

Special Feature

Royal Dragon Jars in the Joseon Dynasty: Perspectives of Rituals, Hierarchy, and Desire

KOO Hyein



The Review of Korean Studies Volume 27 Number 1 (June 2024): 155–197

doi: 10.25024/review.2024.27.1.155

©2024 by the Academy of Korean Studies.

Introduction

In premodern societies where agriculture was the mainstay of economy, the dragon was revered as a divine being able to dispel evil spirits, offer protection, and control over rain.¹ The conception of dragons' appearances has varied throughout the ages in Asia, but the conventional perception of a dragon in Joseon Korea is most closely aligned with the appearance described in *Principles and Species of Roots and Herbs (Bencao gangmu 本草綱目)*, a pharmacopeia written by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593) of Ming China.² According to this record, dragons possess a combination of the features of nine animals: a head like a camel, antlers like a deer, eyes like a rabbit, ears like a cow, a body like a snake, a belly like a shellfish, scales like a fish, claws like an eagle, and paws like a tiger.

In Eastern cultures, the strength and power of the dragon (*yong* in Korean) were projected onto an emperor or king as a symbol of authority and was adopted as a representation of the king himself, of kingship in general, or of royalty.³ In the Joseon dynasty records, the king's face is referred to as *yongan* 龍顏, the king's body is called *yongche* 龍體, the king's ceremonial robes are named *gollyongpo* 袞龍袍, and the chair or area where the king sits is called *yongsang* 龍床 (Figure 1).⁴ Applying the word “dragon (*yong*)” in appellations associated with a king is a traditional method in Asia of projecting the divinity and strength of the dragon onto the figure in power and thus elevating the

king's authority. In addition, various architectural features, clothing, and artifacts decorated with dragons are derived from long-standing historical contexts, although the techniques and patterns of dragon decorations differ over time and by region (Figure 2).

This study examines from various perspectives White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue (hereinafter, “Dragon Jar”), a type of white porcelain jar broadly reserved for use in the royal court in the late Joseon dynasty.⁵ Dragon Jars have been steadily and actively studied in Korean academic circles. While early research focused on analyzing the shapes and patterns of Dragon Jars to determine when they were made, later studies have sought to identify their specific uses and their relationships with rituals.⁶

New information has accumulated over the course of this process and errors have been discovered in existing theories, making it necessary to provide a summary of the latest research results on Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period. This paper was written in response to the need to provide international researchers with a systematic understanding of the Dragon Jars of the late Joseon dynasty by examining the results of research carried out according to individual researchers' interests.

Furthermore, this paper will analyze from a new perspective the background and process of the desire and spread of Dragon Jars beyond the royal court and to the civilian population during the late Joseon dynasty.⁷ While

1 Dragons are mythical creatures that appeared in the origins of all four of the world's oldest civilizations. Each culture has its own perception of what dragons might look like, their abilities, and how they are perceived. In China, these matters were documented in detail in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas (Shanhaijing 山海經)* from the pre-Qin dynasty period.

2 Li Shizhen, *Bencao gangmu*, Vol. 43: “『爾雅翼』云，龍者，鱗蟲之長。王符言其形有九似，頭似駝，角似鹿，眼似兔，耳似牛，項似蛇，腹似蜃，鱗似鯉，爪似鷹，掌似虎。背有八十一鱗，具九九陽數。聲如戛銅盤。口有鬚髯，頰有明珠，喉有逆鱗。頭有博山。又名尺木。龍無尺木，不能升天。呵氣成雲。既能變水，又能變火。” Li Shizhen quoted from *Wings of the Erya (Eryayi 爾雅翼)* by Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136–1184), a literary figure from Southern Song dynasty, and the theory of “Nine Similarities” 九似說 by Wang Fu 王符, a figure from the Later Han dynasty.

3 For in-depth studies of dragon designs from the pre-Joseon period in Korean craft history, see Jang 2004; Kim 2006; Lee 2009.

4 See, among others, *Seongjong sillok (Veritable Records of King Seongjong)*, 19th day of the 8th lunar month, 1491; *Injo sillok*, 26th day of the 5th lunar month, 1628; *Yeongjo sillok*, 21st day of the 7th month, 1772; *Seungjeongwon ilgi (Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat 承政院日記)*, 12th day of the 2nd lunar month, 1632; *Taejo sillok*, 7th day of the 10th lunar month, 1395; and *Sejo sillok*, 2nd day of the 6th lunar month, 1465. For dragon designs on royal ritual objects and architecture in the Joseon dynasty, see Kim 2013, 2018; Koo 2020.

5 Currently, Korean scholars use names such as “white porcelain dragon jar” 白磁龍尊(樽, 罇) and 白磁靑靑雲龍文壺 in classical Chinese and “백자靑화용구름무늬항아리” (*baikja cheonghwa yonggureum munui hangari*) in Korean script to refer to Dragon Jars. In historical sources from the Joseon dynasty, “dragon jar” 龍樽 is the most common term, while “white porcelain wine jar with patterns in underglaze cobalt blue” 白磁靑花酒海, “dragon-design jar” 畫龍樽, “dragon-design porcelain jar” 畫龍沙樽, “porcelain jar” 沙樽, and “porcelain jar with blue designs” 靑磁樽 are also used. For the English translation of this study, the following terms will be used: “Dragon Jar” instead of the academic term “white porcelain dragon jar,” “wine jar” for the Chinese characters 酒樽, and “flower jar” for the Chinese characters 花樽.

6 Research on Dragon Jars was initiated in the early 1990s by Jeong Yangmo, Kang Gyeongsuk, Yun Yong-i, Kim Yeongwon, and others. For key studies on Dragon Jars as a single topic based on those studies, see Chang 1998; Bang 1998; Shin 2012; Choi 2013, 2015; Song 2014; Koo 2017, 2023; Choe 2017; Lee 2019. In addition, various discussions about white porcelain dragon jars have been regularly offered in monographs, exhibition catalogs, and dissertations related to the Joseon dynasty white porcelain. Due to space limitations, relevant studies are referenced in the bibliography.

7 The society of the Joseon dynasty was divided into ruling and ruled classes. Civilians with political or economic power in society could use Dragon Jars in the late Joseon dynasty, including the king's relatives (but excluding his immediate family), the literati class, the middle class, and wealthy farmers

previous research has focused primarily on Dragon Jars used in the royal court, it seems necessary to expand the scope of research to include the Dragon Jars used by common people, given that they comprise the majority of surviving examples.

This paper will develop its discussion in the following order. The next section summarizes and discusses the interrelationship between royal rituals and Dragon Jars. The third section examines the formative features and cultural meanings of the heights of the jars and the numbers of claws on the dragons on Dragon Jars produced during the late Joseon dynasty. Finally, the fourth section examines why and how the use of Dragon Jars expanded into the private sector starting in the nineteenth century after they had been strictly reserved as a royal ritual vessel throughout the previous centuries of the Joseon dynasty. It is hoped that this study will provide a comprehensive analysis of the distinctive usages and formal characteristics of the royal Dragon Jars of the Joseon dynasty while drawing attention to the Dragon Jars that found their way into civilian use and expanding related research into new directions.

Jars for Wine and Flowers: A Symbol of Royal Rituals

The rituals of the Joseon state were categorized into the Five Rites 五禮 based on the Confucian Classics. Dragon Jars were ceremonial jars used to hold wine or flowers for auspicious rites 吉禮, felicitous rites 嘉禮, guest rites 賓禮, and inauspicious rites 凶禮.⁸ However, the surviving artifacts do not provide any information regarding the specific rite in which they were used, nor do they

indicate whether they were employed to hold wine or flowers. Therefore, we have turned to a combination of sources related to Dragon Jars to infer the use and form of Dragon Jars, such as manuals of state rituals,⁹ royal protocols,¹⁰ screen paintings of banquets 進饌圖屏,¹¹ and texts and images in paintings.

The most informative historical source is the manual of state rituals. This manual contains procedures for each of the five rituals performed by the Joseon dynasty and includes illustrated explanations 圖說 of the ritual objects required for all five rituals. Dragon Jars, the topic of this study, are described in the manual for state rituals from the early Joseon dynasty as a wine jar for felicitous rituals for royal weddings in *Sejong sillok oryeui* (Figure 3) and as a wine jar for auspicious rituals held in the royal family's ancestral ritual space (Munsojeon Hall, later Yeonghuijeon Hall) in *Gukjo oryeui* (Table 1). By the time of the reign of King Yeongjo in the late Joseon dynasty, one was mentioned in *Gukjo sangnye bopyeon* as a wine jar for inauspicious rites used in the spirit tablet hall, a space for funeral rites. This shows that the use of Dragon Jars gradually expanded from felicitous rites into auspicious rites and on to inauspicious rites (Table 1). As the only blue and white porcelain with illustrated explanations in the manual of state rituals, a Dragon Jar was consistently used as a wine jar. Furthermore, Dragon Jars were painted or illustrated along with explanations using woodblock printing in the paintings and royal protocols of royal banquets. According to these illustrations, they were utilized not only as a wine jar, but also as a flower vessel. Additionally, historical records indicate that Dragon Jars served as wine or flower jars at banquets to entertain Chinese envoys, suggesting they were also employed in royal guest rites.

and merchants.

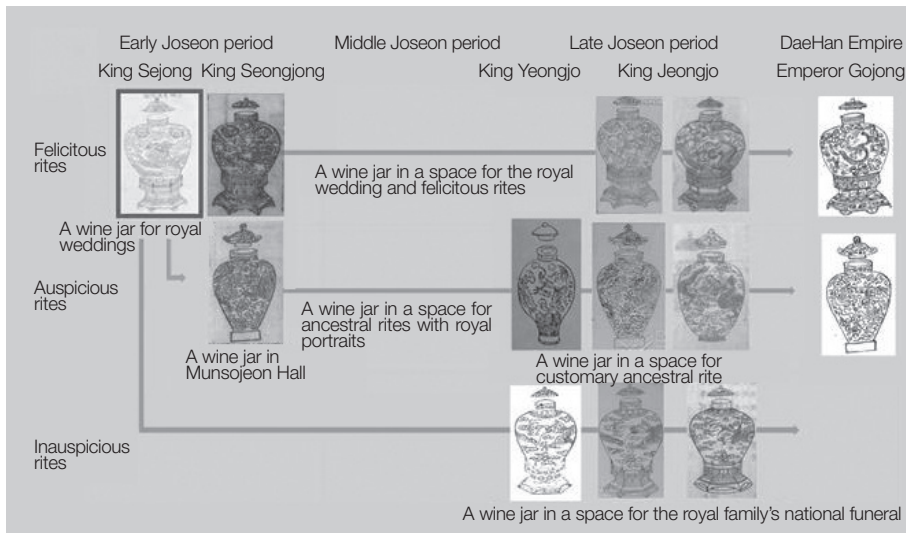
8 The Five Rites are five rituals to be performed by the state and practiced along with the Confucian proprieties 禮. They consist of auspicious rites, which are national ancestral rituals; felicitous rites, which are congratulatory rituals, such as the wedding or investiture of the king, crown prince, or grandson-heir apparent; guest rites, which are rituals for entertaining foreign envoys; military rites, which are rituals for military affairs or troops; and inauspicious rites, which are funeral rites 喪葬禮 for mourning a deceased king or queen. The various felicitous rites include not only state marriages, but also the ascension of the king, birthdays of kings and queens, royal lectures, weddings of princes and princesses, coming of age and entrance into school ceremonies of the crown prince or grandson-heir apparent, offering honorific titles 上尊號, congratulatory ceremonies 賀禮, gatherings of the elderly officials 耆社, royal processions, placenta burying, and state examinations. See *Manual of the Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo oryeui* 國朝五禮儀) and *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (*Chungwan tongo* 春官通考).

9 The ritual order of important royal ceremonies and the various objects needed for the ceremonies were recorded in the manual of state rituals. Manuals of the five state rites include the *Five Rites of State* in the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (*Sejong sillok oryeui* 世宗實錄五禮儀) and the *Manual of the Five Rites of State* of the late Joseon period; as well as the *Supplemental Manual of the Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo sok oryeui* 國朝續五禮儀), the *Comprehensive Compilation of Five Rites of the State* (*Gukjo orye tongpyeon* 國朝五禮通編), and the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* of the late Joseon period. *Rites of Imperial Korea* (*DaeHan yejeon* 大韓禮典) was produced in the Korean Empire period. In addition, the *Compiled Supplement to Manual of Funerary State Rite* (*Gukjo sangnye bopyeon* 國朝喪禮補編) is a ritual book dealing with inauspicious rites that was revised during the reign of King Yeongjo.

10 This book is a report that outlines the procedures and supplies required for an event hosted by the royal family or state.

11 This is a folding screen painting depicting the scene of a banquet held in commemoration of a felicitous royal event.

Table 1. Illustrated Explanations of Dragon Jars by Ceremony or Rite in Manuals of State Rituals from the Joseon Dynasty



The utilization of Dragon Jars as wine and flower jars in significant state and royal ceremonies, as well as the documentation of this practice in a multitude of media, including ritual manuals, royal protocols, and folding screens, indicates that Dragon Jars were regarded as essential ritual vessels for the royal family. This section will analyze the use of Dragon Jars and the features of their forms according to the nature of ceremonies and rites during the Joseon dynasty. It will also consider how the forms and uses of Dragon Jars changed according to the status of the people by whom they were used.

Wine Jars for Felicitous, Auspicious, Inauspicious, and Guest Rites

The earliest documented instance of the use of Dragon Jars in royal rituals during the Joseon dynasty is assumed to have occurred during the reign of King Sejong. An object designated as “White Porcelain Wine Jar with Patterns in Underglaze Cobalt Blue” 白磁青花酒海 (hereinafter, “Dragon Wine Jar”) was initially referenced in the “Illustrated Explanations of Offering a Wine Cup for Felicitous Rites” in *Sejong sillok oryeui*, a document that collectively addressed objects utilized in royal celebrations. The term *juhuae* 酒海, which translates literally as “a sea of wine,” is used to describe a vessel that can hold a considerable volume of wine. This suggests that the vessel was crafted to hold wine for

felicitous rites. In the historical source, a lidded Dragon Wine Jar is shown with a bulging shoulder that narrows to the base. The dragon design situated in the center of the jar’s body traverses the clouds in a horizontal trajectory. The shoulder of the jar is decorated with a goblin design 饕餮文, while the bottom of the jar is surrounded by a lotus petal design (Figure 3). Some surviving Dragon Jars from China’s Ming dynasty exhibit a nearly identical design, suggesting that the forms of the Dragon Jars of the Joseon dynasty were influenced by their Chinese counterparts (Figure 4).

According to historical records, the Chinese Emperor Xuande (1423–1435) bestowed many precious objects upon the Joseon court during the reign of King Sejong. It is postulated that the design of Dragon Wine Jars as they appear in the Joseon manual of state rituals was likely derived from Blue and White Porcelain Jars with a Dragon and Cloud Design 青花雲龍白磁酒海 presented by the Ming dynasty.¹² The precise forms and patterns of Dragon Wine Jars during the Joseon dynasty remain uncertain since no complete artifacts have survived in Korea, including the Blue and White Porcelain Jars with a Dragon and Cloud Design gifted by the Ming dynasty government or the Dragon Wine Jars mentioned above. However, both examples share the term *juhuae* 酒海 in their names. Furthermore, the artifact from the Ming dynasty and the Dragon Wine Jars appearing in the manual of state rituals have similar forms and patterns. It is consequently assumed that Dragon Wine Jars of early Joseon were similar to surviving examples from Ming China. The excavation of shards of Dragon Jars from the ruins of white porcelain production sites and areas where they were used in the Joseon dynasty confirms that they were produced domestically during the Joseon dynasty (Ewha Womans University Museum 1993, 101–02; Hanul Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2013) (Figures 5 and 6).¹³

Many different types of rituals were performed under the category of

12 *Sejong sillok*, 17th day of the 7th month, 1430. Early research on white porcelain dragon jars has focused on the Dragon Wine Jar in an illustrated explanation of offering a wine cup in the “Illustrated Reference of Auspicious Rites” (*Garye seorye*) in *Sejong sillok oryeui*. Related studies include Jeong 1992, 403–04; Yun 1993, 80; Kang 1994, 1494–95; Kim 1995, 140–41. Since the publication of these studies, the style of the Dragon Wine Jar in related texts and the influence of China on the style have been discussed in studies by Yoon 2006; Jeon 2009; Kim 2020; Oh 2022. See Jeon 2009, 39n5 for a discussion of researchers’ views on whether the Dragon Wine Jar in the illustrated explanations in *Sejong sillok oryeui* should be classified as a domestic or Ming Chinese product.

13 For an analysis of this, see Yoon 2006, 350; Kim 2016, 57–58.

felicitous rites during the Joseon dynasty. Among them, the rituals using a Dragon Wine Jar (as presented in the illustrated explanations of offering a wine cup for felicitous rites in the manuals of state rituals) included state weddings 國婚. Such weddings were considered the most important among the felicitous rites, especially the marriages of kings or crown princes.¹⁴ While a Dragon Jar was used as a wine jar for various royal rituals, it was given the special designation of Dragon Wine Jar when serving as a wine jar for the state weddings of kings or crown princes. Dragon Wine Jars were illustrated in all manuals for state rituals compiled during the Joseon dynasty. Except for during the period of significant deprivation that followed two successive wars (the Japanese Invasions of Korea from 1592 to 1598 and the Manchu Invasion of 1636), a pair of Dragon Wine Jars was considered a mandatory element in the state marriage of a king (or crown prince) and queen-to-be (or crown princess) of the Joseon dynasty (Koo 2017, 17 Table 2).¹⁵ When cobalt pigment became scarce immediately after the two wars, imitation blue and white dragon jars 假畫龍尊, or “makeshift Dragon Wine Jar,” were made with a dragon painted with a different blue pigment on plain white porcelain.¹⁶ Based on the above, it can be said that Dragon Wine Jars for state marriages were both the original and most important kind of Dragon Jars used as wine jars at various royal rituals during the Joseon dynasty (Figure 7).

One of the rituals in which Dragon Jars were featured during royal weddings in the Joseon era was the *dongnoeyeon* 同牢宴 in which a groom would bring the bride from her temporary residence for the wedding to the palace where the king was residing.¹⁷ The bridal couple bowed to each other and shared

a drink. The *dongnoeyeon* section in the royal protocols does not depict any food or bowls, only large (*sang* 床) and small tables (*jeong* 亭), so the presence of a Dragon Wine Jar and its placement within the space have to be inferred through the large and small drinking tables on which it would have been placed (Figure 8, circled area). The liquor in the Dragon Wine Jar was royal wine 宣醞 bestowed by the king, which was intended for the bride and groom but was also distributed after the ritual to the subordinates of the king (or crown prince) and queen (or crown princess) and to the dames 夫人 and their subordinates who attended the occasion.¹⁸ Therefore, the term “Dragon Wine Jar” can mean that this large drinking vessel was intended for the bride and groom but also held a large amount of liquor for distribution to those present on the day as well as to the royal family and the queen’s relatives.

Another ceremony that used Dragon Jars was royal banquets 宴享, which were celebrated on various occasions such as the birthdays of the king, queen, and queen mother or the anniversary of a king’s enthronement.¹⁹ The use of a Dragon Jar as a wine jar is documented in royal protocols and paintings showing scenes of royal banquets from the late Joseon dynasty, so it can be confirmed that Dragon Jars were also used as wine jars for royal banquets. The name of the vessel is recorded as “dragon jar” 龍樽 rather than ‘Dragon Wine Jar’ when used at a wedding ceremony, indicating that even within the category of felicitous rites, Dragon Jar could be described differently depending on the nature of the event (Figure 9).²⁰ This is considered an attempt to distinguish the nature of an object or its use through its name, even if the object and its use are the same.

14 There were many types of felicitous rites during the Joseon dynasty. One of the most significant among them was the wedding of a king or crown prince, which was regarded as a pivotal moment in the continuation of the royal lineage.

15 *Ritual Protocol of the Superintendency for Royal Wedding (Garye dogam uigwe 嘉禮都監儀軌)* 1651, 1671, 1681, 1696, 1702, 1718, 1727, 1744, 1759, 1762, 1802, 1819, 1837, 1844, 1851, 1866, 1882, 1906.

16 *Garye dogam uigwe* 1638. For prior research on makeshift blue and white dragon jars, see Shin 2012, 37–40; Choi 2013, 83; Song 2014, 78; 2014, 88. I noted that in the immediate aftermath of the two wars there were differences in the usage of makeshift blue and white dragon jars, including as a wine jar for entertaining an envoy versus a wine jar for a state wedding (Koo 2017, 19; 2023, 10–12).

17 The wedding ceremony of a king of the Joseon dynasty consisted of the selection of candidates for queen from virgins of marriageable age, followed by five rites—betrothal 納采, presenting of wedding gifts 納徵, announcement of the wedding date 告期, investiture of the queen 冊妃, welcoming ceremony 親迎, and sharing of food between the bridal couple 同牢宴. It concluded with a ceremony

of greeting the king’s parents and/or grandparents 朝見禮.

18 Inventory 稟目秩 in *Garye dogam uigwe* (1759); Inventory in the *Ritual Protocol of the Superintendency for Royal Wedding King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun (Yeongjojeongsunhu garyedogamdocheonguigwe 英祖貞純后嘉禮都監都廳儀軌)* (1802); *Ritual protocol for dongnoe (Dongnoeholgi 同牢笏記)*. For the process and meaning of sharing wedding food after a *dongnoeyeon*, see Kim 2003; Lim 2008, 126. According to the *Daily Record of the Wedding in the Jeongmi Year 1847* 丁未嘉禮時日記, after the bride and groom 殿宮 are greeted by their guests, they sit facing south and receive a table with food 饌案床. Guests also receive such a table (Hwang et al. 2010, 13; Choi 2020, 52–53).

19 Royal banquets were called *pungjeong* 豐呈, *jinyeon* 進宴, *jinchan* 進饌, or *jinjak* 進爵 depending on their size.

20 Dragon Jars were called “dragon jars” when used as a wine jar during royal banquets in the late Joseon dynasty and continued to be used from the *jinjak* royal banquet held at Jagyeongjeon Hall during the reign of King Sunjo (1827, the 27th year of Sunjo’s reign) to the *imin* year during the reign of Emperor Gojong (1902, the 6th year of Gwangmu’s reign).

The same approach was taken during the Joseon dynasty with Dragon Jars used at royal ancestral rites. Dragon Jars were used at royal ancestral rituals 俗祭 (an auspicious rite) as a libation vessel in the ancestral rites held at the Munsojeon Hall in the early Joseon dynasty and Yeonghuijeon Hall in the latter portion of the dynasty.²¹ The earliest record that can confirm this is the “jar” 尊 or “dragon design jar” 畫龍沙尊 is found in the illustrated descriptions of ritual vessels in the “Gilrye sorye” of the *Gukjo oryeui*. They were used as a wine jar in Munsojeon Hall. Dragon Jars were also used to hold libations in Yeonghuijeon Hall, which succeeded Munsojeon Hall after the latter was destroyed during the Japanese Invasions of Korea that took place from 1592 to 1598 (Figure 10 and Table 1).²² Munsojeon Hall and Yeonghuijeon Hall are both royal portrait halls where portraits of kings and queens were enshrined. Dragon Jars were presented in the portrait halls since ancestral rites were performed using the same table settings the subjects would have received when alive. The same wine jar appears to have been used posthumously in the royal portrait hall as an extension of having a Dragon Jar present at *dongnoeyeon* or banquets during one’s lifetime. In the Royal Ancestral Shrine, another space for ancestral rites, a sacrifice of raw meat 犧牲 was placed on the stand for food 俎 and various wine jars such as *yi* (a jar with a chicken, bird, snow, or grain design 彝), *jun* (a jar with a cow, elephant, or ying and yang design 尊), and *roe* (a jar with a mountain and lightning design 壘) were used to honor deceased former kings and former queens as “ancestral spirits.” In the royal portrait hall, the food that the ancestors used to eat during their lifetime is served and the dishes are arranged in a traditional form to honor (the deceased former kings and former queens) as if they were still alive 如在之誠. In these auspicious rites, a Dragon Jar served not only as a receptacle for liquor but as a visual symbol that reflected the character of the ritual space.

In addition to felicitous rites and auspicious rites, a Dragon Jar was also used as a wine jar in inauspicious rites, fundamentally royal funeral rites 喪葬禮. Royal inauspicious rites were the longest rituals of the Joseon era, lasting two and a half years. The space in which the inauspicious rite took place changed with its progression: the space for the body and psyche 體魄 changed twice—from a royal coffin hall 殯殿 to a royal tomb 山陵—while that for the spirit 魂 changed four times—from royal coffin hall, through royal tomb and spirit tablet hall 魂殿 to finally reach the Royal Ancestral Shrine. The point at which the space housing body and psyche (or spirit) diverges is the ritual of returning the spirit tablet from the funeral 返虞, that is, taking the body in the royal coffin hall to the royal tomb, placing the body and connected psyche in the royal coffin 梓宮, and then transferring the spirit 魂 in the spirit tablet 虞主 for enshrinement in the spirit tablet hall. The rituals before the rite of repose were held in the royal coffin hall and those afterwards were held separately in the royal tomb and the spirit tablet hall. A Dragon Jar was placed as a wine jar in the spirit tablet hall. The rite of repose 虞祭, the first ancestral rite performed in the spirit tablet hall, was believed to mark the stage of transitioning from grieving to honoring the deceased, and the decorations of the space changed along with the progression of the ritual. From the time of the state funeral until the departure of the funeral procession, a plain white porcelain jar was used for the wine jar. After the departure of the funeral procession, a Dragon Jar was used in the spirit tablet hall, which shows that the nature of the inauspicious rite had changed. The first official record of a Dragon Jar being used in inauspicious rites is found in *Gukjo sangnye bopyeon*, which was compiled during the reign of King Yeongjo in the late Joseon dynasty. It describes a Dragon Jar as a porcelain jar with blue patterned design 青磁尊 or dragon-design porcelain jar 畫龍磁尊 (Table 1).

Based on the above, it can be seen that Dragon Jars were used as wine jars in various royal ceremonies during the Joseon dynasty and their use expanded over time. During the reign of King Sejong in the early part of the dynasty, Dragon Jars began to be used as wine jars during the *dongnoeyeon* for the royal wedding. Starting in the reign of King Seongjong, Dragon Jars were used to hold libations at Munsojeon Hall and later at Yeonghuijeon Hall, both spaces in which portraits were enshrined and ancestral rites were performed. Furthermore, by the time of King Yeongjo, Dragon Jars were also used as wine jars in the spirit tablet hall during inauspicious rites, spreading the use of Dragon Jar to auspicious, felicitous, and inauspicious rites. In the late Joseon dynasty, Dragon

21 Auspicious rites among the royal ancestral rites of the Joseon dynasty were classified into two categories: formal sacrifices 正祭 and customary sacrifices 俗祭. The distinction between the two was based on the nature of the ritual. Formal sacrifices are rituals documented in the Confucian classics. They were performed at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, Altar of Soil and Grain, State Shrine to Confucius, and other venues. The term “customary sacrifices” refers to rituals that are not explicitly mentioned in the Confucian classics but were performed in accordance with established customs or for sentimental reasons. These rituals were observed at Munsojeon Hall, Imyo Shrine, the royal portrait halls (Yeonghuijeon Hall, Seonwonjeon Hall, Junwonjeon Hall, and more), royal tombs, honorary shrines, shrines, and other venues (Lee 2015, 175–85).

22 Illustrated explanations of ritual vessels in “Gilrye seorye” in *Gukjo oryeui*.

Jars were also regularly used as wine jars at royal banquets. In addition, they were used as a wine jar in guest rites for entertaining Chinese envoys, although it is not recorded in the ritual manuals. Therefore, it can be seen that by the late Joseon dynasty, Dragon Jars had become the most commonly used form of wine jar in royal rituals.

Flower Jar for a Royal Banquet Space for Felicitous and Guest Rites

During the Joseon dynasty, Dragon Jars were used as both wine jars and flower jars at royal banquets. Artificial flowers were placed in white porcelain jars to decorate the royal banquet space, and the food and attendees were also decorated and adorned with flowers to add to the excitement of the royal banquet. Dragon Jars were sometimes used as flower jars to hold large artificial flowers.²³

The earliest source that confirms the use of a Dragon Jar as a flower jar is the “Painting of Royal Banquet Bestowed at Gyeonghyeondang Hall” 景賢堂錫宴圖, which depicts King Sukjong bestowing a banquet to officials over the age of seventy 耆老臣 in Gyeonghyeondang Hall at Gyeonghuigung Palace in the *Album of the Elder Statesmen’s Association (Gisa gyechoep 耆社契帖)* produced in commemoration of King Sukjong’s joining the Giroso at the age of fifty-nine in 1719 (the 45th year of Sukjong’s reign).²⁴ Two Dragon Jars are seen installed side by side for use as flower jars immediately in front of Gyeonghyeondang Hall, and another two Dragon Jars are set out as wine jars. Based on this painting, it can be seen that a total of four Dragon Jars were used during the reign of King Sukjong as both flower and wine jars at a banquet honoring the officials over the age of seventy (Figure 11). Another example is the flower jar in the illustrations of ritual vessels in the *Paintings of King Jeongjo’s Royal Procession to Hwaseong* (1795). Dragon Jars are included in a painting depicting the various items used at a banquet celebrating Lady Hyegyong-gung

Hong’s 惠慶宮 洪氏 sixtieth birthday, and the caption “花樽” (*hwajun*) above the painting indicates that the object was used as a flower jar (Figure 12).²⁵ To gain a deeper understanding of two features of the Dragon Jars utilized as flower jars in the late Joseon era, this study will analyze them from a new perspective.

First, there is the possibility that the use of Dragon Jars may be related to social status. The Dragon Jars in the illustrations of ritual vessels in the *Paintings of King Jeongjo’s Royal Procession to Hwaseong* is depicted as a flower jar rather than a wine jar. This is because the main figure at the event was the crown princess 世子嬪 Lady Hyegyong-gung Hong. Crown Prince Sado, Lady Hyegyong-gung Hong’s husband and King Jeongjo’s father, was posthumously honored as Crown Prince Jangheon 莊獻世子 during King Jeongjo’s reign. However, since he never ascended to the throne in life, his wife’s status remained that of crown princess. Consequently, even when the king was hosting a royal banquet for his mother, it appears that a Dragon Jar could only be used as a flower jar and not as a wine jar since she was only a crown princess. Similarly, the royal banquet held in the *gisa* year (1809) by King Sunjo to celebrate Lady Hyegyong-gung Hong’s sixtieth anniversary of entering the palace as a crown princess also used a Dragon Jar as a flower jar but not a wine jar (Figure 13).²⁶ This contrasts to the fact that Dragon Jars were used as wine jars during royal banquets for kings in the late Joseon dynasty, but also for queens or queen mothers (for example, Queen Sunwon 純元王后 and Queen Sinjeong 神貞王后). Thus, it can be seen that Dragon Jars could have different uses at a royal banquet depending on the status of the guest of honor (Koo 2021, 151 Table 4; 2021, 164 Table 6).

As seen above, whether a Dragon Jar could be used as a wine jar depended on the status of the guest of honor at a royal banquet. If a Dragon Jar could not be used as a wine jar, one could be used as a flower jar to honor the royal banquet and show respect from posterity. I believe that manipulating the use of the Dragon Jar provided a special and elegant way to differentiate royal family members.

23 The flowers in the flower jar were not actual flowers 生花, but artificial flowers made of colored yarn 絲花鳳. They were replaced with paper flowers 紙花 during the reign of King Yeongjo due to an emphasis on thrift (*Seungjeongwon ilgi*, Vol. 669, 18th day of the 8th lunar, 1728 [in the reign of King Yeongjo]).

24 The Giroso (Association of Elder Statesmen) was an honorary body established during the Joseon dynasty to honor civil officials who have retired from a government position. In 1719, when King Sukjong turned sixty, he joined Giroso himself.

25 The flower jar depicted in the illustrations of ritual vessels in the *Paintings of King Jeongjo’s Royal Procession to Hwaseong* has a lid despite being a jar for flowers. From this, it can be inferred that a Dragon Jar can be either a wine jar or a flower jar, depending on the nature of the event.

26 Illustrations of ritual vessels in the *Royal Protocol of the Royal Banquet for Offering Fabric in the Gisa Year (Gisa jinpyorijinjang uigwe 己巳進表裏進爵儀軌)*.

This can also be linked to previous research that found that the Dragon Jar with inscription of “jeonjugimssijason” 傳之于金氏子孫 in the British Museum was used as a flower jar at the wedding of Princess Hwasun 和順翁主, King Yeongjo’s eldest daughter (Koo 2023, 20–26) (Figure 21). Dragon Jars were required for use as wine jars at the state weddings of a king or crown prince. However, Dragon Jars could not be used at the weddings of a prince or princess other than the crown prince. During the reign of King Yeongjo, Dragon Jars were allowed to be used at the weddings of princes and princesses, but only as flower jars and not as wine jars. As such, the Joseon royal court devised a strict but subtle way to limit the use of Dragon Jar based on the status of the guest of honor at a ritual.

Second, the role of Dragon Jars as flower jars at royal banquets changed over time in the late Joseon dynasty. At the royal banquets held in *eulmyo* year (1795) and *gisa* year (1809), flowers were placed in a Dragon Jar. At the royal banquet in the *muja* year (1828), however, it was decided not to have a flower jar 樽花 at all.²⁷ A Dragon Jar reappeared as a flower jar at a banquet in the second lunar month of the *gichuk* year (1829), but this was the last time a Dragon Jar was used as a flower jar for a royal banquet. Records show that starting in the *musin* year (1848, the 14th year of Heonjong’s reign), the flower jars used to decorate royal banquet spaces or the spaces for court dances were all imported Chinese porcelain with painted designs 唐畫器.²⁸ It can reasonably be inferred that something traditional was chosen for the wine jar and something trendy for the flower jar. In other words, among the applications of Dragon Jars in the late Joseon dynasty, when used as wine jars they displayed authority and conservatism as an unchanging royal ritual vessel, but as flower jars they expressed diversity and flexibility as a royal decorative vessel that could be chosen according to the times and tastes.

As seen so far, the main use of Dragon Jars in late Joseon royal ceremonies

was as a wine vessel. Depending on the ritual, the names, forms, manner of presentation, and type of liquor served in, a Dragon Jar could vary slightly. The ritual that first incorporated a Dragon Jar as a wine jar was the *dongnoeyeon* component of royal state weddings. A Dragon Jar was set out at a pivotal moment during this rite, namely the point when the bride and groom first met, bowed, and shared a drink. The liquor in it was shared by the bride and groom, who were either the king and soon-to-be queen or crown prince and soon-to-be crown princess, and then became a celebratory drink for the attendees and the bride and groom’s families. A white porcelain wine jar, essentially a container that holds a large amount of alcohol, was the longest-running and most important application of Dragon Jars throughout the Joseon dynasty. Later in the era, Dragon Jars were used to hold libations during ancestral rites in Munsojeon Hall and Yeonghuijeon Hall. These two buildings were royal portrait halls in which portraits of the dead are enshrined and auspicious rites were performed for them as if they were alive. In addition, a Dragon Jar was used during national funerals as a wine jar in the spirit tablet hall after the royal coffin containing the king’s body was placed in the royal tomb, indicating the point at which the nature of the inauspicious rites had changed from mourning to honoring. In other words, Dragon Jars were chosen for spaces for performing customary sacrifices rather than formal sacrifices as well as for occasions closer to life than death and to honor than to grief. Dragon Jars were also consistently used as a wine jar at royal banquets where the king, queen, and queen mother were the main figures.²⁹

In contrast, examples of the utilization of Dragon Jars as a flower jar at royal banquets include the royal banquet at Gyeonghyeondang Hall during the reign of King Sukjong (1719), the royal banquet at Bongsudang Hall during the reign of King Jeongjo (1795), and the royal banquet for offering fabric during the reign of King Sunjo (1809). For a time, a Dragon Jar was used as a flower jar at royal banquets, but after 1848, they were replaced by imported white porcelain jars. Dragon Jars were also used as flower jars at the royal banquet for Lady Hyegyong-gung Hong during the reign of King Jeongjo and at the weddings of princes and princesses other than the crown prince during the

27 *Royal protocol for the Banquet in Muja Year (Mujanyeon jinjak guigwe* 戊子進爵儀軌), Vol. 1, “Relevant Discussions” 筵說, 14th day of the 1st month, 1828. For further details, see Shin 2012, 51–53; Song 2021, 95. Instead, the flower jar began to be used in *gain jeon mukdan* 佳人剪牡丹, a form of court dance with local music performed from the *muja* year.

28 *Gain jeon mukdan* was performed at banquets held in the second and sixth lunar months of the *gichuk* year (1829), with the second month banquet using jars with dragon designs for the court dance, while the sixth month banquet using jars with peony designs (Preface 卷首, “Gain jeon mukdan,” *The Royal Protocol for the Banquet in Gisa Year* 己丑進饌儀軌; Shin 2012, 18; Song 2021, 99).

29 For prior studies on the variable properties of “flower jars,” see Shin 2012, 44–52; Song 2021, 94–96. The consistent use of Dragon Jars as wine jars at royal banquets in the late Joseon dynasty is consistent with the use of Dragon Wine Jars as a wine jar for felicitous rites throughout the period.

reign of King Yeongjo, indicating that the use of a Dragon Jar was determined by the status of the ceremony's main figure. In other words, the utilization of a Dragon Jar at royal ceremonies established the authority and dignity of the royal family while simultaneously reflecting the status of the main figure by marking distinctions in status in a delicate and elegant manner. This was a sophisticated manifestation of Joseon-style rule by ritual 禮治.

Hierarchy Based on Height and Number of Claws

The Dragon Jars of the late Joseon dynasty took on a jar form in which the maximum diameter of the body is located in its upper portion. Based on an analysis of about two hundred Dragon Jars from the late Joseon dynasty held in Korea and abroad, the jars' heights vary from twenty to sixty centimeters.³⁰ In addition to the main design of a dragon, the decoration can include various secondary designs such as cloud designs 雲文, *ruyi* designs 如意頭文, scroll designs 唐草文, and mountain-shaped lotus petal designs 山形蓮瓣文.³¹ In general, the jar's surface is employed as a three-dimensional space to depict a dragon in flight striking a dynamic pose along with various secondary designs placed around the upper and lower parts of the body to effectively fill and embellish the extensive body of the jar. This is similar to the decorative expressions on Dragon Jars produced contemporaneously in neighboring China, Japan, and Vietnam, but many of the details are unique to Korea.

In this section, I will examine the form of Dragon Jars based on my analysis of more than two-hundred Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period

held in Korea and abroad, with particular emphasis on the height of the jar and the number of claws on the dragon. I will focus on Dragon Jars over fifty centimeters tall that feature a five-clawed dragon with an effort to improve the understanding of the usage and meaning of these vessels.

Designs on and Uses for White Porcelain Dragon Jars over Fifty Centimeters Tall

To date, my research has identified approximately forty Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period with a height of fifty centimeters or taller in Korea or abroad. Two of these reach a height of sixty centimeters or more. The fact that a large proportion of the late-Joseon Dragon Jars are over fifty centimeters tall is particularly noteworthy given that few white porcelain jars from the Joseon period are taller than fifty centimeters.³²

Among the Dragon Jars of fifty centimeters or more in height produced in the late Joseon period, there is a class of wares that were made using relatively high-end production techniques for the Joseon period, which I will refer to as Type A-1 (Figures 14, 15, and 16). In terms of materials, examples of this type are among the highest quality pieces because they were made using carefully selected clay and the glaze evenly applied throughout. In terms of form, the diameter of the body becomes wider from the mouth and narrows towards the foot, after bulging like a large ball. Their silhouette is gently curved, conferring an overall impression of a regal and elegant form.

All designs on Type A-1 pieces are of the same type and in the same location. They are decorated with two five-clawed dragons on the body, a scroll design on the neck, a *ruyi* design on the shoulders, and a mountain-shaped lotus petal design on the base. Despite the challenge of harmonizing these various designs on a large three-dimensional porcelain surface, the dragons look as natural as if drawn on a flat sheet of paper, and the secondary designs

30 I comprehensively researched artifact search sites of domestic and overseas museums and galleries, the "Survey Report on Overseas Korean Cultural Heritage" published by the Cultural Heritage Administration, and auction lots at Sotheby's and Christie's. As a result, I collected information on roughly 200 late-Joseon Dragon Jars (including artifact images, sizes, and collection routes).

31 I have named the pointed stick-like shape that adorns the base of the A-1 type as "mountain-shaped lotus petal design." The secondary design on the base of white porcelain jars from China and Japan during this period is often a lotus petal design. In contrast, the ornamentation on the base of white porcelain jars during the late Joseon dynasty shifted from lotus petal designs to *ruyi* designs. However, the base of the A-1 type Dragon Jars exhibits a design that resembles a lotus petal, albeit with a rectangular shape and a pointed end. I had proposed the term "mountain-shaped lotus petal design" based on the similarly shaped mountains or rocks displayed beneath the dragon design in the chest insignia at the time and the way the lotus petal design was arranged, which I considered to be a combination with the mountain design (Koo 2017, 21; 2023, 18).

32 Following the molding process, white porcelain undergoes shrinkage of approximately fifteen to twenty percent upon firing. Therefore, the dimensions at the time of molding should be larger than the final size to account for this shrinkage. It can be reasonably assumed that a Dragon Jar over fifty centimeters tall would have been quite large, at least sixty to seventy centimeters, before it was fired. Large vessels have a relatively higher probability of breakage during transportation or use. Considering this, the number of large Dragon Jars produced in the late Joseon period is expected to be much higher than the number of examples known today.

are arranged in a stable composition. The dragons' faces, in particular, are so vibrant and detailed that it is believed that the designs were created by official painters 畫員 or local painters working at a kiln 畫青匠 who were equipped with skills equivalent to those of an official painter. Approximately twenty known examples of Type A-1 have been identified in Korea or abroad. Two of these artifacts exceed sixty centimeters in height (Figure 14). The A-1 type appears to have been produced as early as the late seventeenth century, with most pieces produced in the eighteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth.³³

Among the Dragon Jars over fifty centimeters tall from the late Joseon dynasty, some artifacts differ from the A-1 type in terms of the quality of the clay and glaze, the stability of the form, and the completeness of the design. I will refer to these as Type A-2 (Figures 17 and 18).³⁴ The overall form of Type A-2 is the same as Type A-1 in that the maximum diameter is reached toward the top of the body. Still, the body does not extend into as globular a shape but immediately narrows from the maximum diameter to the bottom, resulting in an overall elongated shape. Type A-1 designs are characterized by a delicate, painterly quality with white space between dragons and clouds. In contrast, Type A-2 designs are schematic and dense, with minimal white space left between designs. The dragons on Type A-2 jars have four claws instead of five. No mountain-shaped lotus petal designs are found. There are many other differences compared to Type A-1. It can be posited that A-1 and A-2 represent two distinct formative styles with a height exceeding fifty centimeters. The production of Type A-2 pieces appears to have occurred primarily during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Most Dragon Jars from the late Joseon dynasty are less than fifty centimeters tall. These will be referred to as Type B in this paper (Figures 19 through 30). Usually, a single dragon adorns Type B rather than two, and the number of claws is typically four rather than five. In this type, the *nyuji* designs circle the shoulder and base of the jar, though it is sometimes absent entirely (Figures 19, 20, and 25 through 30). Only five examples with mountain-shaped

lotus petal designs as seen on the A-1 type are known (Figures 21 through 24). The necks of this type are often decorated with a cloud design or left unadorned, but in rare cases, they may be decorated with a scroll design, as with the A-1 examples. Dragon Jars less than fifty centimeters tall can be classified into two categories: those made with high levels of artisanry that may have been utilized in various royal rituals (Type B-1, Figures 19 through 24) and those that were less meticulously produced and may have been employed in civilian life (Type B-2, Figures 25 through 30).

Among the Dragon Jars from the late Joseon dynasty, the A-1 type, which are over fifty centimeters tall, are particularly large and would have had a higher likelihood of failure during production. Despite this, why did people of the time produce the A-1 type with its delicate dragon designs on the surface of large white porcelain jars? Type A-1 is representative of Dragon Jars from the late Joseon dynasty. They were employed to enhance the ceremonial dignity of an event and symbolize its nature, particularly in the context of royal weddings and banquets, which often involved the consumption of alcohol in significant quantities.

The *dongnoeyeon* of a royal wedding was an auspicious occasion at which the bride and groom, that is, the king and queen-to-be (or crown prince and crown princess-to-be), members of the royal family, and the future queen's relatives shared food and rejoiced with each other. Having a large-capacity wine jar like an A-1 type was a basic requirement at such an event.³⁵ Since the early Joseon period, Dragon Jars for royal state weddings have been called "Dragon Wine Jar," which includes the connotation of a "sea of wine," 酒海 to emphasize the fact that they contain a large volume of alcohol (Figure 3).

Another ceremony at which the A-1 type with its height of more than fifty centimeters was used in the late Joseon dynasty was royal banquets. A royal banquet is a multifaceted event that serves as a celebration of the king and his family and also as a political event designed to reinforce the royal family's authority. Such a ceremony provides an appropriate setting for displaying large, high-end Dragon Jars. Furthermore, given the nature of a royal banquet,

³³ For a summary of existing theories on the timing of production, see Koo 2023, 15n27.

³⁴ This section presents a simple categorization of Dragon Jars into four types, designated A-1, A-2, B-1, and B-2 based on their height, design configuration, and manifested production skill. Dragon Jars can be further categorized in terms of their formative features. However, due to space limitations, this study will focus on an analysis of Type A-1 and leave a more in-depth analysis for a future paper.

³⁵ When the two successive wars made Dragon Jars unavailable and impossible to produce, white porcelain with a dragon pattern painted on its surface in blue pigment was used for royal weddings. Once the country had recovered from the wars and was once again able to produce blue and white porcelain, one of the first items to be manufactured was a wedding Dragon Jar.

which was attended by many distinguished guests, including royal relatives and subjects and their wives (women with noble titles within and outside the royal palaces), as well as the banquet's main figure and royal family, it was necessary to provide a sufficient quantity of wine to serve them all. Consequently, many wine jars, including Dragon Jars, were set out throughout the royal banquet space. In surviving illustrated explanations from a royal protocol for a royal banquet, a Dragon Jar used as a wine jar appears described as a "dragon jar." Its shape is consistent with the A-1 type (Figure 9). I believe that the A-1 type, which is over fifty centimeters tall and decorated with a high level of skill, and other types of Dragon Jars that are relatively large and manufactured to a high standard were utilized as wine jars at royal banquets.

The space for royal banquets in the late Joseon period tended to be decorated by placing flowering branches in Dragon Jars to enhance the atmosphere (Figures 11 and 13). Since the Dragon Jars depicted as flower jars in royal protocols and paintings of royal banquets are very large and stylistically consistent with the A-1 type (with a height of more than fifty centimeters), it is assumed that jars of the A-1 type were used to hold flowers at royal banquets. However, flower jars differ from wine jars in that they were gradually replaced at events by Chinese imported porcelain in the first half of the nineteenth century and were not used for royal banquets throughout the period.

Among the large Dragon Jars from the Joseon dynasty era, the A-1 type, which is the most intricately crafted among those with a height exceeding fifty centimeters, was utilized as wine jars and flower jars when serving the host and guests at auspicious events involving a considerable number of individuals, such as the *dongnoeyeon* of a royal wedding or royal banquet. Large Dragon Jars, those defined as exceeding fifty centimeters in length, were designed to enhance the dignity of royal rites, symbolize the authority of the principal figures of the rites, hold the wine for them, and offer hospitality to attendees.³⁶

³⁶ There are some extant artifacts that are very close to the quality of the artisanship of Type A-1 or Type B-1, but that do not have all the necessary design components. These artifacts are also thought to have been used as large high-end wine jars and flower jars in the late Joseon period at royal and civilian events. In this section, I will focus on Type A-1 based on its use in royal rituals, leaving other artifacts for further study.

The Number of Claws on the Dragons and their Significance

The dragons depicted in the Dragon Jars of the late Joseon period have long, very sharp claws. According to the idea that a dragon resembles nine animals, the dragon's paws resemble those of a tiger, while its claws resemble those of a hawk. It is noteworthy that the dragon's claws were not only regarded as a symbol of its power and courage but also as a means of differentiating the social status of those who use a jar with a dragon design. In other words, the number of dragon claws was a measure of social class.

It is commonly accepted that in the premodern period, the number of claws on a dragon indicated the status of a powerful individual. A five-clawed dragon 五爪龍 was believed to represent an emperor, a four-clawed dragon 四爪龍 a king, and a three-clawed dragon 三爪龍 a crown prince. However, this was not always the case. In the early Joseon period, the number of claws on the dragons decorating gifts sent to China was considered a sign of diplomatic relations with the Ming court. However, a five-clawed dragon design was used to symbolize the Joseon royal family (Koo 2017, 15–16).³⁷ For example, the claws of the dragon on the chest insignia 胸背 of the king's dragon robe (his everyday garment), the traditional mounting 裝潢 of royal edicts 教命, the inner container for a royal seal 寶筒, and other royal clothing and ritual items of the late Joseon kings all have five claws (Figures 1 and 2). Furthermore, the idea that five-clawed dragons could only be employed by emperors did not hold true in the late Joseon period, as evidenced by the five-clawed dragons found in A-1 Type Dragon Jar of late Joseon seen earlier (Figures 7 and 14 through 16).

I surveyed approximately two hundred late-Joseon Dragon Jars held in Korea and abroad and found that about one hundred and thirty have a four-clawed dragon, about twenty have five-clawed dragon, and the rest have either a three-clawed dragon or a dragon whose claws are intentionally obscured with clouds. No dragons with only one or two claws have yet been identified.

It is reasonable to assume that the extant Korean Dragon Jars bearing a five-clawed dragon were produced from the late Joseon period onward. This type of dragon is mostly found on Dragon Jars taller than fifty centimeters. Dragon Jars exceeding fifty centimeters, particularly those in the A-1 type, may

³⁷ *Sejong sillok*, 19th day of the 6th lunar month, 1439.

be regarded as reflections of the aesthetic sensibilities and royal lifestyle of the late Joseon period. This is evidenced by their formalized design composition, Joseon-style elements (mountain-shaped lotus petal designs), high level of artisanry, and clear uses identified in literature and paintings.

Furthermore, although they are uncommon, I have identified a class of Dragon Jars measuring less than fifty centimeters in height that portray a five-clawed dragon. I have created the B-1 category to include artifacts of high quality but less than fifty centimeters tall, highly finished in their forms, and closely related to the A-1 category for bearing five-clawed dragons. There is a 48.5-centimeter tall Dragon Jar at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in the United Kingdom (Figure 23), 48.2-centimeter tall Dragon Jar at the National Museum of Korea, and a 27-centimeter tall Dragon Jar at Christie's Auction that are decorated with a five-clawed design (Figure 24). The Dragon Jars in the V&A and the National Museum of Korea are similar to Type A-1 in that they are approximately fifty centimeters tall. However, it is difficult to determine whether they are fully A-1 in terms of form and design arrangement. In particular, the Dragon Jar at the Christie's Auction attracted attention because it featured a five-clawed dragon matching the A-1 type despite its small size at twenty-seven centimeters in height. However, its dragon is drawn in a different style than the A-1 dragon, suggesting that it was produced in a different period and for a different purpose. There are also rare examples of Type B-1 under fifty centimeters decorated with a five-clawed dragon, but with a different appearance than Type A-1 in the formative aspects, demonstrating the diversity of Type B Dragon Jars (Figures 23 and 24). In summary, artifact analysis and statistics confirm that a five-clawed dragon is seen in Type A white porcelain jars over fifty centimeters tall and concentrated in Type A-1 jars, which are of the highest production quality (Figures 7 and 14 through 16).

A four-clawed dragon occupies the majority of dragon designs on the late Joseon Dragon Jars. Dragon Jars decorated with a four-clawed dragon usually vary in height from twenty to forty centimeters, most commonly falling in the thirty-to-forty-centimeter range. Among the artifacts decorated with a four-clawed dragon in Type B-1, five are very similar in design composition and completeness to Type A-1 (Figures 21 and 22). Among them, it was argued in a recent paper that the Dragon Jar with the Inscription of "jeonjugimssijason" housed in the British Museum served as a flower jar at the wedding of Princess Hwasun, the eldest daughter of King Yeongjo (Koo 2023, 20–23) (Figure 21).

The fact that it is very similar in form to a Type A-1 example and has a four-clawed dragon has led to the interpretation that it is a princess's wedding jar.

Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period decorated with a five-clawed dragon were produced in small quantities under royal regulations, which were strictly adhered to even during the surge in production of Dragon Jars that occurred in the nineteenth century. A five-clawed dragon depicted on a Dragon Jar continued to serve as a potent symbol of the king and the royal family. In contrast, four-clawed and three-clawed dragon designs were allowed to the royal family and common people alike. While Dragon Jars increasingly reached the private sector in the nineteenth century, the five-clawed dragon design was reserved as a symbol of kings, crown princes, and royal rituals.

Dissemination into the Private Sector: The Desire for Palace Style and Spread

The increase in production of blue and white porcelain in the late Joseon period spread into the private sector as well. Unlike ordinary blue and white porcelain, however the ownership of Dragon Jars was still restricted. As seen so far, this is because they remained an exalted object throughout the period, serving as jars for royal rituals and symbolizing royal authority. Therefore, even as blue and white porcelain became widespread in the private sector in the late Joseon period, the production of Dragon Jars was limited. By the nineteenth century, however, some Dragon Jars had in fact become privately owned objects. Thus, the background of the spread of Dragon Jar to the private sector should be examined from different angles based on the perspective of social class.

The production of blue and white porcelain quickly resumed in the first half of the seventeenth century, once cobalt pigment, which had been difficult to obtain in the wake of the two wars, became available again.³⁸ It was already mentioned in the above section titled "Wine Jars for Felicitous, Auspicious,

38 According to records, cobalt pigment 回回青 was first secured again in 1619 (the 11th year of Gwanghaegun's reign), but the supply for use in producing blue and white porcelain remained somewhat unstable (Song 2021, 95). Instead, a flower jar began to be used in *gain jeon mokdan* (Beautiful People Picking Peonies), a form of court dance with local music performed since the *muja* year (1828).

Inauspicious, and Guest Rites” that the first blue and white porcelain produced for the royal family was a Dragon Jar, a wine jar used in a *dongnoeyeon*. By the eighteenth century, it appears that Dragon Jars were still being produced under strict controls and used only for royal or state events. Around the nineteenth century, Dragon Jars finally became available for private ownership, expanding their audience and diversifying their stylization. There is a complicated context underlying this.

First, the change in the operational structure of the official kilns is closely related to the diversification of the types and quality of white porcelain produced by the official kilns that took place when private firing 私燔 of white porcelain was authorized.³⁹ Around the year 1700, during the reign of King Sukjong, a system was implemented whereby white porcelain was made at official kilns by in-house masters 專屬匠人制 rather than by masters serving compulsory labor obligations, although the firing of white porcelain for private purposes by these masters was tolerated. Due to weak financing of the official kilns and a famine, the program did not prove effective in improving the operations of the official kilns, but it did influence the types and styles of white porcelain being produced. Furthermore, as merchants began to gain control of the official kilns between 1750 and 1770, they established structured distribution networks to market white porcelain from the official kilns and adjusted the manufacturing process to enhance profitability. Changes in the operations of official kilns by merchants and the expansion of sales channels certainly contributed to the diversification of the types, patterns, and quality of the white porcelain produced at the official kilns from the late eighteenth century onward.⁴⁰ With the advance of a market for white porcelain for use by common people but produced by official kilns in the style of wares for the royal family, there was a growing demand both for ordinary quality white porcelain and for white porcelain similar to the finest types owned by the ruling class, including the royal family. The socioeconomic conditions were in place to make this possible.

39 Private firing allowed masters to manufacture and sell ceramics as a commodity for a living (Bang 2004, 11; 2004, 15; 2000, 76–80). Private firing in the broad sense is thought to have taken place continuously from around 1467, when the royal kilns were opened, to around 1883, when they were closed (Lee 2018, 360–61; 2018, 348n2).

40 For a discussion of the expansion of the quantity and variety of high-end white porcelain ordered from official kilns by non-royal customers such as the literati and middle class during the reign of King Yeongjo, see Jang 2012; Lee 2018, 373.

Secondly, as common people’s access to and use of items in the royal style increased during the late Joseon period and public demand for palace-style items grew, white porcelain for use by common people imitating Dragon Jars was produced. By the late Joseon period, flower headdresses, bridal hair pieces (*jokduri*), and peony folding screens—all originally used for court weddings—were made available for civilian use. According to Yu Deukgong’s 柳得恭 *Miscellaneous Records of the Capital* (*Gyeongdo japji* 京都雜誌) in the late Joseon period, the royal family’s large folding screens with peony painting were borrowed by aristocrats from the Director of Fabric 濟用監 and used for weddings (Kim 2019, 196; 2019, 211–12). Initially, only the literati class used peony folding screens for private family rituals in imitation of the court style, but this practice gradually spread to the middle class and commoners.⁴¹ Previous studies have demonstrated that folding screens that had been used for ceremonial purposes within the royal court were procured from market vendors under the designation of “directorate folding screen.” Furthermore, rental outlets 貨物塵 and house rental operations 金轎貴家 rented wedding items used by royal relatives or princesses to the commoner families of brides-to-be (Ko 2000, 234; Kim 2019, 212). The existence of outlets like this made it easier for ordinary people with purchasing power to rent royal objects, and peony folding screens were gradually produced to mimic the decorative paintings of the court and to emphasize their brilliant colors.

It seems reasonable to posit that a comparable phenomenon may have occurred with Dragon Jars. The pervasive utilization of blue and white porcelain by common people as early as the eighteenth century is substantiated by a record from the time of King Sukjong. This record states, “The quality of painted vessels in recent times is the same as that of the old ceramics [omitted], and there is not a house in the countryside that does not have them stacked up” (qtd. in Bang 2000, 78).⁴² There was an attempt during the reigns of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo to crack down on the production of blue and white

41 *Yeongjo sillok*, 13th day of the 1st lunar month, 1758. King Yeongjo forbade the pouf-style wig 鬘髻, a braided hair wig intended to make the hair appear fuller, but he allowed *jokduri*, the palace-style bridal hair piece (*Daily Records of the Royal Court and Important Officials* [*Ilseongnok* 日省錄], 7th day of the 10th lunar month, 1788 [in the reign of King Jeongjo]). For research suggesting that peony folding screens used the Joseon royal court was the origin of those used by common people, see Kim 1999, 63–64.

42 *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, Vol. 306, 23rd day of the 3rd lunar month, 1701 (in the reign of King Sukjong).

porcelain on a regular basis, but the efforts did not last. In addition, the demand for blue and white porcelain in the private sector remained high and people were able to buy white porcelain directly from ceramics shops 沙器塵, purchase, or rent various types of white porcelain from rental shops 貰器塵 for household events such as weddings and sixtieth birthday banquets (Song 2021, 103n44).⁴³ During the reign of King Jeongjo, some cooks from the Office of State Rites and the palace treasury reported to the king that they “procuring and lending wooden plates and ceramics necessary for banquets in the houses of the literati or common people.” This suggests that those in charge of royal banquets were lending out palace-style vessels to members of the private sector, making royal banquet vessels accessible to a wider range of people.⁴⁴

Thus, while blue and white porcelain in general quickly penetrated the private sector in the eighteenth century, the spread of Dragon Jars seems to have been somewhat slower. The use of Dragon Jars was controlled even in the royal court. For example, Dragon Jars were not allowed to be used as flower jars for the weddings of princesses during the reign of King Yeongjo along with luxury regulations. From the reign of King Jeongjo to the first half of the reign of King Sunjo, Dragon Jars were not allowed to be used as wine jars even at the royal banquets honoring Lady Hyegyeong-gung Hong, but only as flower jars (Koo 2023, 20–24).⁴⁵ Dragon Jars were rigorously regulated by the royal court, rendering their use in the private sector unlikely. It is assumed that it was not until the latter part of the reign of King Sunjo or even that of King Heonjong that Dragon Jars became available for civilian use.

Furthermore, although from a later period, a related account can be found in the *Haje ilgi* written by Ji Gysik 池圭植 (1851–?), a tribute merchant 貢人 for the official kilns 分院公所 in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.⁴⁶ This source indicates that dragon jars produced for tribute by official

kilns were still delivered to the royal court at tribute prices 貢價, but big-sized dragon jars 龍樽 or normal-sized dragon jars 龍缸 for civilian use were produced to be sold on the market or sent to interested parties.⁴⁷ This suggests that dragon jars circulated simultaneously for the royal court and among common people.

Third, the dissemination of *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals* (*Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮) and the ubiquity of Confucian rituals in Korean society provided legitimacy for the use of Dragon Jars in the private sector. In principle, items for the royal family and private households should not be interchangeable, but the Confucian rituals that dominated Joseon society eroded this hierarchy and created a more unified culture. *Zhuzi jiali* became widespread during the middle Joseon period, and Confucian thoughts and rituals strongly influenced the common people's lives in the later part of the period. Resultingly, Confucian ritual objects such as marriage cups 盃, high-footed white porcelain dishes 高足碟匙形 used as ritual vessels 祭器, and white porcelain incense burners used for auspicious and inauspicious rites became used in both the public and private sectors. This is because Confucianism strongly emphasized the practical application of proprieties 禮 through adherence to established procedures. In the eighteenth century, during the reigns of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo, an atmosphere of frugality slowed the spread of Dragon Jars compared to other types of blue and white porcelain. By the nineteenth century, however, they were being widely used in the civilian world for feasts and everyday use. The A-1 and B-1 types, which were closely connected to the royal family, remained exclusively for royal use. However, the bulk of the A-2 and B-2 types were used by aristocrats and commoners with economic resources, which seems to have expanded the consumer base for Dragon Jars.

The cultural phenomenon through which Dragon Jars, a type of ritual vessel that has served as a wine jar at royal rituals since the early Joseon period, finally spread to the common people in the nineteenth century was the result of a range of social, cultural, and economic contexts. This complex context

43 *Ilseongnok*, 3rd day of the 10th lunar month, 1709 (in the reign of King Jeongjo).

44 *Ilseongnok*, 3rd day of the 10th lunar month, 1709 (in the reign of King Jeongjo).

45 *Seungeongwon ilgi*, 29th day of the 4th lunar month, 1754 (in the reign of King Yeongjo); 17th day of the 7th lunar month, 1754 (in the reign of King Yeongjo); 24th day of the 1st lunar month, 1764 (in the reign of King Yeongjo).

46 The original purpose of the official kilns was to produce white porcelain for the royal family and government use. However, sales to the private sector were permitted starting in the 17th century. In 1884, the operation of the official kilns was transferred to the private sector and converted to official kilns for tribute. In practice, they were not fully privatized but operated under a semi-private system to ensure a steady supply of ceramics for the royal court.

47 Ji Gysik, *Daily Records of Haje* (*Haje ilgi* 荷齋日記), 20th day of the 5th month, 1891; 9th day of the 8th lunar month, 1904; and other entries. Even at this time, a dragon jar with a cobalt-blue design 靑彩畫龍樽 listed in the *Regulations on the Official Kilns for Ceramic Tributes* (*Bunwonjagi gongso jeolmok* 分院磁器貢所節目) was priced at 8.5 *nyang*, indicating that it was high-end white porcelain for royal use. This price is estimated to be close to the cost of production and did not include a profit for the tribute office. The price of Dragon Jars for the private sector would also have been significantly higher than other blue and white porcelain.

included the royal policy that allowed white wares from the official kilns to be sold in the private market, the sales strategies of the merchants who sought to profit by supplying the white wares that were desired in the private sector, the process by which the palace style was discovered by the private sector as royal wares were lent by government offices or in the market, the desire of people in the private sector to use objects similar to royal ritual vessels, and the folk belief that dragons ward off evil. Regarding the stylistic aspects of the Dragon Jars for the private sector, the materials used are relatively unsophisticated compared to those for royal Dragon Jars. The heights of the jars are relatively lower, and the completeness of the designs is somewhat lacking (Figures 25 through 30, pieces presumably for use in the private sector).⁴⁸ For the A-1 and B-1 types, which are believed to be royal Dragon Jars, the dragon's facial expression is delicate, the proportions of the body and face are appropriate, and the primary and secondary designs are spaced apart, creating a harmonious and stable composition. In comparison, the Dragon Jars that are believed to be for civilian use simplify the dragon's expression, exaggerate the size of the dragon's face in relation to its body, and greatly emphasize the eyes, nose, and mouth, creating a different overall atmosphere compared to that of royal Dragon Jars. While royal Dragon Jars inspire a harmonious and dignified atmosphere, the dragon designs on civilian Dragon Jars are more energetic and intense. This difference in decoration may be due to differences in artisanry, but it can also be interpreted as an active expression of the pursuit of the blessings expected of civilian Dragon Jars. These renderings are not simply the result of poor drawing skills or clumsiness but are a product of the designer's best efforts to keep evil at arm's length.

Dragon Jars were used exclusively by the royal family until the eighteenth century in a Confucian atmosphere emphasizing status distinctions and thrift. It is presumed that they finally became available for civilian use in the nineteenth century due to socioeconomic changes that allowed the private firing of official kilns and the spread of blue and white porcelain into civilian use. It was also influenced by the spread of Confucian rituals in the private sector with the dissemination of *Zhuzi jiali* in the seventeenth century. This makes Dragon Jars an important type of artifact among blue and white porcelain from the late

Joseon period since they were used by both royal and commoner classes and show a wide range of sizes and decorative variations.⁴⁹

Conclusion

This paper synthesizes previous studies by me and other scholars in order to summarize the overall aspects of the production, consumption, distribution, and perception of Dragon Jars in Korea during the late Joseon period and to offer new perspectives and interpretations of the desire and spread of Dragon Jars into the private sector and abroad in the nineteenth century.

Throughout the Joseon dynasty, Dragon Jars were used in various royal ceremonies as jars to hold liquor or flowers. First, Dragon Jars were selected as the official wine jar for the royal family. While a ritual vessel is typically reserved for only a single type of ritual, Dragon Jars were used as wine jars in various rituals, including at royal weddings, banquets, guest rites, ancestral sacrifices, and funeral rites, making them a general symbol of royal rituals. At the same time, the jar's size, the composition of the designs, and the number of claws on the dragon indirectly reveal the ritual's nature and the user's identity. Dragon Jars were also used as flower jars at royal banquets, where they were set out with flowers to create a formal and elegant atmosphere. This makes Dragon Jars a major representative of the blue and white porcelain of the late Joseon period.

To analyze the form of Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period, this study categorized artifacts based on their height and the number of claws on the dragons decorating them. Dragon Jars with the form typical of Dragon Jars for royal felicitous rites are categorized as Type A-1 and Type B-1, while Type A-2 and Type B-2 appear to be Dragon Jars for general use, including uses other than royal felicitous rites. In this study, the height of the Dragon Jars and the number of claws on the dragon were categorized based on the rituals where Dragon Jars were used and the classes of their users because the form of the

48 For civilian use, the number of claws on the dragon is usually four or three, and the use of the five-clawed dragon seen on the A-1 type seems to be strictly limited.

49 In this paper, I focus on Dragon Jars from the Joseon dynasty held overseas, which is a previously unexplored topic. During this research, I found that considerable quantities of Dragon Jars are held overseas. Foreigners collected Dragon Jars in Korea in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and sent them back to their home countries, particularly France and Germany. I look forward to further research on the collection of Dragon Jars by foreigners during the Port Opening period and the nature of such artifacts.

Dragon Jars was deliberately crafted to take into account the nature of the ritual and the status of the user. Although there are many different types of dragons that do not fall into the categories presented in this paper, a methodology is presented to allow the various forms of the dragons to be categorized by the height of the jars and number of claws. It can be used as a basis for presuming the intended use of a given Dragon Jar.

Finally, the study introduced the new topic of desire and spread. While the increase in production and distribution of blue and white porcelain that took place in the late Joseon period has been discussed in the literature, this study suggests that Dragon Jars have a distinct character compared to more general blue and white porcelain and consequently analyzes their spread into the private sector from three perspectives: private firing, desire for palace style, and Confucianism. The significance of this study is that it departs from the research that has focused simply on royal Dragon Jars and attempts to reveal the cultural significance of Dragon Jars among diverse social classes during the late Joseon period.

Translated by Jinsook YOU

Figures



Figure 1. *Royal Portrait of King Taejo* (left) and *Five-clawed Dragon Design Decorating His Dragon Robe* (right), a replica of the portrait enshrined at the Junwonjeon Hall in Yeongheung (1900, the 4th of Gwangmu's reign), 284 × 163.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea



Figure 2. *Five-clawed Dragon Design Drawn in Gold on the Container of a Royal Seal of King Jeongjo*, Joseon dynasty, National Palace Museum of Korea



Figure 3. *Dragon Wine Jar in Illustrated Descriptions of Offering a Cup of Wine in "Garye seorye" of Sejong sillok oryeui* (1451)



Figure 4. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue with the inscription "Made in the Reign of the Xuande Emperor,"* the reign of the Xuande Emperor (1426–1435) of Ming China, H. 52 cm, Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Japan



Figure 5. *Shards of a White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, excavated from Kiln No. 9 in Usan-ri, Gwangju, 15th century, Ewha Womans University Museum

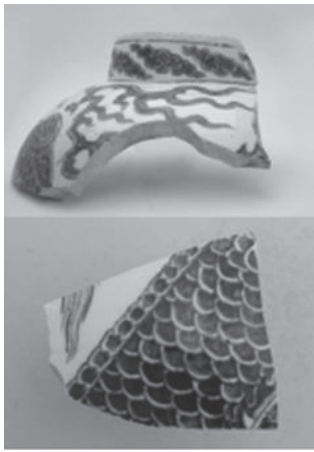


Figure 6. Shards of a White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, excavated from District 12 to 16 in Cheongjin, H. 13.1 cm; 8.6 cm (Kim 2000, 57)



Figure 7. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 18th century Joseon, H. 57.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea



Figure 8. Large and Small Drinking Tables on Which Dragon Wine Jars could Be Placed, part of the illustration of *dongnoeyeon* in the *Royal Protocol of the Auspicious Ceremony of King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon* (*Sunjo sunwonhu garyedogam uigwe* 純祖純元后嘉禮都監儀軌), 1802

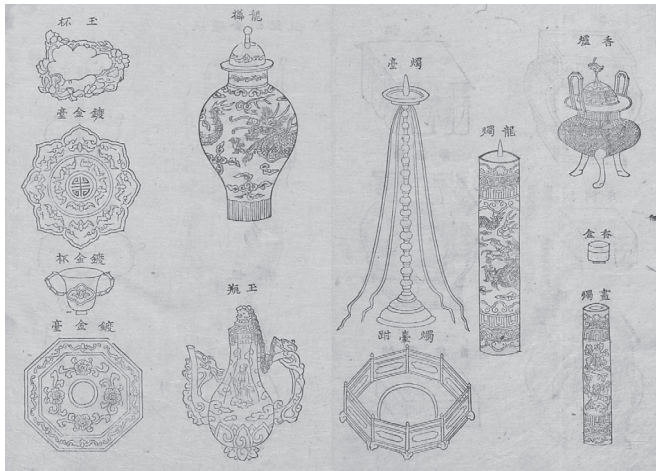


Figure 9. Vessels 器用圖 (left) and Wine Jars for Banquets (right), illustrations of *Standard Royal Protocol for the Royal Banquet Held at Jagyeongjeon Hall* (*Jagyeongjeon jinjak jeongnye uiryae* 慈慶殿進爵整禮儀軌), 1827

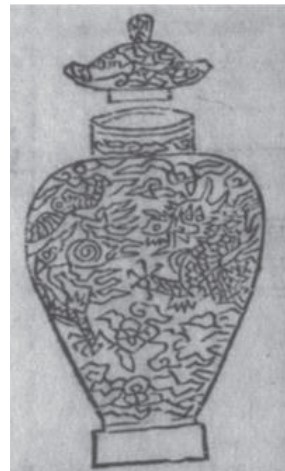


Figure 10. Wine Jars for Auspicious Rites (jars 尊 and dragon-design porcelain jars 畫龍沙尊), the illustration of ritual vessels in "Gilrye seorye" of *Gukjo oryeui* during the reign of King Seongjong

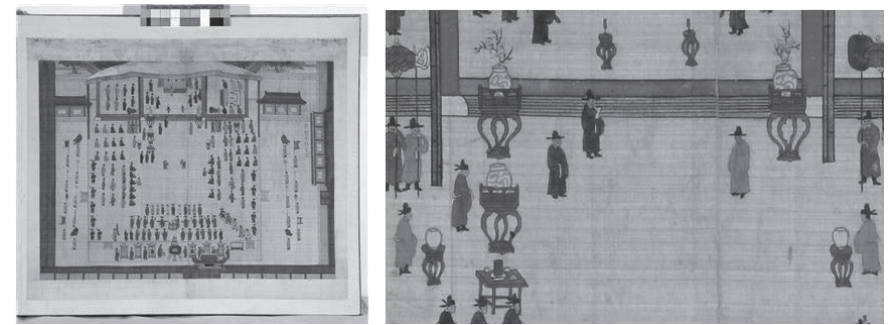


Figure 11. Painting of a Royal Banquet Bestowed by King Sukjong at Gyeonghyeondang Hall (left) and Dragon Jars Set out as a Wine Jar or Flower Jar (right), part of *Gisa gyecheop*, 1719, 30.0 × 66.5 cm, Ewha Womans University Museum

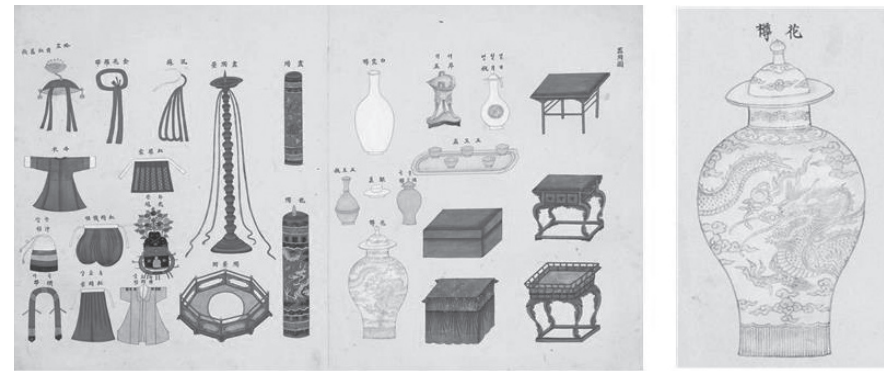


Figure 12. Illustrations of Ritual Vessels (left) and A White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue with the Inscription "花樽" (flower jar) (right), part of the *Paintings of King Jeongjo's Royal Procession to Hwaseong*, late 18th century, 47.3 × 62.2 cm, National Museum of Korea

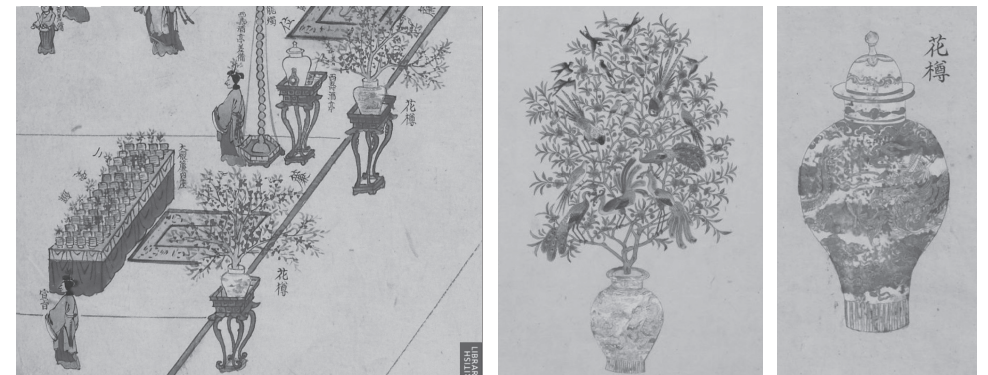


Figure 13. Examples of Using a White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue as a Flower Jar: Presentation of a Flower Jar in *Painting of Inside the Palace* 殿內圖 (left), Flower Jar in *Painting of Colorful Flowers* 綵花圖 (middle), and Flower Jar in the Illustration of Ritual Vessels 器用圖 (right), part of *Gisa jinpyorinjag uigwe*, 1809, The British Library



Figure 14. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 61.9 cm, Leeum Museum of Art



Figure 15. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 57.7 cm, Leeum Museum of Art



Figure 16. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 53.9 cm, National Museum of Korea



Figure 19. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 41.5 cm, National Museum of Korea



Figure 20. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 19th century, H. 43.18 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Figure 21. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 34.8 cm, The British Museum



Figure 17. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 19th century, H. 51.5 cm, National Museum of Korea



Figure 18. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 19th century, H. 50.2 cm, The British Museum



Figure 22. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, 18th century, H. 39.4 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art



Figure 23. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, late Joseon period, H. 48.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum



Figure 24. *White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue*, late Joseon period, H. 27cm, Christie's Auction



Figure 25. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Design in Underglaze Copper and Cobalt, 19th century, H. 38.8 cm, National Museum of Korea



Figure 26. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 19th century, H. 36.4 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Figure 27. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 19th century, unknown height, personal collection



Figure 28. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 19th century, H. 20 cm, Yongin City Museum



Figure 29. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 19th century, H. 12.7 cm, Portland Museum of Art



Figure 30. White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, 19th century, H. 19 cm, Buyeo National Museum

References

- Bang, Byungsun. 1998. "Ullyongmun bunseok eul tonghae bon Joseon hugi baekja ui pyeonnyeon chegye" [A Chronology of late Chosŏn-dynasty Porcelain (17th–19th Centuries) Based on the Analysis of the Dragon-and-Cloud Motifs]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 220: 45–78.
- . 2000. *Joseonhugi baekja yeongu* [Study on the White Porcelain of the Late Joseon Period]. Seoul: Iljisa.
- . 2004. "Joseonhugi sagi jangin yeongu" [The Public Potter in the Late Chosun Period]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 241: 193–216.
- Chang, Ki-hoon. 1998. "Joseon sidae baekja yongjun ui yangsik byeoncheong" [A Study of Change in Style of Dragon Jar in Joseon]. *Misulsa yeongu* [Journal of ART History] 12: 85–122.
- Choe, Yungjeong 2017. "Joseon sidae minyo cheolhwa ullyongmunho seonggyeok gochal" [A Study on White Porcelain Jar with Dragon and Cloud Design in Underglaze Iron Painting Made in Non State-run Kiln of Joseon Dynasty]. *Misulsa yeongu* [Journal of ART History] 33:129–65.
- Choi, Kun. 2013. "Osaka sirip dongyang doja misulgwang sojang I Byeongchang keolleksyeon 白磁青畫龍樽 e gwanhayeo" [A Study on the Blue-and-White Wine Cups of the Yi Byeong-chang Collection in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka]. *Dongak misul sahak* [Dongak Art History] 14: 55–70.
- . 2015. "Cheonghwa baekja eseo yongjun i ganneun uimi: teuki 17, 18 segi reul jungsim euro" [Historical Significance of Dragon Jars in Blue-and-White Porcelain Ware: With the Focus on Works from the 17th and 18th centuries]. *Dongyang misul sahak* [Journal of Oriental Art History] 3: 89–131.
- Choi, Kyung Hwa. 2020. "19 segi Joseon wangsil hollyeyong baekja ui guseong gwa teukjing" [The Composition and the Characteristic of White Porcelain for the Joseon Royal Family Wedding in 19C]. *Hankguk munhwa yeongu* [The Korean Cultural Studies] 39: 41–92.
- Ewha Womans University Museum, ed. 1993. *Joseon baekja yoji balgul josa bogojeon-bu Gwangju Usan-ri 9 ho yoji balgul josa bogo* [Exhibition Report on Joseon White Porcelain Kiln Excavation: Appendix-Gwangju Usan-ri

- Kiln No.9 Excavation Report]. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press.
- Hanul Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. 2013. *Jongno Cheongjin 12–16 jigu yuhoek: Seoul Jongno Cheongjin guyeok 12–16 jigu dosi hwangyeong jeongbi saeop buji balgul josa* [Ruins of Jongno Cheongjin 12–16 District: Excavation Survey for Discovery Project Site for Improving the City Environment in Jongno Cheongjin 12–16 District in Seoul]. Suwon: Hanul Research Institute of Cultural Heritage.
- Hwang, Munhwan, Joo-Phil Kim, Buja Park, Seung-Jun Ahan, Wook Lee, and Seon-yeop Hwang. 2010. *Jeongmi garyesi ilgi juhae* [Annotations on the Daily Records of the Felicitous Rite in the Jeongmi Year]. Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press.
- Jang, Namwon. 2012. “Muljil munhwa gwanjeom euro bon Joseon hugi wanmul yoja” [Treasured Ceramics of the Late Joseon Dynasty from the Viewpoint of Material Culture]. *The Misulsahakbo* [Reviews on the Art History] 39: 132–63.
- Jang, Youngjun. 2004. “Samguk sidae yong munyang ui suyong gwa baljeon” [The Origin and Diffusion of the Dragon Pattern in Korea]. *Hanguk Kogo-Hakbo* 53: 89–119.
- Jeon, Seung-Chang. 2009. “Joseon chogi Myeongnara cheonghwa baekja ui yuip gwa suyong gochal” [The Influence of Ming-dynasty Blue and White Porcelains in Early Joseon Ceramics: Reception and Assimilation]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 264: 35–62.
- Jeong, Yangmo. 1992. “Joseon baekja cheonghwa baekja” [Joseon White Porcelain and Blue and White Porcelain]. In *Hanguk misulsa ui hyeonhwang* [The State of Korean Art History], edited by Hallym Academy of Sciences, Hallym University, 363–428. Seoul: Yekyoung Publishing Co.
- Kang, Gyeongsuk. 1994. “Bunwon seongnip e ttareun buncheong sagi pyeonnyeon mit cheonghwa baekja gaesi munje” [Issues of the Chronology of *Buncheong* Ware and the First Production of Blue and White Porcelain Following the Establishment of Official Kilns]. In vol. 2 of *I Gibaek seonsaeng gohui ginyeom Hanguk sahak nonchong* [Collection of Theses on Korean History II (in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Lee Kibaik)], edited by I Gibaek seonsaeng gohui ginyeom Hanguk sahak nonchong ganhaeng wiwonhoe [The Committee for Publication of the *Collection of Theses on Korean History in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Lee Kibaik*], 1472–97. Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers.
- Kim, Eun-kyoung. 2020. “15 segi Myeong amheukki (1436–1463) cheonghwa baekja ui joseon yuip gwa suyong” [The Introduction and Acceptance of Blue and White Porcelain from 15th Century Interregnum Period (暗黒期, 1436–1463) in Chosun]. *Seokdang nonchong* [Journal of Seokdang Academic Research of Traditional Culture] 76: 147–78.
- Kim, Hongnam. 1999. “Joseon sidae ‘gungmoranbyeong’ yeongu” [A Study on the Choson Dynasty “Palace Peony Screen”]. *Misulsa nondan* [Art History Forum] 9: 63–107.
- Kim, Hyejeong. 2016. “Hanyang doseong chulto 15–16 segi cheonghwa baekja ui johyeongjeok teukjing gwa seonggyeok” [Formative Characteristics of 15th to 16th Century Blue and White Porcelains Found within the City Walls of Seoul]. *Misul sahak* [Art History] 31: 43–76.
- Kim, Joo Yeon. 2013. “Joseon sidae gungjung uiryeyong ssangyong dosang ui yuhyeong gwa hamui: ilseungilgangyong 一升一降龍 dosang eul jungsim euro” [The Patterns and Meanings of Double Dragons Icons in the Royal Court Rituals of Joseon Dynasty: Focus on the Icons of Double Dragons Ascending and Descending]. *The Misulsahakbo* [Reviews on the Art History] 40: 89–115.
- . 2018. *Gungjung uirye misul gwa sibijang dosang* [Court Ritual Art and Twelve Iconographies]. Seoul: Somyong Publishing.
- Kim, Sang-bo. 2003. *Joseon wangjo hollye yeonhyang eumsik munhwa* [Food Culture in Royal Banquets and Royal Weddings in the Joseon Dynasty]. Seoul: Shinkwang Pub.
- Kim, Soojin. 2019. “Joseon hugi mingan saryeyong byeongpung yeongu” [Confucian Rituals and Folding Screens in the Late Joseon Society]. *Hangukhak* [Korean Studies Quarterly] 42 (3): 187–229.
- Kim, Young-won. 1995. *Joseon jeongi doja ui yeongu* [Research on Ceramics in the Early Joseon Period]. Seoul: Hakyoun munhwasa.
- Kim, Yunjeong. 2006. “Joseon hugi sanggam cheongja e boineun Wondae jagi ui yeonghyang” [Influence of Yuan Dynasty Wares on the Inlaid Celadons of the Late Goryeo]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 249: 163–205.
- Ko, Donghwan. 2000. “18 segi Seoul ui sangeop gujo byeondong” [Changes in the Commercial Structure of Seoul in the 18th Century]. In *Seoul sangeopsa* [Commercial History of Seoul], edited by Taejin Lee, 211–56. Seoul:

- Thaehaksa.
- Koo, Hyein. 2017. “Joseon sidae jujunyong baekjayongjun ui munyang gwa wangsil uirye wau gwangye” [The Patterns Found on White Porcelain Dragon Jars Used as Liquor Vessels in the Joseon Dynasty, and Their Relationship to Royal Rituals]. *The Misulsahakbo* [Reviews on the Art History] 48: 7–34.
- . 2020. “Gojong tongchigi geonchukmul yong jangsik e naejaedoen jeongchiseong-baltopsu wa jangsik gibeop eul tonghayeo” [The Political Character Inherent in the Dragon Decoration of the Palaces during the Reign on King Kojong: Through the Number of Claws and Decoration Techniques]. *The Misulsahakbo* [Reviews on the Art History] 54: 63–93.
- . 2021. “Joseon hugi wangsil yeonhyangyong jugi ui jongnyu wa unyong chegye” [The Types and Operation Systems of the Liquor Vessels for Royal Banquet in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Focused on the Analysis of Uigwe’s Giyongdo]. *Hanguk munhwa yeongu* [The Korean Cultural Studies] 40: 133–83.
- . 2023. “Joseon hugi wangsil gukhonyong baekjayongjun ui johyeong gwa seonggyeok: Yeongguk bangmulgwan sojang Jeonju gimssi jason 傳之于金氏子孫 Myeong baekja ullyong munho reul jungsim euro” [The Design and Characteristics of White Porcelain Vessels for Royal Marriage Ceremonies in Late Chosŏn: Porcelain Jar with Dragon Design in Underglaze Cobalt Blue with Inscription of Chŏnjugimssijason (傳之于金氏子孫) at the British Museum]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 319: 5–43.
- Lee, Goon Moo. 2019. “Joseon 18 segi baekja cheonghwa ullyongmun daeho yeongu: munyang ui teukjing gwa yongdo gubun eul jungsim euro” [A Study on Blue and White Porcelain with Dragon and Cloud Patterns Jar of the Joseon Dynasty 18th Century: Focusing on the Use Classification and Characteristic of Patterns]. *Misulsa wa munhwa yusan* [Art History & Cultural Heritages] 8: 7–26.
- Lee, Jong-min. 2009. “Goryeo cheongja yong jangsik ui yangsikjeok gyebo wa pyeonnyeon” [A Study on Genealogy and Chronicle for Dragon Designs of Celadon in Goryeo Dynasty]. *Yeoksa wa damnon* [History and Discourse] 53: 337–75.
- . 2018. “Joseon gwanyo eseoui sabeon siltae wa yeonghyang” [A Study on the Actual Conditions and Effects of Private Firings in the Royal Kiln of Joseon Dynasty]. *Yeoksa wa damnon* [History and Discourse] 86: 347–80.
- Lee, Wook. 2015. *Joseon wangsil ui jehyang gonggan: jeongje wa sokje ui byeonyong* [The Space for Ancestral Rites in the Joseon Dynasty: The Transformation of State and Ancestral Rites]. Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press.
- Lim, Hye-Ryun. 2006. “19 segi gukwang hollye eumsik ui byeonhwa wa uimi” [Change and Meaning of the Food for King’s Marriage Ceremony in 19th Century]. *Hanguk sasang gwa munhwa* [Korean Thought and Culture] 35: 113–52.
- Oh, Youngin. 2022. “Joseon chogi yongjun 龍樽, buncheong sagi sanggam ullyongmun ho ui teukjing gwa seonggyeok” [A Research on Buncheong Jar with Dragon and Cloud Patterns (龍樽) in the Early the Joseon Dynasty with Priority Given to Buncheongsagisanggamunryongmunho, National Treasures]. *Heritiji: yeoksa wa gwahak* [Korean Journal of Heritage: History & Science] 55 (1): 85–110.
- Shin, Seung In. 2012. “Joseon hugi wangsil yeonhyangyong baekja hwajun yeongu: jujun gwau bigyo reul jungsim euro” [A Study of Porcelain HWA JUN in Late Joseon]. MA diss., Ewha Womans University.
- Song, Inhee. 2014. “Joseon 17 segi jeonban ui gahwayongjun 假畫龍樽” [Ga Hwa Yong Jun 假畫龍樽 (fake dragon jar) in Early 17th Century Joseon Dynasty]. *Misulsa nondan* [Art History Forum] 38: 67–91.
- . 2021. “1848 nyeon jinchanuigwe ui danghwajun 唐畫樽 sayong ui uiui” [Chinese Vase (Danghwajun) in the Royal Banquet of Joseon Dynasty, 1848: The Significance of Its Use in the Analysis of the Royal Protocols (Uigwe)]. *Hanguk munhwa yeongu* [The Korean Cultural Studies] 40: 81–132.
- Yoon, Hyojeong. 2006. “Joseon 15·16 segi cheonghwa baekja ui jejak gwa sayong: munheon jaryo wa yoji chultopum eul jungsim euro” [The Production and Usage of Blue and White Porcelains of the 15th and 16th Centuries Joseon Dynasty]. *Misul sahak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Art History] 250/251: 315–60.
- Yun, Yong-i. 1993. “Joseon chogi doja ui yangsang” [Aspects of the Ceramics of the Early Joseon Period]. In *Joseonbaekjayoji balguljosabogojeon: bu Gwangju Usan-ri 9 ho yoji balguljosabogo* [Exhibition Report on Joseon White Porcelain Kiln Excavation: Appendix-Gwangju Usan-ri Kiln No. 9 Excavation Report], edited by Ewha Womans University Museum,

77–83. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press.

KOO Hyein (koohyein5@gmail.com) is a researcher at the Korean Cultural Research Institute, Ewha Womans University and a visiting scholar at the Department of Korean Studies at the Free University of Berlin, Germany. As an art historian specializing in the field of craft history, she primarily studies ritual vessels from the Joseon dynasty. She examines East Asian Confucian rituals and material culture from a broad perspective. Her research includes “The Types and Operating Systems of Liquor Vessels for Royal Banquets in the Late Joseon Dynasty: An Analysis of Giyongdo in Uigwe” (2021) and “The Interior Methods and Characters of the Royal Ancestral Room in Jongmyo Shrine in the Late Joseon Dynasty” (2021).

Abstract

This study summarizes the production, consumption, distribution, and perceptions of Dragon Jars in the late Joseon period and offers new perspectives and interpretations of their spread to the public sector during the nineteenth century. Dragon Jars from the late Joseon period were used as jars to hold liquor or flowers at various royal ceremonies, making them important symbolic ritual objects. In particular, Dragon Jars were used as wine jars for various rituals such as weddings, banquets, guest rites, ancestral sacrifices, and funeral rites. Their names, styles, and uses varied depending on the ritual. The form of Dragon Jars is characterized by their height, the composition of their designs, and number of claws on the dragon, all of which subtly indicate the ritual's nature and the user's status. This study analyzes the private firing of the official kilns, the private demand for items in the palace style, the spread of the Confucian ritual guide *Zhuzi jiali*, and the sharing of ritual vessels in order to explain the spread of Dragon Jars beyond the royal court and into the private sector during the late Joseon period.

Keywords: White Porcelain Jar with Cloud and Dragon Designs in Underglaze Cobalt Blue, royal rituals, wine jar, flower jar, height, number of dragon claws, classes of users

