speculate that increased demand in the Japanese market for celadon led to importation of Goryeo celadon.¹⁴ If so, Goryeo celadon should have been intentionally imported into Japan. The characteristics and shipment route of early Goryeo ceramics imported into Japan need to be more closely examined. It is possible, for example, that part of Goryeo celadon that had been imported into Tsushima as a commodity was shipped to Kyushu.

There is some difference in approaches between researches in Japan, the consumer and Korea, the producer on the production date of Goryeo celadon excavated from historic sites in Japan. Of the early Goryeo celadon, the Japanese and Korean academics almost agree on the age of the third group of mass-

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produced, poor-quality celadon.¹⁵ However, they disagree on those of the first group and the second group. In particular, the Korean academics believe that the production date of the first group is slightly earlier than that of the celadon pieces excavated in Japan.¹⁶ It is thought that the reason for the discrepancy between the dates of production in Korea and of importation into Japan is that the Goryeo celadon was not originally produced for export.

If the early Goryeo celadon excavated from historic sites in Japan was not for trade, we need to be very careful in associating the date of artifacts excavated with the actual production date. However, given that all of the early Goryeo celadon excavated in Japan has been discovered together with Chinese porcelain from the latter half of the eleventh century to the twelfth century, it would be reasonable to surmise that the age of artifacts excavated reflects the date of importation and production.

Pottery with *haemurigup* foot-rings is commonly found among early trade porcelain and celadon bowls produced at the Yue kilns in China. *Haemurigup* means 'haloed sun' and is a flat type of foot-ring with its centre hollowed out. Celadon and porcelain with a *haemurigup* foot-ring was also produced in Goryeo. According to the thesis by Kamei Meitoku on the appearance and disappearance of *haemurigup* in China, pieces with *haemurigup* began to be produced in the latter half of the eighth century, flourished in the first half of the ninth century, and disappeared in the latter half of the ninth century.¹⁷ Kamei also wrote that Goryeo celadon with *haemurigup* continued to be produced until the third quarter of the ninth century at the latest given that the original and the imitation were in general produced during the same period and that celadon produced during the Silla period should be the true predecessor of Goryeo celadon with *haemurigup*.¹⁸

The *haemurigup* on celadon excavated in Japan is not similar to the 'Chinese-style *haemurigup*' of the celadon produced at the Yue kilns. All the Goryeo celadon pieces are Korean-style *haemurigup* having flat bottom inside instead. This style represents the later *haemurigup* phase, and Choe Gun confirmed that this type of *haemurigup* continued to be produced in Korea until the end of the tenth century.¹⁹ Some academics have noticed the similarity in shapes between early Goryeo celadon bowls excavated in Japan and porcelain bowls produced in Northern Song China.²⁰ It means that, although there is no doubt that Goryeo bowls with *haemurigup* were influenced by Chinese celadon produced at the Yue kilns, Chinese ceramics produced during the Northern Song period exerted much greater influence on the shape of bowls with Korean-style *haemurigup*, which was produced later than the Chinese-style *haemurigup*. Considering all, I support the opinions of

Yamamoto Nobuo and Morita Tsutomu. They date the Goryeo celadon excavated in Japan to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Many questions remain unanswered regarding the history of Goryeo celadon because of a lack of documentation on the dates.²¹ The date of birth of Goryeo celadon and the time when it began to be produced in larger volume for practical everyday use also need to be ascertained based on the available evidence. Because relatively little Goryeo celadon has been excavated from historic sites in Japan, it does not offer enough evidence as to when Korean celadon was created and developed. Nonetheless, since there are few excavations outside of kiln sites on the Korean Peninsula, those excavated in Japan deserve attention in the study of Goryeo celadon.

III

Gradually breaking away from the influence of Chinese celadon since it was first introduced to Goryeo, its potters ultimately developed a unique type of celadon. The glazes on Goryeo celadon became more transparent and beautiful jade-green, and many different decorative techniques, such as incision, carving, openwork, molding, and painting were developed. Good quality Goryeo celadon produced in its heyday was of exquisite beauty and had a dynamic feeling. This high-quality celadon was made for the aristocrats of Goryeo and was produced at kilns in Sadang-ri, Gangjin-gun, Jeollanam-do Province and Yucheon-ri, Buan-gun, Jeollabuk-do Province during the twelfth century.

There is one extremely important document that describes the Goryeo celadon in the first half of the twelfth century. It is the *Travelogue to Goryeo of a Chinese Envoy*, an account of a visit to Goryeo written by Xu Jing in 1123. About his visit to Gaeseong, he wrote, "Goryeo people call the green color used in ceramics 'kingfisher blue.' Current techniques have become more

sophisticated and the glaze, more beautiful than before. The color resembles the mysterious green of the vessels produced at the Yue and Ru kilns. The lion-shaped incense burners decorated with lotus patterns are most intricately made." Although the illustration originally included in the Xu Jing's book is lost, the book clearly proves that Goryeo celadon reached a very high level of refinement and sophistication. The celadon excavated from the Jangneung Royal Tomb of King Injong at Jangdo-myeon, Jangdan-gun, Gyeonggi-do Province (now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea) proves that Goryeo celadon was produced at least as far back as 1146. The transparent tint of green glaze is filled with the tranquility and grace that makes Goryeo celadon unique and we can understand every reason why the color is specifically differentiated as 'jade-green,' that is, the color of kingfisher blue.

Like the incense burner in the shape of lion as described in *Travelogue to Goryeo of a Chinese Envoy*, other celadon pieces in the shapes of various animals, plants, and human figures in full or in part were called "*sanghyeong-cheongja*" or celadon modeled after figures (e.g. animal or plant). There are many pieces of this type of celadon in such shapes and they are considered the most representative exemplars of all Goryeo celadon. These animal or plant-shaped celadon pieces were imported into Japan. The fragments of a lid of an incense burner shaped as a mandarin duck were discovered at the historic site of Dazaifu.²² The feathers are incised exquisitely on the body that is covered with transparent jade-colored glaze and they attest to the technique described in Xu Jing's *Travelogue to Goryeo of a Chinese Envoy*. It is shaped to emit incense from the mouth of the mandarin duck and the Museum of Oriental Ceramics Osaka holds the perfect example of this type of celadon.

A lion-shaped Goryeo celadon water dropper was excavated from the island of Tsushima, between Kyushu and the Korean Peninsula. It is in the collection of Kamiagata-machi Central Public Institute at present.

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It is hollow inside, has a big open mouth, and is decorated with an incised mane. The entire body is covered with jade-colored glaze and the big eyes of the lion are painted with iron pigment. This celadon was reportedly excavated from Koshitaka historic site in Kamiagata-machi Prefecture but no other information on the excavation remains, regrettably. A piece of celadon of exactly the same shape and size as this piece was discovered in a sunken vessel off of Dodeok-do Island, Jungdo-myeon, Sinan-gun, Jeollanam-do Province.²³

The artifacts from the Sinan seabed include seven pieces of Goryeo celadon including the lion-shaped water dropper mentioned above,²⁴ five pieces decorated with inlaid designs, and one *maebyeong* bottle decorated with a carved peony scroll. There is a gap between the estimated time of production and the 1320s, when the ship foundered. Chung Yang-mo speculates that Goryeo celadon that had been taken to China earlier was loaded and transported later on this ship.²⁵ In fact, some Goryeo celadon has been excavated in China.²⁶ About as many as 20,000 ceramic pieces were excavated from the Sinan seabed. Of these, only seven were Goryeo celadon (the remaining were Chinese celadon and porcelain). The three Goryeo celadon pieces recovered from the third salvage operation had been packaged in a container deep inside the hold of the ship,²⁷ showing clearly that this Goryeo celadon was handled differently from the other ceramic pieces shipped in massive volume. It is very possible that these Goryeo celadon pieces were 'antiques' that had been handed down from one generation to another for some time. Of the pieces found on the Sinan seabed, many resemble those excavated from historic sites in Japan. This suggests that Goryeo celadon, which was widely sought after, was distributed along with Chinese ceramics.

Animal-shaped celadon is dated by many to the first half of the twelfth century, as the *Travelogue to Goryeo of a Chinese Envoy* records. However, given that the lion-shaped celadon water droppers discovered from the Koshitaka historic site in Kamiagata-machi and the Sinan seabed are of somewhat poorer quality and have exaggerated shapes, we can assume that these two pieces were not produced during the same period when the best animal-shaped Goryeo celadon was made. Logically, it appears that the piece excavated from Koshitaka, Kamiagata-machi, Tsushima and the others recovered from the Sinan seabed were produced later, when animal-shaped celadon was in decline. Shards of the legs of animal-shaped Goryeo celadon were also discovered in Kamakura.²⁸

The range of the sites where Goryeo celadon decorated with incised or stamped patterns has been discovered is broader than that of early Goryeo celadon. Celadon dishes decorated with incised designs were excavated in Hakata and Dazaifu in northern Kyushu and Miyaji, Jonan-machi, Kumamoto-ken Prefecture.²⁹ A celadon bowl decorated with an incised lotus design was

discovered on Gaja Island of the Tokara Islands (Tokara-retto), Toshima-mura, Kagoshima-ken Prefecture.³⁰ Shards of a celadon bowl with a stamped lotus scroll design were discovered in Heiankyo. Shards that seem to be of a mouth of a celadon incense burner were discovered at the Ichijodani Asakura Family Site, Fukui-shi, Fukui-ken Prefecture.³² Decorated with an incised design of clouds and coated with transparent jade-colored glaze, these shards seem to have been produced when Goryeo celadon reached its apex. As there is a considerable time gap between the period when the piece was produced and the time the relic was kept on the site of excavation, it is thought that the piece had been highly prized as an antique and handed down through the generations to the sixteenth century.

Goryeo celadon that was produced after its uniqueness in style had been developed to perfection is more widely distributed. Although there are still relatively few examples, some pieces were held by families for generations. Goryeo celadon must have been highly valued and appreciated by the Japanese for the green color, and was called jade color celadon.

IV

By the latter half of the Goryeo period, the inlay decorative technique called *sanggam* had been developed and became the major means of decoration for Goryeo celadon. To make a piece of *sanggam* inlaid celadon, some designs were incised on the surface of a vessel, the designs were filled with white clay or iron-rich red clay and then the piece was bisque fired. After bisque firing, the surface was coated with celadon glaze. When fired, the white clay remained white while the red turned black on the jade-colored background. Although seldom used, the reverse inlay technique entailed cutting the background away and filling the carved out spaces with white clay, leaving the design in relief. In this case, the design in jade color is shown on a white background. We can find inlaid decoration on Chinese ceramics.

However, only on Goryeo celadon, inlay technique developed as a major decoration making the *sanggam* inlay technique unique to Goryeo.

Academics do not agree on the exact origin of *sanggam* inlaid celadon or when it was widely distributed. There is only one such piece of Goryeo celadon that is clearly documented. It was excavated in Jireung from the tomb of King Myeongjong (1131~1202).³³ However, it seems clear that *sanggam* inlaid celadon became widely sought after from the mid to late twelfth century. Perhaps, the inlay decorative technique that originated from gold and silver filament inlay used for metal craftwork or lacquerware appealed to Goryeo people. Designs created by clear contrasting lines in black and white on the background of a calm shade of jade unique to Goryeo celadon appear as if they were painted, imparting a feeling of richness on the calm and quiet "canvas" of jade-green.

It is clear that Goryeo *sanggam* inlay celadon was imported into Japan by the thirteenth century. Goryeo celadon from this period has been excavated in larger volume and at more locations over wider areas. Goryeo *sanggam* inlay celadon has continually been excavated in such areas of northern Kyushu as Tsushima, Iki, Hakata, and Dazaifu and Kusadosengencho, Fukuyama-shi, Hiroshima-ken Prefecture in the Setouchi region.³⁴ Quite a large volume of Goryeo celadon has been discovered in the Kanto region as well.

Goryeo celadon discovered in Kamakura, which had flourished as the Japanese capital and important center of politics and culture from the end of the twelfth century to the first half of the fourteenth century, was outstanding both in quantity and quality.³⁵ Fifty three Goryeo celadon pieces were discovered at 14 historic sites in 1985 alone and the discoveries continued beyond that year. Most of the Goryeo celadon excavated in Kamakura is decorated with inlaid designs. Designs of clouds and cranes, peonies, and grapes were used for decoration. Some bottles are decorated with *ruyi* pearl

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designs on the shoulder and designs of maze-like, jagged, broken lines or lotus on the bottom. A few pieces are decorated with incised reverse inlay designs and one piece is decorated with an iron-painted design. The glazes are transparent bluish-green, bluish-gray, or olive.

Interestingly, the discovered pieces were mainly bottles. This is especially true in Kamakura, where the percentage of bottles is far greater compared to the pieces excavated in Kyushu. This is also true of Chinese pottery excavated in this region. Bottles with small flaring lips, broad swelling bodies, and narrow waists are called *maebyeong* or plum blossom bottles. A greater number of Chinese porcelain *maebyeong* bottles have been excavated in Kamakura than in other region. This shows that *maebyeong* bottles were highly prized by the ruling class of Kamakura.

The Goryeo celadon *maebyeong* bottle is one of the most beautiful pieces that have the unique beauty of Goryeo porcelain. It has a small flaring mouth and elegantly S-lined body and is decorated with inlaid, incised, or iron-painted designs. The fragments of celadon pieces with inlaid designs that were discovered at 1-210 Yukinoshita around the Wakamiya area are thought to be part of a gourd-shaped ewer.³⁷ The most famous complete piece of this type of Goryeo celadon is a ewer decorated with inlaid designs of playful boys dangling on grapevines. It is now in the collection of the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art and it is a true masterpiece that shows the characteristics unique to Goryeo.

Despite the fact that relatively few Goryeo celadon pieces have been excavated in Kamakura compared with Chinese ceramics, *maebyeong* bottles account for a certain percentage of pieces excavated in Kamakura. Many *maebyeong* bottles have been found at historic sites of the residences of the ruling class and of temples. This indicates that *maebyeong* bottles were widely sought after in Japan as they satisfied the tastes of the Japanese people.

In the Kanto area, a *maebyeong* bottle decorated with a *ruyi* pearl design in white inlay on the shoulder was discovered in a historic site of Kamihamada, Ebina-shi, Kanagawa-ken Prefecture.³⁸ A beautifully glazed *maebyeong* bottle decorated with an incised lotus scroll design was discovered in a historic site of Utsukidai, Hachioji-shi, Tokyo.³⁹ A *maebyeong* decorated with iron-brown design was discovered at the Minamihiromaji historic site, Hino-shi, Tokyo.⁴⁰ All these historic sites are in the vicinity of Kamakura, which is thought to have been the residential center of the ruling class. Clearly, a huge percentage of all Goryeo celadon *maebyeong* bottles excavated have been found in the Kamakura region.

Artifacts that are used as important references in studying the imports and distribution of Goryeo celadon in Japan remain on Tsushima Island. Located

on route between Kyushu and the Korean Peninsula, Tsushima served as an important gateway through which products shipped from Korea were distributed to Japan in large volumes.⁴¹ Bottles and ewers produced in the Goryeo and Joseon periods remain in shrines all over the island. Among them, those at the Kaijin-jinja Shrine in Minemachikisaka, the central southern part of Tsushima Island are most interesting.

The Kaijin-jinja Shrine, the most magnificent shrine on Tsushima Island, is famous for the standing Buddha statue from the Unified Silla (designated as Important Cultural Property in Japan). Eleven pieces of Goryeo and Joseon ceramics remain in this shrine.⁴² Six of them are Goryeo celadon. Four are *maebyeong* bottles, of which two are decorated with incised designs and the other two with inlaid designs. The remaining two celadon are ewers. One of the ewers is decorated with a scroll design in reverse inlay. The upper part of the body, spout, and handle of this ewer are missing but we can see that the shape of the missing handle was a twisted strip. It is assumed that this piece was a large gourd-shaped ewer like the celadon ewer decorated with an inlaid grape scroll design in the collection of the Seikado Bunko Art Museum. The other interesting piece is a ewer in the shape of a bird with a human figure on its back. The human head and the tail of the bird are missing but it has a horn on its head and its feathers are exquisitely incised. There are still traces of the broad and flat tail attached to the body suggesting that the tail of the bird was connected to the back of the human figure as a handle as is the case of the bird-shaped ewer in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago. The bird is decorated with a dot design painted with iron-brown pigment and white clay. In addition to these six, there is one unglazed *maebyeong* bottle from Goryeo.

Regrettably, there is no record that tells us about the origin of the Goryeo celadon in Japan. Mikami Tsugio, who participated in the excavation of the Tsushima historic site as a member of the Society of East Asian Archaeological Studies in the summer of

1948, wrote, "Goryeo celadon *maebyeong* bottles were so carelessly placed on the altar... I keenly felt that Goryeo and Japan were so close."⁴³ Besides the Kaijin-jinja Shrine, pottery from Goryeo and Joseon has also been preserved at other shrines all over Tsushima Island. It may be that these pieces were brought to Tsushima during the medieval period, offered to shrines, and handed down through the years as valuable objects up to the present day. Some academics think they were presented in prayer for safe voyages.

The Goryeo celadon preserved at the Kaijin-jinja Shrine and that excavated from historic sites in Japan including Kamakura share many features in common with respect to shape and decoration. Many of the pieces of Goryeo celadon excavated from historic sites including Kamakura are only debris, but they provide clues to the style and the stages of development of the Goryeo celadon imported into Japan.

Studies on the period when Goryeo *sanggam* inlaid celadon was introduced to Japan have been conducted based on the excavations in Kamakura.⁴⁴ Fragments of celadon pieces painted in iron-brown pigment are the oldest artifacts to be found there, presumed to be produced before the mid thirteenth century. The amount of Goryeo celadon excavated in Kamakura increased in the mid thirteenth century and continued to increase well into the first half of the fourteenth century. Although academics differ in their opinions about the stylistic development of *sanggam* inlay, the shards of Kamakura celadon clearly defy the common belief that the production of Goryeo celadon reached its peak in the mid to late twelfth century and began to decline in the early thirteenth century.

Given that Goryeo celadon cannot be defined as a trade commodity for wide distribution in general and *maebyeong* bottles and ewers are items that could be easily handed down to later generations, the increasing amount of Goryeo celadon in Japan does not necessarily mean an increase of its production in Korea at the time.

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Some academics argue that these Goryeo celadon pieces were discarded after having been handed down in Japan while others think that they had been kept in Korea for a certain period of time before being taken to Japan. As is the case with early Goryeo celadon, if we look at Goryeo celadon and Chinese ceramics excavated together as a group, we can find certain relations. Goryeo celadon produced during the golden age of *sanggam* inlay celadon is distributed along with the so-called 'pale grayish celadon,' the third group of Longquan celadon. Therefore, the production date of the excavated artifacts cannot be totally different from the date of importation of the artifacts to Japan. In fact, China excavated an example of Goryeo *sanggam* inlay celadon *maebyeong* bottles with clear purchase date. At the site presumed to have been tomb of Shi Tianze (buried in 1275) in the Village of Hou Tai Bao, City of Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, a Goryeo celadon *maebyeong* bottle decorated with a flower and clouds design along with the lid of a celadon jar produced at the Longquan kiln were found⁴⁵ and its burial was dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century.

That the period when Goryeo celadon decorated with inlaid designs was produced and the dating of Goryeo celadon artifacts excavated from historic sites in Japan did not match could be explained if we see that the decline in the quality of Goryeo celadon occurred later than we have previously believed. Up to the present time, the prevailing theory was that Goryeo *sanggam* inlay celadon lost its refined quality after the Mongol invasion of 1231. It was believed that the quality of designs began to deteriorate sharply and the color of glaze turned to grayish and brownish. However, as Ito Ikutaro shows,⁴⁶ I think that high-quality Goryeo celadon continued to be produced until the latter half of the thirteenth century. Because the Goryeo celadon excavated from historic sites has only been found in small shards, it is difficult to determine the characteristics of the shapes or decorative designs of the original pieces. Compared with the Goryeo *sanggam* inlay celadon produced during its golden age in Goryeo, the Goryeo celadon discovered at the Kaijin-jinja Shrine is of poor quality: the decorative designs were increasingly stylized and the decorations around the mouth and bottom of body were less refined. All told, it is reasonable to believe that there was quite a time gap between the two.

V

Goryeo celadon was not the only type of ceramics imported into Japan. Charcoal-gray unglazed stoneware, which originated from the stoneware of the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods, continued to be produced in Korea even after celadon came into being and was also brought into Japan. Little study on this unglazed stoneware has so far been done relative to Goryeo celadon. It has

drawn little academic interest because it was used as miscellaneous vessels. Also, due to a scarcity of materials on it and the lack of study on the kiln sites where it was made, this unglazed stoneware hardly receives any mention at all in the history of ceramics in Japan.

Saying, "At present, we have not reached the stage where the shapes or development periods of this stoneware excavated in Japan can be discussed. For now, I will present materials on artifacts excavated and point out the shapes and production techniques that can be seen from these artifacts such that they can be used as references for future study," Akashi Yoshihiko elaborated on the characteristics of excavated unglazed stoneware imported from Korea and findings in excavated sites around Kourokan, the house for foreign affairs and international trade during the Heian period; Hakata, Kanzeon-ji Temple and its vicinity; Honman-zan Mountain; and Inayoshimotoyatugi in Ogori-shi City.⁴⁷

According to Akashi, the only types of unglazed stoneware excavated in Japan were the jars used for storage and transportation. No stoneware bowls have ever been found. Most of the pieces are jars with wide large mouths. Some have handles or ears attached to their bodies. No unglazed stoneware in the shape of a *maebyeong* bottle has been excavated in Japan but an unglazed stoneware *maebyeong* bottle is preserved at the Kaijin-jinja shrine.

Little unglazed stoneware produced during the Goryeo period has been discovered at historic sites in Japan, except for Tsushima, Nagasaki-ken Prefecture. More recently, historic sites of medieval times, including the site of Maitreya Hall, Kaijin-jinja Shrine, Kisaka, Mine-machi,⁴⁸ site of Oishibaru, Kamiagata-machi,⁴⁹ and site of Mizusaki, Mitsushima-machi⁵⁰ have been excavated one after another, allowing archaeologists to do quantitative analysis of artifacts from this period. In particular, reports on excavations at Oishibaru and Mizusaki include studies based on the composition of artifacts found.

A huge volume of Goryeo celadon, Chinese pottery, and other artifacts were discovered from the site of Maitreya Hall, Kaijin-jinja Shrine. The highest percentage of all artifacts excavated was of ceramics and there was more Korean pottery than Chinese pottery. And the bulk of the pottery from Korea was large, unglazed stoneware jars. These are believed to have been produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Goryeo period. They were likely used for everyday purposes, such as holding water and the like. A number of jars and bottles thinly coated with brownish and green brownish glazes were also found here. This kind of glazed stoneware rarely draws much attention from academia but it is believed to have been produced in the Goryeo period.

The historic site of Oishibaru is in Kamiagata-machi in the north on the west coast of Tsushima, close to the Korean Peninsula. The pillar foundations of buildings were found on Tsushima for the first time and a huge volume of trade ceramics has been excavated therein. Most of these pieces are believed to date back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An in-depth report on the excavation complete with quantitative analysis on the pottery discovered was done, and it pointed to some interesting facts. First of all, more than 80% of the ceramic pieces excavated were imported and less than 20% of the pieces were Japanese-made earthenware. Although roughly the same number of Chinese ceramics and Korean ceramics were found, they were of very different types. Most of the pieces of Chinese ceramics were white porcelain and celadon bowls to be used for offerings. Most of the Korean porcelain pieces were also bowls, but they only amount about half the number of Chinese bowls found. More than half of the Korean ceramics were stoneware and 70% of these stoneware pieces are unglazed. Most are jars that were used for storage. The vast bulk of the ceramics used for offerings are Chinese and very little of the ceramics found are Japanese. In contrast, more than 90% of vessels used for storage are Korean stoneware. Most of the vessels for cooking are Japanese-made *sueki* ware or stone pots.

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The historic site of Mizusaki in Osaki, Mitsushima-machi, Simoagata District is believed to date from the latter half of the fourteenth century to the first half of the fifteenth century, which is a little bit later than the historic site of Maitreya Hall, Kaijin-jinja Shrine and the Oishibaru site. A large volume of trade ceramics was excavated at the Mizusaki site. Noticeably, many ceramic pieces from Southeast Asia were discovered here and considering the volume of ceramics found, the Hayata family clan was even more powerful on Tsushima Island than the Sō Family from the first half the fourteenth century to the first half of the fifteenth century. A huge volume of export ceramics excavated from Mizusaki was due to active international trade by the Hayata clan. According to quantitative analysis, export ceramics accounted for 97% of all ceramics excavated and Korean-made ceramics accounted for 70%. Up to 5% of the ceramics found were from Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. Of Korean-made ceramics, about 50% was unglazed stoneware and the remaining was *buncheon* ware. In the determination of these percentages, those ceramics coated with only thin layers of glaze were classified as unglazed stoneware. A large volume of Korean-made stoneware was found and most of this was of jars for storage.

Little study has been conducted so far. It may be necessary to study the characteristics of the historic site more closely but it seems that Korean-made stoneware was widely used on Tsushima Island for storage from the twelfth century through the fifteenth century. It is obvious, based on the sheer number of pieces excavated and the percentage of vessels used for storage, that Korean-made stoneware was integral to the everyday lives of the Japanese people on Tsushima Island. It was not used as packaging or containers for other objects or products. On Tsushima Island during the medieval times, Chinese-made bowls and plates were most widely used, along with some celadon and *buncheon* ware produced in Korea. The large jars used by the Japanese for storage were unglazed Korean stoneware.

It is clear that unglazed stoneware continued to be produced in the Joseon period and was imported into Japan. Full-scale studies on this type of unglazed stoneware are about to start. Due to the lack of materials, changes in the production period have not yet been found for the most part. There are presently few reports on Korean-made unglazed stoneware excavated in Japan. However, given the fact that this type of unglazed stoneware only recently began to draw serious attention, there are many cases that need to be thoroughly investigated. For example, some of the stoneware that was considered earthenware produced before the Unified Silla period may actually be the unglazed stoneware produced after the Goryeo period. It is hardly likely that unglazed stoneware produced on the Korean Peninsula was widely distributed in Kyushu or Honshu but the unglazed stoneware brought into Tsushima was most likely obtained through

international trade. In studying trade between Goryeo and Japan, unglazed stoneware should not be overlooked but to be studied in depth.

VI

Entering the thirteenth century, Goryeo fell into a national crisis. The Mongols invaded Goryeo Korea in 1231, forcing the Goryeo king to flee to Ganghwa-do Island. More serious tribulations were to come. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Goryeo was wracked by constant raids and invasions by the Japanese marauders. Celadon continued to be produced until the end of Goryeo but it became less and less refined. The *sanggam* inlay designs lost their rich expressive beauty; works had a less mature appearance; and pressed patterns were more commonly used. Towards the end of Goryeo, the clay used was very coarse and the glaze became grayish and opaque. Goryeo celadon was declining noticeably in every respect including the shape and the firing.

Some Korean-made ceramics from the latter half of the fourteenth century have inscriptions of 'Jeongneung.' Jeongneung is the name of the royal tomb of King Gongmin's wife, Mongolian Princess Noguk, who died in 1365. King Gongmin passed away in 1374. Accordingly, celadon with inscriptions of Jeongneung was likely the best quality celadon of that time. This celadon was probably used as ritual vessels starting in 1365 the earliest, the year when the princess died, and continued to be used until 1374, when the king died. Shards of bowls with the inlaid inscription of Jeongneung in black were excavated from the historic site of Dazaifu.⁵¹ Although it not known how it was brought into Japan, it is valuable material as it clearly indicates the year of production.

The quality of celadon produced in the closing years of the Goryeo period was certainly declining, but the quantity of Goryeo celadon brought to Japan

actually increased. There was a greater volume of imported celadon and it was distributed over a wider area of Japan. Some Goryeo celadon at this time were even sent as far south as Okinawa and examples of artifacts were excavated from Shuri-jo Castle, Izena-jo Castle, and Nakijin-jo Castle.⁵² In the northeastern region, Goryeo celadon excavated from the historic site of Tosaminato, Shiura-mura, Aomori-ken Prefecture was thought to be produced at the end of the Goryeo period.⁵³ Shards with inlaid designs excavated from Ne-jo Castle,⁵⁴ Hachinohe-shi and Namioka-jo Castle, Namioka-machi,⁵⁵ Aomori-ken Prefecture are also believed to have been produced at the end of Goryeo.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, which marked the 'period of decline' for Goryeo celadon and the turbulent change between dynasties on the Korean Peninsula, the volume of Korean-made ceramics brought into Japan increased and was distributed more widely. This trend continued into the Joseon Dynasty. *Buncheon* ware produced in the early Joseon period succeeded *sanggam* inlay celadon from the Goryeo period but changed in terms of shape and decorative technique as a new form of expression came into being. Development from *sanggam* inlay celadon at the end of Goryeo to *buncheon* ware at the beginning of Joseon can be understood as a continuation of trends. Also, from the viewpoint of distribution and accommodation, it is difficult to declare that there was severance between *sanggam* inlay celadon and *buncheon* ware. When discussing the distribution of Korean-made ceramics in Japan, we need not divide the period between 'Goryeo' and 'Joseon.'

On Tsushima Island, the gateway through which Korean ceramics were brought to Japan, ceramics that were seemingly produced from the end of Goryeo to the early Joseon period have been excavated in large volume. In addition to the Mizusaki historic site mentioned earlier, shards were found at the site of a residence of Yoritsugu, the second son of So Morikuni, at Nii, Toyotama-machi. The historic site of the capital

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castle at Iki used to be a residential area that flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Korean-made ceramics excavated from this area account for 26.4% of total imported ceramics.⁵⁶ It was pointed out that the volume of Chinese-made ceramics excavated on the mainland of Nagasaki-ken Prefecture shows the volume from the first half of the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth centuries decreased. Miyazaki Takao speculates, "The volume of trade ceramics from the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries excavated in the Iki and Tsushima region shows little decrease which may be attributable to trade with Korea."⁵⁷

Kamei Meitoku years ago pointed out that so many issues remained unsolved as there were no historic sites that preserved imported ceramics for one hundred years from the mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth centuries.⁵⁸ The situation has hardly changed since then. Even so, Korean-made ceramics brought into Japan during that period are relatively distinguishable. Then, did Korean-made ceramics fill the gap created by the decrease in imports of Chinese ceramics into Japan? Although excavation revealed that the volume of Korean-made ceramics increased by this time, it was far below that of Chinese ceramics. Korean-made ceramics were not imported in large enough volume to make up the decrease in Chinese ceramics imports. On Tsushima Island, on the other hand, porcelain, celadon bowls, and dishes made in China were used together with bowls and dishes made in Korea. It may be reasonable to think that when the supply of Chinese ceramics decreased, imports of Korean-made ceramics increased to make up the shortfall. We can believe that some of these ceramics imported into Tsushima were transported to Iki, Kyushu, and finally all over Japan through trade.

Interestingly, Korean-made ceramics were imported during the period when trading by the Ryukyuoukoku Kingdom was at its zenith. Furthermore, as frequently cited, a large volume of ceramics from Southeast Asia was also imported into Iki and Tsushima. The latter half of the fourteenth century was a huge transition period in East Asia. The fact that ceramics produced in Korea and Southeast Asia were imported into Japan during this period can be seen as a reflection of the rapid changes in ceramic production and trade following the new international order that was being created at that time. The specific factors and reasons for this development such as the traders need to be studied in depth through philological studies but there is no doubt that ceramics from Korea and Southeast Asia are important proof of the roles that Tsushima and Okinawa played in international trade.

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