

Recent Advances in the Study of the *Gaoli tujing* (*Illustrated Account of Goryeo*)

One of the key sources on the history of the Goryeo Dynasty is the *Illustrated Account of Goryeo* (*Gaoli tujing*), written by the Chinese official Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153) in 1124. It is largely based on his 1123 visit to Goryeo as part of a Chinese embassy, and though he stayed in the capital Gaeseong for not more than five weeks, he was an astute and meticulous observer; moreover, his account is the only one to have survived in full. As the only remaining description of Goryeo society by an outside observer, it is an invaluable resource.

Yet the work is not easily accessible. Comprehensive in scope, it covers all the important facets of Goryeo society in 301 rubrics. The terseness of Xu Jing's classical Chinese, and the fact that he uses many specialized terms that may have been self-evident at the time but are now very obscure, means that its full value has not yet been unlocked. It is therefore very gratifying that the 1100th anniversary of the founding of Goryeo (in 918) has led to renewed attention to the work in the form of an exhibition and a conference. While not all problems posed by the text have thereby been resolved, these two events made a significant contribution and in this review I will try to sketch how they have helped to shed more light on the text, and thereby on Goryeo society.

The exhibition and the accompanying conference took place at the Gyeonggi Provincial Museum (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan).¹ In this review I will not try to systematically summarize each presentation or the exhibition itself; rather, I will try to discern the roads taken and not taken, and how they enhance our knowledge of Goryeo. Inevitably, having myself attempted a translation of this work (Vermeersch 2016), I use my translation as a benchmark for the state of our knowledge about the work. However, since I do not assume that readers have read either my work or the original, I will also provide basic information. Hopefully this review will thus serve as a guide to the presentations themselves, which were all (except for the keynote speech) subsequently

published in the sole journal devoted to the history of the Goryeo period, *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* (*The Journal of Korean Medieval History*). A list of all the presentations can be found in appendix, together with cross-references to the published articles. References in this review article will thus be mainly to the published articles, but in the case of discussants' comments I will also refer to the (unpublished) conference proceedings. As for items in the exhibition, reference will be made to the published catalogue (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018).² For detailed references to the text, I will refer either to my own translation or, where possible, the excellent new translation and edition initiated by Yi Jinhan. However, since this translation is being published in instalments in the journal *Hanguk sahakbo*, at the time of writing this review (April 2019) it has only reached Chapter 10.³

The Basics

In the past, researchers have often used passages from the work uncritically, as if they were factual reports. Examples of this include Xu Jing's observations about Goryeo customs (e.g., the fact that in Goryeo marriages were easily dissolved) and about handicraft (e.g., his praise of celadon). That there may have been subjective bias, or that Xu Jing may simply have gotten things wrong, has not often been considered, but as several of the presentations made clear, understanding the author, the political timeframe, and the intellectual climate in which he operated is crucial in appreciating the limitations of his writing.

But first things first; since there is often still confusion about the very basics of the work, we should start with what we know about the work and its author. Its full title is actually the *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* (*Illustrated Account*

2. In the case of bylined contributions inside the catalogue, I will quote the name of the author, but I have not provided a separate list of all contributions, since this would make the reference section too cluttered.

3. See Yi et al. 2016-2019. Since each issue on average contains the translation of one chapter, and the journal is published four times a year, it may take another six years before all 40 chapters have been translated. Although there are a number of other translations into modern Korean available (e.g., Jo 2005), none are fully annotated, i.e., they leave many terms unexplained. This new translation has both a critical edition of the original text and a fully annotated translation giving detailed explanations and references for all the terms that appear in the original text. In other words, it constitutes a major advance in our knowledge of the *Gaoli tujing*.

1. The conference itself took place on August 24, 2018, while the exhibition ran from July 26 to October 21, 2018.

of the Imperial Embassy to Goryeo in the Xuanhe Era 宣和奉使高麗圖經). Every term in the title would merit a separate explanation, but since that is actually not explained by any of the authors, suffice it here to say that Xuanhe is the last era-name of Emperor Huizong's reign (1100-1125), corresponding to the period 1119–1125. Its author, Xu Jing, was formally only fourth in the ranking of the embassy, following the chief envoy (Lu Yundi), the deputy envoy (Fu Moqing), and the General Secretary (Wu Dexiu). Xu Jing's position in the embassy was that of "assistant general secretary for people, ships, and ritual objects." While his responsibility for the ritual objects—in fact the sacrificial vessels to be bestowed on King Injong for the sacrifices to his deceased father—is clear, the other responsibilities would have made him effectively in charge of all practical matters.⁴

As a minor official working in provincial posts, it is not clear how he was chosen for this mission. According to the detailed biography of Xu Jing appended to the *Gaoli tujing*, he was a famous calligrapher and painter, and since the Koreans had explicitly asked for an expert in calligraphy, the biography claims, he was chosen for the mission (Vermeersch 2016, 248). Perhaps he was even selected for the express purpose of compiling a pictorial record; in the catalogue, Kim Daesik notes that 58 scholars, artists, and craftspeople were added to the embassy at the discretion of the emperor. He suggests that they were chosen for the express purpose of gathering information and helping Xu Jing compile his record (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 167).

While there is a long tradition of "embassy reports," Xu Jing's is the only one to be called an "illustrated classic" (*tujing*).⁵ Divided into 40 chapters, 28 headings, and 301 sections, it is a veritable encyclopedia, and is believed to have originally contained up to 300 illustrations (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 166). Unfortunately, after Xu Jing presented it to the throne in 1124, the original was lost following the Jurchen sack of the capital Kaifeng in 1127. Fortunately, Xu Jing later managed to obtain a handwritten copy, but without the illustrations. After his death, his nephew Xu Chan published the work in 1167. The only extant copy of this edition has been preserved in the National Palace Museum of Taiwan (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 13).

But arguably the most important background factor to understand the work is the international context. Relations between Goryeo and Northern Song China were complex, and subject to the ever-changing international order in Northeast Asia. Mun Gyeongho gives an excellent analysis of this situation to explain the planning that took place for the expedition. In the time-honored system of "playing off the Barbarians against each other" (*yiyi zhiyi* 以夷制夷), the Northern Song had originally sought rapprochement with Goryeo to counter the influence of the Khitan empire (Mun 2018, 12). The Khitan founded the Liao Dynasty in 916, which quickly established itself as the dominant power in Northeast Asia. First it pressured Goryeo to become its vassal state in 994, thus forcing Goryeo to break off relations with Northern Song. Then, Liao pressurized Song into signing the Shanyuan Treaty of 1005, according to which Song had to pay a heavy annual indemnity and accept the Liao emperor as an equal: hence, the 10th-12th century period is often called that of "China among equals," borrowing the title from Morris Rossabi's 1984 book.

During the reign of Emperor Shenzong (1067-1085), however, under the influence of the New Policies initiated by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), Song sought contact with Goryeo, culminating in missions sent in 1078 and 1084. Following the death of Shenzong in 1085, these budding relations were interrupted, but when Emperor Huizong was enthroned in 1100, the New Policies were resumed. This included the revival of relations with Goryeo, and in 1103 and 1110 Song sent embassies to Goryeo. However, since Goryeo was still formally a vassal to Liao, these missions did not proceed under the tribute-investment model (*chaekbong jedo* 册封制度), but were more "cultural" in nature. Yet in the Daguan period (1107-1110) Goryeo was given the same treatment as Liao, and in the Zhenghe period (1111-1117) it was decided that envoys to Goryeo would henceforth be "state letter envoys" (*guoxinshi* 國信使) (Mun 2018, 17). Diplomatically, Goryeo was thus treated on the same level as Liao, and this had implications for the way the embassies were conducted, including the nomenclature: for example, the "welcoming escort commissioner," the local official responsible for handling the foreign envoys, was henceforth called *jiebanguan* 接伴官 rather than *yinbanguan* 引伴官.⁶ This might appear to

4. The full title of his assignment on this mission is *tixia renchuan liwu* 提轄人船禮物. For an explanation see Yi et al. 2016, 543n3.

5. But note that *tujing* was widely used in the sense of gazetteer; see Vermeersch 2018, 29.

6. See Mun 2018, 17. The term he actually employs in the article is *jieguanban* 接館伴, which is a slightly different term, used for the official in charge of the hostel where the envoys stayed. The Welcoming Escort Commissioner met the envoys as soon as their ship moored.

be a detail, yet it carried much weight for people at the time, and if we fail to pay attention to such matters of protocol, it will be impossible to gauge the true impact of what the sources tell us.

Song was thus feeling out Goryeo to persuade it to become vassal to Song again. Initially this was done with the goal of seeking Goryeo's aid in overthrowing Liao, but the rapidly changing situation in Northeast Asia prompted a change. The rise of the Jurchen into statehood was initially regarded with delight at the Song court, which sought out the Jurchen as another ally in its attempt to overthrow Liao. In 1118 Song sent a mission to the Jurchen, which had already founded the Jin Dynasty in 1115, agreeing on a military alliance. But tied down by internal revolts, Song could not actually assist the Jin militarily, instead sending it payments for its help in overthrowing the Liao. Jin soon occupied all of Liao's territory, including the 16 prefectures that had been coveted by Song. This happened in 1122, the year that Song decided to send a mission to Goryeo. The goal was clear: to forge an alliance so as to contain the Jin Dynasty (Mun 2018, 18).

New Insights and Interpretations

Recently the discovery of an Egyptian ship dating back 2,500 years finally confirmed a passage from Herodotus' famous *Histories*. In it he describes the construction of a Nile bark, the *baris*, but some passages did not seem to make sense because they could not be matched to any known shipbuilding technique. However, when the ship now christened "Ship No. 17" was discovered in Aboukir Bay, it finally matched exactly what Herodotus described; it confirmed his observation, and also helped to clarify obscure passages in his text (Alberge 2019).

Both Herodotus and Egyptian archeology have been infinitely better documented and studied than East Asian historiography and maritime archeology, but as someone who translated the *Illustrated Account* this event strongly resonated with my own experience. As a translator, it is vitally important to try and picture descriptive passages, because if they cannot be pictured in the mind's eye, the translation will not make sense. A very good example of that is the description of the Song ships. No expense was spared to impress the Koreans, thus following the precedent set under Emperor Shenzong (the so-called Yuanfeng model, after the era name Yuanfeng 1078-1085), two

"divine ships" were built, and six merchant ships were requisitioned. While emphasizing the impressive size of these divine ships (*shenzhou* 神舟), he only gives detailed description of one of the merchant ships, perhaps because he sailed on one of them.

This passage is extremely important for the history of East Asian shipbuilding, yet no translations so far have done it justice. Especially where Xu Jing describes the hold of the ship, which is divided into three compartments, it becomes very difficult to make sense of it. However, once we can picture the ship through the detailed analysis provided by Professor Mun, who adds moreover a very helpful illustration of what such a ship may have looked like (Mun 2018, 26; Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 26), it is much easier to understand the passage.⁷

More helpful for our knowledge of Goryeo itself, is Mun's analysis of the topography. In Chapters 34 to 39, titled "Waterways" (*haidao* 海道), Xu Jing describes all islands the embassy encountered along the Korean west coast. After crossing the Yellow Sea, the Chinese vessels first reached Kado Island, here described as Jiajie-dao 夾界島.⁸ Since Xu Jing eschews conventional Korean place names, but names the islands according to their appearance, probably following the custom among Chinese boat crews, figuring out which islands he is referring to is extremely difficult. In my view, the best solutions so far have been put forward by Morihira Masaahiko (2013), but in this article Mun (2018, 31n56) provides a few corrections to this work, basing himself on all the available evidence, including the testimony of local residents. While there are still a few problems that remain to be resolved, this article should be required reading for anyone studying the maritime topography of 12th century Goryeo.

As described above, the international situation is very important in understanding the mission, yet Xu Jing makes no mention whatsoever of the actual negotiations or power relations. He does however make clear in the beginning the

7. One part that still does not seem to have been resolved, however, is the following: "前一倉, 不安艙板, 惟於底, 安竈與水櫃, 正當兩檣之間也。其下, 即兵甲宿棚" (Chapter 34). Mun (2018, 23) translates "In the front hold, there were no deck planks, a cooking stove and water crocks were simply stored on the bottom. This was right between the two masts. Below it soldiers were quartered and weapons stored." If the stove and crocks were in the bottom (*badak*), i.e., in the hull of the ship, then obviously nothing could be stored below them. A possible solution to this problem would be to conjecture that the front hold had two decks, so that "bottom" refers to the second deck, with the berths and weapons placed on the first deck below it.

8. Which I translated as "Straddling-the-Border Mountain" (Vermeersch 2016, 219). Mun (2018, 31) however points out that the name refers to the fact that the mountains on this island are steep.

enormous strategic importance of knowledge of foreign countries, thus the implicit goal of the book was likely to provide a kind of intelligence report. Xu Jing was rightly proud of his efforts, yet because of his cultural background, he also had blinders, and these have so far not been sufficiently studied. This task is taken up by the articles by Jeong Eunjeong and Gim Byeongin.

According to Jeong's analysis, several layers can be discerned in Xu's attitude towards Koreans. Depending on where he turns his gaze to, these layers are: positive Sino-centrism when he notes the lavish palace culture, similar to China; negative Sino-centrism, when he looks down at how ordinary people live; and finally desolation, when he turns his gaze to vacant plots and derelict housing (Jeong 2018, 49). The latter in particular is interesting, since the author is trying to use the perspective of environmental history to interpret the work. Since the other points are also taken up in more detail by Gim, I will only highlight this aspect here.

The key phrase that Jeong picks up on is in Chapter 3; here Xu Jing describes the city scenes, in often desultory terms. He notes that there are long galleries connecting government buildings, but argues that these are meant to screen out the people's house: they do not want to show how ugly they are. Peeking out from the gallery, Xu notes that here are no markets or shops, and that "there are holes in the walls [revealing] dense vegetation or vacant, unused wasteland." One might think that this is due to the poverty of the people, or to the fact that the area of the capital within the walls was quite vast. However, Jeong (2018, 55) sees this as evidence of the colder and drier climate that was prevalent in late 11th-early 12th century East Asia. To be precise, rather than affecting Goryeo directly, she argues that it affected Xu Jing's gaze: familiar with the effects of this short period of climate cooling, he assumed the same factors at play in Gaeseong and was thus bound to notice scenes of decay and hardship (Jeong 2018, 71). However, the author points to other factors as well, notably the felling of trees for firewood and for building material. The state was always concerned with safeguarding wood as a crucial resource, and one of the most interesting aspects of this research is that it brings together all evidence of efforts to regulate wood production and consumption in and around the city (Jeong 2018, 61-70).

Gim Byeongin then finally takes up the gauntlet of tackling the very negative stereotypes that abound in the work. Xu Jing set himself the task of noting what is different from China, but since there was also a lot that was similar culturally, he set aside one whole chapter (Chapter 40) to arrange all

that was similar to Chinese culture (which he calls "tongwen" 同文); even there, however, biases creep in (Gim 2018, 86), but I will get back to that later. Regarding the negative stereotypes, these range from the condescending to the insulting. For instance, he looks down on their military displays as "empty showboating" (Chapter 12), and describes the singing of Koreans like "ducks quacking and geese honking" (Chapter 19).

Gim has brought all these stereotypes together and grouped them into three categories: first, based on the theory of the "Four Yi Barbarians" 四夷, Goryeo belonged to the Eastern Yi (Dongyi 東夷); although these benighted people indeed manage to absorb some Chinese culture, this is only thanks to contact with the Chinese envoys and the benevolence of the emperor. That their grasp of Chinese culture remains flimsy is shown by the fact that it is only paraded in the reception of the Chinese embassy. Second, that the Chinese culture is but a simple veneer is shown by the many cases where the Barbarians' original customs show. For example, in the case where they mistake native hairstyle or dress for Chinese, or when they refuse to eat medicine when someone is sick, because they believe the disease is caused by spirits. And finally, there are the downright "exotic and depraved" customs where his descriptions would today be described as racist: for example, when he talks about "their dwarf-like" stature or their ugly chants.

Such graded views are also evident in his descriptions of the people he meets. It is well known that he painted a very positive picture of Gim Busik 金富軾 (1074-1151), who was welcoming escort commissioner; this can be found in Chapter 8, which has short biographies of five famous Goryeo people, in fact the people he met during his visit. People like Gim Busik are part of the prominent clans (*jongmang* 族望), who have been exposed to Chinese culture for generations, and are thus treated as equals. Although the three types of people the author discerns in Xu Jing's work follow the three categories described above, it seems to me that he describes them as fully assimilated to Chinese culture. The two remaining categories of people are the ordinary officials, who show a mix of Chinese and barbarian culture, and the ordinary people, who remain fully barbarian.

As said, even within his praise for following Chinese culture some tensions can be observed. For example, there is the matter of which customs to follow. Clearly assuming that barbarians will never absorb Chinese culture completely,⁹

9. This was a quandary for many Song intellectuals, since theoretically observing morality and correct ritual is what makes you Chinese, not ethnicity. Probably Xu Jing was also caught in that quandary.

there is still the question of which of those customs should definitely be followed. Here it was considered important that Goryeo recognized its place as a vassal, which occupies a lower ritual rank than the suzerain country. Perhaps because Goryeo at this juncture was effectively independent, this is a moot point; Xu Jing writes at the beginning of Chapter 5 that "...neither the names of palace halls [nor the architecture] showed any sign of trying to avoid [what was proscribed]." In other words, they used certain terms that were reserved for the emperor. However, Xu Jing adds, such "trifling matters" do not detract from the main thing, namely that Goryeo displays loyalty and obedience. The problem is to correctly discern what exactly constituted an infraction. Jeong (2018, 58) notes for example that Goryeo used the five-gate system reserved for an emperor: as a (putative) vassal, it would be restricted to three. However, this depends on how one counts; Jeong assumes that what is meant is the gates leading up to the main palace hall. In her discussion text, Jang Jiyeon (Daejeon University) however points out that this is not necessarily the case, and that the five or three gates are names for gates to different palace buildings or compounds. Indeed, Xu Jing himself seems to be satisfied that Goryeo used the three gates system.

Material Culture: Fine-tuning the Evidence

As seen, Xu Jing could be quite harsh in his criticism of Koreans, but in other places he is lavish in his praise. Most famously so in his assessment of Goryeo celadon (*cheongja* 靑瓷): its famous "kingfisher-colored" glaze he calls "lush" and "excellent," while he singles out an incense burner in the shape of a lion as the "most sublime" of all the celadon ware he witnessed in Goryeo (Chapter 32). Hence, art historians and archeologists have always been drawn to the *Illustrated Account*, and have arguably studied it better than historians; of course, they benefit from the fact that many pieces similar to those he describes—including a lion-shaped incense burner—still remain as of today. Hence, in the area of material culture there is less scope for improvement, so I will only briefly highlight a few advances.

In her overview of "daily necessities"—food, clothing, and dwellings—Yun Seongjae gives a systematic overview of all information regarding these topics. Interestingly, some aspects of Goryeo daily life still resonate with modern Korea: for example, when Xu Jing mentions how the shells, crabs, and other seafood gathered from the mudflats form an important part of the diet, or when he describes the tube-shaped pillows with embroidered sides. One of the most difficult parts to reconstruct, however, is clothing. Yun devotes considerable attention to the black silken veil said to be worn over their heads by noble women when they went out on horseback, dropping down to the ground. She provides a detailed backup of Korean sources for this custom (Yun 2018, 122-25), while the exhibition catalogue shows a recreation of the full dress of a Goryeo noblewoman (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 65).

Likewise, Choe Eungcheon provides a detailed synopsis of all the craftwork witnessed by Xu Jing, including the mother of pearl-inlaid lacquer ware (which he describes as exquisite and precious), fine textile, furniture, and metalwork. Apart from the wooden furniture, here we have the good fortune that most objects described by Xu can still be matched with remaining examples; for example, the metal lamp stand described by him (Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan 2018, 128). However, what he does not mention is also important: thus, the fact that he does not mention silver-inlaid metal ware may be an indication that it did not exist yet in the early 12th century (Choe 2018, 162).

Finally, Jang Namweon turns her attention to what Xu Jing has to say about celadon. While Xu praises the famous dragon-top incense burner, and further also a gourd-shaped wine jar, he also notes that "because all [ceramic wares] are modelled on the Ding-ware types of China, I have omitted to draw them" (Chapter 32). It is exactly this phrase "*dingqi zhidu*" 定器制度 that is the focus of Jang's research. Scholars are generally agreed that *dingqi* refers to Ding ware, ceramics made at one of the most famous kilns of the Song Dynasty, located in Hebei province. Ding ceramics were also sent to the court of Emperor Huizong, where Xu Jing may have seen them and become familiar with Ding ware as one of the defining types of courtly tableware (Jang 2018, 184). Opinions vary however as to what exactly the extent of the influence of Ding ware was, and how exactly it may have impacted on Goryeo ceramics (Jang 2018, 183-85). Whereas its influence can be ascertained in existing Goryeo pieces, because the stratification analysis at the Gangjin kilns where the best Goryeo celadon was produced has not yet yielded a firm result regarding

See Yang 2014, notably Chapter 4, "The Universalist's Dilemma."

dating, it cannot yet be ascertained whether this influence was already palpable in 1123. The author leaves open this possibility, but notes that the influence of many other types of ware, such as Ru or Yuezhou, on Goryeo celadon has already been well established. In the end, Xu Jing does not seem to have been very knowledgeable about ceramic ware, and thus we should not lend too much importance to this statement (Jang 2018, 196).

Conclusion

The *Gaoli tujing* is not exactly an unknown quantity in Western scholarship: pioneering articles on celadon were written by E. Gompertz, and a translation of the sea lanes chapters was made by Douglas Merwin in 1969 as part of his MA thesis. Moreover, Joseph Needham in his *Science and Civilisation in China* also cited from the work, mainly in relation to shipping. After all, the work is interesting not only for what it has to say about Goryeo; in describing what was to the Chinese an exotic other, it also reflects back on the observers, and tells us a lot about their outlook and mentality.

Yet it is also true that much of this pioneering work was based on an incomplete understanding of both the text and the context. Gompertz, for example, based himself mainly on Japanese scholarship, much of it from the colonial period, and seems to have been unable to read the original text directly. For my own translation too, I stumbled on too many difficulties that are impossible to resolve on one's own. For example, I failed to grasp the importance of Ding ware, and translated the passage discussed by Jang Namweon as “[they] are modeled on the established system of vessels” (Vermeersch 2016, 200), reading *ding* 定 as a verb (“to establish, determine”) rather than as a proper noun.

It is therefore to be hoped that the results of these advances in our knowledge about the *Gaoli tujing*, and by extension our knowledge about Goryeo, will soon be made available to a wider audience, for instance through an edited volume or a new translation that integrates the illustrations produced in the context of this workshop and conference.¹⁰

10. In this context I would also like to mention the efforts by the recently founded Society for the Archeology of Medieval Korea (Hanguk jungse gogohakhoe; website: www.kmaas.or.kr), which since 2017 has also been publishing a journal titled *Hanguk jungse gogohak* on the archeology of

Appendix: Information on Presentations

Author	Title	Published
Yi Jinhan (Korea University)	“ <i>Goryeo dogyeong</i> ui naeyong gwa sahasajeok gachi” (The contents of the <i>Illustrated Account of Goryeo</i> and its historiographical value)	
Mun Gyeongho (Kongju National University)	“12-segi ui Dongasia wa sinju baetgil” (East Asia in the 12 th century and the sea route of the divine ships)	Mun 2018
Jeong Eunjeong (Pusan National University)	“Seo Geung i bon Goryeo wa Hwangdo Gaegyeong, ijungseong” (Dichotomy in the representation of Goryeo and the Goryeo capital Gaegyeong by Xu Jing)	Jeong 2018
Gim Byeongin (Chonnam National University)	“Seo Geung i mannan Goryeo ui gwanmin” (Officials and other people encountered by Xu Jing in Goryeo)	Gim 2018
Yun Seongjae (Sookmyung Women's University)	“ <i>Goryeo dogyeong</i> e boineun Goryeo ui uisikju” (Clothing, food, and housing in Goryeo as represented in the <i>Illustrated Account of Goryeo</i>)	Yun 2018
Choe Eungcheon (Dongguk University)	“ <i>Goryeo dogyeong</i> e boineun Goryeo sidae gongye ui yangsang gwa teukjing” (Characteristics of the Goryeo crafts as represented in the <i>Illustrated Account of Goryeo</i>)	Choe 2018
Jang Namweon (Ewha Womans University)	“ <i>Goryeo dogyeong</i> e boineun 'jeonggi jedo' wa cheongja” (Ding ware style and celadon as represented in the <i>Illustrated Account of Goryeo</i>)	Jang 2018

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Goryeo, which has already made a significant contribution in making the results of excavations, and the scientific analysis of those excavations, more widely available.

- ui Korja bangmunggi* [*Goryeo dogyeong: A Visit to Korea by a Chinese Envoy 900 years ago*]. Yongin: Gyeonggi-do Bangmulgwan.
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