

‘Look at the Alcohol If You Want to Know the Country’: Drinking Vessels as a Cultural Marker of Medieval Korea

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As ‘a total social fact,’ drinks and drinking may serve as a lens through which we can view a distant society. Although not frequently discussed, drinking vessels serve the same function for accessing a past world hidden or forgotten behind written records. The present article is an art history attempt to seek a cultural link between liquor vessels used in medieval Korea and the political and social change of the period. The Goryeo period (918-1392) saw an unprecedented abundance of drinking vessels in various forms and decorations. Goryeo artisans and craftsmen produced ewers, pitchers, flasks, bottles, and others in addition to the pre-existing shapes of vessels mainly consisting of jars and bowls. I argue that this sudden burst of creativity during the Goryeo period was closely related to Goryeo’s constant and diverse contacts with foreign powers. Their zone of international connections was not confined to the Chinese world, as we have commonly presumed. Even before the Mongol intervention, Goryeo was in contact with regions beyond East Asia through the northern nomadic states. Khitan Liao was recorded as having worked as a kind of international intermediary to link the Chinese and Islamic worlds. This medieval global culture became a norm in Goryeo society when it became an important part of the Mongol Empire. These nomadic powers brought global trends to Goryeo, and foreign drinks were among them; *keumis*, *araq*, and grape wines are just three cases of them discussed in this article. The change of alcoholic

drinks led to, or was accompanied by, a new range of drinking vessels. Three types of ewers, familiar to East Asian consumers but foreign in their origin, are discussed in the main text to highlight such social change. Three more cases of drinking cups are also presented. The article shows that medieval Korean society was far more open to international art and culture than our usual understanding, and in their drinking vessels, Goryeo culture embraced global trends reaching China, the Islamic world and Europe.

Keywords: Drinking vessels, Goryeo, Khitan Liao, Mongol Empire, araq

Introduction

Like eating in general, drinking is not just a biological activity to sustain us. It is a fundamentally cultural practice, reflecting our socio-political identity, religious commitment and national stereotype. The social implications and significance of drinking were noted in the wise sayings of the ancients, and Lee Su-Kwang (or Yi Su-gwang, sobriquet Jibong, 1563-1628), the seventeenth-century Joseon Confucian scholar, once mentioned in his encyclopaedic essay *Jibong Yuseol* [*Topical Discourses of Jibong*]: ‘Look at the alcohol if you want to know the country.’ When we say that we are what we eat, drinking should be included in ‘eating’ as a defining factor in our cultural identity. By investigating and analyzing them, we can have a glimpse of or even reconstruct the inner workings of society. In this regard, drinks, alcoholic drinks in particular, are an important example of a ‘total social fact’ as Mauss described in his book on gifts.¹

As drinks work as a totality of diverse aspects of social facts, the term drinks or alcoholic drinks does not refer to a single uniform object across different cultures. Rather, it is culture-specific, showing variations in each locality.² Even in the Euro-American cultural zone, it is indeed a twentieth-century invention, more precisely after the nineteenth-century temperance movement, to put together a wide variety of different substances on the sole basis of ethanol under the name of alcohol or alcoholic drinks.³

Such a cultural, social diversity of drinks is reflected in drinking vessels—vessels to contain, serve, or transport beverages. These vessels are ubiquitous and so common throughout human history that we tend to disregard their cultural significance. Written records occasionally

¹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen & West, 1966).

² Michael Dietler, “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 229-249.

³ To mention just two case studies among much academic research on this matter, Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-72* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971); James S. Roberts, *Drink, Temperance and the Working Class in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984).

describe the art of dining in detail, but rarely mention dining utensils and vessels as cultural indicators. However, as eating and drinking are evanescent, so are food and drinks. Their vessels, on the other hand, can remain and serve as a tangible cultural marker, helping us to discover unknown facts hidden behind written histories.⁴ They sometimes give us a glimpse of the social, political and economic status of the time when they were used.

Drinks and Drinking Vessels of the Goryeo Period (918-1392): The Background

The range of Korean drinking vessels suddenly expanded as the country entered the medieval period when the Korean Peninsula was ruled by the Goryeo dynasty. To mention a few of the popular ewer forms, we see the so-called melon-shaped ewers with a domed and fluted body (fig. 1a), a gourd-shaped ewer (fig. 1b), a ewer with zoomorphic or vegetal lids (fig. 1c), a ewer in the shape of a figure (fig. 1d), a bottle with a spherical body and wide-brimmed mouth (fig. 1e), and a slim, long-necked bottle (fig. 1f) among many others. The drinkware of the pre-Goryeo period, by contrast, was mainly composed of bowls and cups, judging from the remaining objects (fig. 2). Although some of the cups correspond to the mug used nowadays in their shape, mug-shaped cups were never found in the metalware of this period, pointing to their primarily humble usage. Just as in the other parts of the world, the upper class in the ancient Korean kingdoms preferred using metalware as a symbol of status. This is demonstrated in refined gold and silverware excavated from the royal tombs of the period. The disparate usage of metalware as opposed to pottery continued to the days when Korean potters produced ‘the first-quality celadon under the heaven’ in the Goryeo dynasty. Excavations of Silla (57 BCE-935 CE) tombs reveal that huge quantities of earthenware were produced and used in funerary contexts (fig. 3). Although the sheer number of pottery vessels excavated in Silla tombs is astonishing, its range lacks diversity. It seems Silla potters concentrated on the repetitive production of a certain range of vessels.

The sudden diversity of drinking vessels during the Goryeo period might be due to a complex web of changes, whether in biosphere, people’s culinary tastes and cooking methods, or in social phenomenon. The lack of surviving artefacts is a major factor in us not being able to trace the trajectory of the diversification of drinking vessels. Among the possible causes of this sudden variety, however, the most convincing explanation may be found in the variety of available drinks during the Goryeo period. Like the simple range of drinking receptacles of the pre-Goryeo period, alcoholic drinks produced and consumed in ancient Korean society were entirely an indigenous type, based on traditional East Asian brewing techniques.

⁴ For the deeper and wider implications of the meal, see Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord’s Table: The Meaning of Food in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

No mention in the myths and historical records of the period were made of foreign liquors during the period.⁵ Goryeo, unlike the preceding dynasties of the peninsula, had plenty of foreign drinks to consume, at least among the upper echelons of society. This is explained by Goryeo's constant contacts with foreign powers, which provided a significant avenue for the influx of diverse foreign alcoholic drinks and to the creation of such diversified vessels on the Korean Peninsula. As the famous adage goes, 'no one puts new wine into old wineskins,' so new drinks required new types of vessels.

To properly appreciate the foreign drinks in Korean drinkware, we need to review the traditional type of alcoholic drinks in East Asia. Although it is translated as 'wine' in European languages, the Chinese character for alcohol *jiu* (酒) and the vernacular Korean word *sul* (술), with the same meaning, is a generic word for all sorts of alcoholic drinks. While grape wine is the proud representative alcoholic beverage in the West, it was not grapes but grains like millet, barley and rice that remained the main ingredient of alcoholic drinks in East Asia. In traditional East Asian brewing techniques, yeasts or mold alcohol-starter for saccharification (酒麴 *jiuqu* in Chinese, *jugok* in Korean) were added to mashed grains to ferment them into alcoholic beverages. Suleiman, a ninth-century Muslim merchant who travelled to China, is recorded to have noted 'the wine taken by the Chinese is made from rice; they do not make wine from grape.'⁶

Without appropriate filtering, grain-based alcoholic drinks in East Asia were closer to a sort of alcoholic porridge, a thick liquid with a very low alcohol content. To consume this thick beverage, 'eating' may be a more appropriate word than 'drinking.'⁷ A brick relief from the Han period shows some gentlemen sitting on the ground with a *zun* (a ritual bronze vessel in ancient China) placed in the middle (fig. 4). The central vessel is filled with an alcoholic drink, and a long-handled spoon or ladle is contained in it for taking the drink out. Each of the gentlemen holds or has a drinking bowl. In Qin (221-206 BCE) and Han (206 BCE–220 CE) times, the most common vessels were ear-shaped cups whose two small handles made it convenient for drinkers to hold and 'eat/drink' (fig. 5) Although the vessels became thinner and lighter over time due to different materials and the advancement of filtering techniques, the basic set of Chinese drinking remained the same from the Neolithic period until the Han dynasty: a bulky drinking container, a scooping ladle and small drinking vessels.⁸ The same

⁵ Ji Hyeon Jang, "Goryeosidae-e Yuiphan Oelaeju" [Foreign alcoholic drinks imported in the Goryeo period] *Juryugongseop* 8, no. 1 (1988): 51-57; Ji Hyeon Jang, "Urinala Sul-ui Yeoksa" [History of Korean alcoholic drinks], *Hanguk Siksaenghwal Munhwabakhoeji* [Journal of the Korean Society of Dietary Culture] 4, no. 3 (1989): 271-274.

⁶ Quoted in Berthold Laufer, *Sine Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919), 231.

⁷ K. C. Chang, "Ancient China," in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. K.C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 23-52; Paul D. Buell, E. N. Anderson, and Charles Perry, *A Soup for the Qan: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-Hui's Yin-shan Cheng-yao* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁸ In-Sung Kim Han, "The Journey to the East: The Motif of Grapes and Grapevines along the Silk Roads," *Acta Via Serica* 3, no. 2 (2018): 105–132.

set continued to be used at least until the Yuan period (1271–1368), although other newly introduced drinking receptacles were available (fig. 6). From vessels excavated from tombs and other places of the period, we can see that the pre-Goryeo range of drinkware on the Korean Peninsula shared much with Chinese drinkware, comprising mainly of big containers and drinking bowls.

Against this drinking tradition, many kinds of foreign alcoholic drinks became more available on the Korean Peninsula during the Goryeo period as the country increased its contacts, voluntarily or forcibly, with other regions beyond East Asia. Goryeo, like other continental states in East Asia, faced an era of political upheaval during the period between the decline of Tang China and the establishment of the powerful Mongol Yuan dynasty. The Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-960) in China was followed by a split of the region into several powerful states in competition with each other – Khitan Liao (915-1125), Song China (960-1279), Tangut Xixia (1038-1227), and Jurchen Jin (1115-1234), along with Goryeo on the Korean Peninsula. The same type of political turmoil happened in other regions neighbouring East Asia. After moving the capital to Baghdad by the middle of the eighth century, the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258) strengthened the Islamic cultural sphere in Central Asia, eventually replacing Buddhist trade networks along the Silk Roads.⁹ From the tenth century, rapid Turkification was brought to Central Asia and gradually developed the Persian-Turkic symbiosis, starting with the Ghaznavids (963-1187) and reaching its apogee under the Seljuk Empire (1037-1194) from the eleventh century.¹⁰ The ever weakening Abbasid Caliphate, which had managed to retain its public image as the supreme ruler of the Islamic world (*dar al-Islam*), was finally ended by the Mongols under the leadership of Hulagu Khan in 1258. Nearly all of the states mentioned here had to undergo the sweeping and brutal conquest of the Mongols in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.¹¹

In this turbulent and transformative period, Goryeo, once a shrewd mediator keeping the delicate power balance of East Asia, was finally subordinated to and became part of the Mongol Empire in 1270. Under the Mongol intervention, Goryeo went through precipitous changes in all aspects of its society. Under the auspices of the *Pax Mongolica*, many Muslims came and settled on the peninsula and co-existed with local Koreans until the first half of the fifteenth century when King Sejong (r. 1418–50) abruptly issued a royal edict in 1427 prohibiting any expression of Muslim identity.¹² Official chronicles, literary texts and even folk songs of the Goryeo period contain frequent references to Islamic lifestyles and the

⁹ Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016).

¹⁰ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh university Press, 2004), esp. chapter 10 and 11.

¹¹ Many academic publications are available on cross-cultural exchange between the Chinese and Islamic worlds in this period. For a recent achievement, see Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. 62-73 and 131-148 for Korea-related cartographical information.

¹² Fourth day of the fourth month in the 9th year of King Sejong (1427), *Joseon Wangjo Sillok*.

religious practices of Muslims on the peninsula.¹³ Some of the Muslims held high offices in Goryeo society, and some Koreans even converted to Islam.¹⁴ Under the influence of this medieval globalism, Goryeo kings, once deemed peace-loving patriarchal figures, became very fond of large-scale hunts, the ancient royal game of the Eurasian continent.¹⁵ Attributed to King Gongmin of Goryeo (r. 1351-1374), a painting now in the National Museum of Korea depicts a hunting scene with men on horseback riding rapidly in the woods, apparently chasing animals (fig. 7). Their hair is plaited into the fashion of the so-called Mongolian pigtail. They wear the nomadic costume of a tunic, known as a barbaric garment (胡服). Being a member of the Mongol Empire, Goryeo society participated in and embraced this way of life, mixing nomadic and Islamic cultural elements with their traditional system.

Goryeo officially remained part of the Mongol Empire until 1356, when the Goryeo king expelled the last governing body of the Mongol Yuan dynasty from the peninsula. However, a century-long intercultural relationship and wholesale social changes under the Mongol Empire could not end overnight. The diverse cultural elements the Mongols brought to the peninsula lingered in Korean culture long after the Mongols were pushed back to northern China and finally to Mongolia.

Islamic dietary knowledge and practices were one such legacy. Due to the lack of written sources, we cannot properly measure the strength of its impact on Korean society, but it is certain that Islamic dietary culture was a most prominent social factor, having impacts on the traditional repertoire of East Asian food and drink. *Yinshan Zhengyao* (饮膳正要 *Essence of Diet* c. 1330), the first systematic Chinese cookbook with an index of *materia medica*, was written in the fourteenth century when the Mongol Empire was at its apogee and brought Turko-Islamic ingredients, recipes and foods into the traditional Chinese dietary framework.¹⁶

A point to remember is that the Mongols were not the sole nomadic power with which Goryeo came into contact. While diplomatically keeping the appearance of a loyal follower of Song China, Goryeo never declined exotic goods from the so-called ‘Western Regions,’ brought to their court through contacts with other nomadic tribes of northeast Asia such

¹³ Hee-soo Lee, *Han-Iseullam Gyoryu-sa* [The History of Exchange between Korea and Islam] (Seoul: Mundeoksa, 1991); Hee-soo Lee, *Iseullam-gwa Hangukmunhwa* [Islam and Korean Culture] (Seoul: Cheng A Publishing House, 2013); Su-il Jung, *Silla Seoyeok Gyohyusa* [History of Cultural Exchange between Silla and the Western Regions] (Seoul: Dankook University, 1992); Su-il Jung, *Yiseulram Mummyung* [Civilization of Islam] (Seoul: Changbi, 2002).

¹⁴ Hee-soo Lee, “Jung-guk Gwangjeoueseo Balgyeonhan Golyeoin Ramadan Bimun-e Daehan Han Haeseok [A Study on the Tomb Stone of 1349 Belonging to a Goryeo People Ramadan, Found in Guangzhou in China],” *Hanguk Iseullam Hakhoe Nonchong* [Annals of Korean Association of the Islamic Studies] 17, no.1 (2007): 63-80.

¹⁵ For the Mongol hunt, see David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 84–85; Sechin Jagchid and P. Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 27–37; Timothy M. May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007), 46–47. For the bigger question of the royal hunt in the Old World, see the authoritative study by Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

¹⁶ Buell, Anderson, and Perry, *A Soup for the Qan*.

as the Khitans and the Jurchens. As Goody mentioned, ‘foreignness’ makes quality,¹⁷ and Goryeo was no exception to that.

Drinking Vessels: Bottles and Ewers

One of the outcomes of Goryeo’s indirect cross-cultural contacts through nomadic powers was an unprecedented variety in the range of ewers for alcoholic drinks or hot water. Although most of these ewers are known to have imitated the Song prototype, a closer observation shows Islamic connections in a wide range of Goryeo ewers. Here, we will take just three examples to see the cross-cultural transfer in Goryeo ewers: a mallet-shaped flask, a bottle with an elongated neck, and a bottle with a round or octagonal body and a short, flaring trumpet-shaped neck.

The mallet-shaped flask is the first example transferred from the Islamic world to Goryeo (fig. 8). Belonging to the Roman glass repertoire, the form entered Islamic material culture when Muslim artisans inherited the glassmaking techniques of the ancient world as the Islamic power conquered regions previously under the Roman Empire. The shape of the bottle spread to every corner of the medieval Islamic world and to other regions by way of export, pilgrimage or gift and tribute. An interesting point to note for this bottle shape is that we can trace its path of transfer; a bottle of this shape was excavated from tenth-century finds in Nishapur in the northeast of Iran (fig. 9a), while a glass bottle of the same shape and similar size was discovered among archaeological finds from the tomb of a Liao princess in northern China (fig. 9b).¹⁸ This find affirms that the non-Chinese nomadic Khitan-Liao played the role of agents of cultural transfer across the Eurasian continent, exactly as the Mongols did a century later.

Although the history of the Liao is generally narrated through its rivalry with the Song and Goryeo, their international connections went far beyond the East Asian political arena. The Muslim writer Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwazī (1050-1120) recorded the arrival of a Liao envoy from Liao Emperor Shengzong (r. 982-1031) to the Ghaznavids (975-1186).¹⁹

¹⁷ Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 44.

¹⁸ Inner Mongolia Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology. “Liao Chenguo Gongzhu Fuma Hezang Mu Fajue Jianbao [Excavation of the tomb of the Princess and Her Husband of the Liao State of Chen], *Wenwu* 11(1987), 4-28; Inner Mongolia Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology and Zhelimu League Museum. *Liao Chenguo Gongzhu Mu* [Tomb of the Princess of Chen in the Liao Dynasty] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1993; Shen, Hsueh-man, *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China’s Liao Empire* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2006).

¹⁹ Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India. Arabic Text (circa AD 1120)*, trans. V. Minorsky (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), 5-6, 19-24. As such, the communications of Liao with Turkic Muslims were not confined to trade and commerce. They made several marriage offers to Islamic kingdoms, although documentary evidence only shows one case in 1022 in *Liaoshi*. Wittfogel suggested

There was a Muslim quarter specially designated for Muslim merchants, traders, artisans, and residents in the Liao capital.²⁰ With these long-standing connections between the nomadic powers of northeast Asia and the Islamic lands in Central Asia, the Liao gathered a thorough cognizance of Islamic lands, and Yelu Dashi (1094-1143) led many Khitan refugees to immigrate en masse to Central Asia and establish the Western Liao dynasty (also known as Qara Khitai, 1124-1218) when the Liao dynasty collapsed in 1125. At the same time, another major group of the Khitans sought refuge in Goryeo. Their mass exodus had a great impact on the art and culture of Goryeo, bringing significant changes to them. In his *Xuanbe Fengshi Gaoli Tujing* (*Illustrated Account of the Xuanbe Envoy to Goryeo*, 1123), the Song envoy Xu Jing (1091-1153) noted Goryeo material culture much refined but overtly ornate 'losing its naïve charm' thanks to the influence of Khitan refugees ('Commoners,' Book 19).²¹

When we say that the intermediary position of the Islamic world made it possible for Goryeo to share an international style with other parts of Eurasia, it does not mean just the geo-political location of the Islamic lands. More importantly, it emphasizes the access of Islamic art to rich resources of various ancient cultures. Islamic culture emerged as a latecomer in a region of great cultural heritages. It soon became a repository of previous artistic traditions, including classical, Byzantine and Persian cultures. Muslim artisans, contrary to present-day prejudice, made the most of their cultural inheritance to produce sumptuous goods, thereby attracting upper-level clients irrespective of their religious and cultural backgrounds. Noteworthy is that, once those vessels transferred their shape from Islamic lands to Goryeo, Goryeo artisans adopted them wholeheartedly but tried them in a different material and visual grammar. They reproduced those shapes in an abundance of celadon wares, whereas we see Islamic counterparts more often in metal or glass.²² Our second and third examples clearly show the local preference for a certain material, metal or glass on the part of Muslim artisans as opposed to ceramics for East Asian artisans.

The second case for our discussion is locally known as 'bottle with crane's neck' (fig. 1f). Popular in the second half of the twelfth century, this type of bottle has an elongated neck with a spherical body, often faceted from top to bottom. Commonly and mistakenly known as a typical East Asian type, it is in fact one of the most tell-tale examples of Perso-Islamic material culture. Long-necked bottles were produced in Islamic lands at a highly

that the marriage partner in this case might have been the Qara-Khanid ruler Qadir-khan, the Persianate Turk. Shengzong's letter of 1024 to Mahmud is a unique document revealing the Khitan official mentality at the peak of its dynastic power. Mahmud was unwilling to entertain closer relations with the Khitan until they accepted Islam. Karl Wittfogel and Chia-sheng Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949), 50-52.

²⁰ Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society*, 46-49.

²¹ Ok-geol Park, "Goryeo-ui Gwihwain Donghwachak [The Assimilation of Refugees during the Goryeo Dynasty]," *Gangwon Sabak* 17/18 (2002).

²² In-Sung Kim Han, "Object as History: Islamic Material Culture in Medieval Korea," *Orientations* 44, no. 3 (2013): 62-70.

accomplished level in various materials of metal, glass and ceramics as early as in the tenth century (fig. 10a).²³ As the staple item of the Islamic world, we can come across these bottles in wine-drinking scenes or feasts in medieval Islamic paintings (fig. 10b). In the tenth-century lusterware, a long-haired man is depicted holding a long-necked bottle (fig. 10c). Because of its Islamic artistic origin, the bottle earned the nickname ‘Muslimware’ in China, and it was in this shape that Chinese cloisonné artisans demonstrated their sophisticated skill in making polychrome enamel objects for export to Europe in the Ming and Qing period.²⁴

The third example is the bottle with a round body and a short, flaring trumpet-shaped neck (fig. 11). Locally known as *yubuchun* (玉壺春, *okbochun* in Korean) in East Asia, it got the name from a phrase in a Song poem, ‘the jade pot, an early Spring.’²⁵ First made during the Northern Song dynasty, the bottle became the most popular drinking vessel in East Asia. Despite being deeply embedded in East Asian dietary culture, however, the bottle also originated in western regions as proved by the green glass bottles used as precious offerings to commemorate Buddhist relics in Wanggung-ri and Songrim-sa, both in the Unified Silla period (fig. 12a, b). The memory of its origin was still cherished in *huping* (胡瓶, *hobyong* in Korean), literally ‘barbarian bottle,’ in an early Joseon *buncheong* bottle, datable to the early fifteenth century (fig. 13). It has the word inscribed in a hurried script on its surface decorations, the tangible proof of its foreign origin.

Foreign Drinks in Goryeo Society

It is common to approach drinking vessels in East Asia in the context of tea culture. Beautiful celadon cups and ewers are, for instance, viewed as a material-cultural metonymy of the pure meditative life of Zen Buddhism in East Asia. In approaching medieval culture, tea and tea culture have been almost fetishized into an all-encompassing key to open the system of the society.²⁶ It should be noted, however, that ewers were not as necessary for tea consumption in the medieval period as now because of a different tea type used for tea brewing and drinking.²⁷ Importantly, in the later Goryeo period, most of the inscriptions

²³ Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* (London: British Museum, 1993).

²⁴ Béatrice Quette, *Cloisonné: Chinese Enamels from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2011), 31.

²⁵ Quoted in Adam T Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 499.

²⁶ Etsuko Katō, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-presenting the Past* (London: Routledge, 2004); James Benn, “Buddhism, Alcohol, and Tea in Medieval China,” in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Stercks (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 213–236; James Benn, *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015); Uri Kaplan, “From the Tea to the Coffee Ceremony: Modernizing Buddhist Material Culture in Contemporary Korea,” *Material Religion* 13, no. 1 (2017): 1–23.

²⁷ Kuei-hsiang Lo, Suk Yee Lai, and Wing Chi Ip, *The Stonewares of Yixing from the Ming Period to the Present Day with an Index of Potters, Artistic Collaborators and Collectors* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 18; Myong-Bae Kim, “Hanguk

that decorated celadon ewers were not about tea, but about a poetic appraisal of a certain local wine or sentiments inspired by alcoholic drinks (fig. 14). We thus safely argue that the Goryeo period saw alcoholic drinks gaining as much cultural and social esteem as tea, if not more, over time. While there was an undeniable connection between the blossoming of ceramic production and the burgeoning tea culture of the period, by over-emphasizing it, we may fail to understand the cultural impact of alcoholic drinks on the social scene in East Asia, especially when nomadic powers were in the ascendancy in various parts of Eurasia. As shown in the foreign form of the vessels, the contents of those vessels were not confined to tea, as simply assumed.

Like the vessels of foreign origin, alcoholic drinks as the contents of these vessels moved along the Silk Roads with the help of the ascendancy of nomadic powers. In addition to this, the agency of Muslim traders and artisans must not be disregarded. Counter to popular belief, Islamic regions did not shun the production of alcoholic beverages, especially wines. Although the Quran forbids the consumption of alcoholic drinks,²⁸ this religious injunction, although mostly observed, was to be slightly compromised in the complex reality of each Islamic country. Even in Arabic countries, there were, and have been, other residents from different religious commitments and affiliations. Among them, Christians need wine at their religious ceremonies and rituals. Rather than taking the unrealistic policy of abolishing wine, Muslim rulers found a way out for mutual benefit by letting non-Muslims produce and consume wine and levying extra tax on their production; some Muslims went further and owned large vineyards to cater for local and external demand for wine.²⁹ Besides being a rich source of revenue for the state and wealth for individual Muslims, wine was actually enjoyed by Muslims, especially in royal or exclusive gatherings. Some Muslim leaders were particularly famous for their love of wine, as shown in the anecdotes related to Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809).³⁰ Sultans and emirs of Turkic origin were never inferior to anyone in drinking wine. In the context of artistic expression, the medieval wine poetry of Muslim writers, although conventionally interpreted as expressions of Sufi's mythical union with God, is written in beautiful metaphors of wine drinking and the pleasure of intoxication.³¹ We thus

Dado-ui Gujojeok Teukseong" [A Study on the Structural Characteristics of Teatism of Korea], *Hanguk Siksaenghmal Munhwahakboeji* [Journal of the Korean Society of Dietary Culture] 1, no. 1 (1986): 55-65.

²⁸ It is not as simple and straightforward as it appears. The interpretations are diverse and often in conflict, as noted in the section on the proscription against alcohol in Peter Heine, *The Culinary Crescent: A History of Middle Eastern Cuisine*, trans. Peter Lewis (London: Gingko Library, 2018).

²⁹ Oleksander Halenko, "Wine Production, Marketing and Consumption in the Ottoman Crimea, 1520-1542," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 4 (2004): 507-547, esp. 517 and 532-533; Mark Kramarovskiy, "The 'Sky of Wine' of Abu Nuwas and Three Glazed Bowls from the Golden Horde, Crimea," *Muqarnas* 21, no. 1 (2004): 231-238.

³⁰ Qurashī, Bāqir Sharīf, *The Life of Imam Musa Bin Ja'far al-Kazim*, trans. Jasim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 2001).

³¹ Omar Khayyam, *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam by Omar Khayyam*, trans. Edward Fitzgerald (1859, Project Gutenberg, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/246>; Philip F. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic*

can say that the same types of alcoholic drinks were consumed and enjoyed by the upper class of contemporary states in Eurasia, including Islamic lands and Goryeo, during this period.

We can find in the *Goryeosa (History of the Goryeo Dynasty)* that at least three types of foreign alcoholic drinks came to the Korean Peninsula from regions beyond East Asia: *kumis* (*qumiz*), *araq*, and grape wines.³²

Kumis (*qumiz*) is fermented mare's milk,³³ or 'goat wine' as recorded in several entries of the *Goryeosa*.³⁴ As a traditional beverage of the Mongols and other steppe nomadic tribes, they brought the drink to wherever they settled. It came to the peninsula through contact with them. *Kumis* was often featured in the Mamluk sources of drinking parties of the elite. Sultan Baybars (1223-1277), in spite of his militant Muslim public persona armed with fundamentalism, is recorded as having indulged in drinking *kumis* with his comrades.³⁵ Strongly connected to nomadic life and culture, just as the sudden popularity of *kumis* was linked to the predominance of nomadic powers, so its popularity diminished in line with the diminishing of Mongol power, eventually leading to it completely disappearing from Korean drinking culture.

Araq, or a distilled alcoholic drink, stayed long on the peninsula, unlike *kumis*, but its social biography is correlated to the fluctuation of political power more than any other type of drink. Originally, *araq* was an alcoholic drink (liquor) widely known in the Middle East and Mediterranean regions.³⁶ It reached China through the Mongols in the fourteenth century, as the word *araki* is first mentioned in the *Yinshan Zhengyao* in 1330.³⁷ There are various Korean words to transliterate the Mongol rendition of this drink, pointing to its non-indigenous origin. As suggested by its Arabic name *araq* (perspiration), the drink is made of liquid droplets collected from distillation.³⁸ Although commonly known as *soju* (literally 'burnt liquor'), one of the traditional Korean names for this type of distilled drink is 'dewdrop wine,' reminiscent

Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

³² *Goryeosa [History of the Goryeo Dynasty]* is the principal dynastic history of Goryeo, written in Classical Chinese. The Korean translation of the *Goryeosa* together with the original Classical Chinese text is available at <http://db.history.go.kr/KOREA/item/level.do?itemId=kr&types=r>.

³³ Camel milk is also used for making *kumis*, which was thankfully noted by one of the reviewers.

³⁴ On *qumiz/qumis*, see Thomas. T. Allsen, "Ever Closer Encounters: The Appropriation of Culture and the Apportionment of Peoples in the Mongol Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 1, no. 1 (1997): 13–15.

³⁵ Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 57–58; Peter Thorau and Peter M. Holt, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1992), 240–243.

³⁶ Robert S. Lopez, Irving W. Raymond, and Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Oleksander Halenko, "Wine Production, Marketing and Consumption in the Ottoman Crimea, 1520-1542," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 4 (2004).

³⁷ Joseph Needham, Peng Yoke Ho, Gwei-Djen Lu, and Nathan Sivin, *Science and Civilisation in China. Apparatus, Theories and Gifts*, vol. 5, part 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³⁸ Ahmad Yūsuf Hasan and Donald Routledge Hill, *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

of the original meaning of *araq*.³⁹ While *araq* was originally made by distilling wine or other fruit-based alcoholic drinks, traditional *soju* is a spirit extracted from grain-based alcohol. It should be noted, therefore, the method of distillation, not the liquor itself, was brought to Goryeo from the western part of the Mongol Empire during the period of their intervention.

Apart from these points, the technique and apparatus for making *araq* or *soju* are strikingly similar.⁴⁰ As a luxury beverage with medicinal effects, *soju* was originally produced exclusively at the places Mongol armies resided on the peninsula and available only for particular members of Goryeo society.⁴¹ Interestingly enough, although the drink established itself in the Korean traditional drink repertoire and is widely recognized as one of Korea's intangible traditions, the memory of foreignness attached to *soju* has blocked its entry as an appropriate ritual drink in any Korean Confucian ceremonies.⁴² On a separate note, a caution should be made that *soju* does not have anything in common with present-day *soju*, bar the name. The present mass-producing *soju* is made through the process of diluting ethanol, not distillation.⁴³

Grape wines are mentioned in the *Goryeosa*, with a particular focus on the detail of the circumstances in which they were given. In all entries about grape wines, it is clear that the wine was so valuable and rarely available that it could be an imperial gift for the Mongol Yuan emperor and empress to present to the Goryeo king, their son-in-law. Although some scholars tend to argue for local production of grape wines in East Asia during medieval times, the wine in East Asia was not made through a process of natural fermentation of grapes as in the other parts of Eurasia. Wine in East Asia was mainly produced by combining East Asian traditional brewing methods with grapes, putting yeasts or mold rice-wine starter for saccharification into the fermented grapes, just like making rice alcohol. Even when the Tang Chinese could finally make grape wine according to this cumbersome method, it never supplanted rice-alcohol in Tang China in spite of their growing appetite for it. Initially known to China through Zhang Qian's (164 BCE-113 BCE) missions to western regions, grapes and

³⁹ Ji Hyeon Jang, "Urinala-eseoui Soju Munhwa-ui Heuleum: Soju-ui Yeoksa" [The trends of *Soju* culture in Korea: History of *Soju*], *Juryugongeop* 5, no. 2 (1985): 9-20; Ji Hyeon Jang, "Urinala Sul-ui Yeoksa," 271-274.

⁴⁰ Ahmad Y. al-Hassan, "Alchemy, Chemistry and Chemical Technology," in *Different Aspects of Islamic Culture*, vol. 4, *Science and Technology in Islam*, eds. Ahmad Youssef Al-Hassan, Maqbul Ahmed, and Albert Z. Iskandar (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 41-85.

⁴¹ As the most well-known example, Andong *soju* was produced in Andong, North Gyeongsang Province, to cater for the Mongol army based in the town, where the Mongols' supply base was located for (unsuccessful) expeditions to Japan.

⁴² Doo Jong Kim, *Hanguk-uibak Baljeon-e Daehan Gumi mich Seonambang-uibag-ui Yeonghyang* [The influence of Western and South-West Asian medicine on the development of Korean Medicine] (Seoul: Korean Research Centre, 1960), 44.

⁴³ Despite the great difference between Goryeo *soju* and commercial *soju* today, it should be noted that traditional *soju* making also varied by the town of its production. One of the reviewers interestingly pointed out that the relationship between Goryeo *soju* and mainstream commercial *soju* can be compared to the relationship between *mescal* (or *mezcal*) and factory tequila in Mexico today.

grape wine came to Tang China (618-907) from these regions most probably through the Sogdians. The best grape wines of the time were produced in the oasis cities lining the Tarim Basin, where Iranian cultural expressions were dominant in the depiction of drinking and banquets.⁴⁴ Although grape wine never lost its exoticness and mystical foreignness during the period, the knowledge of wine-making gradually disappeared as the Tang dynasty dissipated.

The revival of Chinese interest in grape wine was the outcome of renewed contacts along the Silk Roads under the auspices of the *Pax Mongolica*. The Mongol's love of alcoholic drinks particularly contributed to the re-emergence of grape wine on Chinese soil. The Mongols enjoyed grape wine in glass bottles in an Iranian fashion, and Ogodei admitted his fatal weakness was grape wine.⁴⁵ To measure the popularity of wine in this period, we can see the clear inscription of 'wine bottle' (*putaojiuping* 葡萄酒瓶) on a plain black-glazed jar unearthed in Inner Mongolia (fig. 15). Like present-day decanters, it has an elongated shape, pointing to its function of preserving the flavour of the wine longer. This practical vessel with no ornamentation proves that wine was widespread even in the lower levels of society during the Yuan period.⁴⁶ Still, grape wine produced by the western method was a luxury, an exotic item exclusively available to a limited circle of society, just as in the Tang period. This exclusion would have been even greater in Goryeo, considering grape wine was worth mentioning as an imperial gift in the official historical record.

An interesting point here is visual representations of the grape-and-vine motif are abundant in Goryeo celadons, whereas it is meagerly present in contemporary Chinese ceramics.⁴⁷ Although it is not always the case that the presence of a certain artistic motif is proof of its actual existence in the real world, some Goryeo drinking vessels unmistakably represent actual grapes with a strong touch of reality. A gourd-shaped ewer with a twisted handle in the National Museum of Korea is such a case. It is decorated with red grapes with vine leaves in the *sanggam* (inlaid with coloured slips) technique. Like its Roman or Iranian predecessors, it is decorated with the so-called 'inhabited imagery,' presenting grapes and vines with boys (monks or cherubs). In the cultural context of East Asia, the symbol of boys in grapevines tends to be interpreted as an auspicious image of familial happiness, not celebrating blissful drinking as in Western culture. Such realistic renderings of the actual plant, however, together with the visual grammar of the motif, suggest the possibility that Goryeo potters had first-hand knowledge of the plant. In the same line of thought, it is possible that grape wines made by local methods with grapes could have been available to

⁴⁴ Edward Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 141-4; Laufer, *Sine Iranica*, 247; Xinru Liu, "Viticulture and Viniculture in the Turfan Region," *The Silk Road* 3, no. 1 (2005): 23-27; Even the etymology of 'Tarim' can be traced back to 'grape place.' J. P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 169.

⁴⁵ *The Secret History of the Mongols*, trans. Won-Su Yoo (Seoul: Sakyjeul, 2004), 302.

⁴⁶ In-Sung Kim Han, "The Journey to the East."

⁴⁷ Stacey Pierson, *Designs as Signs: Decoration and Chinese Ceramics* (London: Percival David Foundation, 2001), 24.

Goryeo clients below the royal family.

Drinking Vessels: Cups and Bowls

These newly introduced beverages brought a relevant range of drinking vessels to Goryeo. As discussed above, new types of ewers were introduced. At the same time, we can see certain patterns emerging in the repertoire of drinking cups. Smaller cups appeared, reflecting the existence of finely filtered or distilled alcoholic drinks. Decoration became ever more sophisticated with meticulous attention to minute details. Above all, cups of new shapes were added to the existing range. A few examples are horn cups, cups with dragon-shaped handles, stemmed cups, and conical cups with a pointed base (both locally known as ‘drinking cup on horseback’). These vessels are commonly and mistakenly thought to have been made under the influence of Chinese ceramics, but they had been widely used in Islamic lands since the pre-Islamic period. For this, we can find plenty of evidence in Islamic visual and material culture.

Locally known as a ‘top-shaped cup’ (*paeng-i jan*), the conical cup with a pointed base was a particularly popular drinking receptacle of the period. We can find a variety of decorations used by different techniques in the cups of this shape. Although usually less than 10 cm in height, the cups were finely decorated with *sanggam* (fig. 16a, b) or meticulously faceted (fig. 16c, d). The sudden popularity of this drinking cup in Goryeo society reflects its constant contact with Islamic culture. In the middle of the tenth-century luster bowl is a sitting man holding a pointed cup, a vessel just like the Goryeo celadon cup (fig. 17). The prevalence of this cup in medieval Islamic arts can be confirmed in various artefacts, as in the decoration of a gold-decorated glass flask in the British Museum (fig. 18a) and in the inlaid metal basin famously known as ‘Baptistère de Saint Louis’ at the Louvre (fig. 18b). In fact, the drinking vessel with a pointed base is not just an Islamic artefact. More precisely, it is a product of ancient culture, especially favored by Roman glassmakers. Known to have been found near Epiphania (Hama, Syria), the glass goblet with a pointed base is decorated with the Greek inscription ‘drink [so that] you may live [well],’ showing its practical use for drinking (fig. 19a). Another Roman glassware, an olive green glass beaker in the Corning Museum, has a beautifully trailing surface reminiscent of Goryeo pointed cups with lobed surfaces (fig. 19b).

A similar pattern of relationships between Goryeo artefacts and Islamic ones is noted in a spouted bowl. Locally known as *gwittae jan*, meaning ear cup, it has a beak-like spout at one side of the vessel. The shape was widely adopted in metalware and ceramics during the Goryeo dynasty (fig. 20a, b, c), and also in contemporary China (fig. 21a, b). This practical vessel must have been used in diverse circumstances, including drinking and pouring alcohol as shown in the scene of a party at the court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara in the frontispiece of Sadi’s *Bustan* in 1488 (fig. 22). Although the vessel was produced in diverse lands of the medieval Islamic world, it is not just an Islamic invention. The shape with a one-sided spout

is an age-old product in Iranian culture. A finely decorated silver spouted bowl with a handle, datable to the ninth to seventh century BCE, was found in northwest Iran (fig. 23).

More interestingly, the international style of these vessels was not just shared by East Asia and the Islamic world. European material culture was not an exception to this global trend. The Goryeo period saw numerous horn cups in celadon and whiteware (fig. 24). These cups retain the shape of ivory oliphants, a material-cultural icon of medieval Europe (fig. 25), only on a small scale.

These drinking vessels show that Goryeo artisans made new vessels for the new wines introduced to their society. The vessels may not help us fully reconstruct the tumultuous times of the Goryeo dynasty, but at least they let us have a glimpse of the rapidly transformed society of the period.

Conclusion

The flowering of artistic creativity during the Goryeo dynasty has long fascinated scholars and the public alike. As representative of their period, Goryeo celadons are a testament to the magical malleability and imaginative artisanship of the dynasty's potters. Among the many innovative vessels they introduced to the Korean ceramic ware repertoire were drinking receptacles. Unlike preceding Korean dynasties, the Goryeo period witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of drinking vessel forms and decorations. Goryeo artisans and craftsmen produced ewers, pitchers, flasks, and bottles in addition to pre-existing vessel shapes, which mainly consisted of jars and bowls. The academic norm has been to approach these vessels in relation to the Goryeo tea culture and East Asian Buddhist tradition. For all its scholarly contributions, this academic tendency has been rather one-sided and failed to view the Goryeo period from a wider perspective.

The sudden burst of creativity in the Goryeo dynasty was closely related to the kingdom's nearly five hundred years of constant and diverse contact with foreign powers. Goryeo's international network was not confined to the Chinese world and its culture, as many have commonly presumed. Even prior to the Mongol intervention, Goryeo interacted with regions beyond East Asia through the northern nomadic states, especially the Khitan Liao. Through the international mediation of these nomadic powers, Goryeo society came to embrace a medieval global culture linking the Chinese and Islamic worlds. Foreign drinks, including *kumis*, *araq*, and grape wines, came to the Korean Peninsula through the political dynamics of the period, and this change of alcoholic drinks led to, or was accompanied by, the introduction of a new range of drinking vessels. As discussed in the main text, Goryeo artisans and craftsmen responded to a changing drinking culture with a variety of new types of ewers and cups which became so widely available and familiar that East Asian consumers

forgot their foreign origins. Still, through the lens of these vessels, we can gain a glimpse of a distant Goryeo society invisible in written records, which embraced global trends spanning China, the Islamic world and Europe. Their drinking vessels, as ‘a total social fact,’ show that medieval Korean society was far more open to international art and culture than is commonly understood.

Illustrations



Fig. 1a) Goryeo celadon: melon-shaped ewer with fluted body. National Museum of Korea



Fig. 1b) Goryeo celadon: gourd-shaped ewer



Fig. 1c) Goryeo celadon: ewer with zoomorphic lid



Fig. 1d) Goryeo celadon: ewer in the shape of a figure



Fig. 1e) Goryeo celadon: bottle with a spherical body and wide-brimmed mouth



Fig. 1f) Goryeo celadon: slim, long-necked bottle, inlaid in *sanggam* technique, second half of the 12th century [H 38 cm, D (mouth) 2.6 cm, (base) 10 cm]. National Museum of Korea



Fig. 2) Silla: excavated from Weolsan-ri A-45, Gyeongju (National Museum of Korea, Gyeongju)

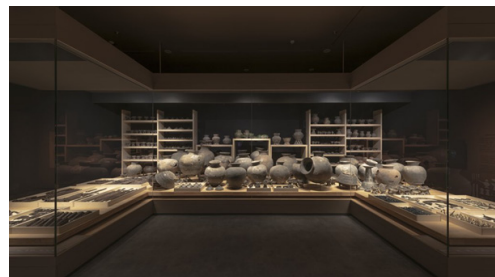


Fig. 3) Earthenware excavated from Silla tombs (National Museum of Korea, Gyeongju)



Fig. 4) Han brick relief of feasting and drinking. Zhiyan Li, *Chinese Ceramics* (New York & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 133



Fig. 5) 'Ear cup.' Left: lacquer, Han (202 BCE-220CE). Right: ceramic, Three Kingdoms (220 CE-280 CE), China



Fig. 6) Men drinking wine on a terrace, detail (reproduction) from a wall painting from 1324 (Lower Guangsheng Temple, Shanxi Province)



Fig. 7) Hunting scene, attributed to King Gongmin of Goryeo (1330-1374) [22.2 cm x 25 cm] (National Museum of Korea, Seoul)



Fig. 8) Goryeo celadon: Wide-brimmed (mallet-shaped) flask (Hoam Museum)



Fig. 9a) Glass flask, 10th century, Gurgan Province, N. Iran (Corning Museum of Glass)



Fig. 9b) Glass flask, 1018 or earlier, from the tomb of the princess of Chen and Xiao Shaoju at Qinglongshan Town, Naiman Banner (H. 24.5 cm)



Fig. 10a) Rose-water flask, 10th-11th century AD (32.5 cm x 12 cm). Khalili Collection



Fig. 10b) Early Abbasid wall painting, Samarra, 836-9



Fig. 10c) Lustre bowl, 10th century, found in Nishapur, Iran, but made in Iraq. Earthenware, luster-painted on an opaque white glaze (H. 3.8 cm, D. 11.8 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 11) Goryeo celadon bottle known as 玉壺春, *okbochun* in Korean (Okura Collection, National Museum of Tokyo)



Fig. 12a) Green glass bottle with gold lid [H. 6.1 cm (entire 7.7 cm), D. 1 cm]. Wanggung-ri Reliquary, National Museum of Korea



Fig. 12b) Green glass bottle (H 6.3 cm, D. 3.1 cm). Songrim-sa Reliquary, Unified Silla, National Museum of Korea, Daegu



Fig. 13) Buncheong bottle inscribed with 胡瓶, hobyong (barbarian bottle), early fifteenth century (H 27.8 cm). Seonmun University Museum



Fig. 14) Goryeo celadons inscribed with wine poetry (National Museum of Korea)



Fig. 15) Black-glazed wine jar (known as 'chicken-leg jar') and its shoulder with Chinese characters of 'grape-wine jar' (detail), Yuan dynasty [H. 43 cm, D. 4.4 cm (mouth), 8.5 cm (base)], Inner Mongolia



Fig. 16a) Celadon cup with inscriptions of 中白玉盃, Goryeo, 12th century or later (H. 8cm, mouth D. 7.1 cm, base D. 1.6 cm). National Museum of Korea



Fig. 16b) Celadon cup, 13th century or later, Goryeo period or later; stoneware with black and white slips painted under celadon glaze (H. 9.3 cm, W. 9.7 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 16c) Celadon cup with lobed design, Goryeo, 13th century. Daegu Catholic University, Korea



Fig. 16d) Celadon cup, Goryeo dynasty, 13th century [H. 8.1 cm, D. (mouth) 7.1 cm], glazed stoneware. Museum of Fine Art, Boston



Fig. 17) Bowl, 10th century, Iraq, earthenware; luster-painted on opaque white glaze (H. 6.2 cm, D. 23.7 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 18a) Pilgrim bottle (detail) from Syria, AD 1330-50 (H. 23 cm, W. 21.3 cm). Bequeathed by Felix Slade to the British Museum



Fig. 18b) Detail of the basin
'Baptistiere St Louis,' 13-14th century



Fig. 19a) Glass goblet, Roman, 4th -early 5th
century A.D. Blown glass (H. 14.9 cm). Charles
Stewart Smith Memorial Fund, Metropolitan
Museum of Art



Fig. 19b) Glassware, Roman Empire (AD
425-599), olive green glass; free blown, applied
trailings (H. 23.2 cm, rim D. 9.9 cm). Corning
Museum of Glass



Fig. 20a) Silver found in Hapcheon, South
Gyeongsang Province (H. 5.4cm, D. of rim
17.6cm, D. of base 11.5cm). Okura Collection,
National Museum of Tokyo



Fig. 20b) Bronze (H. 6.2cm, D. 18.4cm, W. including spout 24.2cm). Guimet, Paris



Fig. 20c) Goryeo ceramic bowl (H. 16.8 cm) found in North Korea

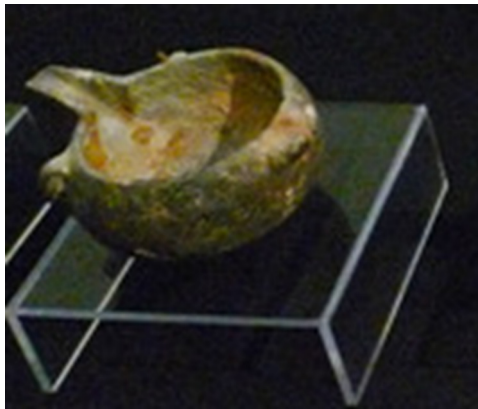


Fig. 21a) Bronze bowl, Liao



Fig. 21b) Ceramic bowl in underglaze red (H. 5.5 cm, D. 14.3 cm), Yuan dynasty, 14th century. Cao An Museum



Fig. 22) Detail of *A Convivial Gathering at the Court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara*, right leaf of the Bustan of Sa'di frontispiece, Herat, 1488. Cairo, National Egyptian Library



Fig. 23) Spouted bowl, 9th - 7th centuries BCE, silver, northwestern Iran (H. 5.3 cm, D. 12 cm, W. 20.3 cm). Miho Museum



Fig. 24) Goryeo whiteware, 12th century (L. 17 cm, D. 5.3 cm). Bequest of Lee Dong-kun to the National Museum of Korea



Fig. 25) Elephant ivory oliphant, made in Amalfi or Salerno, 12th century (H. 30.5 cm, D. 13.5 cm, W. 57.5 cm, D. 13.3 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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