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Session 1
Korean Art :
Ceramics • Paintings

고려청자의 생산: 프리어미술관 소장품을 중심으로

**Celadon Ceramic Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392):
A Case Study from the Collection of Celadon Ceramics at the Freer
Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA**



소카 텡
Sokha Tep

캄보디아 코콩주 문화예술부 보존과학자
Conservator,
Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts,
Cambodia

고려청자의 생산: 프리어미술관 소장품을 중심으로

‘고려청자의 생산’을 주제로 한 이번 발표에서는 스미소니언박물관 프리어미술관 소장품, 특히 찰스 랭 프리어와 모린 R. 자코비가 미술관에 기증한 유물을 중심으로 이야기하고자 한다. 미술관에서 도자기 유물 큐레이터로 일하고 있는 루이스 알리슨 코트가 만든 웹페이지(Korean Ceramics in the Freer Gallery of Art, <http://korean-ceramics.asia.si.edu>)를 연구 자료로 사용했으며, 국립중앙박물관 웹페이지와 ‘고려청자의 생산’이라는 비디오 자료를 참고했다.

이 연구에서는 총 160개 고려청자가 연구 대상이 되었다. 실제 지난 15년간 캄보디아에서 크메르 제국, 중국, 일본 등지의 도자기만을 대상으로 보존 및 분석을 연구했는데, 이번 연구를 계기로 고려시대 도자기에 대해 큰 관심을 가지게 되었다.

연구를 위해서 도자기를 접시(납작한 접시, 우묵한 그릇), 병, 주전자, 합(盒), 입이 작고 쌍곡선 형태의 항아리, 저장용 항아리, 소형 항아리, 원통형으로 뚜껑 있는 항아리, 상형(거북이, 오리 등)청자 등 기능별로 구분했다. 문양, 태토, 유약, 기법 등으로 구분할 수도 있을 것이다. 고려시대에 청자는 주로 강진요(康津窯), 부안요(扶安窯) 등에서 제작되었다. 기존 연구에 따르면, 9세기 후반 또는 10세기 초반부터 한반도에서 청자 생산이 시작되었다. 이후 12세기에 이르러 청자 생산은 절정에 다다랐고 13세기에 한반도가 원나라와의 분쟁에 휘말리면서 쇠퇴하기 시작했다.

한반도의 청자 생산은 중국의 영향을 받기는 했지만 독자적인 발전의 모습을 보이고 있다. 연구를 통해서 한국의 청자와 중국 월주요(越州窯), 용천요(龍泉窯)에서 생산된 청자를 비교하고자 한다. 상징성의 측면에서 보자면, 기형은 쌍곡선 형태로 둥근 원 안에 물새를 그려 넣은 문양이 있는 항아리가 한국 문화를 대표하는 청자라 할 수 있다. 또한 청자의 사용에 대해 분석함으로써 당시의 사회 계급에 대해서도 알아보하고자 한다.

‘고려청자의 생산’을 주제로 한 동 연구는 세계 속의 한국 문화에 대해 시사하는 바가 있다. 식기로 사용되며 일상 생활에서 중요한 역할을 하는 도자기는, 대부분의 유적지에서 발견되는 유물이기도 하지만 강진요의 경우 특히 고고학자에 의한 발굴조사가 광범위하게 이루어졌다고 볼 수 있다.

Celadon Ceramic Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392): A Case Study from the Collection of Celadon Ceramics at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA

This research presentation on “*Celadon Ceramic Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)*” focuses on the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution and on the gifts of Mr. Charles Lang Freer and Mrs. Maureen R. Jacoby. The source of my research is the website *Korean Ceramics in the Freer Gallery of Art* (<http://korean-ceramics.asia.si.edu/>), prepared by Louise Allison Cort, who is curator of ceramics at the museum. Additional data comes from the website of the National Museum of Korea and from video documentation “Goryeo Celadon Ceramic Production”.

I reviewed one hundred and sixty pieces of celadon ceramics for my research. In fact, for around fifteen years my field of ceramic conservation and analysis in Cambodia has concentrated on Khmer, Chinese, and Japanese ceramics. This research project has made me very interested in studying celadon ceramic production in the period of the Goryeo Dynasty.

In the concept of research, ceramics are classified by function, such as plates (dish and deep bowl), bottles, ewers, boxes, jars with hyperboloid shape and narrow mouth, storage jars, jarlets, cylindrical covered jars and figurines (turtles and ducks). Furthermore, we can study the design, clay, glaze and technical method. The principle sources of Goryeo period ceramics were the kilns at Gangjin and Buan. Researchers suggest that celadon production began in the late 9th or early 10th century. The peak of production occurred during the 12th century and subsided in the 13th century as Korea entered into conflict with the Yuan dynasty.

Goryeo celadon ceramics production was influenced from China but it developed its own production. We can compare Korean celadon ceramics to Chinese celadon ceramics from the Yue and Longquan kilns in the Song Dynasty. In the concept of symbolism, a jar with hyperboloid shape and design of medallion with white heron is representative of Korean culture. At the last point we will try to interpret about ceramic usage in human society in order that that we can learn to understand status of people.

Therefore, this research topic on “Celadon Ceramic Production in Period of Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392),” tells us about Korean cultural heritage in the world. Essentiality, ceramics are very important as people's utensils, and most archaeological sites have yielded ceramics. The Gangjin kiln site has also been studied extensively by archaeologists.

Celadon Ceramic Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392): A Case Study from the Collection of Celadon Ceramics at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA

Introduction

This research presentation on “*Celadon Ceramic Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)*” focuses on the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, and on the gifts of Mr. Charles Lang Freer and Mrs. Maureen R. Jacoby. The source of my research is the website *Korean Ceramics in the Freer Gallery of Art* (<http://korean-ceramics.asia.si.edu/>), prepared by Louise Allison Cort, who is curator of ceramics at the museum. Additional data comes from the website of the National Museum of Korea and from video documentation “Goryeo Celadon Ceramic Production”.

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Map. 1

Map of Celadon kiln sites located at Gangjin and Buan areas in Jeolla province, South Korea
(Source: <http://korean-ceramics.asia.si.edu/>)

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Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)

In the chronology of Korean dynasties, the Three Kingdoms period encompassed Goguryeo (37 BCE-CE 668), Baekje (18 BCE-CE 660) and Silla (57 BCE- CE 935). In the second stage, north to south states were unified by Silla rule during the Kingdom of Korea period (668-935), but the Balhae Kingdom (698-926) also existed separately during the period of Silla rule. In the late Silla period, two kingdoms reappeared as Baekje (892-936) and Goguryeo (901-918). The Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) continued from Goguryeo, which overthrew Silla, and the terminology “Goryeo” became the modern term “Korea”. During the Goryeo dynasty's unitary dynastic rule of the peninsula over 500 years, Korean art achievements centered on Celadon production. At last, the Goryeo dynasty was overthrown by the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). White glazed ceramics were produced in this period. Later, the country was controlled by the Korea Empire (1897-1910) and during colonial period by Japanese rule (1910-1945); two different area were under Military Governments (1945-1948) and Provisional Government (1919-1948). From 1948 to the present day, Korea has been separated as South Korea and North Korea.

Celadon Production in the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)

Celadon production is represented by vessel types made of stoneware and porcelain with green glaze. Porcelain clay is very low in iron oxide (Fe_2O_3), 0% - 0.5%. It should be fired at a high temperature of 13500 C - 14500C. Stoneware clay contains more iron oxide (Fe_2O_3), ranging

from 0.5% to 2.5%. It should be fired at a temperature from 1200°C to 1350°C. Therefore, examination of celadon production shows whether stoneware or porcelain clay is used, as indicated by the hardness of the clay after firing (or by examination of the clay color). The origin sources of celadon production technology were the Yue and Longquan kilns in Zhejiang province, China, renowned for Celadon glazes in the late Tang Dynasty (late 9 century). Celadon production later spread to other region in Asia, including Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand and Myanmar. Its production continued in China until the early Ming Dynasty. In Korea, celadons produced under the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) are regarded as the classic ceramic wares of Korea. The term “Celadon” was derived from the name of the hero in a seventeenth century French pastoral comedy. The color of the character Céladon's robe evoked, in the minds of Europeans, the distinctive green-glazed ceramics from China, where celadon production originated (Lee 2003). Furthermore, the color of celadon glaze is like jade. This production was flourishing in the past, and today there are 16 kilns produce celadon ceramics in Korea.

On the other hand, the same decoration technique used in these “proto-inlay technique” has been found recently in a Tang Dynasty kiln site in China. It is striking that this inlay technique was not created from a local kiln but had existed already in China and in the Tang Dynasty. The Tang Dynasty ceramics with carved and white slip painted decoration under black glaze excavated at the Huangbao kiln site in Yaozhou district, Shaanxi province, show the same techniques as those used in Korea. This fact will serve as a significant reference to identify the origin of inlaid celadon in Korea as well as chronology of the Jinsan-ri kiln site and contribute to the research of the green celadon made at the beginning of Goryeo dynasty.

Celadon Ceramic Description and Interpretation

1. Celadon Ceramics Description

Celadon production of the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) is one of the treasures of cultural heritage in Korea. Depending on the Korean celadon collection of the Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, we can classify nine vessel types based on function. This is very important to indicate a general view of ceramic usage in society, such as bottles, boxes, covered jars, ewers, jarlets, jars with narrow mouth, pedestal bowls, plates and figurines.

Archaeological fieldwork discovered remains of celadon at kiln sites which were sources of celadon production in Gangjin and Buan counties in Jeolla province, South Korea. ^{Map. 1} These areas are noted for production of traditional celadon in Goryeo period and annually a big

festival and symposium on celadon porcelain at the Goryeo Celadon Museum with participants from all over the world takes place in Gangjin City. Furthermore, the county bird is the *magpie*. The county flower is the *camellia*, and the county tree is the *Ginkgo*. There are also two mascots, *Gang* and *Jin*, who represent fire and water, respectively, and who appear throughout the county on signs and sidewalks. These symbols reference the bird, flower, and tree with which potters decorated ceramics under celadon glaze, applying technical methods such as incised lines, carved or inlaid designs, and mold-impress designs, then covered the layer with iron oxide (black or brown) or copper oxide (red) and also with gold and lines in white slip.

Analysis of the celadon collection stored in the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, provided dates ranging from late 10th – late 14th century. Kim Jae Yeol's 1997 article “*The Original Inlaid Technique in Goryeo Ceramics Focusing on the existence of Proto-Inlaid Decoration*,” is informative. In his research, he has done archaeological fieldwork to excavate at celadon kiln sites. Analysis of ceramic firing indicated a temperature level about 1150°C. This is stoneware production. In my description of the celadon collection, I would like to refer pictures on the website of the Freer and Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (<http://korean-ceramics.asia.si.edu/>) for the accession numbers in this article, as follows:

- **Bottles** are various types of shape (guard, round, pumpkin, melon and rectangular shape). A bottle (F1897.46a-b) is decorated with white and black inlay of *Camellia* flower and lotus petal and yellow-green glaze. Other glazed bottles indicate use of pale to mid-green glaze with black and white vinescroll-motifs.
- **Boxes** are small containers used for special things and are generally of dome shape. Boxes are products from Gangjin or Buan kilns in Jeolla province. Most boxes are stoneware with white and black inlays of flower designs on top of the lid and under celadon glaze. One box is porcelain with translucent ivory-tone glaze (or yellow green glaze; F1907.300a-b). This box is very similar in glaze and period to box production in the Angkorian period, 9th–15th century, in Cambodia. One box (F1991.80a-b) has black and white inlay of a pair of Magpie birds. Box (F1907.302a-b) has very beautiful celadon glaze and incised lines of lotus petals on top of lid.
- **Ewers** are containers for liquid such as water or rice wine. Ewers made in the Goryeo dynasty were formed in different shapes such as ellipsoid shape, pumpkin, melon, and round shape. Examples are a ewer of round shape decorated with white and black inlay of vertical pattern of *Camellia* flowers (F1909.33a-b) and a ewer of melon shape with incised lines of bamboo and very beautiful jade-green glaze (1996.471). Ewers with gourd shapes include a ewer (F1909.32a-b) decorated with blooming lotus flower and leaves as

in the pond under beautiful jade-celadon glaze, and a ewer (F1915.50a-b) of gourd shape decorated with lotus motif with copper-red pigment and white slip under celadon glaze. Ewer (F1909.44a-b) is decorated with white and black inlays of lively patterns of white heron swimming in lotus pond.

- **Jarlets** are small wares with narrow mouth used as oil containers in Korean production. In general the shape of jarlets is a horizontal ellipsoid shape, with flaring mouth and ring foot. A jarlet (F1909.20) is decorated using white and black inlay with patterns of country flowers on the shoulder. Other jarlets are decorated using black and white inlay with vinescroll-motif; the jarlet (F1909.23) has incised lines of lotus petals at the neck and vinescroll-motifs above the shoulder.
- **Jars with narrow mouth and lid** are very a special vessel type from Goryeo celadon production and are symbolic of jars in Korean culture. In the collection are found such jars decorated with incised lotus design, black and white inlay with pattern of heron (F1908.24); jar decorated with black and white inlay of peacock flying and glancing at the flower (F1907.367). One jar has a large mouth and four lug handles and a lid with decoration of flower motifs (F1909.46). Two handles on the lid of another jar were applied crosswise (F1909.30a-b). Jars (F1917.290 and F1991.88) use white and black inlay with patterns of floral design.
- **Incense Burners** are of various types. One incense burner has four feet and applied heads of animal and decorative lotus petals.
- **Plates** are classified in five groups: 1) bowl with small ring foot and thin thickening; 2) deep bowl; 3) dishes with various shapes; 4) bowl with dome shape and thick thickening; 5) deep bowl with high ring foot. Bowls have different designs and shapes, and the color of the glaze varies from yellow-green to green.

2. Ceramic Interpretation

Study of archaeological ceramics can inform us about people's daily life in society, since people have used ceramics for many thousands of years. Since clay is a raw material which potters can get from the earth, it is not difficult to look for the source of it in order to make pottery and various figurines and then fire at the temperature necessary to heat the clay and make it strong or "hard".

Pottery includes important objects that people have used for many functions in short or

long periods. For example, celadon plates, bottles, ewers, covered jars, jars with narrow mouth, boxes and jarlets were part of the production of the Goryeo period (918-1392). It is indicated that fine pieces of celadon were sent to the Royal Court. In other cases, potters had to break some of the celadon production immediately after firing as the quality was not good. In the present time, there are around 16 celadon kilns that still produce the celadon at the Gangjin and Buan sites in Jeolla-do province. Celadon is popular and has become a traditional production in Korea. Celadon property is indicative of the status of people or of a high rank that enabled them to exchange goods.

Furthermore, the discovery of ceramics derived from Mado shipwreck is the evidence of maritime trade by exchanging goods in small or large scale over the country. Meanwhile, reference of celadon production and evidence of Chinese celadon shards discovered at Gangjin kiln sites suggested that Goryeo celadon was influenced from China and could tell us about the relationship between Korean and China. Korean people have practiced Mahayana Buddhism which respect to Bodhisattva, and ceramics may used as urns for containing cremated bones. Therefore, the study of celadon ceramics derived from the Goryeo dynasty is very important for understanding use of ceramics utensils in the past by people in society. If we learn to understand about ceramics it means we learn to understand the people who use them.

Conclusion

Through my research topic, "Celadon Production of Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392): A Case Study on Celadon Collection from the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. USA", my aim is to analyze some part of ceramics by description and interpretation of ceramic utensils in society. Celadon were classified as bottles, boxes, jars with narrow mouth, ewers, plates (bowls, dishes, and deep bowls), jarlets and incense burners. Celadon decoration was carried out with incised lines, carved and incised lines, white and black inlaid decoration, or mold impressed design. Then accents were added with iron oxide (red and brown to black colors) and copper oxide (red color) and also with gold and with white slip. Additional hypothesis, the celadon production was fired to a temperature around 11350C, which is the temperature level for stoneware, but we found one box made of porcelain clay with yellow-green glaze which looks like boxes in Angkorian period (9th -15th century) in Cambodia.

The sources of the best celadon production are located in the Gangjin and Buan kiln sites, Jeolla province, Korea. Evidence of Chinese shards discovered at the Gangjin kilns indicates that production dated back to the Tang Dynasty (late 9th century). Some researchers

assumed that Goryeo celadon was influenced from China. Goryeo celadon was produced from the early 10th century to 14th century, but the celadon ceramics of top production were made in the 12th century. Celadon glaze is like jade color and provides more value to ceramics, as gold.

Some celadon production was transported to the royal court, which required pieces of very high quality. Potters immediately examined and broke the production if it was low quality after firing, following the practice in China. Therefore, celadon ceramics are one of the treasure of cultural heritage in South Korea, and there are around 16 kilns that still produce the ceramics in Gangjin or Buan province. It has become the popular area for celadon traditional production and potters make work appreciated by people over the world.

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Figures

Fig. 1 Bottle

Goryeo period, 14th century
Korea, Jeollanam-do province, Gangjin country, Gangjin kilns
Stoneware with white and black inlays with flower and lotus petal beneath celadon glaze; silver fitting and cap;
H.36.2 x W. 20.8 cm
Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Freer Gallery of Art
F1897.46a-b



Fig. 2 Box

Goryeo period, 12th century
Korea, Jeolla-do province, Gangjin or Buan county, Gangjin or Buan kilns
Porcelain with translucent, ivory-toned glaze or pale yellow-green glaze
H.5.1 x W.8.6 cm
Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Freer Gallery of Art
F1907.300a-b



Fig. 3 Box

Goryeo period, mid 12th century
Korea, Jeolla-do province, Gangjin or Buan county, Gangjin or Buan kilns
Stoneware with black and white inlays with flowers under celadon glaze on lid
H.3.5 x W.8.4 cm
Gift of Mrs. Maureen R. Jacoby in memory of Rolf Jacoby
Freer Gallery of Art
F1991.81a-b



Fig. 4 Ewer

Goryeo period, first half of 13th century
Korea
Stoneware with celadon glaze, incised lines of lotus flower and leaves, a very popular design on Goryeo celadon
H.35.6 x W.22.1 x D.16.0 cm
Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Freer Gallery of Art
F1909.32a-b



Fig. 5 Ewer

Goryeo period, late 12th - early 13th century
Korea, Jeollabuk-do province, Buan county, Buan kilns, Yucheon-ri group
Stoneware with white and black inlays of one pair of herons swimming in lotus pond under celadon glaze; bronze repair
H.31.0 x W.16.1 x D.13.8 cm
Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Freer Gallery of Art
F1909.44a-b



Fig. 6 Jarlet

Goryeo period, 12th century
Korea, Jeollanam-do province, Gangjin county, Gangjin kilns
Stoneware with celadon glaze
H.3.7 x W.6.9 cm
Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Freer Gallery of Art
F1909.23



Fig. 7 Jar with Phoenix image

Goryeo period, first half of 13th century

Korea, Jeolla-do province, Gangjin or Buan county, Gangjin or Buan kilns

Stoneware with white and black inlays and image of phoenix and flower under celadon glaze

H.20.5 x W.20.7 cm

Gift of Charles Lang Freer

Freer Gallery of Art

F1907.367

**Fig. 8 Incense Burner**

Goryeo period, second half of 13th century

Korea, Jeollabuk-do province, possibly Buan kilns

Stoneware with white inlay under celadon glaze

H.8.7 x W.18.6 cm

Gift of Charles Lang Freer

Freer Gallery of Art

F1907.794

**Fig. 9 Bowl with lotus petal decoration**

Goryeo period, 12th century

Korea, Jeolla-do province, Gangjin or Buan county, Gangjin or Buan kilns

Stoneware with celadon glaze

H.8.6 x W.17.3 cm

Gift of Charles Lang Freer

Freer Gallery of Art

F1907.313

**Fig. 10 Bowl with Heron Medallion**

Goryeo period or later, 13th century or later

Korea

Stoneware with white and black inlays of heron flying under celadon glaze

H.7.0 x W.16.1 cm

Gift of Charles Lang Freer

Freer Gallery of Art

F1900.33



한국 민화에 나타난 경직도 연구

A Study on Kyŏngjikdo and Its Appearance In Minhwa



베로니카 코바치

Veronika Kovács

헝가리 엘테대학교 한국학 석사과정
MA Korean Studies,
ELTE University, Hungary

한국 민화에 나타난 경직도 연구

경직도(耕織圖)는 한 해 동안 농사를 짓고 길쌈하는 모습을 그린 회화의 한 종류로 일반 백성의 어려움을 이해하고, 유교사회에서 나라의 경제적인 근간으로서 농업의 중요성을 인식하며 중흥하기 위해서 제작했다. 경직도는 『서경(書經)』, 『시경(詩經)』 등과 같은 서적을 기반으로 중국에서 기원한 회화 양식이다.

여러 공식 기록에 따르면, 경직도가 한반도에 처음 나타난 것은 고려시대 이후이며 빠르게 조선의 회화 전통에 스며들었다. 조선초기에 농사일의 장면을 묘사한 그림이 왕명으로 다량 제작되었고, 이후 이러한 회화 주제가 한국의 상황에 맞게 점차 토착화하기 시작했다.

원래 경직도는 왕의 접견실이나 침전에 걸어 두고 통치자가 백성들의 어려움을 알게 하려는, 왕실을 위한 감계적(鑑戒的) 목적으로 사용되었다. 초기의 경직도는 양식이나 구도 면에서 일년 동안 일어나는 농업과 잠직업(蠶織業)의 장면을 질서정연하게 그린 「패문재경직도」의 회화적 전통을 따랐다. 하지만 세종대부터 세세한 부분에서 소재가 한국적인 것으로 변화하는 경향이 시작되었고 이러한 경향은 18세기 말~20세기 초 절정에 다다랐다. 이 시기 사회경제적인 변화가 일어나고 민속 문화에 대한 관심이 깊어지면서 농업과 길쌈이라는 주제는 민화의 형태로 민가까지 확대되었다. 경직도와 18세기 말부터 인기를 끌기 시작한 풍속도가 예술적 표현의 소재와 방식을 상호 차용하며 서로에게 어떤 영향을 미쳤는지 알아볼 수 있다. 경직도에서 풍속 장면 묘사가 늘어난 한편, 농업 장면이 공식 회화에서 나타나기 시작했다.

현재 전래되는 경직도는 대부분 19세기 후반에 만들어진 작자와 연대 미상 작품으로 주로 6, 8, 10, 12폭 병풍 형태로 남아 있으며 농사를 짓고 길쌈하는 장면이 시간의 흐름과 계절의 변화에 따라 묘사되어 있다. 그러나 시간이 지남에 따라 일반 백성의 행복하고 번영한 삶에 대한 희망과 꿈을 담은 풍속화의 소재들이 더 강조되기 시작했다.

일반 백성이 그들 스스로를 위해 그린 민화 경직도 작품들은 현실에 대한 사실적인 기록이라고 볼 수 있으므로 이러한 작품의 중요성에 대해 더 많은 관심을 기울여야 한다. 직업화가들이 그린 작품에 비해 정연한 아름다움이나 우아함은 없을 수 있어도 민화 경직도에서 나타나는 재치 넘치고 단순한 형식과 통념을 벗어난 구도, 그리고 과감한 색상 선택은 한국미술사의 중요한 특징으로 더 많은 관심을 필요로 한다.

A Study on Kyŏngjikdo and Its Appearance in Minhwa

Kyŏngjikdo (耕織圖) is a type of painting that depicts farming and weaving scenes throughout the year. It was born from the purpose of understanding the hardships of the loyal subjects while recognizing and promoting the importance of agriculture as the economic base of the country in the Confucian society. The painting type originated from China with a basis on such literary works as the 'Book of Documents' and the 'Book of Odes'.

Various official records show that the genre appeared on the Korean Peninsula from the Koryŏ period at the earliest, and was quickly adapted to the Korean painting traditions and customs in the Chosŏn Era. In the early Chosŏn Dynasty, numerous paintings that depicted agricultural scenes were created by royal order, and from that time, it can be observed that the topic gradually started to become indigenized to the reality of Korea.

Kyŏngjikdo paintings were originally displayed at the king's reception hall or sleeping quarters to help the ruler reflect on the hardships of his subjects, serving as a visual educating tool for the royal family. At first, these paintings followed the pattern and composition of scenes from the pictorial traditions of P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo, depicting the yearly farming and weaving activities in an orderly fashion. However, pursuing the theme's Koreanization started as early as King Sejong's time from detail to detail, and reached its peak from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. At this period, due to socio-economical changes and the genuine interest in folk culture, the theme spread to the commoners' households as well in the form of folk art, minhwa. It can be observed how Kyŏngjikdo and genre paintings that were prevalent from the end of the 18th century drew inspiration from each other, borrowing scenes and means of artistic expression. While the genre scenes increased in Kyŏngjikdo, scenes of farm life appeared in the official paintings as well.

Today, most of the existing Kyŏngjikdo pieces are from the later 19th century, and were created by anonymous folk artists without proper dating, mainly in a 6-8-10-12 panel folding screen form. In the landscape backdrop the farming and weaving works are depicted chronologically and following the changes of the four seasons. However, as time went by, scenes of customs and motifs of genre paintings became more emphasized, expressing the commoners' hopes and dreams of a happy, peaceful and prosperous life.

Minhwa Kyŏngjikdo pieces that were painted by the people for the people can be considered as realistic records of life. Further attention should be drawn to the significance of these works, and prove that although minhwa Kyŏngjikdo paintings may often lack the elegance and refined beauty of paintings of the official artists, their humorous and simple format in addition to their unconventional layout and bold colors are, nevertheless, important characteristics of the Korean aesthetic and art history.

A Study on Kyŏngjikdo and Its Appearance in Minhwa

Kyŏngjikdo (경직도 耕織圖) is a type of painting that depicts farming and weaving scenes throughout the year. It was born from the purpose of recognizing and promoting the importance of agriculture as the economic base of the country in the Confucian society. In order to govern the realm with the subjects in mind, the king had to understand the hardships of the main means of life for the people, agriculture and sericulture. Kyŏngjikdo was born from this background, and it became a representative educational painting type¹, a visual guide for great politics for the royal household.

The genre originated from China, and appeared on the Korean Peninsula from the Koryŏ period at the earliest, and adapted to the Korean painting traditions and customs. Especially in the late Chosŏn Dynasty, it can be seen through various records and existing artworks that it spread to the private sector as well. In these paintings, not only the processes and methods of farming and weaving are depicted, but as well as scenes of customs and leisure activities, which people enjoyed and desired at the time.

The Roots of Kyŏngjikdo

The origin of Kyŏngjikdo can be found in two literary works, 'Muilp'y ŏn' from The Book of Documents² and 'Odes of Bin' from the Book of Odes.³ These two written sources, and their visual reproductions in the form of folding screens, Muildo (無逸圖) and Binp'ungch'ilwŏldo (豳風七月圖) played an important role in favorably ruling the kingdom in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Dynasty. They described one of the main principles of the political ideology of Confucianism, which was to find out the difficulties people encountered in their everyday life, what sufferings did they go through, and how to ease their pains accordingly. These screens based on these topics were often used in the education of the royal family to indirectly experience the pains of the commoners, give ground for contemplation and self-reflection. Thus, these were placed

1 kamgyehwa (감계화 鑑戒畵)

2 <서경> '무일편' <書經> '無逸篇'

3 <시경> '빈풍칠월편' <詩經> '豳風七月篇'

in the surroundings of the rulers, in the main reception hall or in the sleeping chambers of the palace.⁴

The "Book of Documents" is a compilation of stories about rulers of virtue. Among these, "Muilp'yŏn" tells the teachings of the Duke of Zhou to his nephew, the young king Cheng about understanding the sufferings and hardships of the people. Korea's earliest written record about "Muildo" can be found in King T'aejo's 'Hunyoſipjo' (훈요십조 訓要十條). There is a passage in the 10th part, where he orders his future successors to make the 'Muilp'yŏn' into a folding screen, to give ground for reflection and good government.⁵ Through this record, we can understand that it was a diagram, not a painting. In addition, as records show in the Koryŏsa, in 1103 King Sukjong ordered the making of a Muildo folding screen to place behind his throne.⁶ More records of this type of calligraphic screens can be found later on, Kwon Gŭn (권근 權近 1352~1409)'s Muiljido (無逸之圖) from the early Chosŏn Dynasty followed this tradition as well.

'The Book of Odes' contains anonymous poems that were popular at that time of the Zhou Dynasty, and were collected with a purpose of getting to know the subjects' way of life. It's 'Odes of Bin' and the painting type that was based on it, Binp'ungch'ilwŏldo describes the customs and monthly works in the Bin region, related to agriculture and sericulture. Here, the scenes of farming and weaving are depicted in 8 parts, regardless of the order of the four seasons.

In the early Chosŏn Dynasty, numerous Binp'ungch'ilwŏldo paintings were created by royal order, and from that time, it can be observed that the topic gradually started to become indigenized to the reality of Korea. As early as in 1424 and 1433⁷, the great king Sejong ordered to create a monthly depiction based on the examples of Binp'ungch'ilwŏldo and Muildo that is true to Chosŏn's reality, works and customs.⁸ It is very noteworthy that already at that time it was acknowledged that Chinese customs were not in conformity with the Chosŏn dynasty's, and there were endeavors to distance themselves from assimilation, emphasizing Chosŏn's own culture.

4 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1991: <朝鮮時代 後半期の 耕織圖- A Study Kyongjik-do (耕織圖) in the Second half of the Choson Dynasty > 미술사학연구, 1991. 27. p.

5 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1987: <豳風七月圖流 繪畵와 朝鮮朝 後期 俗畵 Binp'ungch'ilwŏldoryu hoehwa wa Chosŏnjo hugi sokhwa> 고고미술 174집, 1987. 19. p

6 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1991. 29~30. p

7 <세종실록> 15년 8월 13일 (Sejongsillok, 1433, August 13rd).

8 김순아 (Kim, Soon-ah) 2004: <朝鮮後期 耕織圖 研究 - A Study on Keng-chin t'u (the Genre Scene of Cultivation and Sericulture Activities) of Chosun Dynasty> 동국대학교 석사학위논문. 43.p.

Adaptation and Formation of the Kyŏngjikdo in the Korean Peninsula

The Kyŏngjikdo itself was created by the Southern Sung Dynasty official, Lou Shu (樓壽1090-1162). It was a 2 volume scroll that depicted 24 scenes of farming and 21 scenes of sericultural activities in an orderly fashion, following the flow of the seasons.⁹ The first records of it's appearance on the Korean Peninsula can be found in Sŏng Hyŏn's (成俔, 1439-1504) 'Hŏbaekdangjip' (허백당집 虛白堂集), which mentions about a Kyŏngjikdo album that was offered to King Yŏnsangun. This work was a latter copy of Lou Shu's Kyŏngjikdo.¹⁰ This work was soon painted as a colorful scroll type Kyŏngjikdo by court painters, then reproduced into a folding screen by the order of King Jungjong in 1511.¹¹

During the Qing dynasty in 1696, Emperor Kangxi was gifted with a copy of Lou Shu's Kyŏngjikdo¹², and ordered its re-creation in a wooden block printed album form. This work that was named 'P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo' (佩文齋耕織圖) consisted of two volmes, containing 23 scenes of farming and 23 scenes of sericulture, and meticulously followed the steps of the yearly works.¹³ A copy of this album was offered to King Sukjong the following year, and as recorded in the king's scriptures, he ordered it's rearrangement into folding screens as visual means of education for the crown prince.¹⁴ Through the king's records and the poems¹⁵ which he wrote about the art piece himself, it can be known that the folding screen originally consisted of both farming scenes and activities of sericulture. However, only one panel exists today in the National Museum of Korea, which portrays silkworm cultivating women in three scenes. This artwork shows the early stages of Korea's Kyŏngjikdo, that appear almost identical in composition to the scenes of P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo. The women appear in Chinese style outfits inside Chinese style architecture. The scenic background reflects the taste and style of landscape favoured in the royal court.

The 8 Panel "P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo Folding Screen" from the Konkuk University Museum can be the next stage in the development of the Kyŏngjikdo on the peninsula.

9 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1983: <佩文齋耕織圖의 受容과 屏風 - 특히 朝鮮朝 後半 俗畫에 미친 영향을 중심으로 - Acceptance and Development of 'Paemunchae Kyŏngchikto > 한국정신문화연구원 학위논문 1983. 6.p.

10 이수진 (Lee, Su-Jin) 2007: <朝鮮後期 耕織圖 研究 - A Study on Farming and Weaving Paintings in the Late Chosun Dynasty> 원광대학교 석사학위논문. 8.p.

11 김순아 (Kim, Soon-ah) 2004: 47.p.

12 In Korean: (누속경직도樓塲耕織圖)

13 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1983. 3.p.

14 <列聖御製>卷之十 (Yŏlsŏngŏje, Vol. 10), 1697.11.

15 어제칠언율시 (御製七言律詩)

Compared to the Sukjong screen, the background appears more Korean in taste. In addition, the 3-4 farming and weaving scenes borrowed from P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo are depicted bigger on each panel, getting more attention. This close-up tendency is shown on another folding screen owned by the National Museum of Korea, that is stamped and signed as a work of Kim Hongdo. However, the materials used and the craftsmanship is of lower standards than his, so it can be assumed that the piece was rather displayed in a private household.¹⁶ The buildings and the people can be seen closer to the viewer, the colors are lighter than the court paintings as well, and instead of tile-roof houses we can see straw-roof buildings. The more Korean styled background and the fewer scenes on each panel show similarities to the Kyŏngjikdo that was gaining popularity amongst the commoners in the later periods.

The National Museum of Korea's 8 Panel Kyeongjikdo Folding Screen depicts the monthly works in a very detailed and lively manner, starting from the spring's mulberry leaf collecting, ploughing, dyeing, planting rice to harvesting, and passing winter's time with hunting. The folding screen's composition will be reflected in many works of later Kyŏngjikdo paintings. The labor scenes are highly influenced by P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo, people still appear in Chinese style outfits and hairstyles. However, smaller scenes and details, such as the ploughing, wallfixing and the treshing workers' clothes and body shape expressions are undeniably became more Korean in style.

Lastly, Kim Hongdo's 8 Panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen from the National Museum of Korea shows an already Koreanized form of Kyŏngjikdo. In this artwork, new themes from customs and everyday life are introduced, such as the washing scene and moon gazing, which were popular topics in the 19th century genre paintings. And although the farming scenes, such as ploughing and rice planting are mostly identical to the scenes from P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo, not only the scenic background is of Korean style, but the people's clothes are entirely of that nature.

The appearance of customs and everyday-life scenes in Kyŏngjikdo are related to the gaining popularity of genre paintings from the late 18th century. The prevalence and frequency of these scenes and topics can be examined through descriptions found in the Kyujanggak's 'Naegakillyŏk' (내각일력內閣日曆) on the topics of the Royal Painter Academy, Tohwasŏ exams from the time of King Jŏngjo as well.¹⁷

In the end of the 18th century, it can be observed how Kyŏngjikdo and genre paintings

16 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1991: 39.p.

17 이수진 (Lee, Su-Jin) 2007: 14.p.

drew inspiration from each other, borrowing scenes and means of artistic expression. While the genre scenes increased in Kyŏngjikdo, scenes of farm life appeared in the official paintings as well. Kim Duryang and Kim Dŏkha's piece on country life and works throughout the four seasons (사계산수도四季山水圖), Kim Hongdo's Genre Album (풍속화첩 風俗畫帖), scenes on aspired life (평생도平生圖) and travels (행려풍속도行旅風俗圖) are representative examples, and differently from the earlier Kyŏngjikdo paintings, these show more realistic and expressive tendencies.

Kyŏngjikdo in Folk Art, Minhwa

While the Kyŏngjikdo paintings were originally displayed at the king's reception hall or sleeping quarters to help the ruler reflect on the hardships of his subjects, later these were placed in government offices as well. Occasionally, loyal subjects gifted these screens to the ruler on special occasions such as enthronements, or royal birthdays.¹⁸ In the latter half of the 18th century, this painting type was adapted to the civilian sector, and gained popularity among the commoners in the form of minhwa. By the end of Chosŏn, these paintings were so popular that even the Hanyangga, which describes the streetscape of the capital in the 19th century, mentions about Kyŏngjikdo in a painting shop under the Kwangt'ong bridge.¹⁹

The Kyŏngjikdo artworks existing today are concentrated from the 19th century to the early 20th century. The reason for this is the prevalence of the genre paintings and minhwa, which was born in the socioeconomic changes in the late Chosŏn Dynasty, when folk culture came forward. The economically emerging middle class and the newly appeared yŏhang class rapidly increased the demand for paintings, satisfying their cultural needs according to their level of financial power. Even if only indirectly, they desired to experience social ascension by displaying painting genres appreciated by the upper classes in their houses, which resulted in the active production of folk paintings of various themes.

The minhwa Kyŏngjikdo can vary in style and level of artistry from the delicate coloring and detailed painting style of the official painters to rough quality paintings in vivid colors on paper. In the end of the Chosŏn Period, the number of panels increased from 8 to 10 or 12. This is due to the additional scenes of customs borrowed from genre paintings, paired with creative expression in themes and composition.

18 윤열수(Yoon, Yul-soo) 2001: <민화 II> (Minhwa II) 도서출판 예경, 213.p.

19 정병모 (Chŏng Pyŏng-mo) 1991: 45.p.

Efforts to categorize Kyŏngjikdo artworks have been made in previous researches, although they consider the royal or yangban households' artworks, mostly excluding pieces of minhwa. Therefore, the writer of this paper tried to group Kyŏngjikdo pieces of minhwa into four types: I. Paintings that follow the earlier Kyŏngjikdo compositions with traditional depictions and expression methods of farming; II. Works influenced by the genre paintings' style of light colors and scenes; III. Artworks that show more genre scenes in a decorative manner; IV. Works that are minimalistic in aspects of background, concentrating on less depicted scenes.

The 8 Panel Kyŏngjikdo of no known provenance is a good example of the first type. It was painted with strong colors, and its scenic background has similar traits to the style specific to the court's taste. The composition follows P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo from plowing and planting through harvesting to hunting. Three scenes are shown on each panel, following the seasons' changes. It shows similarities to the previously mentioned 8 panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen from the National Museum of Korea with its Chinese style architectural elements, outfits and hairstyles.

More examples can be found of the 2nd type of paintings. The National Folk Museum's 10 panel Folding Screen Kyŏngjikdo consists mainly of farming scenes, with only one weaving scene on the 3rd panel. It faithfully follows the seasonal works' order and closes the composition with the tradition of moon gazing, wishing for a prosperous new year. While the farming scenes follow the P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo, its light colors, the figures of the weaving woman, lunch scene, treshing and moon gazing remind of Kim Hongdo's, works specifically. The National Folk Museum's 12 Panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen is of light colors as well, starting its composition with the tradition of moon gazing on the first lunar month. This scene together with the lively figures of the lady on ox, the laundry scene, the yangban returning from hunting, the harvesting women and the staring yangban, and more can be found amongst Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok's works as well. The Seoul University Museum's 12 Panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen is similar in painting style, but incorporates more scenes from the P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo. On the other hand, the influence of genre paintings can be observed through scenes of ox fight, moon gazing and winter.

The National Folk Museum's 6 Panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen can be grouped into the previously mentioned 3rd type. The landscape background is refined and delicate, but the people and the architecture, especially the tiled rooftops appear more decorative in vivid colors. In its theme it depicts the upper classmen's leisure time - perhaps it was displayed in a wealthier household. From plowing, silkworm cultivating, to harvesting melons and crops the

works are shown according to the time's flow. There are additional genre elements such as the yangban pointing at flying birds, mother playing with children, studying and visiting neighbors. On the 4th panel we can observe the scene of catching fireflies, which was representative of Baekdongjado, another popular painting type in late Chosŏn.

One 12 Panel Sesip'ungsokdo of Private collection is very rich in decorative elements and vivid colors. It depicts very few of the known farming and shows more attention to the genre scenes such as feast, woman on ox, traveling yangban and work supervisor. This folding screen has created a Korean expression of a new style, parting with the traditional composition and themes of Kyŏngjikdo.

The National Folk Museum's 8 Panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen depicts 1-2 farming or weaving scenes in landscape background, and also depicts elements from Haengryŏp'ungsokdo. The special feature and creative element of this work is that it shows scenes right before or after the work is done, shifting the focus from the hard labor to times of ease, like resting after lunch, woman leaving to bring food, and worker heading to the field, carrying his hoe.

The last type of minhwa Kyŏngjikdo is concentrating on one main scene, often with minimal background. Of this type, an 8 panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen of unknown provenance shows very simple landscape and architecture background in painted-on decorative frames. Each panel shows one labor or genre scene, such as moon gazing, weaving and spinning, drying clothes, bringing food to the workers, the meeting of a travelling yangban and a monk. Besides this piece, the Horim Museum's 6 panel Kyŏngjikdo Folding Screen scheme is an interesting work. It was made in the beginning of the 20th century, when the genre painting scenes were prevalent, but this piece follows depicts scenes of the P'aemunjaekyŏngjikdo instead in a very true and detailed manner. This can be seen especially on the ploughing, treshing and millstone turning scenes. On each panel we can find numbers which indicates the order of the scenes that the painters should have followed. We can guess that the screen consisted of 10 or 12 panels.

Summary

The genre of Kyŏngjikdo was born of political ideologies, and was used for visual tool for royal education in the palace. It followed Chinese examples and used fixed compositional elements for the longest time. However, as it gradually shifted from the court to the private sector, the Koreanization of these pictures were more active. In minhwa, it is hard to find folding screens composed of farming and weaving scenes only, as they always include scenes of seasonal customs. As a result, these artworks prevailing amongst the commoners have been passed on by various names such as 'Kyŏngjikp'ungsokdo', 'Nongch'onsaenghwaldo', 'Sesip'ungsokdo'.²⁰ In minhwa, paintings of farming and customs that were painted by the people for the people can be considered to be realistic records of life, expressing the hopes and dreams of the commoners. They show a peaceful, happy life full of playfulness, laughter and music. Scenes of sadness or suffering are hard to find.

20 김현지(Kim, Hyunji) 2013: <朝鮮 後半期 歲時風俗圖 研究> Study on the Painting of Sesipungsok of the Late Joseon Period> 역사민속학 제43호, 한국역사민속학회. 155.p.

Figures

Fig. 1

Attributed to Jin Jaehae: Sukjong ōjejamjikdo
傳 秦再奚 <肅宗御題蠶織圖>

1697

Colors on silk

137.6×52.4cm

National Museum of Korea



Fig. 2

8 Panel Kyōngjikdo Folding Screen
(耕織圖)

19th century

Colors on silk

135.5×49.4cm

National Museum of Korea



Fig. 3

Attributed to Kim Hongdo:
8 Panel Kyōngjikdo Folding Screen (part)
傳 金弘道 <耕織圖 8幅>(부분)

18th century

Colors on paper

122.3×41.0cm

National Museum of Korea



Fig. 4

8 Panel Kyōngjikdo Folding Screen of unknown provenance
耕織圖 8幅 屏風 作者 미상, 소장미상

Source: Yoon Yeol-soo: Minhwa II.



Fig. 5

10 Panel Kyōngjikdo
Folding Screen (part)
耕織圖 10幅 屏風

Early 20th century

90x31cm

National Folk Museum of Korea

**Fig. 6**

6 Panel Kyōngjikdo Folding Screen
耕織圖 6幅 屏風

Early 20th century

82x39,5cm

National Folk Museum of Korea

**Fig. 7**

8 Panel Kyōngjikdo Folding Screen of unknown provenance,
耕織圖 8幅 작자미상, 소장미상

Source: Yoon Yeol-soo: Minhwa II.



김정희의 서체와 ‘사난(寫蘭)’ 전통

The Calligraphy of Kim Jeonghui and the Tradition of “Writing Orchid”



윤첸 루

Yunchen Lu

캘리포니아대학교 산타바바라

건축·미술사 박사과정

PhD Candidate, History of Art and
Architecture, University of California,
Santa Barbara, USA

김정희의 서체와 ‘사난(寫蘭)’ 전통

김정희(金正喜, 1786~1856)는 한국미술사에서 그 중요성과 영향력이 가장 큰 인물이다. 조선후기 금석학과 고증학의 발달로 서예도 발전의 전기를 맞았다. 김정희는 조선후기의 이러한 새로운 흐름을 가장 잘 대변하는 인물로 그의 호를 딴 추사체는 한국 서예사를 통틀어 최고의 보물 중의 하나로 손꼽힌다. 지금까지 나온 김정희 서체 연구에서는 김정희 서체에 영감을 준 인물로, 중국에서 비학(碑學)의 기초를 닦은 저명한 청나라 서예가 옹방강(翁方綱, 1733~1818)과 완원((阮元, 1764~1849)을 언급한다. 하지만 서체를 분석해보면 김정희의 서체와 서예에 대한 생각이 전대 서예가이자 양주팔괴 중의 한 명인 정섭(鄭燮, 1693~1765)과 매우 유사하다는 것을 알 수 있다. 정섭은 정통 첩학(帖學)을 거부하고 개인의 개성이 드러나는 서체를 채용했으며 예서체를 쓰는 것은 난초 잎을 그리는 것과 같다고 말했다. 정섭이 말한 ‘사난(寫蘭)’ 개념은 후에 김정희가 묵으로 그린 난초 그림에 적은 글이나 서예, 그리고 그가 남긴 많은 시와 편지에서도 확인할 수 있다. 이 논문에서는 김정희와 김정희를 추종하는 서예가들의 서체를 분석함으로써 조선후기 서예 발전에 관한 새로운 시각을 제시하고 양주팔괴의 역사적인 업적을 재평가하고자 한다.

The Calligraphy of Kim Jeonghui and the Tradition of “Writing Orchid”

Kim Jeonghui (金正喜, 1786-1856) is known as the most important and influential calligrapher in Korean art history. In the late Joseon period (1392-1910), progress in epigraphic and bibliographic studies gave calligraphy new momentum for advancement. Kim Jeonghui epitomized the movement and his Chusa style, so called after his studio name, is recognized as one of the supreme creations in the history of calligraphy in Korea. Previous scholarship on Kim's calligraphy mentioned its inspiration from Qing calligraphers Weng Fanggang (翁方綱, 1733-1818) and Ruan Yuan (阮元, 1764-1849), two eminent scholars who founded the Stele Calligraphy School in China. However, when examining Kim's calligraphy and critical theory, I found his calligraphic style and ideas on writing calligraphy have striking similarities with an earlier Chinese calligrapher, Zheng Banqiao (1693-1765), one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou (揚州八怪). Zheng Banqiao, who opposed the orthodox Model Calligraphy School in favor of a style deemed expressive and individualistic, promoted the idea that writing clerical script is like painting orchid leaves. The concept of “writing orchid” also appears later in Kim Jeong-hui's inscriptions in his ink orchid paintings and in his calligraphy, as well as in many of his poems and letters. By focusing on Kim Jeonghui and his followers' calligraphy, this study examines anew the development of calligraphy in the late Joseon period and reevaluates the historical achievement of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou.

The Calligraphy of Kim Jeonghui and the Tradition of “Writing Orchid”

Introduction

As the most important and influential calligrapher in Korean art history, Kim Jeonghui's (金正喜, 1786-1856) calligraphy reveals his great learning from ancient scripts and his innovations on them. This paper focuses on two different facets of Kim Jeonghui's calligraphy: the famous Chusa-style calligraphy, often written in large scripts as couplets on hanging scrolls or on signboards; and his *choye* calligraphy, a style of writing that combines cursive and clerical scripts, often written in letters or on paintings. Both of these styles reveal Kim's great interest in stele inscriptions and epigraphic learning, which were echoed by the calligraphic trends popular in Qing China.

Kim Jeonghui and His Interaction with Chinese Scholars

Korea's Joseon Kingdom sent ambassadors annually to Qing China after the Qing invasion of Joseon in 1636.¹ This regular interaction between Joseon and Qing marks the climax of Sino-Joseon cultural and artistic exchange. *According to Travel Records to Beijing* (燕行錄), written throughout the 17th century by Joseon ambassadors, each mission group was comprised of around thirty ambassadors, including one calligrapher and one painter.² These ambassadors were usually Joseon scholars with high levels of intellectual ability and artistic training. Their experiences in China inspired new artistic developments, which they brought back to Korea and popularized as they became trendsetters in the late Joseon dynasty.

Kim Jeonghui's teacher Bak Jega (朴齊家, 1750-1805), the preeminent scholar of the Northern Learning School (北學派), went to Beijing several times on diplomatic and cultural missions³. As a promoter of the Northern Learning School, a branch of Reform Confucianism,

- 1 To be precise, the “Qing” did not come into existence until after 1636. It was in 1636 that the Manchus changed the title of their state from later Jin (1616-1636) to Qing.
- 2 Im Kijung 林基中, *A Collection of Travel Records to Beijing* 燕行錄全集, Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 2001. For more information on the Qing tributary system, see John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yu Teng, “On the Ch'ing Tributary System,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6, Cambridge, 1941.
- 3 Bak Jega went to Beijing in 1778, 1790, 1791 and 1801.

Bak visited Beijing and looked to Qing China for innovative ideas.⁴ During Bak's first visit in 1778, he met several eminent Chinese scholars, including Ji Yun (紀昀, 1724-1805), Luo Pin (羅聘, 1733-1799), Weng Fanggang (翁方綱, 1733-1818) and Ruan Yuan (阮元, 1764-1849).⁵ After Bak returned, he aggressively promoted the advanced social, scientific, and technical knowledge he had acquired in Beijing. Bak not only passed on his knowledge to Kim Jeonghui, but his contacts in turn later enabled Kim to interact with a broad circle of Qing scholars and painters when Kim visited Beijing.

In 1809, at the young age of 24, Kim accompanied his father Kim No-gyeong 金魯敬, 1766-1840) on a diplomatic mission to Beijing. He stayed for five months and gained the recognition of Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, and other prominent officials at the Qing court.⁶ Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan were impressed with Kim's intellect and scholarly enthusiasm. They showed him their rare books and original art to facilitate their discussion of Chinese classics, calligraphy, and art.⁷ Weng Fanggang also introduced Kim to his two sons, and Kim became close to Weng's second son, Wen Shuqun (翁樹崑, 1786-1815), who was Kim's age and shared Kim's interest in epigraphy.⁸

During the time, Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan were the two main founders of the new Stele Calligraphy School, and their thoughts on calligraphy are thought to have inspired Kim. Ruan Yuan had shared his two famous articles on stele calligraphy with Kim: “Treatise on the Northern and Southern Schools of Calligraphy” (南北書派論) and “Treatise on the Northern Steles and Southern Model-Letters.” (北碑南帖論)⁹ These works overturned the authority of the

- 4 Benjamin A. Elman, “A Late Chosŏn Korean Polymath: Kim Chŏng-hŭi (1786-1856) and Qing Dynasty Qianlong –Jiaqing Era Scholarship” (朝鮮鴻儒金正喜與清朝乾嘉學術), *World Sinology* 世界漢學, Vol. 14, 35-48.
- 5 Luo Pin, known as one of the Eccentric of Yangzhou, painted two painting *Portrait and Ink Palm* to Bak Jega. See Weng Fongxuan 文鳳宣, “The Influence of the Eight Eccentric of Yangzhou in Joseon Painting” (揚州八怪畫風對朝鮮末期畫壇的影響), *Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, March 2003, pp. 46-49.
- 6 Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan were impressed with Kim's intellect and scholarly enthusiasm. They showed him their rare books and original art to facilitate their discussion of Chinese classics, calligraphy, and art. Weng Fanggang also introduced Kim to his two sons, and Kim became close to Weng's second son, Wen Shuqun 翁樹崑 (1786-1815), who was Kim's age and shared Kim's interest in epigraphy. A painting of a farewell party for Kim, done by the Chinese painter Zhu Henian (1760-1834) is still extant (Private collection). The guests who attend the party included Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), Weng Fanggang's 翁方綱 (1733-1818) second son Weng Shuqun 翁樹崑 (1786-1815), Zhu 鶴年 (1760-1834), Hong Zhanquan 洪占銓 (1762-1834), Li Dingyuan 李鼎元, Li Linsong 李林松, Tan Guangxiang 譚光祥, Jin Yong 金勇, and Liu Huatong 劉華東. See Choe Wan-su, “Ch'usa Silgi-P'aran ūi Saeng'ae wa Yesul” (The True Record of Ch'usa- His Checkered Life and Art) in Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi, Seoul: Jungang Ilbo, 1981, 192-211.
- 7 See Benjamin A. Elman, “A Late Chosŏn Korean Polymath: Kim Chŏng-hŭi (1786-1856) and Qing Dynasty Qianlong –Jiaqing Era Scholarship” (朝鮮鴻儒金正喜與清朝乾嘉學術), *World Sinology* 世界漢學, Vol. 14, 35-48.
- 8 Choe Wan-su, “Ch'usa Silgi-P'aran ūi Saeng'ae wa Yesul” (The True Record of Ch'usa: His Checkered Life and Art) in Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi, Seoul: Jungang Ilbo, 1981, 192-211.
- 9 Ruan Yuan, “Treatise on the Northern and Southern Schools of Calligraphy” (南北書派論) and “The Treatise on the Northern Steles and Southern Model-Letters.” (北碑南帖論), in Pan Yungao ed., *Theories on Calligraphy in the Early Qing Dynasty*, (清前期書論), Hunan: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 2003.

Southern Model-Letters School, and demonstrated that the mainstream of Chinese calligraphy was to be found in the stele inscriptions of the Northern Dynasties. Ruan's theory is thought to have inspired Kim to develop his famous style of calligraphy from learning Korean epigraphy.

Chusa-style Calligraphy and Epigraphic Learning

After Kim Jeonghui returned to Korea, his official career sailed smoothly for the next twenty years. In 1840, Kim was appointed to the embassy in Beijing and prepared to embark on a second trip to China. Before the trip, he became embroiled in a power struggle between two factions within the royal family and was exiled to Jeju Island.¹⁰ This was a critical turning point in Kim's life and art.

Kim Jeonghui's nine years of exile on Jeju Island were the formative years for both his painting and his calligraphy. There he developed his famous "Wangdang" or "Chusa" calligraphy style, named after two of his sobriquets.¹¹ Due to the bold and distinct visual effect of his Chusa-style calligraphy, he often applied it to write large scripts on hanging scroll couplets or on signboards. His calligraphy *Pavilion of Remaining Books and Obstinate Stone* (殘書頑石樓) [Fig. 1](#) and *Sign on the pavilion housing the stele marking King Jinheung's inspection of Hwangchoryeong Pass* (真興王巡狩碑閣題字) [Fig. 2](#) are two well-known examples that demonstrates his extraordinary accomplishments. Both works reveal the writing rule of clerical script, with a round beginning and an upward ending in each stroke, called "silkworm head and swallow tail" (蠶頭燕尾). The overall movement is slow and controlled while the endings appear to have been done more rapidly, causing a "flying white" effect. The strong contrast between thin strokes and "flying white" effects inaugurated a variety of changes in his brushworks.

Kim Jeonghui's other works showing his practicing on epigraphic styles give us a clue on his creation of Chusa-style calligraphy. Many of his works based on epigraphy used Han clerical script as a model. Han clerical scripts were written on stele, bronze mirrors, and vessels. This clerical script is an archaic style of Chinese calligraphy, which evolved in the Warring

10 Kim Jeonghui's life had enormous ups and downs, mostly resulting from the standing of his family and the politics of the late Joseon period (1392-1910). Kim Jeonghui's family was prominent and closely related to the royal family. He was the first son of the government official Kim No-gyeong (金魯敬, 1766-1840) and Lady Yu, a daughter of the governor of Gimhae. Kim's great-grandfather, Kim Hansin (金漢薰, 1720-1758), married the second and favorite daughter of King Yeongjo. Kim's great-great-grandmother was Queen Jeongsun (貞純王后, 1745-1805), the third wife of King Yeongjo (英祖, 1694-1776; r. 1724-1776); later she was the power behind the throne for the first five years of her step-grandson King Sunjo's reign (1790-1834; r. 1800-1834). See Sung Lim Kim, "Kim Chŏng-hŭi (1786-1856) and Sehandŏ: The Evolution of a Late Chosŏn Korean Masterpiece," *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 56 (2006), 31-60.

11 "Wangdang" refers to his Beijing connection because wan is the Korean pronunciation of Ruan Yuan's personal name.

States period (475-221 BC) to the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC), was dominant in the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD). In structure and rectilineality, it tends to be square to wide, and often has a pronounced, wavelike flaring of the beginning and ending of strokes. The archaic structure and aesthetic strokes from Han clerical script gave Kim rich elements to create his Chusa-style calligraphy.

Many of Kim's practice works that based on Han clerical script are extant, such as *Calligraphy after the Stele for Chunyuchang Xia Cheng* (淳于長夏承碑臨本) [Fig. 3](#), *Album of Ancient Clerical Script* (阮堂依古隸帖) [Fig. 4](#) and *Writing after Ancient Clerical Script on Ba Iron Basin* (書巴鐵盆銘殘字). His *Calligraphy after the Stele for Chunyuchang Xia Cheng is derived from the Stele for Chunyuchang Xia Cheng* (淳于長夏承碑), which was erected in the third year of the Jianning reign of the Eastern Han China (170 BCE). This stone stele was damaged in the mid-Ming dynasty and its rubbing was collected in the *Model Calligraphy of Zhenshang Studio* (真賞齋法帖). The rubbing in the *Model Calligraphy* bears Weng Fanggang's inscription and his study on the missing part of original text. Kim Jeonghui might have had the chance to view and practice imitating this rubbing at Weng Fanggang's place when he was in China. The heavy structure and well-managed balance in the clerical script of the *Stele for Chunyuchang Xia Cheng* is reflected in Kim's Chusa-style calligraphy.

Kim Jeonghui's Choye and "Writing Orchid"

In addition to Kim Jeonghui's Chusa-style calligraphy, his writing in letters and on paintings reveals a different appearance. Kim's painting Orchid shows a withering, almost-broken orchid flower and bears Kim's three inscriptions.¹² [Fig. 5](#) The most fascinating aspect of this painting

12 The first inscription begins in the top left corner, continuing in short columns from left to right across the top of the painting: For twenty years I have not painted orchid. Now by chance I have brought out its heavenly nature. Shutting one's door, searching and seeking constantly. This is Vimalakirti's Chan of non-duality. Should there be someone who forcibly wanted to defined it, then Master Vi[malakirti] would have no words to answer him. - Manhyang (with relief seal Chusa). 不作蘭花二十年，偶然寫出性中天，閉門覓覓尋尋處，此是維摩不二禪。若有人強要為口實，又當以毘耶，無言謝之。曼香(印鑑：秋史)Filling the space in the lower left corner is a second inscription, beginning near the flower, with the irregular intaglio seal *Mukjang* [Ink Cottage]: If I start to let my brush go the result can only be one and not two. - Songak noin [Aged Guest] 始為達俊放筆，只可有一，不可有二。仙客老人As a footnote he adds in a column of smaller characters: O Sosan saw [this] and was seized with a fit of laughter (with relief seal reads *Nagu Chonhasa* (Scholar who delights in the world) and intaglio one *Kim Chong-hui in*). 吳小山見而豪奪可笑。(樂天天下士)(金正喜印)The last inscription is in small characters reading in columns from right to left: I have painted this in the strange *choye* writing style. But who today will understand or appreciate it? Kugyong again inscribed (with intaglio seal Koyonje). 以草隸奇字之法為之，世人哪得之，那得好之也。滙寬又題(古硯齋)For Roderick Whitfield's translation of the inscriptions and description of the seals, see *Treasures from Korea: Arts through 5000 Years*, ed. Roderick Whitfield, exh. cat., London: British Museum, 1984, 215.

is the correspondence between his calligraphy and painting styles.¹³ Many brush strokes of the characters echo the structure of an orchid plant. For instance, the downward stroke of the third character “orchid” (*lan*) on his inscription at the top of the painting runs almost the same way and parallels the strong vertical stroke of the orchid’s stem. Similarly, comparable angles, curves and wavy lines can be detected in both the orchid and the calligraphy. These comprise Kim’s “writing orchid” style.

Kim’s inscription on the painting reveals his awareness of the similarity between this method of writing calligraphy and painting an orchid. One of his inscriptions written beneath an orchid leaf on the middle right corner reads, “I have painted this in the strange choye writing style. But who today will understand or appreciate it?” (以草隸奇字之法為之，世人哪得之，那得好之也。). Kim indicates here that he painted his orchid in the same way as *choye* calligraphy, a style of writing that combines cursive and clerical scripts, often written in letters or on paintings. Kim adopted the heavy strokes from clerical calligraphy and mixed them with the fluent strokes from cursive calligraphy, giving the overall impression of a powerful and lively performance of writing. To Kim, the logic of painting an orchid shares the same method of writing *choye*. In another of his orchid paintings, he used the term “writing orchid” (寫蘭) in his inscription to imply that painting orchids is closely connected to writing calligraphy.¹⁴, Fig. 6

Kim is not the first artist who raised the concept of “writing orchid.” A century earlier in China, Zheng Banqiao (1693-1765) had promoted the idea that writing clerical script is like painting orchids.¹⁵ Zheng Banqiao was one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou, noted for his choye calligraphy and drawings of orchids, bamboo, and stones. He and other artists of the Eight Eccentrics were a group of literati who were active in Yangzhou; their “eccentric ” calligraphy style came from their pioneering practice based on ancient epigraphy. Due to their bold innovations, which predated the revolutionary Stele Calligraphy School, their artistic value was questioned by leading literati at that time. They did not gain much traction across China. However, Kim’s works reveals that Zheng Banqiao’s calligraphy and theory of “writing orchid” were not isolated in Yangzhou, but had crossed overseas and inspired Korean artists.

13 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture: Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910*, London: Reaktion Books, 2014, 191-193.

14 “Writing orchid, one must not deceive one’s heart. Begin with a stroke of a leaf and a dot of a petal. If after self-examination one does not feel ashamed, then [one] can show it to others.” (寫蘭，亦當自不欺心，始一撇葉一點瓣，內省不疚，可以示人。)

15 Zheng Banqiao’s inscription on his painting *Orchid, Bamboo and Stone*, “One should know the method of painting is related to the method of calligraphy, painting orchid and bamboo is like writing cursive and clerical script.” (要知畫法通書法，蘭竹如同草隸然)

Another of Kim’s orchid paintings demonstrates that Kim was directly familiar with Zheng Banqiao’s works. Fig. 7 The painting bears two poems that were composed by Zheng Banqiao, which are both related to orchids. Kim not only transcribed Zheng’s poems on his painting but also inscribed their source as the “lay Buddhist Banqiao.” Several reasons could explain why Kim’s works demonstrate inspiration from Zheng Banqiao’s style and theory. First, Kim’s interaction with Ruan Yuan. Even though Ruan was active in Beijing, he was a native of Yangzhou and proud of Yangzhou’s culture, and he admired Zheng Banqiao’s calligraphy.¹⁶ Due to his close interaction with Ruan, Kim might have been familiar with Zheng’s calligraphy and theories. Second, Zheng Banqiao’s work was disseminated in Joseon Korea in the 18th century while the artist was still alive. One of Zheng’s poems indicated that his calligraphy was popular enough that even “the prime minister of the country of Gaoli [Korea]” came to China to ask for his works.¹⁷ Third, several of Zheng Banqiao’s calligraphies are in the collections of Korean art museums today, which suggests that Zheng’s works were once popular in Korea or held in esteem by some Korean collectors and artists.¹⁸

Tracing Back the Tradition of “Writing Orchid”

Because of the use of the same material, paper, brushes, and ink, and parallel ideas in art theory and connoisseurship, stylistic elements are often transmitted from one art into another.¹⁹ Chinese scholar Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) may have been the first to claim that “painting and calligraphy derived from the same roots.” (書畫同源) He famously said: “Painting stone and wood are just like writing ‘flying white’ and seal script. To write [depict] bamboo, one should be familiar with the eight-stroke method in calligraphy” (石如飛白木如籀，寫竹還於八法通).²⁰ Zhao used the term “writing bamboo” to address “depicting bamboo,” which stands as the first declaration in Chinese art history that painting and calligraphy share the same method.

The concept of “writing orchid” derives from Zhao Mengfu’s “writing bamboo”;

16 Ruan Yuan, “A piece of paper and few characters [by Zheng Banqiao] are as precious as a jade vessel used in ritual ceremonies. Therefore, we know that he is not famous for his literature [but calligraphy]. (片紙只字，皆珍若圭璧，固知此君，非文翰名世也)

17 Zheng Banqiao, “The country of Gaoli [Korea] [sent people to] come and to ask for my calligraphy. Their Prime Minister Li Gen [?] asked to visit me [for collecting my calligraphy].” (高麗國索拙書，其相李良來投刺。)

18 Weng Fongxuan 文鳳宣, “The Influence of the Eight Eccentric of Yangzhou in Joseon Painting” (揚州八怪畫風對朝鮮末期畫壇的影響), *Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, March 2003, 46-49.

19 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture: Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2014, 191-193.

20 The sentences came from Zhao Mengfu’s inscription on his painting *Elegant Rocks and Sparse Trees* (秀石疏林圖), collected in Palace Museum, Beijing.

however, the difference between them is that Zheng Banqiao emphasized the writing method of clerical script. During the time of Zheng Banqiao, the main trend in calligraphy was still focused on model calligraphy. Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) and Qianlong (1711-1799) promoted the Two Wang style, named after Wang Xizhi (303-361) and Wang Xianzhi (344-386), which was emulated by the Model Calligraphy School. The basis for this school was the books of standardized calligraphic characters devised by the two Wangs, which served as models for later calligraphers. Before Weng Fanggang, Ruan Yuan, and other members of the Stele Calligraphy School, Zheng Banqiao and other artists in Yangzhou were experimenting in writing calligraphy modeled after epigraphy. Zhao Mengfu and Zheng Banqiao's concepts recognized the significance of archaic scripts as everyday practice while connecting these scripts stylistically with painting specific plants, namely bamboo and orchids, which are both common painting themes among literati.

Kim Jeonghui's *choye* calligraphy style and critical theory reveal striking similarities with Chinese calligrapher Zheng Banqiao, which is also reflected in the calligraphy of Kim Jeonghui's students and followers. The achievement of Zheng Banqiao and other calligraphers of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou were endorsed by the later scholars like Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan from the Stele Calligraphy School. However, it was the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou who pioneered practicing and promoting ancient inscription from bronzes and stele. Their innovative experiment inspired Weng Fanggang and Ruan Yuan, and even the most influential Korean calligrapher, Kim Jeonghui. For further study, I will focus on Kim Jeonghui's followers' calligraphy, such as his student Jo Huiyong's (趙熙龍, 1789-1866) works. The goal of my study is to reexamine the development of calligraphy in the late Joseon period, especially the influence of Kim Jeonghui, and to analyze their artistic trends and adaptations. In addition, by focusing on the artistic exchange between Qing China and Joseon Korea, I aim to reevaluate the historical achievement of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou.

Figures

Fig. 1

Kim Jeonghui
Pavilion of Remaining Books and
Obstinate Stone
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910),
19th century
Ink on paper
31.8 x 137.8 cm
Son Seki Collection



Fig. 2

Kim Jeonghui
Sign on the pavilion housing the
stele marking King Jinheung's
inspection on Hwangchoryeong Pass
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), 1852
Ink on paper
54.8 x 96 cm
National Museum of Korea

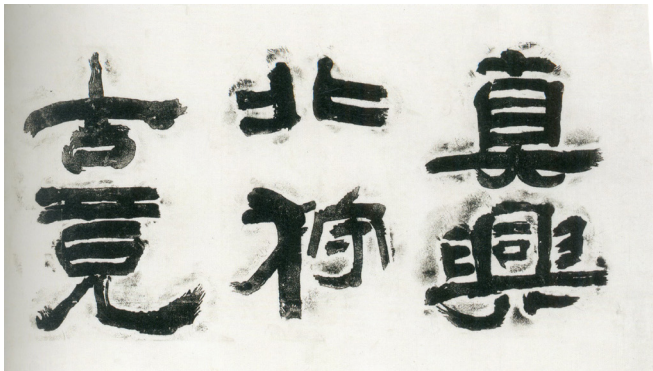


Fig. 3

Kim Jeonghui
Details of Calligraphy after the Stele for
Chunyuchang Xia Cheng
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), 19th century
Ink on paper
30 x 14.5 cm
National Museum of Korea

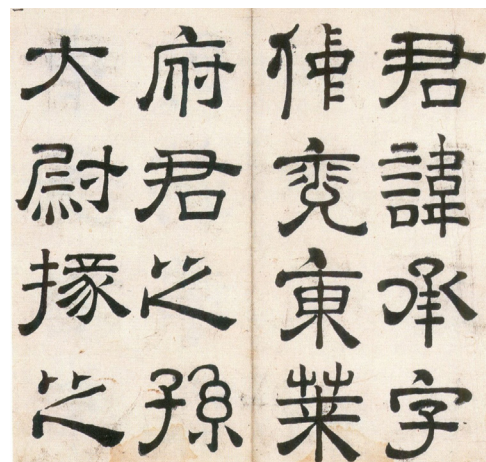


Fig. 4

Kim Jeonghui
Details of Album of Ancient Clerical Script
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), 19th century
Ink on paper
26.7 x 33.8 cm
National Museum of Korea

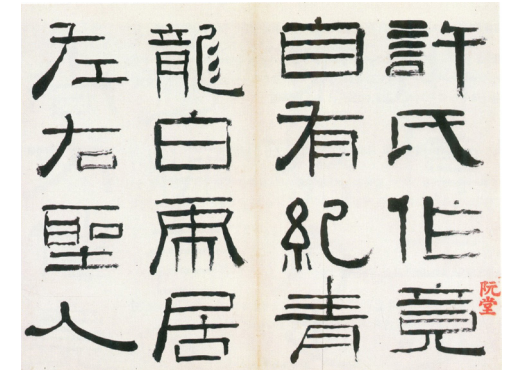


Fig. 5

Kim Jeonghui
Orchid
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), 19th century
Ink on paper
54.9 x 30.6 cm
Son Seki Collection



Fig. 6

Kim Jeonghui
Orchid
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910),
19th century
Ink on paper
23 x 85 cm
Sin Hyo-yeong Collection

**Fig. 7**

Kim Jeonghui
Orchid
Joseon dynasty (1392-1910),
19th century
Ink on paper
Private Collection

**Fig. 8**

Zheng Banqiao
Orchid
Qing dynasty (1644-1912), 1753
Ink on paper
Palace Museum, Beijing.



장르와 사상의 통합: 함부르크민속박물관 소장 19세기 한국 병풍을 중심으로

**Hybridity of Styles and Thoughts: A 19th Century
Korean Folding Screen in the Archives of the Museum of
Ethnology Hamburg**



카타리나 쥐버크뤼브
Katharina Süberkrüb

독일 함부르크민속박물관 한국실 담당 학예사
Junior Curator, Museum of Ethnology
Hamburg, Germany

장르와 사상의 통합: 함부르크민속박물관 소장 19세기 한국 병풍을 중심으로

하인리히 콘스탄틴 에드아르트 마이어(1841~1926)는 영국, 중국, 한국 등에 지사를 두었던 에드아르트마이어 무역회사의 창립자이다. 조선의 외교 고문을 맡고 있었던 독일인 외교관 파울 게오르크 폰 뮐렌도르프(1847~1901)의 추천으로 마이어는 1883년 제물포(현재 인천)에 독일인 최초로 에드아르트마이어 무역회사의 한국지사인 세창양행을 설립했다. 세창양행은 뮐렌도르프의 지원을 받으면서 조선 왕실로부터 수주를 받았다. 마이어는 1886년 독일주재 조선명예영사로 임명되고 ‘맥이’, ‘매야’ 등 한국 이름도 지었다. 마이어는 이후 독일에서 조선 왕실의 이익을 대변하는 역할을 했다. 1886년 말~1887년 초 조선을 방문했을 때 마이어는 고종을 알현했다.

마이어는 1909년 소장하고 있던 한국 예술품을 함부르크민속박물관에 팔았고, 그 중에는 6폭 병풍 회화 「고승고사도」도 있었다. 1980년대 후반 김용복이 이 그림을 비단, 검은색 명주, 종이 등 전통적인 재료를 사용해 병풍으로 표구했다. 작품에 사용된 색을 보면 19세기에 제작된 것으로 보인다. 글을 수정한 흔적이 있고 그림 중 하나는 잘라 붙인 것으로 보이는 점을 고려하면 정교하게 만들어진 작품은 아닌 것 같지만, 이들 그림에는 놀라운 점이 있다. 회화의 서로 다른 세 장르, 즉 민화, 불화, 문인화의 전통을 모두 담고 있다는 점이다. 각각의 그림마다 불교 회화적인 요소가 있다. 작품이 담고 있는 이야기를 강조하기 위해 각 그림에는 제목과 설명이 한자로 적혀 있는데, 쓰여진 한자를 보면 선불교에서 유래된 단어가 여럿 있다. 또한, 4~9세기 중국 불교 현인과 전설적인 인물들이 묘사되어 있다. 이들 회화의 내용과 양식을 탐구함으로써 19세기와 현대의 한국 민화에 대한 문화적 인식의 차이를 알아볼 수 있을 것이다.

Hybridity of Styles and Thoughts: A 19th Century Korean Folding Screen in the Archives of the Museum of Ethnology Hamburg

Heinrich Constantin Eduard Meyer (1841-1926) was head of the trading house *H. C. Eduard Meyer & Co.* with branch offices in Great Britain, China and Korea. Upon the advice of German Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847-1901), part of the Chosŏn court as vice foreign minister and adviser of King Kojong, Meyer opened his branch *H. C. Eduard Meyer & Co. Sechang yanghaeng*, the first German Company on Korean ground, in Chemulpo (today's Incheon) in 1883. Supported by von Möllendorff, the company received orders from the Korean government. In 1886 he became the first Honorary Consul of Chosŏn in Germany, was given the Korean name *Meak-i* or *Mae-ya* and represented the interest of the Chosŏn court in Germany from then on. During Meyer's visit in Korea in the end of 1886 and beginning of 1887, he had an audience with King Kojong.

In 1909 he sold his collection from Korea to the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, among them the six sheets of the folding screen *Anecdotes of Sŏn Monks (Kosŭng kosado)*. In the early 1980s Kim Yong-bok mounted the paintings on a folding screen using traditional materials such as silk, black cotton and paper. The colors used for the paintings indicate that they were drawn in the 19th century. A corrected text and one painting which looks like it was cut off make them look like not highly sophisticated works at first glance, but they all have a remarkable feature. They combine three styles, namely, *Minhwa*, Buddhist art, and Literati painting. Each picture shows a scene of Buddhist content. In order to underline the illustrated stories, each image contains a title and text written in *Hanmun* (Classical Chinese), in which several terms point to a Sŏn Buddhist background. The figures represented in landscapes are Chinese Buddhist saints and legendary figures from the 4th to 9th century. By exploring the contents and styles of the drawings, differences in the cultural memories of the 19th century and contemporary Korea regarding *Minhwa* paintings can be demonstrated.

Hybridity of Styles and Thoughts: A 19th Century Korean Folding Screen in the Archives of the Museum of Ethnology Hamburg

Minhwa paintings originated in the late Chosŏn dynasty as an independent art form, but were also a variation of mainstream art. They were mainly presented on wall screens and roll images. The decorative character of the pictures and the content conveyed were more important than the individual style of the artist.¹ The drawings of the folding screen *Anecdotes of Sŏn Monks* (*Kosŭng kosado*) can be classified as *Kosa inmuldo* (images of historical persons), a category of *Minhwa* paintings², or in the category *Sansu inmuldo* (landscapes with persons), a category of Literati paintings.³ The application in the same picture of ink, pale watercolors, strong mineral pigment and gold, as in the representation of the eyes of animals, is a typical feature of *Minhwa* paintings.⁴

Drawing no. 1 is entitled *The Explanation of the Buddhist Doctrine at Tiger-Hill* (*Hogu pokbŏp* 虎丘說法). A Buddhist monk sits underneath a pine tree and reads from a book. His footboy cooks tea in front of him. This picture passes on a story of the Buddhist scholar Daosheng (ca. 360-434), one of the earliest proponents in the history of Chinese Buddhism of the theory of sudden enlightenment and the universality of Buddha-nature, the universal, immanent ability and potential of living creatures to become Buddhas.⁵ According to the original story *The Enlightened Unknowing Stone* (*Wan shi dian tou*) Daosheng preached the Dharma next to a stream beneath Tiger-Hill, when stones on the banks of the river started to raise and give nods.⁶ These stones can be clearly identified at the drawing's bottom edge. It is known that Daosheng lived at Tiger Hill (Huqiu) near Suzhou for some time.⁷ Pictures of Huqiu, which is still a popular tourist destination in China today, show a hill with a monastery on a river, surrounded

- 1 Kim Ho-yon, "Analytic Classification of Korean Folk Painting." In: *Traditional Korean Painting*. The Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publisher, Arch Cape: Seoul and Pace International Research, 1983: 154-155.
- 2 Kahoe Pangmulgwan, *Iksalgwa chaech'i: kkum kkunŭn uri minhwa*, Yongin-si: Kyŏnggi-do Pangmulgwan, 2004: 108.
- 3 Chin Hong-sŏp, *Han'guk misulsa*, Seoul: Munye Ch'ulp'ansa, 2006: 615.
- 4 Zo Za-Young, „Folk Paintings and Folk Aesthetics", in: *Traditional Korean Painting*, ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO, Korea: The Sisayongosa Publishers, 1983: 134f.
- 5 Tanabe, George J. Review "Tao-sheng's Commentary on the Lotus Sutra: A Study and Translation", by Kim Young-he. In: *Philosophy East and West*. Volume 42, No.2, 1992: 351
- 6 Jing Wang, *The Story of Stone: Intertextuality, Ancient Chinese Stone Lore, and the Stone Symbolism in Dream of the Red Chamber*, Water Margin, and The Journey to the West, Durham: Duke University Press, 1992: 84.
- 7 An-Yi Pan, *Painting Faith: Li Gonglin and Northern Song Buddhist Culture*, Leiden: Brill, 2007: 212.

by a flat landscape. In contrast to the depicted picture, no mountain chains can be seen. The placement of events in a mountain landscape points to a “Koreanization” of the Chinese history. The representation of the highest mountain chain in the background resembles the motif of the Diamond Mountains (*Kŭmgangsan*) in ink painting style landscape paintings. The Diamond Mountains in today's North Korea were a popular destination for scholars, poets and artists of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Other elements were integrated for decorative reasons, but also convey a defined symbolism. Cranes, jaws, bamboo and yellow, blue and lilac Yŏngji mushrooms symbolize longevity and immortality.⁸

Two important characters of Sŏn-Buddhism are pictured in drawing no. 2 titled *Huangmei Passes on Buddhist Teachings* (*Hwangmae bubŏp* 虎丘說法): Hongren (601-674), fifth ancestor of the traditional Chinese Sŏn-Buddhism line, and Huineng (638-713), sixth ancestor. The text of Huineng's teaching, the *Platform Sutra*, contains the legend told in this picture: Hongren, living in a monastery in the northern region Huangmei passes on Sŏn-Buddhist doctrines to young monk and kitchen boy Huineng. Hongren helps Huineng leaving the monastery by crossing the river Yangzi by boat. Huineng spreads the teaching to southern China and founds the Southern School of Sŏn-Buddhism.⁹ The boat trip supposedly took place at 3 a.m., in the drawing the moon indicates nighttime. Sŏn Buddhism was introduced during United Silla (618-935), the zenith of Buddhism in Korea. Korean Sŏn Buddhism is mainly based on the teachings propagated by Huineng. Do-ui, a monk from Silla, studied in Tang China with Mazu Daoyi, one of Huineng's most famous disciples, and brought Huineng's teachings to Korea.¹⁰ Even after the end of Buddhism as a state religion at the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty in the 14th century, Buddhism remained popular with scholars. Thus Sŏn Buddhism developed into the most prominent and dominant school in Korean Buddhism.¹¹

The story presented in drawing no. 3 titled *A Flying White Monkey* (*Birae paegwŏn*, 飛來百猿), still remains a mystery and needs to be further researched. The displayed characters, an old Buddhist monk accompanied by a young fellow, three farmers working on a field and a white monkey appearing from a cave, are not identified yet. The only reference found refers to rules for Buddhist monks. The last sentence of the included *Hanmun* text says: “No white monkey violates the Parajika.” The here mentioned Parajika, part of the code of behavior for Buddhist monks, consist of four rules. According to them, monks get expelled from their

- 8 Lachmann, Charles. *The Ten Symbols of Longevity, Shipjangsaengdo: An Important Korean Folding Screen in the Collection of the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art at the University of Oregon*. Oregon: Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, 2006: 27-35.
- 9 Ferguson, Andrew. *Zen's Chinese Heritage: The Masters and their Teachings*. Wisdom Publications, Somerville: 2011: 43-44.
- 10 Chung Byung-jo, *History of Korean Buddhism*, Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007: 65f.
- 11 James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, Routledge Curzon, Oxon: 2002: 231.

monastery and are not allowed to become a monk again if they have sexual intercourse, kill a human being, steal or wrongly claim they obtained a superior human state.¹² The contrast between the strong colors in the representation of the persons and the gentle colors for the representation of the landscape was not used in traditional Literati style paintings. The red and green colors are a typical feature of Buddhist art. Their intensity was achieved by the use of high-priced mineral pigment (*kwangmulsŏng*). The landscape, on the other hand, is delicately depicted in Literati style. The high-quality artistic technique points to a professional training of the unknown artist. The religious subject matters as well as the mixture of Buddhist, Literati and *Minhwa* art styles suggest that the artist was a Buddhist monk. Some Buddhist monks enjoyed an artistic education at Confucian art schools and were thus also influenced by the style of Literati paintings.¹³

Drawing no. 4 tells again within the title *The Three Hermits of Guoqing Temple* (*Gukchŏng sam-ŭn*, 國情三隱) where the pictured story took place. Zhejiang province's Guoqing Temple was founded in 598. The portrayed hermits are Buddhist monks Fenggan, riding on the tiger, and Shide and poet Hanshan wearing the hat made from horsehair. Hanshan lived in a cave hermitage close to Guoqing Temple and often visited Fenggan and Shide to have discussions about Buddhism and Taoism. Legends say that Fenggan, abbot of Guoqing Temple, met a tiger during a hike in the mountains, which became his loyal companion. When riding back to the monastery, everybody besides Shide and Hanshan fled being afraid of the tiger. Compared with old texts and other drawings, the presentation of the three hermits in fine garments is uncommon, which may refer to a "koreanized" version of the portrait. The tiger drawn in *Minhwa*-style also underlines the Korean background. Generally the three hermits are portrayed according to the tradition of Sŏn-Buddhism, in poor clothes as happy hermits, laughing, dancing and singing at the edge of insanity.¹⁴

Drawing no. 5 is titled *The Two Halls of Hualin Temple* (*Hwarim idang*, 華林二堂). The portrayed characters are very likely Buddhist monk Shi Lingtan and Confucian minister Li Gongyong, who met at Hualin temple for conversation. The featured person at the lower edge of the screen can be identified as a Chinese general due to his clothing style. He may be another legendary figure: A general's grave was supposedly situated close to the monastery, a haunted place, from where the general's ghost provoked disasters. Monk Shi Lingtan was the character of the legend that fought successfully against the daemon and made the general's ghost leave.

12 Harvey, Peter. *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices. Second Edition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2013: 291.

13 Chung Byungmo, survey of the folding screen during his visit of the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, January 2014.

14 Henricks, Robert G. *The Poetry of Han-Shan: A Complete, Annotated Translation of Cold Mountain*. State University of New York Press, Albany: 1990: 7.

Again a tiger, an amur leopard and a banana tree are drawn in *minhwa*-style. The humorous depiction of the smiling animals with their friendly facial expression is a typical characteristic of *minhwa*-style and a distinguishing feature to Chinese painting style. In Korean art a tiger holds several meanings. In this case his presence would be a proof for the identification of the portrayed general, since tigers were awarded with the ability to banish evil spirits from houses.

Drawing no. 6 titled *The Three Laughing at Tiger Stream* (*Hogye samso* 虎溪三笑) tells an in East Asia well known story. Buddhist monk Huiyuan lived in a monastery at Mount Lushan and took the oath never to cross the bridge at river Huxi. The loud roar of a mountain tiger should warn him, if he would try. One day he talked about Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism with his guests Poet Yuanming and Taoist priest Lu Xiuqing.¹⁵ Engrossed in discussion Huiyuan forgot about his oath and crossed the bridge. Immediately a tiger started to roar and the three protagonists had to laugh loudly. The combination of the three characters represents the conflicts and synthesis of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. The loud laughter implies the unification of the three philosophies. Although Korean society was strongly influenced by Neo-Confucianism during Chosŏn Dynasty, which became state ideology during the establishment of the dynasty and banished Buddhism from politics, Buddhism was preserved as a popular religion in private life. Anti-Buddhist movements, the desolation of monasteries or their displacement from the cities to the mountains and the persecution of Buddhist monks were often not of ideological, but political nature. Occasionally, Buddhism also had influence on politics. For example, King Sejong (1418-1450), found help in Buddhism and in the search for the meaning of life and founded a state institution for the publication of Buddhist writings.¹⁶ Still today, there is no strict separation between different philosophies and religious practices in Korea.

The screen's presentation of the very old stories raises the question why Buddhist characters who lived more than 1000 years ago were glorified. Just as the exchange of the Buddhist teachings between China and Korea flourished from the 4th to the 13th century, it stagnated from the 14th century. The establishment of Confucianism as a state ideology pushed Buddhism into the background. In addition, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) forbade Korean Buddhist monks to study in China until the 17th century, which caused a development of Sŏn Buddhism in Korea, which still relied on the traditions of China from the time of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392).¹⁷ The emerging rich middle class of the nineteenth century imitated the

15 Lu Xiuqing (406-477) was only 10, respectively 11, years old when Huiyuan (334-416), respectively Yuanming (365-417), died, so this story is fictional. Still, all three characters are connected to Mount Lushan.

16 James Huntley Grayson, 121f.

17 Robert E. Buswell Jr., "Emergence of a 'Korean' Buddhist Tradition", in *Korean Buddhism in East Asian Perspectives*, ed. Center for Buddhist Studies Geumgang University, Paju-si: Jimoondang, 2007: 26f.

lifestyle of the elite old upper class of *Yangban*. Thereby also the contents of art, which were appreciated by *Yangban*, were favored. Male members of the upper class always carried a poem or image of significant Chinese wise personalities.¹⁸ Many court officials had an affinity for art found in the palaces and had art made for their private use. Rich members of the middle class or of the new upper class sought the lifestyles of the court officials, thus taking over the interest in art as well. A new art market arose with traveling and commercial artists. Court painting and *Minhwa*-painting were very similar in aesthetics and content. In Seoul, near Gwangtong Bridge, art shops made no difference between Literati- and *Minhwa*-painting, but showed and sold both side by side.¹⁹ Art, previously seen only in the palaces, was first sold by the artists, who were employed by the *Royal Institute for Painting*, in the private houses of the *Yangban*, later on to the public art market. There the paintings were visible to everyone, so other professional artists started to copy them. A simplified or more popular style developed to sell the art more cheaply and successfully. Styles and content were blended together.²⁰ In contrast to the landscape paintings in Literati style, strong colors were used in *Minhwa* style landscape paintings. In terms of content, stories handed down from China in a "koreanized" form became part of the cultural identity of the new upper social strata and thus also part of the *Minhwa* painting of the 19th century.

During Chosŏn Dynasty, only ink paintings in Literati style were considered art, everything else, including decorative painting at court, was regarded as crafts.²¹ It was only in the 1960s that the first collections of *Minhwa* painting were built and *Minhwa* painting became a genre of Korean art history.²² *Minhwa* paintings had their revival in the 1980s during the Minjung movement. In Minjung art, part of the protest movement which aimed at the democratization of South Korea, elements of *Minhwa* paintings were adopted. *Minhwa* became significant, because it was an indigenous Korean art style. Bold colors were embraced, techniques such as ink styles, which had their origin in of Literati painting and the upper class, were not taken over. The emphasis was laid on Korean legends and historical figures, not on those of Chinese origin, and animal symbolism and on the representation of the everyday life of the lower social class. Also, the alleged anonymity of the artists also became the model of some artists groups. These aspects of *Minhwa* painting have been part of the Korean cultural memory since the Minjung movement. This culture of memory thus differs from that of the 19th century.

18 Yoon Yeol-su, *Korean Art: Folk Painting*, London: Laurence King Publishing, 2003: 339

19 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture: Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty*, London: Reaktion Books, 2014: 273.

20 Kumja Paik Kim, "Re-evaluating Court and Folk Painting in Korea", in: *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, ed. Rebecca M. Brown & Deborah S. Hutton, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2015: 357f.

21 Burglind Jungmann, 45.

22 An Hwi-jun, *Han'guk hoehwa-ŭi ihae*, Seoul: Sigongsart, 2004: 328.

During late Chosŏn Dynasty, *Minhwa* paintings had a decorative rather than a symbolic character. Values, traditions and symbols from the past, which were appreciated by the upper class, were remembered. With the presentation of the art, owners showed that they were part of this society and traditions. The motifs of the *Minhwa* paintings were found in the subject tradition since the *National Code* of 1492. The four motifs "bamboo", "landscape", "figures, birds and animals" and "flowers" had to be mastered by the artist who wanted to work at the Royal Bureau of Painting.²³ Through the development of the art market, these motifs entered *Minhwa* paintings, which remembered traditions shaped by the upper class. Classical motifs and their origins were not remembered in the 1980s. In the discourse of Korean art history the term *Minhwa* painting is defined in various ways. The Japanese art critic Yanaki Muneyoshi gave the first definition of the *Minhwa* painting: "Pictures born in the people [*minjung*], painted for the people and bought by the people."²⁴ Cho Jae-yong defined *Minhwa* paintings as "paintings painted by all Koreans, without distinction of social classes and social status as the ordinary people [*sŏmin*], the common people [*p'yŏngmin*], the lower class [*sangmin*] and the people [*minjung*]." Kim Ho-yŏn defined the *Minhwa* paintings as "the aesthetic consciousness and the mind of the people [*minjok*] expressing national images of folk art." Lee U-hwan calls them "a tradition of the common people [*p'yŏngmin*] and ordinary people [*sŏmin*] which became popular images." These definitions, published by the Academy of Korean Studies within the entry on "*minhwa*" of the Encyclopedia of Korean Culture (Han'guk minjokmunhwa daepaekhwasajŏn) all emphasize one characteristic of *Minhwa* painting: the art of the "common people"; leaving aside influences by other social classes. Art created by professionals in Literati style and art representing Chinese legends as part of the Korean cultural identity would not be *Minhwa* from the point of view of some of these definitions in the modern sense. "In a broader sense, *Minhwa* paintings also include pictures of professionally trained artists and craftsmen who had the skills of artists and possessed the appropriate materials," the explanation goes on.²⁵ The application of typical styles of *Minhwa* paintings in the images of this screen shows that not only the "common people", but also a new privileged class of the late Chosŏn Dynasty, appreciated *Minhwa*. There is a different understanding of *Minhwa* in the cultural memories of the 19th and 21st century. While in the late Chosŏn Dynasty non-Korean thematic content was "koreanized" by the use of *Minhwa* styles, *Minhwa* has become a purely Korean art form with Korean content in the current Korean cultural memory.

23 Burglind Jungmann, 45.

24 This an the following translations of the term Minhwa (translations by the author): „*Minhwa*“, Han'guk minjokmunhwa daepaekhwasajŏn, Academy of Korean Studies, (<https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>, accessed April 7th 2017)

25 „*Minhwa*“, Han'guk minjokmunhwa daepaekhwasajŏn.

Figures

Fig. 1
Drawing no. 1: The Explanation of the Buddhist Doctrine at Tiger-Hill (Hogu pokböp 虎丘說法)
Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)



Fig. 2
Drawing no. 2: Huangmei Passes on Buddhist Teachings (Hwangmae buböp 虎丘說法)
Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)



Fig. 3
Drawing no. 3: A Flying White Monkey (Birae paegwön, 飛來百猿)
Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)

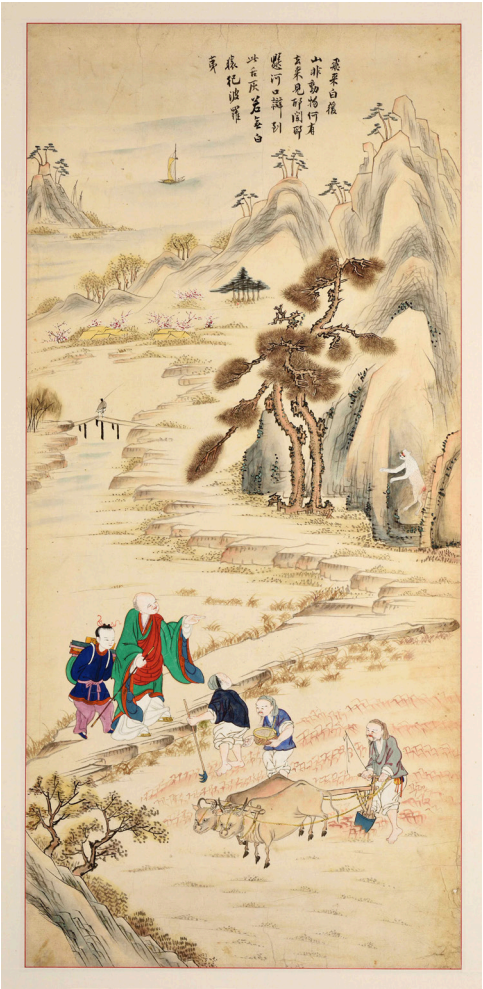


Fig. 4
Drawing no. 4: The Three Hermits of Guoqing Temple (Gukchöng sam-ün, 國清三隱)
Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)



Fig. 5

Drawing no. 5: The Two Halls of Hualin Temple (Hwarim idang, 華林二堂)

Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)

**Fig. 6**

Drawing no. 6: The Three Laughing at Tiger Stream (Hogye samso 虎溪三笑)

Photo by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH)



**방화수류과전천(傍花隨柳過前川):
오벌린대학교 앨런메모리얼미술관 소장 10폭 병풍에 관하여**

**Visiting the Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees
Along the Stream: A Ten-Panel Folding Screen in the
Collection of Allen Memorial Art Museum**



**임수아
Sooa Im McCormick**

미국 클리브랜드미술관 한국실 담당 학예사
Assistant Curator of Asian Art,
Cleveland Museum of Art, USA

방화수류과전천(傍花隨柳過前川): 오벌린대학교 앨런메모리얼미술관 소장 10폭 병풍에 관하여

본 연구는 저자가 2016년 7월과 10월 두 차례에 걸쳐 조사한 오하이오 오벌린 대학의 앨런 메모리얼 미술관에 소장된 10폭 병풍을 화풍과 주제를 분석하여, 이 작품이 19세기 녹취재에 출제된 화제와의 관련성을 밝히고자 한다. 이 작품은 19세기 말 왕실과 긴밀한 관계에 선교사 부부였던 댄젤 벙커와 애니 엘러스 벙커가 반달이 3점과 함께 1933년에 기증했다. 애니 엘러스가 당시 학예사에게 보낸 편지에서, 병풍과 반달이 작품은 궁중에서 왔으며, 이미 자신의 집에서 30년 이상 소장되어 있었다고 전한다. 본고의 저자가 이 작품의 화풍과 주제를 조사한 결과, 19세기 중반의 제작된 궁중회화로 추정하며, 주제에 있어서는 녹취재에 출제되었던 訪花隨柳過前川(방과수류과전천)과 일치함을 확인할 수 있었다. 지금까지 문헌에서만 존재했던 작품의 실체를 확인하고, 주제를 밝혔다는 점 했다는 점에서 본 연구의 의미를 찾을 수 있으며, 19세기 궁중 회화사라는 좀 더 큰 틀 안에서 이 작품의 의미를 찾아보는 확장된 연구할 계획이다.

Visiting the Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream: Ten-Panel Folding Screen in the Collection of Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College

This essay will introduce a ten-panel folding screen (hereafter Oberlin screen), which I examined twice (July and October) in 2016 in the collection of the Allen Memorial Art Museum (Oberlin College, Ohio) and identify its iconographic and stylistic languages. The screen was given to the museum in 1933 by Danzell Bunker (1853–1932) and Annie Ellers Bunker (1860–1938) along with three wooden chests.¹ A letter by Annie Bunker in 1933 to the president of Oberlin College, suggests that the screen was one of a number of royal gifts given to the Bunker family by the Joseon ruling house, and had been in the Bunker's family collection for over thirty years prior being given to CMA. First, I will briefly introduce the Bunker's relationship with the Joseon ruling house at the turn of the century and their missionary works in Korea. Then, I will analyze the theme of the screen in relation to court records. After examining the Naegak Ilryeok [Daily Record of Inner Cabinet] that compiles the list of pictorial topics assigned to painters-in-waiting, I propose that the Oberlin screen depicts “Visiting the Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream (訪花隨柳過前川),” a pictorial topic, which had been painted by painters-in-waiting in the Joseon royal court since 1814. This preliminary, yet significant research that discovered the screen and identified its pictorial theme, will be included in my next research that explores the political meanings of 19th-century court-commissioned paintings.

1 The 10-panel folding screen (1933.5); Chest with Medallions, Butterflies, and Cloud Bands decoration (1933.21); Chest with Double Doors with Bat decoration (1933.20); Chest with Opening on Top (1933.19).

Visiting the Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream: A Ten-Panel Folding Screen in the Collection of Allen Memorial Art Museum

Christian Missionary Couple in Korea at the Turn of the Century

Born in Colebrook, Ohio, Dalzell Bunker (房巨) graduated from Oberlin College in 1883. After he completed theological seminary study, he came to Korea in 1886 as an English teacher to a newly-opened royal college called Yukyoung gongwon (育英公院) in Korea.¹ According to Daily Records of the Yukyoung Gongwon, he taught English grammar.² On the 24th of the third month in 1892, Bunker received the honorary title of Adviser of the Ministry of Finance (戶曹參議) as King Gojong's acknowledgement of several years of service at the royal college.³

In 1895, Bunker started teaching at Bajae hakdang (培材學堂), the first college-level school for men, and served as the 3rd principal from 1906 to 1911. Yi Seung-man (1875–1965), the first president of the Republic of Korea (or South Korea) was one of Bunker's notable students who graduated from the school, and who later converted to Christianity under Bunker's guidance.⁴

Dalzell Bunker's wife, Annie Ellers Bunker graduated from Rockford College and went to Training School for Nurses of the Boston City Hospital. She came to Korea in 1886 to participate in medical missionary work in Korea.⁵ Heading the nursing section of the government hospital called Gwanghye-won (廣惠院, House of Extended Grace) established by Horace Newton Allen (1858–1932), Annie served as Queen Min's (1851–1895) personal physician and eventually

1 For Bunker's teaching service, see Kim Gyungyoung, Yukyoung gongwon ilrok yeongu 육영공원일록 연구 [Study on the Daily Records of the Yukyoung gongwon], *Gyoyuk sahak yeongu* 20, No. 2 (2010): 25–82.

2 Ibid., 30.

3 This account is recorded on the 24th of the third month in 1892 from the *Veritable Records of Gojong*, Vol. 29. Annie Ellers Bunker's letter to William Frederick Bohn (1878–1947), an assistant to President Henry Churchill King, also mentions about Dalzell's honorary title. For the entire letter, see the Appendix.

4 Dalzell Bunker in 1902 visited his incarcerated students including Yi Seung-man, and presented them with about 150 different kinds of Christian books. Yi Seung-man wrote about Dalzell Bunker in his memoir. Yi Seung-man, "Okjung jeondo," in *Sihak wolbo* 신학월보 [Monthly Newspaper of Theology] (May, 1903). For Yi Seung-man's time in jail, see Yu Yeong-ik, Jeolmeun narui Yi Seung-man: Hanseong gamok saenghwal, 1899-1904-gwa okjung japgi yeongu 젊은 날의 이승만: 한성감옥생활, 1899-1904과 옥중 잡기 연구 (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2002).

5 The marriage took place in the early July in 1887 at the house of Horace Newton Allen. About fifty invitation cards were distributed to both foreigners and Korean aristocrats.

became the Queen's good friend.⁶ In 1888, she received an honorary title of Lady of the Second Highest Rank (貞敬夫人) as a royal recognition of her hard work at the Gwanghye-won.

As one of the very few foreigners who had multiple chances to meet and interact with the Queen, Annie Bunker's anecdote about the Queen's appearance and personality provides a rare glimpse to the Queen's veiled persona.

*To me the face of the Queen, especially when she smiles, is full of beauty. She is a superior woman and she impressed one as having a strong will and great force of character, with much kindness of heart. I have always received the kindest words and treatment from her and I have much admiration and respect for her.*⁷

Royal Gifts

According to Horace Newton Allen's letter dated July 5th, 1887, about fifty Korean high-ranking officials, aristocratic family members, and Western missionaries, were invited to the Bunker's wedding ceremony, and the imperial household sent a variety of gifts including gold rings and bracelets, in addition to giving them a house.⁸ And, other Korean aristocratic guests presented the newly-wed couple with coffee cup and saucer sets, rolls of silk and so forth.⁹

In her letter to Henry Churchill King (1858–1934), who served as the president of Oberlin College from 1902 to 1927, Annie Bunker mentioned that the screen came to her collection along with three wood chests from the palace.¹⁰ Based on its stylistic features, which I will

6 Jeon Taek-bu, *Yanghwajin seongyosa yeoljeon* 양화진선교사 열전 [Lives of Yanghwajin Missionaries] (Seoul: Hongseongsa, 2005), 157.

7 Annie Ellers Bunkers, "Personal Recollections of Early Days," in *Within the Gate: Comprising the Addresses Delivered at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Korean Methodism First Church*, ed. Charles A. Sauer (Seoul: Korean Methodist News Service, 1934)

8 Anni Eller's gold bracelet seems to be buried with her remains at the Yanghwajin cemetery, but a similar one, which the Queen bestowed with Lillias Horton Underwood is now in the collection of Yonsei University Art Museum. For Lillias's experience in Korea, see Lillias Horton Underwood, Joseon saenghwal 조선생활 [Life in Joseon] (Seoul: Ppurigipeun namu, 1984).

9 Paek Nak-chun, *Hanguk Kaesingyo sa*, 1832-1910 [History of Korean Protestant] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1973), 126–127.

10 In addition to Bunker's chests, there are two chests donated by Dr. A. L Ludlow. Dr. Ludlow used to be Louis Severance's own physician. At the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, which took place in New York City in 1900, Louis Severance happened to listen to Dr. Oliver R. Avison's lecture on the importance of medical missionary activities in Korea. Severance decided to donate 10,000 dollars to help to build the first modern hospital in Korea. In 1907, Severance visited Korea with Dr. Ludlow to oversee the construction of the hospital, and decided to donate an additional 30,000 dollars. Later, Severance decided to send Dr. Ludlow to Korea to work at the Severance Hospital in Korea. Ludlow worked at the Severance Hospital until 1938. For Severance's visit to Korea, see Oliver R. Avison, *Guhanmal sasip yeonyeon-ui pung'gyeong* 구한말 사십여년의 풍경 (Daegu University Press, 2006).

explain later in this paper, the screen is certainly a royal production datable to the mid-19th century.

King Gojong's practice of gifting to foreign businessmen and missionaries as a token of recognition or friendship can be also seen in other cases. A ten-panel folding screen that depicts an assembly of Daoist immortals crossing the ocean, sold through Seoul Auction in 2013, is such a case. Carl Andreas Wolter (1858–1916) established the first foreigner-owned trading and mining company in Korea. Upon his return to Germany in 1905, King Gojong gave the Daoist Immortal screen as a farewell gift to the Wolter Family.¹¹ Horace Grant Underwood (1859–1916), a Presbyterian missionary who played a critical role in translating the New Testament into Korean, received a sword¹², while Horace Newton Allen (1858–1932) received a pair of embroidered Qing-period Chinese vests.¹³

Given Annie Bunker's letter claiming that the screens had been in her house for more than thirty years, one can assume that the screen must have given to the Bunkers as late as 1900. It is possible that Dalzell may have received the screen from the court as a farewell gift, when the royal college was closed in 1894.

Visiting the Flower Blossoms Along the Stream

The Oberlin screen features extensive use of bright blue-and-green mineral pigments on the surface of hills and mountains, meticulous brushwork, and convincing representation of space, all features indicative of royal productions. Annie Bunker in her 1933 letter described the screen to be “a couple hundred years old,” but based on its stylistic features – the oval face with a small mouth, blue waterfalls drawn in repeated fine lines, the use of gold in details, which can be found in other 19th-century court paintings, the Oberlin screen is probably no earlier than the 19th century.

In the first panel, we see a group of palace guards emerging from a mountain gorge, and continuing their march to the fifth panel. The one who is leading the band of palace guards is holding a large yellow banner. On the upper central section of the forth to the seventh panels, a man is seated in front of the screen, surrounded by his guards. Given his red robe embroidered with dragon roundels, it is highly likely that he is the king. Right below where the king is taking a

11 For the result of Seoul Auction sale on June 26th, 2013, see <http://www.seoulauction.com/search?searchContent=%EA%B5%B0%EC%84%A0%EB%8F%84>

12 The sword 四寅斬邪劍 was donated to the Yonsei University Art Museum in 2016.

13 Two Qing vests were donated to the Yonsei University Art Museum in 2010.

rest, streams of water flanking pink flower blossoms and willow trees are portrayed.

The screen stands behind the king, and depicts the mountain featured with the five prominent peaks flanked by the Sun and the Moon. With no doubts, it refers to the Screen of the Five Peaks with the Sun and the Moon discs (日月五峰圖)¹⁴, strongly suggesting that the man depicted is the ruler of the Joseon dynasty because the Screen of the Five Peaks with the Sun and the Moon discs was exclusively used as the Joseon king's emblem.

On the upper section of the last three panels, a herd of cattle is depicted marching toward the green grass near the river, and a band of horses are shown engaging in a variety of activities—bathing, resting, roaming, drinking water, and playing. On the lower section, two palanquins carry women (possibly court ladies) and their children who seem to head back to the city. A couple of camels are shown gently pulled by their grooms. Since camels were not native to Korea, their presence seems designed to evoke a sense of exotic lands.¹⁵ Such a tension created by the juxtaposition between the Screen of the Five Peaks with the Sun and the Moon discs, the most prominent symbol of Joseon ruling house, and camels, a symbol of exotic lands, in fact, is one of the features of 19th-century Joseon royal court paintings.

In the Joseon royal court, in particular toward the late nineteenth century, many court-commissioned folding screens depict episodes of Chinese classics and myths such as *One Hundred Children* (百童子圖), *Birthday Banquet of the Queen Mother of the West* (瑤池宴圖), *Birthday Banquet of Guo Ziyi* (郭汾陽行樂圖), *Han Dynasty Palace* (漢宮圖), *Tributary Bearers* (王會圖), *Barbarians' Hunting* (胡獵圖) and so forth.¹⁶ These folding screens were often commissioned in multiple copies to celebrate and commemorate special occasions such as royal birthday banquets, the recovery of royal family members from sickness, and wedding ceremonies, and were gifted to the event attendees. Such pictorial topics were also given as the subjects of painting examinations given to painters-in-waiting (差備待令畫員).

While a number of folding screens that depict the themes I have enlisted above have survived and been examined in scholarly discussions, the topic of the Oberlin screen remained unknown to the community of Korean art historians. By scrutinizing the list of topics assigned

14 For the Five Peaks with the Sun and the Moon, see Yi Song-mi, “The Screen of the Five Peaks of the Choson Dynasty,” *Oriental Art*, 42. No. 4 (1996-1997), 13-24; Hong Seon-pyo, “Joseon sidae-ui gunggwol-ui geurim chijang,” in *Dong asia-ui gungjung misul* 동아시아의 궁중 미술 [The Court Art in East Asia] (Seoul: CAS, 2013).

15 Camels are depicted in such royal court paintings as *City of Peace and Prosperity* and *Tribute Bearers*.

16 For further reading about polychrome folding screens, see Park Jeong-hyeo, Hwang Jeong-yeon, Yun Jin-yeong, and Kang Min-gi, *Wang-ui hwagadeul* 왕의 화가들 [The King's Painters] (Seoul: Dolbaegya, 2012); Hyunsoo Woo, “Screen Paintings of the Joseon Court,” in *Treasures from Korea: Art and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014), 25-36.

to painters-in-waiting during the Nokchuijae examination, I was able to identify one specific topic that perfectly fits into the iconographic profile of the Oberlin screen (king, royal outing to the countryside, flower blossoms, willow trees, and a stream overlooked by the king): *Visiting Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees by Passing the Stream* (訪花隨柳過前川), a topic given to the Nokchuijae examination four times (1814, 1815, 1851, and 1866).¹⁷

Like many 19th-century court paintings whose themes were drawn from Chinese classics, poems and myths, “Visiting Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream 訪花隨柳過前川” was originated from the Northern Song-period scholar Cheng Hao’s famous poem (程顥1032–1085).¹⁸ According to Kang Kwan-sik, this theme was frequently assigned to court painters in the Nokchuijae examination because since the late 18th century because royal outings often included a pavilion named Visiting Flowers and Following Willow Trees (訪花隨柳亭) in the city of Hwaseong. Still surviving, the pavilion is located on a hill, looking over a stream.¹⁹

The following painters were asked to paint *Visiting Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream* in the Nokchuijae examination, Kim Deuk-sin, Kim Myeong-gi, Kim Jae-gong, Bak In-su, O Sun, Yi Yin-mun, Jang Han-jong, and Heo Yong in the 1815 examination; and Bak Myeog-yeon, Baek Yeong-bae, Seo Yu-won, Yu Wun-hong, Yi Han-cheol, Jang Dong-hyeok, Jeong Chang-hyeon and Jo Pyeong in 1851. I believe that one of these painters-in-waiting must have collaborated with some other painter to create the Oberlin screen. Further attempts to identify a possible candidate(s) as the creator of the screen will be made in my next research.

Conclusion

In this research, I have examined the stylistic and iconographic features of the ten-panel folding screen in the collection of Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College. I believe the Oberlin screen is a royal production dated to the mid-nineteenth century, and its topic can be clearly identified as *Visiting Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream*, one of

17 Nokchuijae was an examination given regularly to painters-in-waiting in the royal court. The two examinees who received the highest scores received an extra salary. The first examination took place in 1783 and the last one was in 1881. The list of given topics and the list of painters who participated are all recorded in the *Naekgak Ilreok*. Kang Kwan-sik, *Joseon hugi gungjung hwawon yeongu—gyujanggak jabidaeryeong hwawon eul jungsimeuro* 조선 후기 궁중화원 연구—규장각 자비대령화원을 중심으로 [Study on late Joseon dynasty official court painters—on the official court painters of the Gyujanggak]. (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2001), 69.

18 For example, this topic was given in 1814 and 1815 in the examination to determine painters-in-waiting’s salary

19 Kang Kwan-sik, 193. According to the *Veritable Record*, Jeongjo visited the pavilion on the 14th day of the second month in 1795; the 29th day of the first month, 1797. In 1848, the pavilion was repaired, and was repaired a few more times during the Japanese colonial period.

the frequently painted topics by court painters since the early 19th century in the Joseon royal court.

Visiting Flower Blossoms and Following Willow Trees Along the Stream is another excellent example of nineteenth-century Joseon royal productions that deal with idyllic Chinese mythical and poetic themes, distancing the royal world from the aggravating political reality of early twentieth-century Korea. I will develop this preliminary, yet significant research further and discuss it in a larger art historical context.

Appendices

The Letter from Annie Ellers Bunker to Hazel Barker King (1887-1960), AMAM curator from 1917-47 (handwritten, written on April 21, 1933)

My dear Mrs. King,

I have received two letters from you- the first at home while I was too ill to answer, the second has been forwarded on to me here.

I am glad that the Korean chests and screen pleased you. The screen is said to be a couple of hundred years old. The ages of the chests vary, but all are rather old between three and five hundred years. The large one came to us from one of the upper-class homes, and the small silversmith leather covered one from the home of a rich merchant.

The wood is teak and pear. I wish that we had secured a statement of their age etc., when we bought them and when we had some of them as presents from the palace. They have been in our own home over thirty years.

With pleasure at your appreciation of the things sent you in Mr. Bunker's name.

I am

Very sincerely,

Annie Ellers Bunker,

Letter from Annie Ellers Bunker to William Bohn (typed, received on April 21, 1934)

Dear Mr. Bohn,

I want to thank you for the Oberlin Calendar which I received some time since and which is a daily joy. I am sending you by Dr. Hirst, who is retiring from Korea, the jade buttons given Mr. Bunker when was decorated by his majesty the King of Korea. Also, a copy of the Court Gazette announcing the fact of Mr. Bunker's receiving the rank of "Ho Joh Champan" (secretary of the Finance Dept.).

This Court Gazette was written at night, and made known to the country what the King and his

cabinet had decided was the best for the country, and also gave out the news items.

I think there are not many copies extant. This was the only newspaper then issued in this country. I thought it might be of interest to the visitors at the Museum.

Thank you again for your kind words about the chests,

Very sincerely,

Annie Bunker (Mrs. D.A.)

This letter was received at Oberlin, Ohio, Apr. 21, 1934.

Figures

Fig. 1

Ten-panel folding screen

Mid-19th century

Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910)

Ink and color on silk

Overall: 74 × 159 13/16 in. (188 × 406 cm)

Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio.



근대의 색: 중국·일본의 색 담론과 한국 미술과의 연관성

Colors of Modernity: Color Discourse in China, Japan and Its Connection with Korean Art



스테파니 수
Stephanie Su

영국 세인트버리일본예술문화연구소 연구원
Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Fellow,
Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese
Arts and Cultures, UK

근대의 색: 중국·일본의 색 담론과 한국 미술과의 연관성

본 논문에서는 ‘양홍(foreign red)’이라는 단어가 중국과 일본에서 어떻게 사용되는지 알아보고 한국 미술과의 연관성을 탐구하고자 한다. 18세기 후반에 양홍색이 처음으로 등장했을 때 중국 문인과 예술가는 양홍색의 밝은 붉은 빛을 칭송했고 양홍색은 붉은색 인주를 만들거나 그림 안료를 만드는 재료로 각광 받았다. 이러한 인기 덕분에 19세기에 이르러서 양홍색은 부의 상징으로 자리 잡았다. 양홍색은 안료를 만드는 데 사용되었을 뿐만 아니라 권위를 돋보이게 하기 위해 의례복을 염색하는 데도 사용되었다. 일본도 중국과 다르지 않았다. 일본에서 양홍색은 메이지시대 우키요에(浮世繪) 목판화에 널리 사용되었고, 덕분에 ‘시대의 색깔’이라는 수식어가 항상 따라다녔다. 동 논문에서는 중국과 일본 서적에서 양홍색이 어떤 의미로 쓰이고 구성요소는 어떻게 나와 있는지를 분석한다. ‘양홍’은 멕시코에 사는 곤충의 일종인 코치닐을 의미하는 단어로 후에 유럽에서 개발한 합성염료를 지칭하는 말로 쓰였다. 본 논문에서는 양홍색을 사용한 유물을 보면 과거 국제 무역 네트워크를 알 수 있고 이러한 국제 무역이 동아시아에 새로운 색깔을 소개하고 동아시아 예술품 제작에도 영향을 주었음을 주장하고자 한다.

Colors of Modernity: Color Discourse in China, Japan and Its Connection with Korean Art

This paper examines the terminology of “foreign red” in China and Japan, and its connection with Korean art. When it first appeared in the late 18th century, “foreign red” was highly praised by Chinese writers and artists for its unusual visual effect of a bright red shade, prized for making red ink paste for seals and pigments for paintings. The color’s popularity in China made it a symbol of luxury by the early 19th century. In addition to making pigments, it was used to dye ceremonial clothing to enhance the prestige of the owner. Likewise, in Japan “foreign red” was extensively used in ukiyo-e prints during the Meiji period, earning it the appellation of “the color of the age.” This paper traces the meaning and ingredients of “foreign red” in Chinese and Japanese texts. “Foreign red” referred to both cochineal, an insect found in Mexico, and then to the newly invented synthetic dye in Europe. This paper argues that the materiality of “foreign red” reveals a large network of global trade, which not only brought in a new colorant but also impacted the production and aesthetic expression in East Asian art.

Colors of Modernity: Color Discourse in China, Japan and Its Connection with Korean Art

In 1887, Adachi Ginko 安達吟光 (1853- ?) created the print, *Ladies Sewing*. ^{Fig. 1} In this print, six ladies, dressed in fashionable Western style clothing, are all engaged in different stages of making clothes, from cutting pieces of cloth, to sewing, ironing and folding. This print shows not only the latest sewing machine that revolutionized the process of making clothes but also the virtues of modern women. In the upper left corner, a woman is folding a black suit, suggesting that women's labor is for making clothes for men. Despite their Westernized appearance, they fulfill the traditional duty and devotion of women in East Asian household of making clothes for men and other family members. What is unusual about this print is the bright red color on the left side of the picture. The red cloth on the table has the highest saturation and illumination among the colors in the print, an unprecedented shade of red in ukiyo-e. Why does the color remain unusually vivid even after more than 130 years? If this print is about making a man's suit, why did the artist use this commanding shade of red in this print? How should we understand the use of color in relation to the meaning of this print?

Testing by the scientific research laboratory at the Metropolitan Museum of Art revealed that the red on the cloth was a result of mixing cochineal and eosine. Cochineal is an insect found in Mexico that produces bright colors of red, while eosine is a red, organic, crystalline, water-insoluble solid used as a brilliant red dye in printing inks. This is one of the earliest prints found that utilized cochineal in Japan. Japanese artists were eager to experimenting new colorants from abroad. In fact, with the import of cochineal and synthetic dyes such as Perkin's Mauve and aniline red, those new available colorants profoundly changed art production in East Asia and generated new aesthetic expression.

The significance of color involves three aspects: the aesthetic, the economic and the social. As Andrea Feeser, Maureen Goggin and Beth Tobin argue in the *Materiality of Color*, these three aspects are interlocking. The aesthetic value is conveyed through the visual effect by coordinating or contrasting colors on the surface of the objects that intend to impress the viewer. The economic value is related to the labor, capital and expertise invested in the production, circulation and application of colors. The social value lies in the intersection between codified social, political, religious and cultural contexts to determine its meaning. Therefore, colors are a social product of a specific historical period and geography. The invention of synthetic dyes

in many ways profoundly change the value and meaning of colors. The synthetic dyes not only created new visual effects but also significantly reduce the labor and cost involved in the color production. In what ways the synthetic dyes impacted the production, circulation and aesthetic expression in East Asian art needs further exploration. This paper examines the changing color perception through the new terminology of "foreign red" from the late 18th to the 19th century in China, and Japan, which laid a foundation for further investigation of its development in Korean art. "Foreign red" is called *yanghong* in Chinese, *yōkō* in Japanese and 양홍 in Korea. Red has a long history of use in East Asia starting in the Neolithic period. The new red pigment and dyestuff imported from the West immediately caught artists' attention for its amazing visual effect. My following discussion begins from its usage in Chinese and Japanese texts, and the potential relationship with Korean art.

Prior to the appearance of the term, foreign red, in the mid-18th century Chinese text, the common terms for red was *zhu* 朱, *dan* 丹 or *yanzhi*, usually written as 胭脂 or 顏脂.¹ *Zhu* and *dan* refer to mineral based pigments, red lead and cinnabar,² while *yanzhi* described women's cosmetics, often made with safflowers.³ According to Lai Guolong, the materiality of the colorants shaped the formation of the ideological symbolism in ancient China.⁴ During the Western Zhou dynasty, the color system had a major shift, from the pairing of red and black to a five color system, where different colors symbolized meanings and political rankings. The symbolism of red and black is based on the characteristics of toxicity and pharmaceutical potency of the plants and minerals used as colorants, especially those used as primary ingredients in Daoist elixirs of immortality.⁵ In contrast with *zhu* and *dan*, in spite of its wide-range of applications in cosmetics, medical treatment, pigments and dyestuff, *yanzhi* in Chinese literature is often associated with beauty or beautiful flowers.⁶ The symbolic meaning of red changed over time, depending on the political and aesthetic discourses, and the technology of

1 Other different written forms for yanzhi include 燕支, 焉支, 燕脂, 烟支, 煙脂, and so on. See the discussion at Tu Maoling, "Yanzhi kao" (Investigation of Yanzhi), *Zhishan*, vol. 8 (June 2010), p. 165.

2 As Edward Schafer points out, the early Chinese literature shows confusion between red lead and cinnabar. See the discussion at Edward H. Schafer, "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, vol. 44 (1956), pp. 413-438.

3 The name yangzhi originated from the Mountain Yanzhi, where is famous for the planation of safflower. Beginning from the Shang dynasty, Chinese women already used cosmetics made of safflower from the Mt. Yangzhi, a name that came to refer to women's cosmetics later. The ingredients for making cosmetics changed over time, but the most popular plant for making it is safflower. See Tu Maoling, "Yanzhi kao," pp. 168-174.

4 Lai Guolong, "Colors and Color Symbolism in Early Chinese Ritual Art: Red and Black and the Formation of the Five Colors System," in Mary Dusenbury, ed. *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 2015), pp. 24-43.

5 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

6 Tu Maoling, "Yanzhi kao," pp. 183-189.

making colorants.⁷ In the late 18th century, the new colorant imported from the West added an important dimension of using red in China.

In 1786, the intellectual Chen Mugen (1741-1809) noticed that a newly imported pigment had the effect of astonishingly bright red: “Lately there is a foreign red that works greatly with the seal. Its brightness is unprecedented, even better than the old method of using coral. Everyone should know it.”⁸ Although Chen was surprised by the color effect and encouraged people to use it to make red ink paste, he did not specify the source or any characteristics of this new colorant. Chen’s comment on the new colorant was followed up by Ze Lang (active in the late 18th century), who had a similar observation. In the entry *yanghong* of his book, *Miscellany on Painting*, published in 1799, Ze wrote: “Chen Mugen in his book *Manual of Seal Carving* mentioned a foreign red that has never been seen before. According to him, if we use this red to make red ink paste, its brightness is even better than corals. Since it has never been seen before, I speculate that this foreign red has just been introduced into China, which explains why I cannot investigate its origin in any book up to date. What we know so far is that its color is a beautiful red, but I have no clue what it is called originally, where it is from, or how it is made. I consulted some foreigners, but everyone gave me different answers. Some said it is a premium extract from vermillion, and some said it is an insect from mountains. Stabbing at its waist, the insect produces blood. After the blood dries out, it is collected and stored in a glass, which is why it smells like raw meat. Some people said it is made of zhima [parrot tree]. You cook it to get the foreign *yanzhi* color.”⁹ The term, *yanghong*, or foreign red, was used in general referring to imported colorants, but Ze’s description matches the characteristics of cochineal.

Cochineal red became popular by the early 19th century. The Chinese writer Wu Qian noticed the high price for the foreign red: “the foreign red and foreign blue are both from the West, and the foreign red is especially expensive. One tale cost a measure of gold.”¹⁰ Based on John Phipps’s *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade*, we know that the import

7 Chen Yanqin has a good discussion on the ideology of colors in premodern China, see his book, *Guannian zhi se: zhongguo chuantong secai yanjiu* (Ideology of Colors: Study on Traditional Chinese Colors) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2015). Niu Kechen’s book is the most extensive research on colors in Chinese painting. See Niu Kechen, *Secai de Zhongguo huihua: zhongguo huihua yangshi yu fengge lishi de zhankai* (Colors in Chinese Painting: The Development of Forms and Styles in Chinese Painting) (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2002).

8 Chen Keshu, *Zhuanke zhendu* (Manual of Seal Carving), vol. 7, accessed through online database.

9 Ze Lang, *Huishhi suoyan* (Miscellany on Painting), vol. 4, online database.

10 Wu Qian, *Miscellaneous Writings from Jianyang Studio* (1813), online database.

of cochineal to Canto increased every year by 1828.¹¹ In spite of its high price, foreign red was fervently sought after, which raised some writers’ concerns: “The problem with today’s society is the embrace for extravagance. The more expensive, the better…most of the expensive goods, such as the foreign red, are from Japan, Ryukyu Kingdom, Netherlands and the United Kingdom.”¹² The above passage shows that one reason foreign novelties were so popular was because of their association with luxury, extravagance and exoticism.

Besides the aforementioned application of cochineal on red ink paste and painting, it was also used in textiles. Prior to the introduction of cochineal red, Asia had two red insect dyes, kermes and lac, but the bright red that cochineal produced was unparalleled.¹³ The earlier text shows that Chinese writers and artists embraced cochineal for its amazing visual effect, but the reason behind its popularity was beyond its aesthetic value. Native to Mexico and Peru, cochineal was capable of producing an impressive range of reds that bonded best with animal-based textiles, such as woolens and silks. A wedding banner in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated to the second half of the 19th century, was tested positive with cochineal. ^{Fig. 2} With cochineal and metallic threads on a silk, this wedding banner conveys a sense of luxury through the exquisite materials used. As Elena Phipps points out, cochineal red was also easy to use, and had abundant supply. Its aesthetic and economic advantage contributed to its worldwide popularity, including East Asia. In 1564, cochineal was introduced from the Americas to Asia, first to Manila via Spanish ships. By 1765, English, French, Dutch, Danish and Swedish ships all sent cochineal to Canton, taking part in the lucrative market for cochineal in China.¹⁴

Gradually in the early twentieth century, the term “foreign red” was replaced with more precise terms to describe cochineal, while the meaning of foreign red was changed to mean the synthetic dye for magenta. In 1898, the first scientific journal in China, *Gezhi Xinbao*, published an article introducing different kinds of insects around the world: “there are approximately 150,000 kinds of flying insects in the world…Among them, the insects that are beneficial to

11 John Phipps, of the Master Attendant’s Office, Calcutta. *A practical treatise on the China and eastern trade, comprising the commerce of Great Britain and India, particularly Bengal and Singapore, with China and the eastern islands...: with directions and numerous statements and tables adapted to the use of merchants, commanders, pursers, and others connected with the trade of China and India*. Calcutta, 1835. The Making Of The Modern World. Web, retrieved on 24 Apr. 2017.

12 Che Zhan (1753-1817), *Jianzhuang shiwen chao* (Poems and Essay of Jianzhuang), vol. 1, online database.

13 Both kermes and lac had been used since antiquity. Kermes were from the Mediterranean region, being traded extensively in classic world, such as Greece and Egypt. Lac was found in southeast Asia. As early as the second century BC, it appeared in ancient Sanskrit text. See Elena Phipps, “Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Winter 2010), pp. 8-9.

14 Ibid., pp. 40-41.

human beings are like canfeng, *yalan chong* 呀囉蟲 (cochineal), which is used to make foreign red.”¹⁵ Another newspaper used *yanzhi chong* 胭脂蟲 to refer to cochineal: “*yanzhi chong*: this is a parasite of cactus, native to the mountains in Mexico. After experimenting, it is used to make foreign red (a very bright, vivid red), since then it has been considered a good insect.”¹⁶ The above articles show that cochineal in Chinese translation was not yet settled by the early 20th century, although as later archives demonstrate, *yanzhi chong* became a standard term to call cochineal. Meanwhile, around the same time, an article published in 1923 discussed the reason leading to the toxic nature of foreign red: “Why is the foreign red toxic? The original name for foreign red is magenta, which contains some toxic As₂O₅...”¹⁷ By the 1920s, the meaning of foreign red had been changed from cochineal to magenta, and its toxic nature was well-known.

In Japan, “foreign red” was also a hot topic in newspapers in the late 19th century. In 1877, an article published on *Yomiuri Newspaper* warned the reader of using poisonous pigment as food coloring: “People in Kyoto like to add coloring to food...In extreme cases, we sometimes receive letters from Kyoto readers. Many of the pigments for quick-dyeing with powders include poisons...It is said that there is no poison in foreign red, but sometimes they sell scarlet and purple powders made of aniline and call it *yōkō* 洋紅, so if you are not careful it will be poisonous.”¹⁸ Although this is the first time the term foreign red was used, the article reveals that “foreign red” had been accepted as cochineal red, so occasionally there were some cases of people selling poisonous aniline dyes as non-toxic cochineal red. However, within a few years, “foreign red” no longer meant cochineal. Three articles published on *Asahi Shinbun* between 1880s and 1884 all reported the danger of using foreign red as food colorant, all of which indicates that foreign red was synonymous with aniline red.¹⁹

According to Monica Bethe and Yoshiko Sakai, cochineal was imported into Japan sometime in the 17th century; however, cochineal was not common dyestuff in the Edo period.²⁰ Most of the textiles dyed with cochineal were dated after the mid-19th century. One early example is a set of firefighter’s hooded cape and coat dated sometime between the 18th to the 19th centuries. ^{Fig. 3, Fig. 4} This particular set was likely used for ceremonial purposes.

15 *Gezhi Xinbao* (Science News) (1898), vol. 14, p. 1, online database.

16 *Mingquansu* (Elements of People’s Right) (1914), vol. 3, online database.

17 “Why is the foreign red toxic?” published in *Gongye zhi you* (Friends of Industry), vol. 6, pp. 21-22, online database.

18 *Yomiuri shinbun*, July 5, 1877, online database.

19 Those articles were published in *Asahi Shinbun* on March 27, 1880, March 24, 1881, and December 25, 1884. Thanks for Prof. Henry Smith at Columbia University for pointing out these additional resources for me.

20 Monica Bethe and Yoshiko Sakai, “Reds in the Land of the Rising Sun: Cochineal and Traditional Red Dyes in Japan,” in Carmella Padilla and Barbara Anderson, eds, *A Red Like No Other: How Cochineal Colored the World, an Epic Story of Art, Culture, Science and Trade* (New York: Skira Rizzoli Publication, 2015), pp. 76-81.

Considering the high price of cochineal dyestuff, it was not surprising that cochineal was frequently used for dyeing ceremonial clothing to enhance an image of high social status of the owner. In this context, the appearance of a red cloth that used cochineal in Adachi Ginko’s work, *Ladies Sewing*, refers to an absent male figure, presumably a prominent person in society. In fact, the Japanese title of this work include *kijyo*, meaning noblewomen, who presumably are busy making clothes for their husbands or members of royal families. Cochineal in this work not only suggests the absentee’s prestige but also mimics the effect of actual textile. The impact of cochineal and red aniline dye on Japanese prints was widespread and significant. From 1870s to 1890s red was used extensively on ukiyo-e prints, especially in the works of Yoshitoshi Tsukioka 月岡芳年(1839-1892), Toyohara Chikanobu 豊原周延 (1838-1912), Utagawa Hiroshige III 三代目歌川広重 (1842-1894), Adachi Ginko for a variety of subjects. The color of bright red was thus called as the color of the age by Japanese scholars.²¹

In the case of Korean art, I have not been able to find any published scientific report to confirm the use of cochineal in textiles, prints and paintings in the Joseon Period and Korean Empire. However, the red color in the illustration of the imperial seal in the *Protocol for State Rites during Emperor Gojong’s Reign* ^{Fig. 5}, published in 1897, and another in *Imperial Protocol for the Reproduction of Royal Portraits*, published in 1902 ^{Fig. 6}, show an unusual visual effect of bright red. The illustration of the imperial seal especially highlights the red ribbon in contrast with the dragon seal. The seal was made with silver, but in the print, its materiality was replaced with calligraphic lines, while the ribbon maintains a close relationship with its original textile. The deliberate use of red colorant in this image might signify power and authority, as the red royal throne does. The latest publication on cochineal, *A Red Like No Others*, surveys the impact of cochineal on arts and textiles around the world.²² The trade map included in the publication only shows its import into China and Japan without mentioning Korea. While in Seoul, I plan to exchange ideas with Korean scholars and conservators about the issue of using red colorants in Korean art from the late 18th to the 19th century. Once we have evidence of using cochineal and aniline red dyes, we can start to observe how materials influence ways in which artists and dyers utilize new colorants as well as how color sensibilities have changed in Korea in an age of globalization.

21 Iwakiri Shiichirō, *Meiji hangashi* (History of Meiji Prints) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), p. 35.

22 Carmella Padilla and Barbara Anderson, *A Red Like No Other: How Cochineal Colored the World, an Epic Story of Art, Culture, Science and Trade* (New York: Skira Rizzoli Publication, 2015).

Figures

Fig. 1

Adachi Ginkō, Ladies Sewing

September 3rd, 1887

Triptych of polychrome woodblock prints; ink and color on paper

35.6 x 72.4 cm

**Fig. 2**

Wedding banner

**Fig. 3**

Firefighter's hooded cape

Japan, 18th to 19th century, Edo period

Wool with gold and silk thread embroidery and appliqué

36.5 x 23 inches

John C. Weber Collection

**Fig. 4**

Firefighter's ceremonial coat

Japan, 18th to 19th century, Edo period

Wool with gold and silk-thread embroidery and appliqué

38 x 48 inches

John Weber Collection

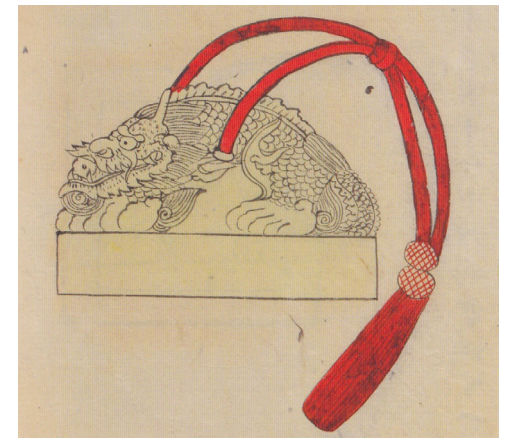
**Fig. 5**

Imperial seal, Royal Protocol for State Rites during Emperor Gojoing's Reign

1897

Ink and color on paper

Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University

**Fig. 6**

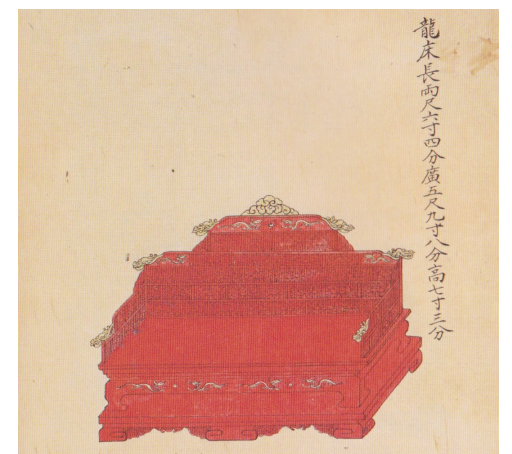
Royal throne, Imperial Protocol for the Reproduction of Royal Portraits

1902

Korean Empire

Ink and color on paper

Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University



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김명국과 광태사학

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (circa 1600-after 1662) and the “Wild and Heterodox School”



헤닝 본 미르바흐

Henning Von Mirbach

캘리포니아대학교 산타바바라 건축·미술사 박사과정
Ph.D. Student, History of Art and Architecture,
University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

김명국과 광태사학

본 논문에서는 궁중화원 김명국(金明國, 추정생몰 1600~1662)의 「심산행려도」를 분석함으로써 유래국인 중국과는 달리 17세기 중반 한국에서 지속적으로 절파(浙派) 계통의 회화가 유행했던 이유를 조명하고자 한다. 「심산행려도」를 보면 김명국이 절파화풍과 소위 광태사학(狂態邪學)을 반영해서 그림을 그린 것이 명확하게 드러난다. 중국에서는 명나라(1368~1644) 황실이 17세기부터 황실화원에 대한 지원을 축소하면서 광태사학도 쇠퇴하기 시작한다. 동시에 중국 문인들은 오위(吳偉), 장로(張路) 등 대표적인 절파 화가를 비롯해 광태사학을 따르는 전문 화가 전체를 비난하기 시작했다. 오랫동안 한국에 문화적인 자극제 역할을 담당했던 중국에서는 절파화풍이 사회 전반에 걸쳐 인기가 떨어졌을 때 한반도에서는 지속적으로 인기를 끌었던 원인이 무엇인지 탐구해볼만 하다. 이는 비슷한 시기에 중국에서 한국으로 문인화가 소개되었다는 점을 고려하면 더욱 흥미로운 연구 주제가 된다.

본 논문에서는 김명국이 광태사학 화풍을 기반으로 17세기 한국 상황에 걸맞는 창의적인 화법을 구사한 배후에 두 가지 상호 연관된 요인이 있다고 주장하고자 한다. 김명국의 그림을 보면 한국이 중국과 복잡미묘한 관계에 있었다는 사실을 알 수 있다. 당시 중국에서는 쇠락의 길을 걷고 있던 명나라와 후에 청나라(1644~1911)가 되는 세력 간의 다툼이 있었고 이러한 상황으로 한국은 신중한 정치 행보를 보여야만 했다. 16세기 후반과 17세기 전반에 걸쳐 국토를 황폐화시킨 임진왜란과 병자호란 등 두 번의 전란이 있었고 1644년 명나라가 멸망했다는 사실을 생각하면 김명국의 예술 활동도 당시 한국 전반에서 일어났던 국가 정체성 확립이라는 맥락에서 이해해야 할 것이다.

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (circa 1600-after 1662) and the “Wild and Heterodox School”

Through a case-study of *Travel through Deep Mountains* by the court painter Kim Myeongguk, this paper examines why paintings in the style of the Zhe School in mid seventeenth-century Korea, contrary to trends in China where this mode of painting had originated, continued to be a valuable basis for artistic expression. Kim Myeongguk's painting vividly attests to his awareness of both Zhe School painting and the so-called “Wild and Heterodox School” (*kuangtai yexue* 狂態邪學) of painting. It is well known that in China, the decline of the Zhe School had started in the sixteenth century when the Ming (1368-1644) court's support for the painting academy diminished. At the same time, the Chinese scholar-literati class started to attack the professional masters of the Zhe School in general and wild and heterodox painters such as Wu Wei, Zhang Lu and their followers in particular. It is worth asking which reasons contributed to an ongoing popularity and acceptability of the Zhe School painting style in Korea that had fallen out of favour with broad strata of society in China, the cultural impulse-giver of long date; this is particularly interesting because scholar-literati painting was introduced to Korea around that time, too.

This paper argues that two interrelated factors helped Kim Myeongguk to maintain Zhe School style painting that integrated elements of the wild and heterodox tradition as a basis for creative exploration in seventeenth-century Korea. Kim Myeongguk's painting accounts for Korea's complicated relationship with China where the divisions between the declining Ming and the rise of what was to become the Qing (1644-1911) necessitated careful political manoeuvring for Korea. In the wake of the catastrophic Japanese and Manchu invasions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and the collapse of the Ming in 1644, Kim's artistic practice also needs to be seen before the broader context of attempts in Korea to refashion Korean national identity.

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (circa 1600-after 1662) and the “Wild and Heterodox School”

Kim Myeongguk and the Wild and Heterodox

In 1643, one of the foremost painters of Japan of his time, Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602-1674), observed the Korean court artist Kim Myeongguk, who was part of a diplomatic mission to Japan, during the process of painting. Kanō Tan'yū seems to have appreciated Kim Myeongguk's powerful brushwork: witnesses of the scene described that when Kanō Tan'yū “saw how [Kim Myeongguk] drew from life transmitting the divine and achieving truthfulness, he [Kanō] could not help but give up competition with a sigh.”¹ It is most likely that while in Japan, Kim Myeongguk created a painting with religious subject matter like his famous *Bodhidharma* which, according to Hong Sun-pyo, was also painted during Kim's visit to Japan in 1643.^{2, Fig. 1} Yet, it is not only in his religious paintings that Kim Myeongguk's powerful brushwork becomes visible. In his landscape paintings, too, Kim's uninhibited and forceful brushwork becomes apparent.

Exemplary for this is one of Kim Myeongguk's most well-known works, *Travel through Deep Mountains*, in the collection of the National Museum of Korea.^{Fig. 2} The painting shows a scholar who is leaving for a journey, riding away on a donkey. The painting's narrative elements are accurately and carefully depicted, with a detailed rendering of the scholar who turns his head to gaze at his wife seeing him off. The landscape surrounding this scene, however, is painted with remarkably vigorous brushstrokes, thus abstracting the environmental setting to the extreme.

It is on the basis of a painting like this that Kim Myeongguk is frequently said not only to have painted in the style of the Zhe School, but also to have adopted ideas of yet another trend of later Ming dynasty (1368-1644) painting, the Wild and Heterodox School.³ Indeed, in Kim's

painting many defining Zhe School characteristics can be found such as the compositional emphasis on one corner, strong diagonal and angular lines, an expressive and quick brushwork especially for the landscape elements and a finer treatment of the human figures. On the basis of their spontaneous, free and occasionally nearly accidental painting techniques that emphasised an expressive use of the brush, painters like Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459-1508) and Zhang Lu 張路 (ca. 1490-ca. 1563) are counted among the masters of the Wild and Heterodox School. Many parallels between Wu Wei and Kim Myeongguk can be pointed out, amongst others their tendency to paint in a state of inebriation which highlights their purported ‘wild’ behaviour.⁴

Kim Myeongguk's work surely demonstrates the reception of “wild” pictorial ideas of Wu Wei. A comparison, already suggested by Chang Chin-sung, of Kim's *Viewing the Waterfall* in the collection of the NMK with Wu Wei's *Reading under a Pine Tree* in the Qingdao Municipal Museum helps to draw stylistic parallels between the fifteenth-century Chinese and the seventeenth-century Korean master.^{5, Fig. 3, Fig. 4,} Kim Myeongguk employs lighter ink washes for the background and the rendering of the cliff on the left hand side of his painting; these elements are set off against the tree and the rocks on which the scholars are standing which are painted with playful and free brushwork. Especially the dry and gnarled tree is enhanced with a myriad of tendrils that help to further enhance the centre of the painting. In a similar way, Wu Wei had painted his painting approximately one hundred years earlier.

Yet, *Travel through Deep Mountains* also makes apparent that Kim Myeongguk did not merely conform to painting in the vein of Wu Wei and his followers. On the contrary, Kim arguably developed his stylistic repertoire further in order to achieve a pictorial language on his own. A comparison of *Travel through Deep Mountains* with Zhang Lu's *Watching Geese in a Windy Grove*, in the collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing, allows to examine these lines of development.^{Fig. 5} In both paintings, a landscape setting focused on one corner of the composition frames a scholar and his attendant. In Zhang Lu's painting, the scholar gazes at geese descending on a river; in Kim Myeongguk's painting, the scholar crosses a bridge on the back of a donkey. In both paintings, the human figures are rendered in controlled brushwork which stands in stark contrast to the exaggerated angularity of the surrounding landscape.

1 Jungmann, Burglind, *Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Nanga* (Princeton, N.J. and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 39.

2 Hong Sun-pyo, “Creating Masterful Paintings from Brush and Ink,” *Koreana* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2007), http://koreana.kf.or.kr/view.asp?article_id=7086, accessed April 16, 2017.

3 See for example Jungmann, Burglind, *Die koreanische Landschaftsmalerei und die chinesische Che-Schule vom späten 15. bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Sonderreihe, Band 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 250-252.

4 For Wu Wei see Richard Barnhart, “The ‘Wild and Heterodox School’ of Ming Painting,” in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), 373; for Kim Myeongguk see Jungmann, Burglind, “Immortals & Eccentrics in Choson Dynasty Painting,” *Korean Culture* (Summer 1990), 27.

5 Chang Chin-sung 張辰城, “Qimiao de xiangyu: Zhepai yu shiwu zhi shiliu shiji de Hanguo huihua” 《奇妙的相遇：浙派與十五至十六世紀的韓國繪畫》[The intriguing meeting: Zhe School and Korean painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth century], in Zhuisuo Zhepai 追索浙派 [Tracing the Che School in Chinese Painting], ed. Chen Jie-jin 陳階晉 [Chen Jiejun] and Lai Yu-chih 賴毓芝 [Lai Yuzhi] (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, Minguo 97 [2008]), 230-1.

However, it also becomes clear that where Zhang Lu goes beyond mere representation with his quick brushwork, Kim Myeongguk takes this approach to even further levels of abstraction, rendering for example his centrally placed tree in almost nervous kinaesthetic brushwork. In the words of Ahn Hwi-Joon, “Kim’s style is even more vigorous and strong than that of the Chinese painters in the *K’uang-t’ai* manner.”⁶ Where Zhang still places emphasis on form, Kim leaves such considerations behind and literally *sketches* elements of vegetation for his landscape in a cursory manner.

How can such stylistic changes be explained? And how can it be explained that Kim Myeongguk as a court painter at the Royal Painting Academy (Dohwaseo) clearly looked for inspiration in Chinese models that not only had stopped to receive patronage from the court in Beijing, but that had come under attack by the scholar-literati in China at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century? The Chinese scholar Gao Lian 高濂 (1573-1620) in his *Eight Discourses on the Art of Living* (*Zun sheng ba jian* 遵生八箋, ca. 1590) described a whole list of painters of the Ming dynasty as “those who follow wild behaviour, all of them are not worth of being adopted” (徒逞狂態者也, 俱無足取).⁷ During the late Ming, wild and heterodox art thus had become the centre of attack by scholar-literati like Gao Lian or, later, Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) who sought to promote “virtues of moderation.”⁸ Why did the court painter Kim Myeongguk did not took inspiration from a major artistic development like literati painting which was introduced to the court in Seoul as early as 1608 in the form of printed painting albums such as the *Gushi huapu* (顧氏畫譜 Painting Manual of the Gu Family) by Gu Bing 顧炳 (active 1594-1603)?⁹

I argue that two interrelated factors played a part in this development. Kim Myeongguk painted mostly during the first half of the seventeenth century. Working in a style that had become *démodé* among China’s literati, Kim’s artistic production accounts for Korea’s complicated relationship with China and, as a consequence of repeated Japanese and Manchu invasions and the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, for a search for Korean national identity.

6 Ahn Hwi-Joon, “Chinese Influence on Korean Landscape Painting of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910),” in *International Symposium on the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property—Interregional Influences in East Asian Art History* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1982), 217.

7 Gao Lian’s remark is recorded in Chen Jie-jin 陳階晉 [Chen Jiejun] and Lai Yu-chih 賴毓芝 [Lai Yuzhi], eds. *Zhuisuo Zhepai* 追索浙派 [Tracing the Che School in Chinese Painting] (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, Minguo 97 [2008]), 131.

8 Barnhart, Richard, “The ‘Wild and Heterodox School’ of Ming Painting,” 365.

9 For the introduction of the *Gushi huapu* to the Korean court see Yi Söng-mi, “Southern School Literati Painting of the Late Chosön Period, in *The Fragrance of Ink: Korean Literati Paintings of the Chosön Dynasty (1392-1910) from Korea University Museum*, ed. Kwon Young-pil, exh. cat. (Seoul: Korean Studies Institute, Korea University, 1996), 181.

Relations with China

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the relationship between the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) and China was indeed complicated. The Ming dynasty had helped with considerable efforts to evict the Japanese troops of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) that had occupied Korea during the Imjin War (1592-1598). The crucial support of approximately 100.000 Chinese soldiers led to what Ji-Young Lee describes as “Korea’s uncommonly high compliance with Ming hegemony” motivated by attempts on the part of King Seonjo (1552-1608) to restore legitimacy to the Korean throne.¹⁰ In a strategy to downplay his own war time failures and secure Korean domestic support, King Seonjo portrayed the military help from the Ming as a tool of his own benevolent and Confucian rulership that was morally bound to the Chinese Emperor from whom he derived legitimacy.¹¹ In such a discursively shaped environment that determined relations between Korea and the Ming morally, royally sponsored art at the court in Seoul arguably participated in attempts to divulge messages of legitimacy and gratitude towards the Ming to a domestic readership.

Regrettably, Kim Myeongguk’s *Travel through Deep Mountains* is undated. King Seonjo’s reign had come to an end in 1608 and it is clear that Kim Myeongguk, whose date of birth is not entirely secured, would have been only around eight years old at that time, precluding his service at the court of King Seonjo.

Nevertheless, it has been shown that “the debt of gratitude toward Ming for Korea’s national survival” remained a constant in the political discourse under King Seonjo’s successors, which persisted even after the collapse of the Ming empire in 1644.¹² Kim’s painting with its clear stylistic foundation in Zhe School painting—a style that had strong connections with the painting academy at the Ming court—thus can be understood as a contribution to efforts during the post-war period to showcase Korean royal legitimacy as derived from the Ming emperor. Seen in such a light, it becomes apparent why the Zhe School remained a worthwhile model for Kim Myeongguk, even at a time when the painting academy in Beijing had lost its capacity for setting artistic impulses, or, as Richard Barnhart has described it, had “finished its run.”¹³ Exactly because there existed no longer a strong painting academy in

10 Lee, Ji-Young, *Chinas Hegemony: Four Hundred Years of East Asian Domination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 105-6.

11 Lee, Ji-Young, *Chinas Hegemony: Four Hundred Years of East Asian Domination*, 129-134.

12 Lee, Ji-Young, *Chinas Hegemony: Four Hundred Years of East Asian Domination*, 131.

13 Barnhart, Richard, “The Disappearance of Academic Craft, ‘Heterodoxy,’ and the End of an Era,” in *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, ed. Richard Barnhart, exh. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 300.

Beijing which could have set impulses for the art of painting, court painters in Seoul in their desire to create works that conveyed messages of royal legitimacy necessarily continued to look at models which had until so far been connected with Chinese imperially sanctioned art.

Despite the fact that literati-style painting was known at the court in Seoul, it then can be argued that it remained irrelevant as a model for certain developments of Korean court art. Since literati painting did not convey the same messages of imperially sanctioned legitimacy, it simply was not an appropriate model for a Korean court painter to take inspiration from.

Korean Identity

However, Kim's *Travel through Deep Mountains* is not only a painting steeped in the Zhe School tradition but also represents the development of a Korean national style of painting. Kim's painting with its considerable degree of abstraction and a tendency for geometric patterning of the landscape shares a stylistic development that Kim Sik 金植 (1579-1662), too, had started to explore and which is recognised as one of the main trends to be found in Korean painting from the seventeenth century.¹⁴

The development of enriching Korean landscape painting by incorporating nationally distinguishable elements into an established art form can be understood before the background of the gradual rise of the Manchus in the first decades of the seventeenth century and the demise of the Ming empire in 1644. The rise of the perceived culturally inferior 'barbarians,' the Qing, caused Korean intellectuals to see the world as they had known it to be in chaos, which entailed the construction of a completely different notion of the Korean state and a redefinition of Korean cultural identity.¹⁵ Claims started to be made to an own, independent Korean identity separated from a larger, now un-Confucian world-order. These claims served to redraw the "boundaries of civilization" because the cultural survival necessitated a separation from "the larger, 'corrupt' order that prevailed externally."¹⁶ In the field of the pictorial arts, "true view" scenery paintings on this basis have been connected to the formation of Korean painting

¹⁴ Jungmann, Burglind, *Pathways to Korean Culture: Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty 1392-1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 78-9.

¹⁵ Haboush, Janyun Kim and Martina Deuchler, *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1999), 69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

characteristics as a consequence of this discourse which sought to establish a Korean identity.¹⁷

As an earlier example from the mid-seventeenth century, Kim's *Travel through Deep Mountains*, with its abstraction and tendency for geometric patterning, can be seen as a predecessor to such developments.

¹⁷ Jungmann, Burglind and Liangren Zhang, "Kang Sehwang's Scenes of Puan Prefecture – describing actual landscape through literati ideals," *Arts Asiatiques* 65 (2010), 76; see also Kwon Young-pil, "The Ideals of Scholar Painting of the Chosŏn Period," in *The Fragrance of Ink: Korean Literati Paintings of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) from Korea University Museum*, 153.

Figures

Fig. 1

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (ca. 1600-after 1662)
Bodhidharma, 1643 (?)
Hanging scroll, ink on paper
83 x 57 cm
National Museum of Korea, Seoul



Fig. 2

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (ca. 1600-after 1662)
Travel through Deep Mountains, ca. mid-17th century
Hanging scroll, ink on hemp
101.7 x 55 cm
National Museum of Korea, Seoul



Fig. 3

Kim Myeongguk 金明國 (ca. 1600-1662)
Viewing the Waterfall, ca. mid-17th century
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk
173 x 100 cm
National Museum of Korea, Seoul



Fig. 4

Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459-1508)
Reading under a Pine Tree, undated
Hanging scroll, ink on silk
157 x 95.4 cm
Qingdao Municipal Museum, Qingdao



Fig. 5

Zhang Lu 張路 (ca. 1490–ca. 1563)

Watching Geese in a Windy Grove, undated

Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk

141.3 x 90.8 cm

Palace Museum, Beijing



자연의 본질을 담다: 중국, 한국, 일본의 진경(眞景)

Capturing Nature's Inner Truth: The 'True-view' Concept in China, Korea and Japan



칸 트린
Khanh Trinh

스위스 리츠버그박물관 일본·한국미술 학예사
Curator of Japanese and Korean Art,
Rietberg Museum, Switzerland

자연의 본질을 담다: 중국, 한국, 일본의 진경(眞景)

풍경화에 작가의 정신 세계를 담는 방식(산수화, 山水畵) 이외에 실제 장소를 묘사하는 방식이 동아시아 풍경화에서 두 번째로 주요한 표현 방식이다. 중국 미술사에서는 다양한 풍경화 표현 방식을 상호 구분하지 않는 반면, 한국, 일본 미술사에서는 뚜렷하게 구분한다. 다양한 풍경화 표현 방식 중에서 한국과 일본에서 공통적으로 나타나는 ‘진경’(眞景, 한국에서는 ‘진경산수화’, 일본에서는 ‘진경도(眞景圖)’라고 한다)이 있다. 문자 그대로 해석하면 ‘진짜 풍경’이라는 뜻을 담고 있는 ‘진경’이라는 용어는 묘사된 장소가 실제 존재한다는 것과 일정 정도의 회화적인 사실주의를 구현하고 있다는 것을 나타낸다. 영어권에서는 ‘true-view’로 보다 널리 알려져 있다. 영어로 ‘true-view’는 단어 그대로의 의미를 초월한 철학적인 함의가 있는 용어이다. 진경에 대해 다음과 같은 질문을 할 수 있다. 진경을 적용한 그림이 현실을 얼마나 충실하게 반영하는가? 서양 미술에서 정의하는 의미의 사실주의가 동양 풍경화가 추구해야 하는 이상적인 목표인가? ‘진경’이라는 용어는 중국, 한국, 일본에서 같은 의미로 쓰이는가?

‘진경’은 풍경화를 그리는 예술가들이 달성해야 하는 이상적인 상태라는 의미로 10세기 중국에서 처음으로 사용되었다. 시간이 지나면서 지역의 문화적, 예술적 환경에 따라 ‘진경’의 의미는 매우 달라졌다. 10세기, 11세기에 중국에서 제작된 회화 관련 서적에 처음 언급된 이후로 ‘진경’이라는 단어는 중국 미술사 관련 글에서 종적을 감추었다. 한국에서 ‘진경’은 이름난 궁중 화원 정선(1676~1759)이 정립한 화풍에 따라 한국의 풍광을 그린 그림을 의미하는 용어로 18세기 중반부터 사용되기 시작했다. 중국의 화풍과 자신만의 화법을 조합한 정선의 독특한 화풍은 궁중화원 김홍도(1745~1806), 김세황(1713~1791) 등 후대 화가들의 모범이 되었다. 또한 ‘진경’이 그림에만 적용된 것이 아니라 조선 후기 음악과 문학에서도 나타나는 한반도 특유의 예술적 개념이라는 주장도 있다.

일본에서 ‘진경’은 18세기 후반 문인 화가들의 글에서 실제 일본 장소에 대한 개인적인 특성이 드러나는 묘사를 다른 종류의 풍경화와 구분하기 위한 용어로 사용되기 시작했다. 이케 노 타이가(池大雅, 1723~1776)와 그의 제자들 또는 타니 분초(谷文晁, 1763~1840)의 전통을 따르는 후기 에도시대 예술가들은 중국풍의 필치와 서양 그림의 기술을 조합해서 자신이 방문한 장소에 대한 개인적인 시선을 묘사했다. 19세기에 이르면, ‘진경’은 일본 지형화와 목판 인쇄물의 제목으로 사용되곤 한다. 그리고 현재 중국과 한국에서는 ‘진경’이라는 용어를 더 이상 사용하지 않지만 일본 미술사학자들 사이에서는 실제 장소를 묘사한 그림을 지칭하는 광범위한 단어로 여전히 널리 사용되고 있다.

Capturing Nature's Inner Truth: The 'True-view' Concept in China, Korea and Japan

Beside universal landscape representations of transcendental meanings (山水畵Chin. Shanshuihua, Korean. Sansuhwa, Japan. Sansuiga), depictions of actual places are the second major genre in East Asian landscape painting. However, while no differentiation is made in Chinese art history for the various categories of landscape representations, clearer distinctions can be observed in Korean and Japanese art. Among these, one group is common in Korea and Japan, namely jingyeong sansuhwa 眞景山水畵or shinkeizu 眞景圖respectively. Literally translated as 'real scenery or real landscape', the term would hint at the actual existence of the place depicted as well as a certain degree of pictorial realism applied. However, this term is actually more widely known in English as 'true-view', which implies a philosophical connotation beyond the literal sense of the word. But how truthful to reality is a 'true-view painting'? Was realism, as defined and understood in Western art, a desirable goal in traditional East Asian landscape painting? And does the term 眞景 have the same meaning in China, Korea and Japan?

Zhenjing was originally conceived in China in the 10th century as the ideal state for artists in dealing with landscape representations. In the course of time and according to the local cultural and artistic environment, the meaning underwent a remarkable shift. After their first mentioning in treatises on painting compiled in the 10th and 11th centuries, the term all but disappeared in Chinese art historical writings. In Korea, the term jingyeong was used in the mid-18th century to denote depictions of famous Korean landscapes executed in the painting style formulated by the eminent court painter Jeong Seon (1676-1759). Jeong's unique visual idiom which is a combination of borrowed Chinese painting styles and individual brushwork set the standard for painters of the following generations such as the professional court painter Kim Hong-do (1745-1806) or Kang Se-hwang (1713-1791). Moreover, it has also been argued that jingyeong does not only apply to landscape painting, but can also be found in the music and literary theories of the later period of the Joseon dynasty, signifying thus an aesthetic concept that is particular to the Korean peninsula.

In Japan, the term shinkei emerged in the late 18th century in the writings of Japanese Literati artists who used it to distinguish their individualistic depictions of actual Japanese places from other categories of landscape paintings. Ike no Taiga (1723-1776) and his followers, or late Edo period artists in the lineage of Tani Bunchō (1763-1840) combined Chinese influenced brushstrokes with techniques of Western style painting to create individualistic views of the places they have visited. By the 19th century, the compound shinkei was used frequently as work titles in Japanese topographical paintings as well as in woodblock prints. And while the term seems to be out of use in contemporary China and Korea, it is still widely used among Japanese art historians as an umbrella term for depictions of actual places.

Capturing Nature's Inner Truth: The 'True-view' Concept in China, Korea and Japan

Introduction

Landscape representations, generally termed “Depictions of mountains and streams” 山水画, have been established as an independent genre at a very early stage in East Asian painting.

Representing the Daoist ideals of the realm of the immortals, the early examples were depictions of imaginary landscapes of transcendental meanings. The wish of visualising landscapes that really exist in the human world was expressed as early as in the 5th century A.D. The painter and musician Zong Bing (375-443), who wrote the earliest texts on landscape paintings, stated in a colophon his desire to have the sceneries of China's sacred mountains painted on the walls of his studio, thus allowing him to travel while staying in bed in his old age 臥遊.¹

Beside the universal landscape representations, depictions of actual places are therefore the second major genre in East Asian landscape painting. However, while no differentiation is made in Chinese art history for the various categories of landscape representations, clearer distinctions can be observed in Korean and Japanese art. Among these, one group is common in Korea and Japan, namely *jingyeong sansuhwa* 真景山水画 or *shinkeizu* 真景図 respectively. The common term is 真景, (pronounced *zhenjing* in Chinese, *jin-gyeong* in Korean and *shinkei* in Japanese), literally translated as ‘real scenery or real landscape’. As such, it would hint at the actual existence of the place depicted as well as a certain degree of pictorial realism applied. However, this term is actually more widely known in English as ‘true-view’, which implies a philosophical connotation beyond the literal sense of the word.²

How truthful to reality is therefore a ‘true-view painting’? Was realism, as defined and understood in Western art, a desirable goal in traditional East Asian landscape painting? And does the term 真景 have the same meaning in China, Korea and Japan? The aim of my paper

1 Cf. Susan Bush, ‘Tsung Ping’s Essay on Painting Landscape and the ‘Landscape Buddhism’ of Mount Lu’, in: Susan Bush and Christian Murck (eds), *Theories of the Arts in China*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1983, pp. 115–22

2 As discussed in Khanh Trinh, *Darstellung realer Orte. Die „wahren Landschaften“ des „malenden Reporters“ Tani Bunchō (1763-1840)*, Schweizer Asiatische Studien, Monographien, Bd. 47, Peter Lang AG, Bern, 2003, p. 63

today is to offer some possible answers to these questions.

Zhenjing in China

As with most technical terms in East Asian paintings, *zhenjing* is of Chinese origin. It appeared the first time in the essay “A note on the art of brush” (Bifaji) written in c. 920 by the painter and art theorist Jing Hao (c. 870-c. 930). At the end of his essay, after having defined the four classes of paintings, the four types of forces in brushwork and the six essential principles of painting, Jing concluded that 可忘筆墨而有真景, or ‘one may forget brush and ink, yet possess the real scenery’. In other words, the real aim of landscape painting consists in capturing the inner truth of the depicted landscape in one’s mind rather than merely mastering the technical skills.³

Jing Hao’s concept was in line with the ideal of naturalism of Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) painting. About one hundred years after the completion of “A note on the art of brush”, the famed Northern Song master Guo Xi (c. 1020-1090) discussed in his essay “Lofty Message of Forests and Streams” (*Linquan gaozhi*) the importance of direct observation of natural phenomenon in depicting landscapes. He recommended painters to go out in the forests and streams and to observe closely the appearance of the mountains, the shapes of trees and rocks, the flow of water and the different meteorological conditions in order to achieve an intuitive understanding of the inherent order of nature.^{Fig. 1} Although Guo used the words *zhen shanshui* instead of *zhenjing*, replacing thus only one character, his basic idea overlapped with Jing Hao’s in that the ability of grasping the essence of a landscape and expressing one’s personal view of this scenery is valued more than achieving an exact copy of the outer appearance of a place.

When the ideals of paintings by the Literati artists prevailed at the end of the Northern Song Dynasty through the advocacy of the poet and art theoretician Su Shi (1037-1101), mere formal likeness in painting was further debased. Su’s best-known statement on this topic is the following couplet:

‘If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness,

His understanding is nearly that of a child.’⁴

3 Cf. Munakata Kiyohiko, *Ching Hao’s Pi-fa-chi. A Note on the Art of Brush*, Artibus Asia, Supplementum XXXI, Locarno, 1976, p. 12

4 Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555-1636)*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1971, p. 32

Hence, the preference of capturing the inner truth of all natural phenomena to faithfully copying the outer shape remained the most desirable achievement for painters in China, Korea and Japan for centuries to come.

In China, *zhenjing* disappeared from art historical writings after their first mentioning in the 10th and 11th centuries. However, it re-emerged in colophons, theoretical texts and even as titles of paintings in Korea and Japan in the 18th and 19th century.

Jin-gyeong in Korea

Korean landscape paintings from the time before the second half of the Joseon period (1392-1910) are extremely rare today. The early examples are mostly imaginary landscapes or depictions of classical topics modelled after Chinese paragons such as the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang. Following the collapse of the Ming dynasty in 1644, Korean scholars, who were loyal to the Han-Chinese distanced themselves from the new Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty and thus begun to concentrate more on the study of the indigenous history and culture. The growing awareness of the proper cultural identity prompted Korean official-scholars to travel extensively to places of significant historical, religious or cultural meanings on the peninsula and to report about them. As professional court painters were often commissioned to accompany the scholars on such travels to make a visual record of the places they have visited, a new genre of landscape painting emerged at the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century. This group of landscape representations is commonly known today as *jin-gyeong sansuhwa*, 'True-view painting'.

Jeong Seon (1676-1759), who hailed from a humble yangban-family but rose to fame as one of the most influential court painters of his time, is acknowledged today as the "father" of *jin-gyeong sansuhwa*. A prolific painter and avid traveller, Jeong has left a large body of works, the majority of which are representations of scenic Korean sights, especially Geumgangsan, the Diamond Mountains.^{Fig. 2} Composed of over twelfth thousand peaks, thousands of waterfalls and numerous important temples, Geumgangsan was traditionally a centre of worship as well as a popular travel destination due to their magnificent natural beauty. Jeong Seon reportedly travelled there in 1711, 1712 and 1747 and recorded the various sites in different seasons in more than one hundred paintings of various formats. Other famous places depicted by Jeong Seon include landscapes on the shore of the East Sea, along the Han River or in the various provinces.^{Fig. 3}

In depicting actual places, Jeong Seon applied the brush techniques of ancient Chinese masters, mostly those preferred by the Literati painters of the Southern School such as the Mi-dots, the elongated hemp-fiber texture strokes to describe the texture of the earth or the axe-cut strokes to depict rocky surfaces and combined them with his personal visions of the landscapes of his home country. His unique visual idiom which is a combination of borrowed Chinese painting styles and individual brushwork set the standard for painters of the following generations such as the professional court painter Kim Hong-do (1745-1806)^{Fig. 4} or Kang Se-hwang (1713-1791). Kang even went so far to experiment with Western painting techniques to achieve a greater realism in depicting actual places.^{Fig. 5}

It needs to be pointed out that while Jeong Seon, Kim Hong-do and other painters have created numerous depictions of actual landscapes, they never used the term *jingyeong* in their works. It was in fact Kang Se-hwang who introduced this term in the 18th century. In an inscription of a landscape painting dated 1751 he wrote: 'Nowadays, there is nothing more difficult then depicting landscapes in their full extent. In landscape painting, there is nothing more difficult than depicting actual places, *jingyeong*, as it isn't easy to capture their likeness.' Gang used the term also on other occasions, such as in a colophon to an album by Jeong Seon, in which he stated: 'Jeong Seon excelled in true-view landscape painting of the Eastern Nation, *tongguk jingyeong*'.⁵

Although there is no clear evidence of how Kang Se-hwang came to re-use a term that has long been out of use in East Asian painting theory, it can be assume that he came across it through woodblock printed Chinese painting manuals that were published since the late 16th century in China and thereafter disseminated in Korea and Japan. Containing not only reproductions of the painting styles by the old masters but also excerpts of famous Chinese painting treatises these manuals were eagerly absorbed by 18th century Korean and Japanese artists, above all by those belonging to the Literati tradition.

According to Professor Yi Seongmi, etymological research proved that in late 18th century Joseon, the Chinese character *zhen* (Kor. *jin*), didn't mean only 'true, real', but was also used to designate things that are 'indigenous', i.e. Korean, and of 'excellent, outstanding' quality. *Jin-gyeong* can thus be understood as 'real scenery' as well as 'outstanding actual landscapes of Korea'.⁶

5 Yi Sŏng-Mi, 'Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-View Landscape Painting of the Chosŏn Dynasty', in: *Arts of Korea*, Exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1998, p. 332

6 Cf. Yi, pp. 333-4

Shinkei in Japan

At about the same time, when *jin-gyeong* became established in Korean arts and culture, the term *shinkei* started to appear in colophons and painting treatises in Japan. In contrast to China and Korea, where representations of actual places never really or only in a late stage established itself as an independent painting genre, visualisations of Japanese sceneries date as early as the 12th century, whereby distinctive sub-genres are made, such as *meishoe* ('depictions of famous places'), *miya mandara* ('shrine mandala'), *rakuchū rakugaizu* ('scenes in and around the capital'), and *shinkeizu* ('true-view painting').

The term *shinkei* appeared in 1773 in a text by the Literati artist Ike no Taiga (1723-1776), in which he related that at a gatherings of Literati artists, he was asked to compose a poem praising the beauty of a certain landscape. Failing to fulfil the request, he painted the landscape itself (*shinkei*) instead.⁷ Although this particular work is no longer extant, we can assume how Taiga has interpreted the term *shinkei* judging from his numerous paintings of actual places that are handed down today. The hanging scroll 'True-view of Mt. Asama', f. ex., is an early example among Taiga's works in this genre.^{Fig. 6} Basing on his travel sketches and synthesizing brushworks of the Southern School painting and Western painting techniques, Taiga created this unique view of Mt. Asama that reveals the artist's personal impression of nature.

The fact that Taiga is nowadays acknowledged as the most important exponent of the true-view-genre in Japan was partly due to the large amount of works he has left which had a strong impact on the works of Japanese Literati artists of the late 18th and 19th century. But his fame was also constructed by Kuwayama Gyokushū (1746-1799), a close friend and a Literati painter in his own right. In the theoretical essay 'Humble words on matters of painting' (*Kaiji higen*, 1790), Gyokushū cited all important Chinese painting treatises to support his argument that Taiga's artistic supremacy consisted in his ability to paint 'true-views', which aren't idealized landscape representations based on the images conveyed through literature nor a lifeless exact copy of the actual place. According to Gyokushū, Taiga succeeded in capturing the essence of a certain place through direct observation of nature, and in expressing his own personal view of the landscape by referring to the painting styles of the ancient Chinese masters, he created a 'true view' of that place. Thus, in this case 'true-view' signifies not only the physical existence of a place, but above all the truthful visualisation of the artist's personal feelings towards nature.

Following the example of Taiga, many artists in his circle produced 'true-view paintings'

of their home regions, which led to the conclusion that this genre is associated with the Literati painting tradition in Japan.^{Fig. 7} However, this theory got challenged when the works of the artists of the Edo school, founded by Tani Bunchō (1763-1840), are considered.

Until now, we have come across the term *shinkei* in theoretical essays or in inscriptions and colophons accompanying paintings. By the end of the 18th century, however, it also appeared as a title on the painting itself. The earliest example where the whole compound *shin, kei and zu* – true, view, painting, figured as a title is Bunchō's hanging scroll "True-view of the Nachi-Waterfall"^{Fig. 8}, which was painted "on the spot" (*sekiga*) as a performance act. The rough brushwork and simplicity of the composition testify the spontaneity of the painting process, and yet the painting conveys the artist's ability of grasping the true essence of this sacred place in the Kumano region.

As one of the most prolific and influential painter of the late Edo period, Bunchō mastered a wide range of painting styles including the illusionist techniques of Western art. This stylistic versatility as well as the tendency towards realism, which became an increasingly important feature in the works of late Edo period artists are reflected in his depictions of actual places such as on the travel sketches of Kogane-Gyokusui, or on the hand scrolls depicting the landscape along the Kumano-river as well as the sketches of Kōnodai on the Sumida-river. Executed in very different painting styles for different purposes – the sketches were made on the spot for personal use, while the Kumano hand scrolls were commissioned by the daimyo of the Kii-province – these works show that by the early 19th century, the term *shinkei* was used in a more literal sense, meaning that a painting represents a place that really exists, without necessarily being associated with the Literati ideals or any particular painting style as at its first appearance in the writings by Taiga and Gyokushū.

Moreover, the demand for realistic rendition seems to have surpassed the ideal of capturing nature's inherent essence. In this new meaning, the term became wide-spread in the following decades, appearing more and more often in the titles of works by artists in Bunchō's circle. By the end of the Edo period, *shinkei* even appeared in woodblock prints showing the vistas of noted places in Japan.

Conclusion

The term *zhenjing* which was originally conceived in China in the 10th century as the ideal state for artists in dealing with landscape representations thus underwent a shift in the course of time and according to the local cultural and artistic environment. Starting out as a concept in

7 Matsushita Hidemaro, *Ike Taiga*, Shunjūsha, Tokyo, 1967, pp. 218-219

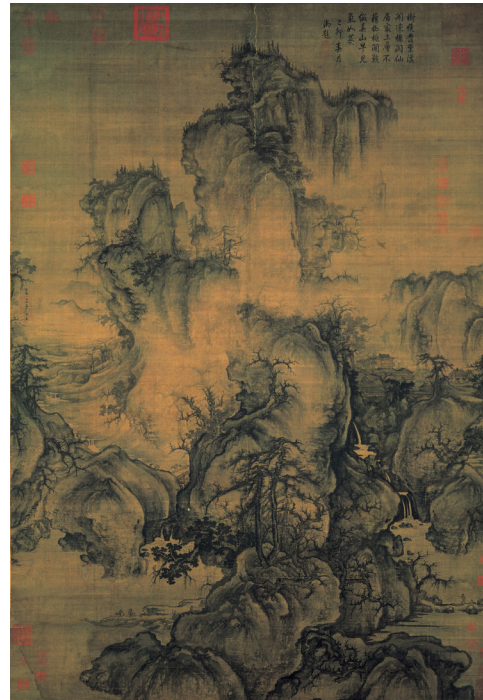
Chinese landscape painting, it became a category in Korean and Japanese painting of the 18th and 19th centuries. In Korea, the term *jingyeong* was used in the mid-18th century to denote depictions of famous Korean landscapes executed in the painting style formulated by Jeong Seon. Scholars today even argue that *jingyeong* does not only apply to landscape painting, but can also be found in the music and literary theories of the later period of the Joseon dynasty, signifying thus an aesthetic concept that is particularly to the Korean peninsula.⁸ In Japan, the term *shinkei* emerged in the late 18th century in the writings of Japanese Literati artists who used it to distinguish their individualistic depictions of actual Japanese places from other categories of landscape paintings. By the 19th century, the term was used frequently as work titles in Japanese topographical paintings and also woodblock prints. And while the term has fairly disappeared in contemporary China and Korea, it is still widely used among Japanese art historians today as an umbrella term for depictions of actual places.

8 Kim Jae Sook, 'Reading Traditional Korean Artistic Sensibilities through the Concept of *Jin-gyeong*', in: Korea Journal, Vol. 42, No. 4, Winter 2002, pp. 187-217

Figures

Fig. 1

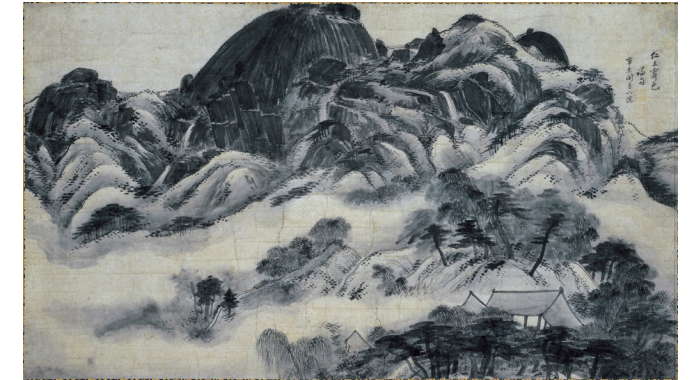
Guo Xi (c. 1020-1090)
Early Spring
1072
Hanging scroll
Ink on silk
158.3 x 108.1 cm
National Palace Museum Taipei

**Fig. 2**

Jeong Seon (1676-1759)
General view of the Diamond Mountains
1734
Hanging scroll
Ink and light colour on silk
94.1 x 130.7 cm
National Treasure No. 217
Leeum Samsung Museum of Art

**Fig. 3**

Jeong Seon (1676-1759)
Clearing after rain on Mt Inwang
1751
Hanging scroll
Ink on paper
79.2 x 138.2 cm
National Treasure No. 216
Leeum Samsung Museum of Art

**Fig. 4**

Kim Hong-do (1745-1806)
Oksun Peaks
1796
Album leaf
Ink and light colour on paper
26.7 x 31.6 cm
Leeum Samsung Museum of Art

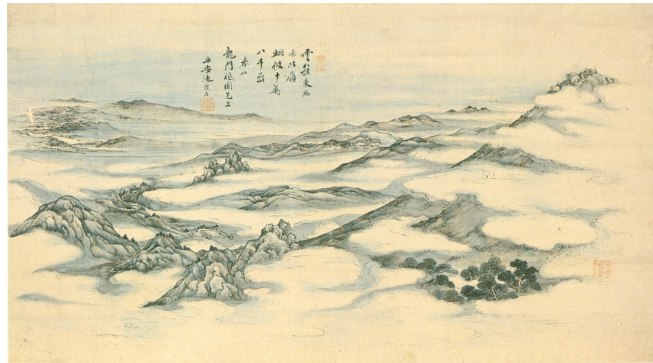
**Fig. 5**

Kang Se-hwang (1713-1791)
Journey to Songdo
2nd half 18th c.
Album leaf
Ink and light colour on paper
54 x 32.8 cm
Dongwon Collection
National Museum of Korea

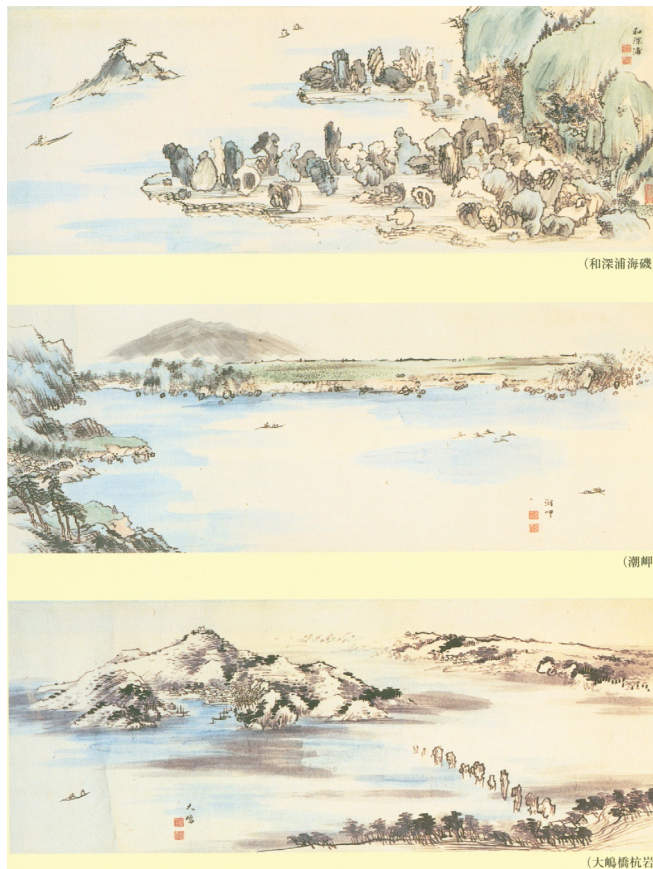


Fig. 6

Ike no Taiga (1723-1776)
True View of Mt Asama
mid-18th c.
Hanging scroll
Ink and light colour on paper
57 x 102.7 cm
Private collection, Japan

**Fig. 7**

Kuwayama Gyokushū (1746-1799)
Wondrous scenes of the region
Kumano
1794
Hand scroll
Ink and light colour on paper
33.4 x 677.2 cm
Private collection, Japan

**Fig. 8**

Tani Bunchō (1763-1840)
True view of Nachi-Waterfall
1797
Hanging scroll
Ink on paper
135.7 x 27.5 cm
Private collection, Japan



고려청자가 유럽 근현대 도자기에 미친 영향

Influences of Goryeo Celadon on European Modern and Contemporary Ceramics



실비아 가에티

Silvia Gaetti

독일 그라시공예박물관 아시아 소장품 담당 학예사
Curator for Asian Collections,
Grassi Museum of Applied Arts, Germany

고려청자가 유럽 근현대 도자기에 미친 영향

라이프치히에 있는 그라시공예미술관은 창립 초기부터 아시아 예술품을 수집했다. 미술관이 처음으로 중국, 일본, 한국 예술품을 소장하게 된 것은 1873년 개최된 세계박람회에서 동아시아 유물을 꾸러미로 사들이면서 시작되었다. 이들 유물은 당시 경제 발전 시기에 라이프치히에서 공예와 창작 산업에 종사하는 디자이너와 예술가에게 즉각적으로 영감을 주었다. 후에, 수 세기 동안 다양한 조류를 타고 유럽 예술 발전에 영향을 주었고 라이프치히 예술가들의 영감이 된 이들 동아시아 예술품을 더 잘 보여주는 자는 취지로 그라시공예미술관은 동아시아 소장품을 더욱 확대해 나갔다. 아시아와 유럽 간의 문화 간 교류는 미술관 소장품의 가장 큰 특징 중 하나이다. 이는 유물을 새로 수집하거나 수집한 유물을 전시할 때나 마찬가지다.

기증 받은 중국과 한국 도자기 유물을 보여주는 최근 전시에서 미술관은 중국 당나라(618~907), 송나라(960~1279), 그리고 한국 고려(918~1392) 시대 도자기 유물을 유럽 예술가들이 만든 근현대 도자기 작품과 나란히 전시하기로 했다. 이들 두 도자기는 형태와 유약 측면에서 유사성이 놀라운 수준이다. 전문가도 중국과 한국에서 과거에 만든 도자기와 유럽 근현대 도자기를 구분하기 힘들 정도이다.

유럽, 특히 영국과 독일에는 1950~70년대에 시대의 주류였던 유럽의 ‘구성주의’를 완고하게 거부하는 도예가 집단이 있었다. 이러한 도예가 집단의 작품을 보면 장식성이 작고 미니멀리스트적인 중국, 일본, 한국 도자기의 영향이 명확하게 보인다. 도예가 버나드 리치, 월터 포프, 안체 브뤼게만, 하이디 키펜베르크 등을 예로 들 수 있다.

본 논문에서는 한국과 중국의 초기 도자기와 유럽 근현대 도자기 간의 관계를 논의하고 동아시아가 유럽에 미친 영향이 얼마나 명확한지를 알아볼 것이다. 또한 과거 도자기와 현대 도자기를 함께 전시한다면 예술품에 대한 역사적인 시각과 문화를 초월한 시각을 가지는 것이 가능하고 유물에 대한 다양한 접근을 시도할 수 있다는 주장을 하고자 한다.

Influences of Goryeo Celadon on European Modern and Contemporary Ceramics

The Grassi Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig collects Asian art since early years of its founding. The first East Asian artworks from China, Japan, and Korea came to the museum with a bundle of objects purchased at the Vienna World Expo in 1873. They were an immediate inspiration to Leipzig designers and artisans engaged in handicraft and creative industries during the economic growth period. Later on, the collection expanded following the idea to show evidence of these inspiration sources, which originated in various waves over the centuries, impacting European artistic development. The concept of a transcultural relationship between Asia and Europe remained an important aspect of the collection, both for acquiring new pieces and for exhibiting them.

In a recent exhibition, which displays a donation of early Chinese and Korean ceramics, we decided to exhibit early ceramic pieces from Tang- (618-907) and Song-Dynasty (960-1279) in China and Goryeo-Dynasty (918-1392) in Korea in a dialogue with modern and contemporary ceramics, mainly created by artists from Europe. The similarity between the forms and glazes is astonishing: the identification and distinction between the early and modern pieces is sometimes difficult even for an expert eye.

In Europe, mainly in the U.K. and Germany, there is a group of ceramic artists working in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, who have clearly refused the European “constructivist” tendencies of the time. The work of these artists is evidently influenced by less decorative and minimalistic Chinese, Japanese and Korean stoneware. Ceramic artists like Bernard Leach, Walter Popp, Antje Brüggemann or Heidi Kippenberg would be some examples.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the relationship that the early Korean and Chinese ceramics has towards modern and contemporary ceramic art and to analyze how the influences from East Asia are visible in Europe. I argue that the presentation of early and modern ceramics in a direct dialogue and next to each other allows a historical and transcultural perspective to the artworks and facilitate the mediation of different approaches to the objects.

Influences of Goryeo Celadon on European Modern and Contemporary Ceramics

Introduction

The Grassi Museum in Leipzig is an impressive building complex in Art-Deco style ^{Fig. 1}, housing three museums of domestic and international significance: the Museum of Applied Arts, the Museum of Ethnology and the Museum of Music Instruments. The centrepiece of Grassi Museum is the Art-Deco column hall, where exhibitions and events take place regularly, and whose design in shining red-gold-blue remains unparalleled all over Europe. Grassi Museum was born with the aim to become a place of culture and inspiration for the city of Leipzig, and it still fulfils this task.

The Museum of Applied Arts presents a permanent exhibition in three sections: “From Antiquity to Historism” featuring older pieces of the European collection, “From Art Nouveau to the Present Day” showing the development of applied arts and design to the present day and in between the two stands the permanent exhibition of the Asian collection titled “Asian art: Impulse for Europe”. ^{Fig. 2} The collection is on view since 2010 and numerous artworks that had been inaccessible for decades are shown in this part of the exhibition. The exhibition area covers around 300 m² and serves as a link between the other permanent exhibitions in the museum.

The museum has been committed to collecting Asian artworks since its founding days and since then more objects have been regularly collected but not always exhibited. The collections continued expanding following the goal to show the evidence of the many sources of inspiration, which originated over the centuries in various ages and regions impacting on European artistic development.¹ This short introduction is essential in order to set a context for the character of the collected items and their existence in a transcultural relation to Europe. This can also be read in a statement by Richard Graul, museum’s director at the time of the re-opening of the Grassi Museum of Applied Arts in 1929, referring to early Chinese ceramics:

“It would be greatly beneficial, if it were possible to study the group of early and earliest Chinese ceramics – which, more tremendously than its Japanese counterparts, have influenced

1 GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst: *ASI/AN ART. Impetus for Europe*, Exhibition guidebook, Passage-Verlag, 2010

the progressive European ceramics – through a greater abundance of exquisite pieces at the Museum of Decorative Arts.² When one takes a closer look at the fine German ceramics displayed at the fairs of the Museum of Decorative Arts, it is easy to detect how East Asia has served as a major source of inspiration in terms of technique and can further improve them!”³

Considering this clear position of the museum and the structure of the collections, it seems natural to me to investigate what would be the benefit of presenting East Asian ceramics in a relationship to the European modern and contemporary counterparts, even if the juxtaposition is not always evident.

The Collection of Celadon Ceramics from the Goryeo Dynasty

The Grassi Museum of Applied Arts owns approximately 15 ceramic works from the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), mainly bowls, oil bottles, Maebyeong, small cases and boxes. All of them are green celadon pieces in darker and lighter green or grey tonalities. ^{Fig. 3, Fig. 4} The pieces came together from different private donations and some acquisition by the museums.

The last donation of five pieces was received at the beginning of this year (2017) with a collection of early Chinese ceramics. Both to the curators of the museum and to the collector it seemed evident that the Chinese and Korean early pieces could have been exhibited next to each other, considering that during the Song Dynasty (960-1279) in China and the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) in Korea there was a lot of exchange between the two countries. The technological and aesthetic developments in ceramics production flourished during this time in Korea similarly to China. The influences of Chinese ceramics in the tradition of the Southern Song dynasty are visible in the glazing technique and design vocabulary of Goryeo pottery. Therefore, both China and Korea can be considered the main actors of the development of celadon glazes.⁴

Over time and through this continuous mutual exchange, Korea developed a ceramic style that captured the “Korean” spirit. The uniqueness of Korean ceramics stems from the austere humility and quiet of the stoneware and the jade-green colour characterising the Goryeo celadon. New shapes and designs emerged that were distinctively and unmistakably Korean: from clean, plain, undecorated shapes to mold-impressed or carved designs and

2 Former name of the GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts (in German: Kunstgewerbe Museum)

3 Thormann, Olaf, GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts: *Frühchinesische Keramik. Die Sammlung Heribert Meurer*, Arnoldsche Verlag, 2017 (Statement in German, translated by the author), p. 7

4 Kunn Choi, Byung-sun Bang, Jong-Min Lee, Ki-hoon Chinag: *Handbuch der Koreanischen Kunst. Steinzeug und Seladon*, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2005, p. 57

embellishments in black, white and sometimes golden colour. As Professor Kang Kyung-Sook describes it: “Korean pottery may not be ornate, nor is it dominant in size, but it is distinguished by its infinite embrace of nature“ and “plain jars hold infinite abstract space, and the simplicity of plain, unmarked surfaces has much greater power of suggestion than surfaces with actual expression”.

The originality of Goryeo artistry can be observed particularly in the inlaid decoration of celadon ceramics. The process of carving designs into the unfired clay and filling the depression with black or white slip to create the decorative motifs is defined as Sanggam. The use of this inlay technique became a characteristic of Goryeo celadon ceramics and apparently a symbol of identity for Korean art during the Goryeo dynasty.

The green colour of the Goryeo celadon with its translucence and clarity that allows inlaid colours to shine through was obviously the result of unceasing efforts. The characteristic grey/green coloration is due to the use of iron oxide in the glaze, producing different shades depending on firing conditions and the various reduction stages.

At this point, for the comparison to modern and contemporary ceramic artist, it is important to emphasize that potters of those days were by no means individual artists, as we might expect today, but rather anonymous craftsmen occupying a humble position in the social scale of working within the context of a manufacturing, administered by a court official.⁵

Nevertheless, the appreciation of the beautiful jade-green coloured glaze, manifesting a quiet, refined, ideal world struck a Chinese envoy, Xu Jing, who visited the royal court of the Goryeo Dynasty in 1123 and expressed his admiration for Goryeo celadons in his travel report, Xuanhe Fengshi Gaoli Tujing. The wide popularity of Goryeo celadons may also be seen considering the fact that fragments have been found outside Korea in neighbouring countries, like in China and in Japan.

Influences and Parallels to Modern and Contemporary Ceramics

The modern and contemporary ceramic collection of the Grassi Museum of Applied Arts is characterised by an international, global perspective. There are ceramic artworks from all over the world with a major concentration on German and European artists. Several Korean contemporary ceramic artists based in Germany or Europe, or with a connection to Europe, were also collected in the last years: Kap-Sun Hwang (*1963), Bomi Lee (*1984), Kyungmin Lee (*1983), Suku Park (*1947), Seung-Ho Yang (*1955) and above all Young Jae-Lee (*1951), to

⁵ Soontaek-Choi-Bae: Seladon-Keramik der Koryo-Dynastie, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Stadt Köln, 1984, p. 11

name a few.

It is interesting to observe that the Korean contemporary ceramic artist in the collection sometimes seem to refer more to the German and European ceramic tradition, than to the Korean one. The clear and straight forms and the geometric decorations are combined with a reticent and quiet aesthetic representing a charming encounter between Korean and German ceramic tradition. ^{Fig. 5}

On the other hand, a consistent group of English and German ceramic artists in the collection, who have been working mainly the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, through forms and glazes quite directly refer to early Chinese and Korean ceramic.

The most evident examples can be found in the works of Bernard (1897-1979), David (1911-2005) or Jeremy Leach (*1941) (grandfather, father, son), Richard Batterham (*1936) in the U.K. and Walter Popp (1913-1977), Antje Brüggemann (*1941), Heidi Kippenberg (*1941) (fig.6), Christine Atmer de Reig (*1935), Johannes Gebhardt (*1930), Horst Skorupa (1941-2004), Gorge Hohlt (*1930) or Karl (*1929) and Ursula Scheid (1932-2008) in Germany.

A publication of Eberhard Knittel describes the work of Bernard Leach referring to his admiration for “ancient pottery cultures as found in the Far East, Precolumbian America and Europe”.⁶ Leach criticizes the alien constructivism of modern ceramic design (of his time) and deplores its lifeless, exaggerated and inappropriate décor.

Bernard Leach was interested in what he defines as “spontaneity in popular art” with particular regard to early Korean and Japanese ceramic art. With “popular art” he means stoneware household pottery with its “spontaneous strong and vital shape and a decoration of sketch-like, graphic or abstract character”. Specifically, the coloring and glazing made using natural materials was part of his technical research and teaching, which influenced many ceramic artists from later generation, as well as the work of his own son and grandson.^{7, Fig. 7}

In comparison to the later development of porcelain Leach sees a rougher, nature-like character in stoneware. Since stoneware sinters when fired, it can be considered similar or even equal to porcelain from a technical point of view, while having the advantage of natural, earth-bound and hence warm body color in contrast to the cold white porcelain. In this sense, he values Song dynasty ceramics, next to Korean and Japanese stoneware, as the highest and finest

⁶ Knittel, Eberhard: *Rezeption chinesischer, koreanischer und japanischer Keramiktraditionen durch Bernard Leach*, Friedrich Knittel Verlag GmbH in Kassel, 1985, p. 9

⁷ Knittel, Eberhard: *Rezeption chinesischer, koreanischer und japanischer Keramiktraditionen durch Bernard Leach*, Friedrich Knittel Verlag GmbH in Kassel, 1985, p. 11

artistic achievement obtained in the history of world.⁸

According to the author Ryoichi Fujioka, delicate elegant and aristocratic ceramics (referring in this case to white porcelain) produce an alienating and tense atmosphere; while ceramics rooted in popular art, referring to stoneware, succeed a restrained and relaxed atmosphere.⁹

Even if the ceramic production techniques changed and evolved in the following centuries and the aesthetic taste developed in very different directions, it is possible to see a continuous return of interest for nature and nature-like materials. The minimal and timeless forms and glazes of the Song Dynasty in China and Goryeo Dynasty in Korea remained a source of interest and inspiration until today.

Presenting Early Chinese and Korean Ceramics in a Dialogue with Modern and Contemporary Ceramics Collection

In a temporary exhibition, which opened in April 2017 and runs until October 2017, we are exhibiting a recent donation with early Chinese and Korean ceramics in a dialogue with modern and contemporary international and mainly European ceramic artists.

There are several reasons that brought us to this decision. The first and most banal one is that the collector Dr Heribert Meurer, after collecting modern German and European ceramics for ten years, “discovered” that a lot of the forms and glazes he found most attractive were inspired by early Chinese and Korean ceramics. Consequently, he began looking for the “originals”. It is likely, however, that his perspective on ceramics was influenced by his knowledge of modern European ceramics.¹⁰

The second is a formal and a historical reason. The exhibited modern ceramic artists, with their glazes and forms, clearly refer to East Asian models. Some of them have lived, worked and learned in Japan, Korea or China, while others were taught by teachers who lived in East Asia and inspired or influenced their work. These direct and indirect influences have interwoven with the local European ceramic tradition throughout the years. Consequently, the similarities between forms and glazes of early Chinese and Korean ceramics and some of the modern European ceramics are surprising.

8 ebenda

9 Fujioka, Ryoichi: *Ceramics from Korea in An Exhibition of Korean Fine Art and Folk Craft*, Tokio, 1974

10 Thormann, Olaf, GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts: *Frühchinesische Keramik. Die Sammlung Heribert Meurer*, Arnoldsche Verlag, 2017 (Statement in German, translated by the author), p. 309

An example of juxtaposition can be seen in fig. 8. Here we exhibited group of Korean Goryeo Dynasty celadon pieces next to two German artists: Gorge Hohlt and Horst Skorupa (on the top left side). ^{Fig.8} As it can be seen in this case, the main “actors” in the presentation remain the early Korean pieces, while the modern ones serve as a reference, a new interpretation or an echo of the early Korean artworks.

The third reason is the mediation of the objects. The modern European pieces stay in the middle between the visitor and the early East Asian ceramic and serve, in a way, as a bridge. They use an aesthetic language of the modernity, which is more familiar to the observer and simultaneously they refer clearly to the early ceramic pieces. On the one hand, they seem to be hiding in the exhibition (and visitor try to guess if the piece is old or new) and on the other hand they exalt the modernity, or better said the timelessness, of the forms and aesthetic of the early ceramics.

One could argue that the early Chinese and Korean ceramics could have also been exhibited “alone” without losing their charm and fascination. The main counter-argument concerning this decision was the conscious and unconscious distance in time and space between the visitor and the exhibited pieces. The question leading us was: how can we present the collection without “exoticizing” or “alienating” it? How can we show the timelessness of the forms and the impact of these forms on modern European ceramics?

The translation and mediation of the artistic value of ceramic artworks in East Asia is made difficult by the consideration of ceramic as “applied art” and not “high art” in the Western art historical categories. This clearly differs from the admiration and consideration of ceramic art in East Asia. We wanted to avoid an isolation of the early ceramic collection and make the transcultural exchange between East Asia and Europe clear using striking examples.

I would define this as a visual strategy to communicate a form of cultural equality on one hand and make a process of aesthetic translation more transparent on the other. A further argument, supporting the exhibition of the early Chinese and Korean ceramics next to the modern European ones, is the historical background of the collection, mentioned at the beginning of the paper. The Asian art collection was and still is embedded in the European art collection and it is seen as an essential part of it.

To conclude, I would argue that a presentation of early Chinese and Korean ceramics in a direct juxtaposition to modern and contemporary European ceramics allows a multi-layered and pluralist perspective as well as embodies a possibility to focus more on the similarities and the dialogue between cultures than on their distance and differences.

Figures

Fig. 1

View of the Grassi Museum building and its Art-Deco architecture in Leipzig

Photo: Helga Schulze-Brinkop



Fig. 2

View of the permanent exhibition "Asian Art. Impulse for Europe" opened in 2010

Photo: Christoph Sandig



Fig. 3

Bowl with white Sanggam inlaid décor

Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)

Stoneware

Celadon glaze

7,2 cm x 20 cm

GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts

Donation from the collection Hansgeorg Gareis und Eva Gareis (born. Helferich) in 2015

Photo: Paul Altmann



Fig. 4

Maebyeong Vase with white and black Sanggam inlaid décor

Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)

Stoneware

Celadon glaze

26 cm x 15 cm

GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts

Donation from the collection Dr. Claudia Stadelmann in 2016

Photo: Esther Hoyer



Fig. 5

Bowls set "Qi" by Kap-Sun Hwang for Porzellanmanufaktur Fürstenberg

Porcelain partially glazed

2003

GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts

Donation from the Grassi Museum friends and supporters

Photo: Christoph Sandig



Fig. 6

Bowl
 Heidi Kippenberger
 Stoneware
 Celadon glaze
 1980
 GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts
 Donation of Christa Kutzscher,
 Bad Dürkheim
 Photo: Matthias Hildebrand

**Fig. 7**

Two deep Bowls by David (left) and
 Jeremy (right) Leach
 Both stoneware, glazed

Left: "Tenmoku" glaze
 16 cm x 19,6 cm
 GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts
 Donation of Anneliese and Wulf
 Crueger

Right: Celadon glaze
 10 cm x 11,5 cm
 GRASSI Museum of Applied Arts
 Donation from the collection Hede
 Hopp
 Photo: Christoph Sandig

**Fig. 8**

An exhibition case showing a part of the Korean Goryeo
 Dynasty celadon ceramics collection and modern pieces
 (From the top left one bowl by Görgo Hohlt and a vase
 by Horst Skorupa)

Temporary exhibition in GRASSI Museum of Applied
 Arts, 2017

Photo: Karola Bauer



**소그드 왕국과의 역사·문화적 교류:
아프라시아브 벽화의 고구려 사신을 중심으로**

**Image of Goguryeo Ambassadors on the Wall Paintings
from Afrasiab as an Important Factor of Historical and
Cultural Links with Sogdian Kingdom**



오타베크 아립자노프
Otabek Aripdjanov

우즈베키스탄 국립역사박물관 과학부 차장
Deputy Director of Scientific Affairs,
State Museum of History of Uzbekistan

소그드 왕국과의 역사·문화적 교류: 아프라시아브 벽화의 고구려 사신을 중심으로

1965년에 아프라시아브(고대 사마르칸트, 소그드 왕국의 수도, 중앙 아시아 왕자국) 고대 유적 중심부에서 발견된 벽화는 서투르케스탄 역사 연구에 중요한 자료이다. 벽화가 있는 방 출입문 맞은 편에 있는 서쪽 벽이 가장 중요한데, 이 벽에는 소그드 바르후만 왕의 신하들이 각기 다른 네 나라에서 온 사절단을 맞이하는 장면이 그려져 있다. 측면에 마주보고 있는 남쪽과 북쪽 벽에는 외국에서 신부가 도착하는 장면을, 동쪽 벽에는 인도 민속 및 신화와 연관된 장면을 묘사했다. 동 논문에서는 아프라시아브 궁전 벽화에 그려진 두 명의 한국 사신에 관한 이야기를 하고자 한다. 이 벽화는 고구려와 소그드 왕국 간의 역사·문화적 교류를 연구하는 데 가장 중요한 유적 중의 하나이다. 아프라시아브 궁전 방의 11미터 길이 서쪽 벽에 묘사된 한국 남자 두 명은 고구려에서 온 사신으로 생각된다. 서쪽 벽에 묘사된 인물 24번, 25번이 고구려 사신이라고 처음으로 알아낸 사람은 라자르 알바움이다. 이들 인물이 쓰고 있는 깃털 달린 모자를 연구한 후 이들이 고구려 사신이라는 결론에 이른 것이다. 고구려의 국제 관계는 동아시아, 주로 중국과 일본에 국한되었다는 것이 일반적인 생각이었다. 또한 고구려가 중앙아시아 국가와 외교 관계를 맺지는 못했다는 것도 일반적인 생각이었다. 그러나 이 벽화의 발견으로 고구려와 중앙아시아 국가 간의 교류 관계를 재평가 할 수 있는 기회가 생긴 것이다.

Image of Goguryeo Ambassadors on the Wall Paintings from Afrasiab as an Important Factor of Historical and Cultural Links with Sogdian Kingdom

Wall painting discovered in 1965 in the central part of the ruins of ancient Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand, the former capital of Sogdia, a principedom of Central Asia) is a valuable source on the history of Western Turkestan. On the most important western wall of the hall opposite the entrance there is the scene of ambassadors of four different countries at the reception held by the Turkish attendants of Varkhuman (a Sogdian king). On the two opposite lateral walls (northern and southern ones) the arrival of foreign brides and at last, on the western wall the details of mythological and folklore scenes thematically connected with India are presented. The purpose of this paper is to explore the two Korean officials depicted on the wall painting from Afrasiab, which is important source on the example one of the most famous monuments of Central Asian painting for studying historical and cultural links between Goguryeo and Sogdian Kingdom. Painted on the 11-meter-long western wall of a room in the palace, depicts what are believed to be two Korean men from the Goguryeo Kingdom and Lazar Al'baum was the first to identify the right provenience of figures 24-25 on the western wall. Studying their hats, which were decorated with a feather, allowed him to concluded that the envoys depicted are indeed from the Goguryeo Kingdom. Commonly been believed that Goguryeo's ancient international relations were limited to East Asia, that is, to mostly Japan and China. It has also commonly been thought impossible for Goguryeo to establish diplomatic relations with a nation in Central Asia. Discovery of this wall painting, however, offers researchers the chance to re-evaluate ties that connected ancient Goguryeo with with the peoples of Central Asia.

Image of Goguryeo Ambassadors on the Wall Paintings from Afrasiab as an Important Factor of Historical and Cultural Links with Sogdian Kingdom

Introduction

Uzbekistan lies at the heart of Asia where the western flanks of the great mountain massifs of the Tien Shan and the Pamirs meet the vast steppes and deserts. Watered by the lengthy inland river systems of the Amu Darya, the Syr Darya (the Oxus and Jaxartes of antiquity) and the Zarafshan, all fed by the melt from mountain snows and glaciers, its croplands, orchards and pastures nurtured the development of important centres of civilization which were in dynamic political, cultural, spiritual and commercial contact with the world beyond. The nation's extremely rich and ancient history provides valuable insights regarding the general processes of mankind's social and cultural development as well as those specific to the unique cultures of the region with multiple archaeological sites. ^{Fig. 1}

The history of the Early Medieval period is marked by important political, social and economic, ethnic, and cultural changes. After the close of ancient states, numerous small entities emerged in the territory of Uzbekistan, which enjoyed a certain political independence until they were overrun by the Arabs. The most powerful states were those of Samarkand, Bukhara, Chach, Ferghana, Khorezm and Chaganiyan. They issued their own coins and had tight diplomatic, trade and cultural relations both with the states of the East and those of the West.

In the 6th – 7th century the role of Sogd, which consisted of a conglomeration of principalities and towns (Samarkand, Maimurg, Kesh, Nakhshab, Ishtihan, Bukhara and others), was of great importance. In 1965 at Afrasiab a palace was discovered of a ruler who reigned in the 7th century with magnificent paintings which had survived on its walls. One of the wall paintings illustrates a wedding procession headed by a bride, princess of Chaganiyan, seated on a white elephant, accompanied by dignitaries on camels and horses. Today the paintings from four walls, each one eleven meters long, are rearranged in a special museum building at Samarqand's Afrasiab site - and so they may be visited as if in their original position.

Discovering of Wall Paintings

The early mediaeval paintings at Afrasiab at the ancient site of Samarkand are well known to

specialists, but as often is the case, not outside this circle, which calls for a short historical note. The first wall painting at the site was discovered by the historian and regional expert N. Viatkin in 1913¹, but the main body of paintings was found only in 1965-67 and the paintings were investigated by L.Al'baum (the archeological expedition headed by V.A. Shishkin).² Discovered by a lucky chance in the course of road building, they are unique in many respects. To begin with, the subject of the painting immediately attracts one's attention. The paintings covered the walls of a building meant for habitation, a kind of palace. The paintings are secular. The themes are: hunting, crossing a river, a solemn procession and, lastly, the fundamental scene, the arrival of emissaries of various countries at the court of Varkhuman, the ruler of Sogdia.^{Fig. 2} They depict side by side the inhabitants of various Asian regions, namely Sogdians, Turcs, Iranian, Chinese, Koreans, and envoys of mountain tribes wearing their ceremonial dresses. By virtue of this fact the true-to-life Afrasiab painting assume their right place as an ethnographic encyclopaedia of early mediaeval Central Asia. Secondly, the Afrasiab painting are the only one figurative monument known up to now that bears an inscription enabling one to date them to the second third of the 7th century AD. One of the chief features of these written source is Sogdian inscription, containing the address of the Chaganiyan ambassador to Varkhuman, the ruler of Samarkand, in 655, which is confirmed by Chinese sources. These wall paintings were not the only monument of their kind. The early mediaeval paintings at Balalyk-Tepe, Varakhsha and Penjikent were already known. However, the Afrasiab paintings remain nonetheless unique.

Virtually all subsequent study of the Afrasiab paintings were linked to one or another interpretation of the subject of these paintings and to finding a precise date for their creation. All the varieties of interpretation can be conventionally divided into two major groups, i.e. the "historical" and "religious" ones, depending on the identifying the personage depicted on the walls of the hall. The first discoverers and researchers, Vasili Shishkin and Lazar Al'baum³, put forward the theory that on the west wall of the hall (opposite the entrance) ^{Fig. 3}, which was the most important wall for a general survey, the scene was that of the reception by the Turkic courtiers of King Varkhuman of the embassies of four different countries. On two opposite side walls (the north and south), probably, we saw the arrival of foreign brides with a rich suite. Finally, on the east wall (which anyone entering the hall would see last) were details of various mythological and folklore scenes, whose subject matter is linked to India. For

1 Vyatkin V.L. Ob arkheologicheskikh raskopkakh v Samarkande. In: "Samarkand" newspaper, 1904, No. 29 (8/21.VI)

2 Shishkin V.A. K istorii arkheologicheskogo izucheniya Samarkanda I ego okrestnostey. In: Afrasiab, Tashkent, Vyp. I, pp. 3-121

3 Al'baum L.I. Zhivopis' Afrasiaba, Tashkent, 1975, pp. 39-40

instance, according to Frantz Grenet⁴, the left side of the eastern wall shows scenes of Krishna's childhood while the right side bears a scene depicting Greek sages communicating their astrological knowledge to their Indian counterparts.

The topic on the main wall, the western wall facing the entrance is debated between specialists. ^{Fig. 3} Turkish soldiers are escorting ambassadors coming from various countries of the world (Korea, China, Iranian principalities etc.). There are three main hypotheses. The leading expert on Sogdian painting, the excavator of Panjikent, B. Marshak points out that Sogdian painting, gods are always depicted on the top of the main wall.⁵ However, as the Turks are guiding the embassies but are not themselves ambassadors, it has been suggested also that the Turkish Qaghan, then lord of inner and Central Asia, might be depicted there. A Chinese text is indeed saying that the idea of the "Four Lords of the World", here China, India, Iran and Turks, is depicted on the walls of palaces near Samarkand precisely during this period, and this would perfectly fit the four walls of this room. The last hypothesis makes use of an inscription mentioning the king of Samarkand to propose the idea that the ambassadors are presenting their gifts to him.

Image of Goguryeo Ambassadors

As mentioned above, the west wall of the hall, was the most important wall of the hall opposite the entrance there is the scene of ambassadors of four different countries at the reception held by the Turkish attendants of Varkhuman (a Sogdian king). The last delegates on the right half of the western wall are heavily defaced, but one can see at least the outlines of the two persons, furnished with long straight swords and long feathers as headgear. The nationality of the two envoys was once a subject of controversy (personages 24-25). ^{Fig. 4} They are standing behind Chach ambassadors in the periphery of the western wall. The character of this embassy is mysterious in many respects and it has attracted global and academic attention as the painting shows a group of people that seem to be foreign ambassadors. Historians suggested that two of them on the right of the west wall seemed to be from the Goguryeo Kingdom (37 BC – AD 668), sparking heated debate on the history of international relationships across Asia in

ancient times. Lazar Al'baum⁶ was the first to identify the right provenience of figures 24-25 on the western wall. However, after studying their hats, which were decorated with a feather, L. Al'baum concluded that the envoys depicted are indeed from the Goguryeo Kingdom. The basic analogy serve as wall painting from the tomb of Prince Li Xian, posthumous crown prince Zhanghuai (Qian Xian, Tang dynasty, AD 706/711): Courtiers and foreign delegates, the second from right is a person from Korea.⁷ ^{Fig. 5} He is depicted with the conical cap (mogwan), and this type caps was found throughout the peninsula. Although it was initially thought to be an internal component of the headband crown, mural paintings show that it was worn independently over a topknot to proclaim the rank and social status of its wearer. The cap was secured to the head with double straps under the chin, as indicated by the small holes along either side of the cap. Appendages in the shape of wings, feathers, or flowers often were used to accessorize the crown, and those ornaments tended to be geographically specific to each kingdom.

The Korean ambassadors depictions help us to clear up very important additional circumstances of Varkhuman reception. On the paintings, the Korean delegates are separated from the Tang-Chinese. This seems to have been done intentionally as since 645 AD the Tang empire was engaged in a fierce war against the Korean state of Goguryeo. The fightings stopped at the death of Taizong in 649 AD but were shortly after set forth up to 668 AD, when the Chinese came to a certain effort. In search for allies, Korean envoys met the Eastern Turk Qaghan Kimin as early as in 607/608 AD.

Sergey Yatsenko pays great attention to the year of 662 AD⁸, in his opinion, many researchers the depiction of the Korean ambassadors in Samarkandian palace arouses a big confusion and even serves as an argument for an imaginary character of the wall paintings, as if not reflecting real political events. The supporters of the version, naturally, do not take into the account neither the specificity of the political situation in Central and Eastern Asia in 662, nor the peculiarities of the course of foreign policy of Goguryeo rulers, nor the number of interesting coincidences of political events, connected namely with the year of 662 AD. As is known, Goguryeo, in its fight against China, used the help of northern forest tribes. Nevertheless, in north-west it bordered with nomads of Steppes, who took part in military actions on the side of China. Therefore, frequent embassies of the Koreans in the 7th century to Western Turks

4 Grenet F. L'Inde des astrologues sur peinture sogdienne du VII siècle. In: C. Cereti & al. (eds.) Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Cherardo Gnoli, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 124–129

5 Marshak, B. I. Tematika rospisey 'zala poslov' Afrasiaba. In: Formirovanie i razvitie trass Velikogo shelkovogo puti v Central'noy Azii v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Tezisy dokladov mezhdunarodnogo seminara YuNESKO. Samarkand, 1–6 oktyabrya 1990, Tashkent, pp. 162–165

6 Al'baum L.I. Zhivopis' Afrasiaba, Tashkent, 1975, pp. 74–75

7 Murals in the tomb of Li Hsien of the Tang dynasty. Beijing, 1974, pl. 25

8 Yatsenko S.A. The costume of foreign Embassies and Inhabitants of Samarkand on Wall Painting of the VII c. in the Hall of Ambassadors from Afrasiab (interpretation of the Image). In: Transoxiana, 8. <http://www.transoxiana.com.ar>

are not surprising. Nevertheless, in 662, exactly, Western Turks, headed by woman-qaghan Bisudu, revolted against Chinese authorities and were finally defeated. On the other hand, Western Turkic qaghan A-shih-na Misheng (fallen in battle in 661) took an active part in the previous cruel war with Goguryeo in 634-645 in the Chinese army ranks. The probable embassy of Goguryeo arrived very soon after his death to his long-term enemy Puzheng. Perhaps, this coincidence was not occasional. The authorities of Goguryeo could use some cause and appeal to qaghan Puzheng or Varkhuman, who were devoted allies of the Chinese, with the offer of mediation in peaceful negotiations with China or for Sogdian loans.⁹

Prof. Seo Yong (Dongduk Womens' University) has another opinion that the King of Sogdiana, invited the envoys in an attempt to improve relations with the Goguryeo Kingdom and gain its support in the fight against Arab forces or the Tang Dynasty.¹⁰ Taking into account the political situation of that time we can say with confidence that ambassadors from Goguryeo Kingdom having been in diplomatic relations with the Eastern Turks appealed to the king of Sogd for help in negotiations with China.

Thus, to sum up the foregoing, I would like to say that the wall painting is significant because it is not only proving that Goguryeo Kingdom sent envoys to Sogd, but also because, it is visually argued that Korean peninsula had a political and cultural links with Central Asia. Moreover, most likely, the first relationship was formed at the beginning of our era via the Silk Road as the Central Asia is noted for its key position on the Silk Road, connecting the East and West and for conveying materials, techniques, and ideas between ancient states. In this connection, archaeological sources are very important. For instance, The glass vessels of Roman origin, which were excavated at the gravesite in Gyeongju (Gyeongsangbuk-do Province), are related to the 5th – 6th century AD. According to Korean scholars, they were made either in the eastern Mediterranean region or in southern Germany and were transported to Korea, most probably, over routes of the Great Silk Road in Central Asia.¹¹ Another finding from the same collection is a bowl-shaped silver cup (5th century AD) surface that covered with bas relief designs.¹² By manner and style of male and animal portrayals and by the character of the ornament, this jorum has its analogues among wall paintings in Pendjikent and on Sogdian vessels.¹³ In all appearances, this jorum was also made in Sogd, from where it, through

numerous Sogdian colonies on the Great Silk Road up to the China and probably farther, came to Korea.

Chinese written sources also preserved some information on the staying of persons from Silla in Central Asia. One of them is the Buddhist pilgrim, monk Hui-Chao who, like Hsuan-tsang (but a century later) in 723 visited Sogd, Chach and Khuttal and left interesting descriptions of these and neighbouring regions and mentioned about Buddhist monuments located there. Thereby, the facts said above are various enough but taken together they give the evidence for lasting cultural links of ancient Uzbekistan and Korea, for the presence of the Koreans in Central Asia in the Early Medieval Period and, probably, of the Sogdians – in Korea.

9 Yatsenko S.A. Drevnie tyurki: kostyum na paznotsvetnikh izobrajaniyakh. Ih: Internet-izdaniya "MUSEUM"

10 http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2016/09/116_170498.html

11 Silla Korea and the Silk Road. Golden Age, Golden Threads. Korea Society, 2006, pp. 65-66

12 Silla Korea and the Silk Road. Golden Age, Golden Threads. Korea Society, 2006, pp. 64-65

13 Marshak B.I. Sogdiyskoe srebro. Moscow, 1971

Figures

Fig. 1
Map of the towns and archaeological sites in the Republic of Uzbekistan



Fig. 2
Fragment of a great procession of riding and walking people
The southern wall
Reconstruction



Fig. 3
Group of delegations and sitting officials (Sogdian Turks) on the right half of the western wall
Reconstruction

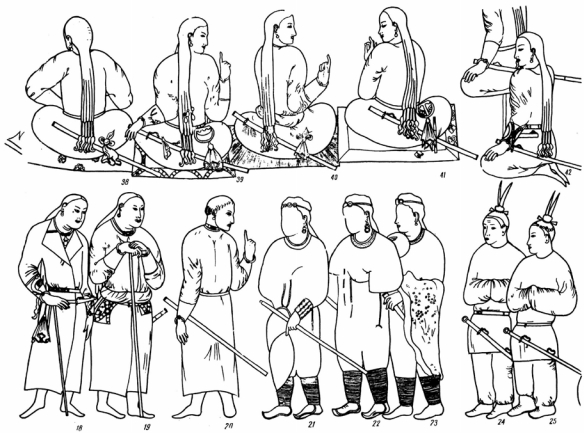


Fig. 4
Image of Goguryeo ambassadors on the right half of the western wall
Reconstruction

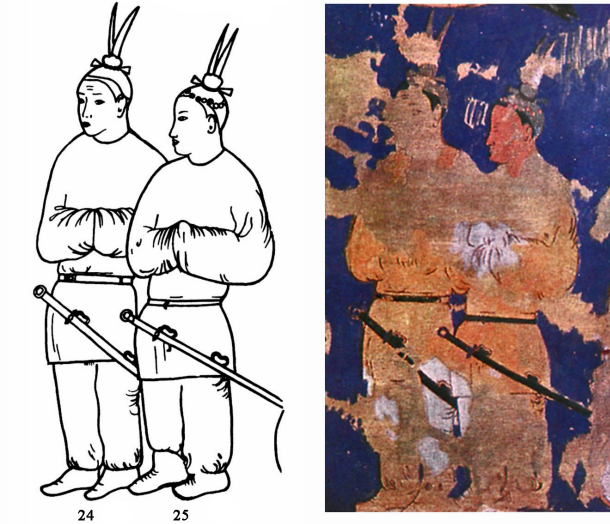


Fig. 5
Wall painting of ambassadors from the tomb of crown Prince Li Xian



새로운 정체성 형성

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Constructing New Identities?

The Korean Garden in Berlin - „Re”-presentation of a Korean Garden in the West



마리아 소보트카

Maria Sobotka

독일 베를린 자유대학교 동아시아미술사 박사과정
PhD Candidate, Art History,
Free University of Berlin, Germany

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베를린의 한국 정원: 서양에서 한국 정원 재현

본 논문에서는 16세기 한국 선비 정원인 경주 독락당과 ‘서울정원’이라 불리는 베를린의 현대식 한국 정원을 중심으로 서양에서 조선시대 사대부 정원이 어떻게 재현되는지를 살펴볼 것이다. 베를린에 공원 형식으로 조성된 ‘세계의 정원’에 있는 서울정원은 상당 부분 독락당을 본받아 만든 것이다. 서울정원은 2005년에 지었고 2006년에 두 도시 간 양자 협력의 일환으로 서울시가 베를린에 기증한 것이다. 서울정원은 독일에 있는 두 개의 한국 정원 중 하나면서 독일에서 한국이라는 나라와 그 문화를 공식적으로 대변하는 몇 안되는 장소 중의 하나로 연구해 볼 가치가 있다.

먼저, 독락당에 나타난 사대부 정원의 개념을 살펴본 후 이러한 전통적인 개념이 현대 서양이라는 맥락에서 어떻게 변화되었는지를 보여줄 것이다. ‘타자화하기’¹라는 이론적인 틀에 기초해, 한국 문화에 대한 이미지와 상상이 어떻게 서양에서 한국 정원의 모습을 결정했는지를 알아보고자 한다. 또한 이를 바탕으로 문화 정체성이라는 개념이 어떻게 생겨났는지도 이해할 수 있을 것이다. 세계의 정원을 찾은 방문객을 대상으로 한 광범위한 조사와 서울정원에 대한 자세한 분석을 통해, 오늘날 독일에서 지배적으로 나타나는 한국 정원에 대한 이미지가 무엇인지 알아볼 뿐만 아니라 베를린에 있는 서울정원이 서양에서 유교 사대부 정원의 모습을 성공적으로 보여주는지 또한 고찰해 보고자 한다.

1 ‘타자화하기’는 개인이 인종, 민족, 성별 등의 관점에서 자신을 다른 사람들과 분리해서 자신의 정체성을 설명하는 방식을 지칭하는 용어이다. 참고 : *Heine and the Orient? – Between Subjectivity and Othering or How the Other came to Germany – saw and – ?*, in: Lawrence I. Conrad/Benjamin Jokisch/Ulrich Rebstock (eds.), *Fremde, Feinde und Kurioses. Innen- und Außenansichten unseres muslimischen Nachbarn*. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Gernot Rotter, de Gruyter 2009, p. 67.

Constructing New Identities?

The Korean Garden in Berlin - „Re”-presentation of a Korean Garden in the West

This paper explores the representation of Neo-Confucian literati gardens of the Korean Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) in the West by taking as its focus the 16th century Korean scholar garden Dongnakdang (House of Solitary Enjoyment) in Gyeongju, South Korea, and a contemporary Korean garden in Berlin, the so-called Seouler Garten. To a great extent, the Dongnakdang served as a model for the Seouler Garten, which is located in the Gardens of the World, a public park in Berlin. Built in 2005 it has been handed over by the Seoul municipal government to the city of Berlin in 2006 as a gift in the context of their twinning agreement. As one of only two Korean gardens in Germany it is one of the few places where South Korea officially presents its country and culture, and therefore worthwhile to be examined.

Based on these two gardens, I will explore the literati garden concept of the Dongnakdang, and then show, how this traditional concept has been transferred into a modern Western context. Based on the theoretical concept of *othering*¹ I would like to elucidate how imagination and representation of Korean culture shape the picture of Korean gardens in the West. Moreover, these findings can help to understand how notions of cultural identity emerge. Based on an extensive visitor survey in the Gardens of the World and a detailed analysis of the Seouler Garten I will not only tackle the predominant image of South Korean gardens in Germany today, but also investigate whether this garden in Berlin can be seen as a successful “translation” of a Neo-Confucian literati garden into a western country.

1 Othering is a term used to describe how someone defines his or her own identity by distancing oneself from others in relation to race, ethnicity, gender etc., see *Heine and the Orient? – Between Subjectivity and Othering or How the Other came to Germany – saw and – ?*, in: Lawrence I. Conrad/Benjamin Jokisch/Ulrich Rebstock (eds.), *Fremde, Feinde und Kurioses. Innen- und Außenansichten unseres muslimischen Nachbarn*. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Gernot Rotter, de Gruyter 2009, p. 67.

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Introduction

The Souler Garten was opened in March 2006, a few months after the end of the Asia-Pacific Weeks¹, which focused on the partner country of South Korea, by former senator of justice, Karin Schubert. In her speech² Schubert refers to the various meanings of this garden. Thus, on the one hand, it is a place where Korea can be experienced in Berlin. The visitor should be able to perceive Korea sensually, she emphasizes. However, the garden is also a political sign and underlines the friendly relationship between the two countries' capitals. The construction of the garden therefore also has a political importance that is not to be overlooked, especially with regard to the foreign cultural policy of South Korea.

In this work, the Souler Garten serves as a starting point for the overarching question: How is East Asian, especially Korean, art presented and conveyed in Germany? Anchored in cultural policy, this question is of great relevance at a time when art and culture are expected to show global approaches, to explore transcultural exchange and to work interdisciplinary. Furthermore, this paper focuses on the appropriate presentation of non-European art. Those foreign objects should be presented to the German audience in a visitor-oriented way to make them easily accessible and understandable. The exoticism of objects and dualistic structures, which oppose one's own culture from the other, should be avoided. So, how can Korean art and culture be exhibited in Germany and be communicated to visitors in an appropriate and modern way? In this context, what does the German audience know about Korea, and how can knowledge be used on this basis? How does the German audience receive Korean art? And, what factors can lead to a better understanding of Korean art by a German public?

After these introductory remarks on the Souler Garten, I will summarize the intention

- 1 The Asia-Pacific Week is an annual conference held in Berlin focusing on an interdisciplinary dialogue and cooperation between Asia and Europe. Topics include business, science, politics, culture and society.
- 2 An excerpt from the opening speech of Karin Schubert summarizes what the garden stands for: *"A Souler Garten in the German capital is a sign of friendship between Berlin and the Republic of Korea. Experiencing Korea in Berlin – seeing Korea, smelling Korea, feeling Korea – from now on, we really can experience Korea in Berlin-Marzahn. This garden symbolizes the close cooperation between the two cities. Berlin and Seoul work well together in various projects. Just think of the Asia-Pacific Weeks in September 2005, which were decisively coordinated by the Republic of Korea as our official partner country."*, see Presse- und Informationsamt des Landes Berlin, 2006

and the concept of the garden, based on political agreements and planning documents, which I gathered from the Seoul City Hall during a research stay in 2016.³ In this context, the garden concept will be examined and discussed as a derivation of higher, political goals. Subsequently, I will follow with the garden Dongnakdang in Gyeongju, which served as a model for the garden in Berlin. I will demonstrate to what extent the Souler Garten is authentic in its reception of elements of Dongnakdang. The comparison will show whether the Souler Garten has already partially been adapted to the tastes of German visitors. In addition, an empirical investigation consisting of a visitor survey in the Souler Garten will provide new insights on the reception of the garden. Finally, the findings of the analysis are to be combined with the results of the empirical study, to see whether the Souler Garten is an adequate presentation and interpretation of traditional Korean garden art and culture. Moreover, I will tackle the question, whether a project such as the Souler Garten can contribute to shaping the image of a country and, in addition, how art and culture in general contribute to a mutual cultural understanding.

The Souler Garten and South Korean Foreign Cultural Policy

In autumn 2003, Lee Myung Bak, then mayor of Seoul, visited the Asia-Pacific Weeks in Berlin and the two mayors of Seoul and Berlin on this occasion laid down a memorandum to deepen the friendly relations between the two cities. It contains among other points the project of a Korean garden in Berlin. On the basis of this joint declaration, a further agreement was signed at the beginning of 2005. The object of the 2005 agreement is the partnership-oriented preparation and implementation of a Korean garden named Souler Garten in Berlin as well as a so-called 'Berliner Platz'⁴ in Seoul.

The two documents locate the Souler Garten within a political context and make clear that the presentation of Korean art and culture in Germany takes diplomatic aspects into account. The German-Korean economic relations, in the context of which the cultural

- 3 I am referring essentially to 공동선언문: 대한민국 수도인 서울의 이명박 과 독일연방공화국 수도인 베를린의 클라우스 보베라이트 – Memorandum zur Städtepartnerschaft zwischen Seoul und Berlin, unterzeichnet von Oberbürgermeister von Seoul, Lee Myung Bak, und Bürgermeister Klaus Wowereit am 24. September 2003. (Memorandum 2003), 협정서: 서울시 위임을 받은 공원녹지관리사업소 와 베를린시의 위임을 받은 그린 베를린 공사 / 전문 – Vereinbarung zwischen der Stadt Seoul, Gesellschaft für Bau und Pflege von Parks und Grünanlagen und dem Land Berlin, GRÜN BERLIN Park und Garten GmbH, datiert 12. Januar 2005. (Vereinbarung 2005) and 과업의 개요: 과업명/배경/목적/범위/기본방향 – Zusammenfassung: Definition des Projektes, Hintergrund, Ziele, Richtung, Zeitplan, Projektergebnisse. (Zusammenfassung Projekt).
- 4 The "Berliner Platz" is a place in the center of Seoul near the historic city gate Namdaemun, designed by the city of Berlin and opened in autumn 2005. In addition to original parts of the Berlin Wall, there is a living figure of the Berliner Bär, the heraldic animal of Berlin, and a traditional German street lamp. The wall parts symbolize the peaceful overcoming of the division of Germany and the hope of a peaceful union of the Korean peninsula.

relations of the two countries are to be seen, follow a long tradition.⁵ Still, cultural experts attest South Korea a great deficit in terms of foreign cultural policy. While Korea has been dealing with Germany for a long time, and German philosophers and literates are, in general, part of the canon of Korean education, there is hardly any knowledge about Korea in Germany. The Koreans are aware of this fact and, as in many other respects, this issue is addressed at a national political level. In a study commissioned by the European Union in 2014⁶, it becomes clear why the strategies of the foreign cultural policy of South Korea have not yet been successful and the image of South Korea has hardly changed in recent years. A number of governmental institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, have been entrusted with the mission of spreading a positive image of the country since the 1990s. However, the competition between the different actors in the government and their differing priorities with respect to cultural measures have led to the absence of a closed strategic orientation of Korean cultural policy. Rather, the various, independent stakeholders try to achieve different objectives and thus set differentiated priorities. The report also emphasizes that the South Korean government is more concerned with propagating a positive image of its own country than to ensure that the content to be conveyed is factually correct and has a stringent out-of-the-art presentation without internal contradictions. However, this may well change in the next few years, the report concludes.

Intention, Ideas and the Garden Concept

The starting point for the concept of the Souler Garten was the idea of creating a common public space for bringing together Germans and Koreans that should also serve to introduce the Korean culture and convey the values of Korea to the German visitor. Due to the establishment of the Korean garden in close proximity to other foreign countries' gardens, a distinction to these cultures should be achieved by different garden design, showing the uniqueness of Korean culture. The delimitation to other cultures is evident when looking at various documents from the Seoul City Hall, and mainly refers to a distinction between Korea, Japan and China. ^{Fig. 1} The table contains a column for each country and compares the elements of the country's specific garden culture. The basic concept of the Souler Garten is inspired by the idea

5 In the year 1883 a so-called "trade union, friendship and shipping agreement" laid the foundation for cooperation between the two countries. See Pierer, H.v., 2005. Partnerschaft und Wettbewerb. Die deutsch-koreanische Wirtschaftszusammenarbeit im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. In Koschyk, H. *Deutschland, Korea: geteilt, vereint*. München: Olzog Verlag GmbH. p. 85–101.

6 Fisher, R. & Raj Isar, Y. (Ed.), March 2014. *South Korea Country Report. Report*. An initiative funded by the European Union.

of designing a traditional, natural garden, which fits into the existing landscape in Berlin, taking ideas of *pungsu*⁷ into account. The garden is intended not only for contemplation, but also as a real living space symbolizing the ideals of Korean literati. The rocks and the watercourse are explicitly emphasized as essential features of the Korean garden culture. A list of existing gardens in Korea has been compiled, to which these two criteria apply. The choice finally came to the garden Dongnakdang, largely due to the natural conditions in Berlin. The extents to which the traditional ideas of harmonics, *pungsu*, are anchored in the Souler Garten are shown in Figure 2. ^{Fig. 2} In order to conceive the Souler Garten as a public space for the meeting of Germans and Koreans, the Seoul City Hall has tabulated the commonalities of German and Korean culture and possible points to connect. Under the title of cultural exchange, aspects from literature, philosophy and history are placed in the larger context of gardens. Yi Eon-jeok (1491-1553), philosopher and builder of the Dongnakdang, is juxtaposed to well-known German writers such as Goethe (1749-1832), Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926) and Karl Foerster (1874-1970). All of whom share the same passion for nature and gardens.

The traditional structure of a Joseon-period (1392-1910) upper class estate were maintained in the Souler Garten, but reduced to their essential components. ^{Fig. 3, 4} The large gate, the open tower between the winding sidewalks, the clay walls and the pavilion offer the visitor sufficient opportunity to get an authentic impression of how traditional Korean properties are designed. ^{Fig. 5} On a garden tour the visitor crosses the different areas and can thus experience the space-time composition emphasized in Korean architecture. The walls surrounding the garden create an intimate atmosphere. Applying to the previous exegesis, it would consistently be designed to make the architecture in the garden actually more tangible. In this case, it would be necessary for the pavilion to be opened and to be entered by the visitors. On the other hand, the Souler Garten contains many cultural objects that you will not find in the original Dongnakdang, namely the stone figures, the wooden figures, everyday objects such as the hand mill, the stony gate, the wind chime and the pagodas. ^{Fig. 6, 7} These objects from religion, traditional Korean everyday life, or folk beliefs not only reveal a strong eclecticism, but also are insufficiently explained or contextualized. This hypothesis is confirmed when including the results of the visitor survey in the examination. The Souler Garten is mostly visited in the course of a visit to the Gardens of the World. Visitors in general seem open-minded and interested in Korean culture, but the survey clearly shows how little the visitors

7 *Pungsu* is the Korean word for geomancy. Literally it can be translated as "wind-water". *Pungsu* tries to achieve a harmonious coexistence of man and nature. Places for the construction of property are opted in harmony with nature and with respect to the existing landscape. See The Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, 2007. *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture*. New Jersey, USA: Hollym Corporation Publishers, p. 38.

of the Souler Garten and thus presumably the Germans in general know about Korea. ^{Fig. 8} This lack of background knowledge can be remedied by more information, which the majority of visitors indicated. According to them the Souler Garten is not sufficiently explained. An increase of information signs would be perceived as helpful by most of the interviewees.

(De-)Constructing Korean Cultural Identity

The Souler Garten was built by the Korean government and is thus particularly suited to the question of Korea's cultural identity.⁸ The analysis of the garden reveals the image Korea wishes to spread, which, like that of many other East Asian and Southeast Asian states, is mostly characterized by its rapid economic growth, dominated by the image of the so-called tiger states, and technological avant-garde. However, the image conveyed by the Souler Garten of Korea is quite different. Here, a traditional Korea is shown, a picture in which the Korean garden symbolizes peace and nature and thus an image opposed to the modern West.⁹ However, when visiting the capital Seoul, for example, it becomes clear that this traditional Korea, with its architecture of hanok houses and a life in harmony with nature, has increasingly faded into the background and is hardly existent in the current cityscape. Modern high-rise buildings spoiled the traditional Korean buildings in Seoul and many other major cities. The Souler Garten does not reflect a contemporary Korea. The objects in the garden, which are largely foreign to them, amaze many Koreans who visit the garden in Berlin leading to the question why the South Korean government attaches so much importance to an image of a traditional Korea in Germany. Why not show the modern South Korea? With growing prosperity, the state's cultural policy has grown in importance in recent years. South Korea wants to demonstrate not only economic power, but also find recognition on a world-political level and to position itself vis-à-vis the West. The cultural policy here serves to strengthen a national cultural identity as opposed to the dominant Western culture. At the same time, cultural exchange is also seen as an instrument for promoting economic growth.¹⁰ Until the 1960s, South Korea was a financially weak agricultural country. The Japanese occupied Korea from 1910 to 1945 and spoiled the Korean culture largely. The identity of the Koreans has changed dramatically during this time. Due to historical circumstances and the geographic position between China and Japan, Korea

has always been overshadowed and constantly tried to separate itself from its neighbors. This is also the case with the Souler Garten. To redefine Korea's position, a concept that is different from the Japanese and the Chinese was chosen specifically.

The self-image of Korea, which is mediated by the Souler Garten, can also be viewed as a reaction to the adaptation of Korea in the West. The Seoul City Hall presents an image of Korea, which is characterized by Shamanism, Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism. A picture oriented to ideas of a high culture is conveyed. Othering, i.e. the active detachment and differentiation to other individuals or groups, takes place on many different levels.

The Souler Garten – A Successful Translation?

In this paper, the Souler Garten in Berlin serves as a starting point for the question of how Korean art is presented and conveyed in Germany and how it is perceived. This question was raised in the larger context of cultural policy. It was shown that the exhibition and mediation concept has been extensively subjected to othering. The image of the Korean garden takes on western adaptations of Korean art, and the focus is on the active demarcation from the two other East Asian gardens in Berlin. This demonstrates the ambition of the Korean government on a cultural-political level as an expression of a cultural self-awareness in Asia, which primarily focuses on economic interests. The concept of the Souler Garten as a derivation from higher political objectives of foreign cultural policy could be demonstrated.

This paper makes clear that Korean culture is less exoticized from a Western perspective, but rather by a targeted manipulation by the Koreans themselves. The Korean government has actively contributed to presenting the Souler Garten as a symbol of Korea as part of the Western Korea picture. This becomes clear when considering that traditional gardens in Korea itself do not play a major role anymore. Behind the walls of the Souler Garten is a world that, like in the case of the Japanese gardens, connects nature and aesthetics, and presents Korean gardens as places of silence and tranquility. However, it is particularly the Korean popular culture, such as Korean TV series and pop music impressively prove, which shape today's image of Korea. The future will show whether Korea, through a vestige of Korean gardens through the West, will more strongly elevate them to national symbols or devote themselves to modern

⁸ The definition of the term 'cultural identity' is based on Hauser, R., 2006. Kulturelle Identität in einer globalisierten Welt? In *Netzbaasierte Kommunikation, Identität und Gemeinschaft*. Berlin: Metzner-Szigeth, A.; Ursua, N., p. 315–33.

⁹ See Sommer, T., 2005. Ein deutscher Blick auf Asien. In Koschyk, H. *Deutschland, Korea: geteilt, vereint*. München: Olzog Verlag GmbH, p. 213–27.

¹⁰ See Schmelter, U., 2005. Ist die deutsch-koreanische kulturelle Zusammenarbeit eine „Einbahnstraße“? In Koschyk, H. *Deutschland, Korea: geteilt, vereint*. München: Olzog Verlag GmbH, p. 301–13.

cultural concepts.¹¹

The garden also reveals a strong eclecticism that is associated with a problematic understanding of authenticity. A uniform garden concept is not consistently pursued here, but instead indiscriminate Korean cultural objects are placed in the garden, which are not adequately explained. On the information panels it is not sufficiently indicated that the Souler Garten is a replica of the Joseon-period (1392-1910) scholar garden Dongnakdang. Instead, the description of many different objects from religion, traditional Korean everyday life, or folk beliefs reveal a strong eclecticism that has nothing to do with the original Dongnakdang in Gyeongju and serves only to separate the image of Korean gardens from the Japanese and Chinese gardens. The problem not only lies in the reception. Instead of setting up a traditional Korean garden, which is complemented by elements of Korean culture, for reasons of distinction and authenticity, a modern concept of a Korean scholar garden should be realized in Germany, a modern garden in Berlin, a meeting place for Germans and Koreans, which is re-interpreted for today's purposes: a real Re-presentation of a Korean garden in the West.

11 In Japan, during the appointment of the Japanese gardens, parts of the national self-understanding were rebuilt and redesigned old buildings, some of which were overbuilt or dilapidated, either in order to emphasize their features even more or in order to better adapt them to the nationalist self-understanding. See Tagsold, C., 2013. Japanische Gärten als Räume des Anderen. In Köhn, S. *Fremdbilder – Selbstbilder. Paradigmen japanisch-deutscher Wahrnehmung (1816–2011)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, p. 185–205.

Figures

Fig. 1
Distinction between Korea, Japan
and China
Source: Seoul City Hall



Fig. 2
Consideration of pungsu in the Seouler Garten
Source: Seoul City Hall

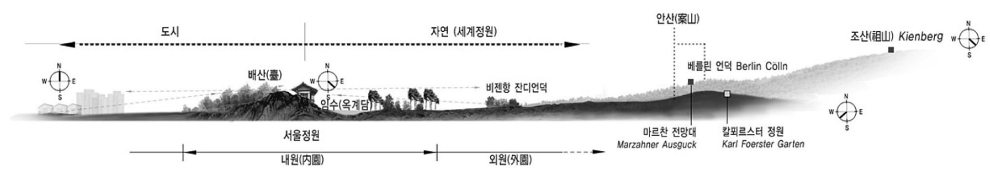


Fig. 3
Dongnakdang in Gyeongju, South Korea
Backside of the pavilion:
Source: Photography of the author



Fig. 4
The so-called Berlin pavilion in Berlin
Backside of the pavilion
Source: Photography of the author



Fig. 5
Placement of elements from
Dongnakdang in the Seouler Garten
Source: Seoul City Hall

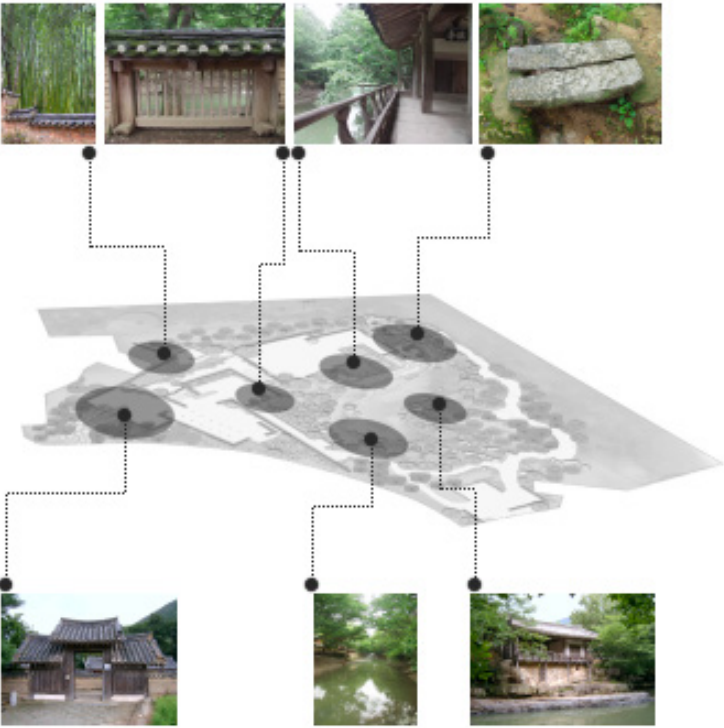


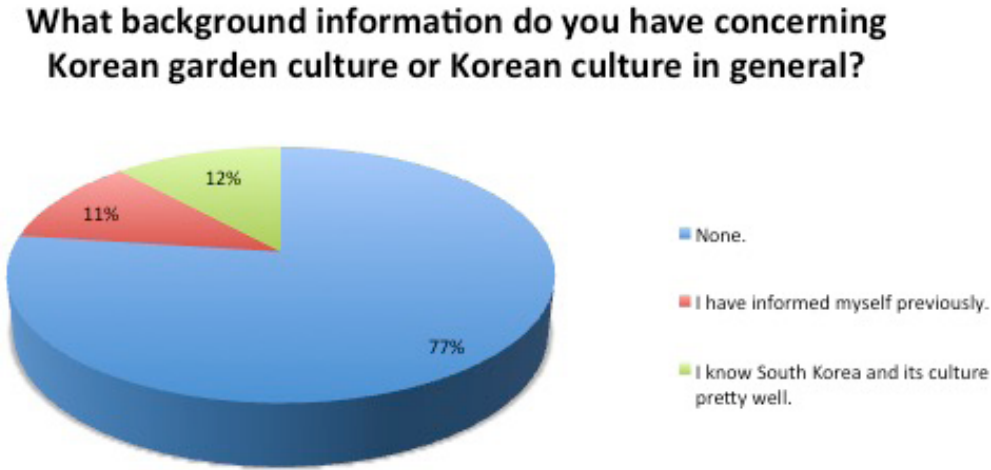
Fig. 6
Wooden figures (jang seung) in the
Seouler Garten
Source: Photography of the author



Fig. 7
Stone pagoda on a madang in the
Seouler Garten
Source: Photography of the author



Fig. 8
“What background information do you have concerning
Korean garden culture or Korean culture in general?”
Source: Diagram by the author



미국 미술사 학술서 기술을 위한 새로운 전략

A New Vision of Korean Art in Art History Textbooks in the US



더닌 리
De-nin Lee

미국 에머슨컬리지 미술사학과 조교수
Assistant Professor of Art History,
Emerson College, USA

미국 미술사 학술서 기술을 위한 새로운 전략

김영나 국립중앙박물관 전 관장은 최근 한 학술지에 발표한 한국 미술사학계 현황 관련 글에서, 그 동안 한국 미술사학의 정립이 이루어져서 이제는 “한국 미술 고유의 특성을 찾기 위한 노력의 급박함”이 줄어들었다고 언급했다. 또한 김영나 전 관장은, 한국 미술사학계의 발전을 위해 미술사학자들에게 “.....문화의 활발한 이동을 개척”할 것을 주문했다. 이러한 미술사학계의 전환을 위해서 박물관의 역할도 중요하지만, 미술사 학술서의 역할도 그에 못지 않게 중요하다.

최근 미술사 개론 강의에 한국 미술사 내용을 포함하고자 하는 강사들은 여러 교재 중의 하나를 선택할 수 있게 되었다. 그 중에는 세계 전 지역의 미술사를 다루는 교재 두 권도 포함되어 있다. 이들 두 권의 교재에 한국 미술이 포함되어 있다는 것은 환영할 만 한 일이지만, 두 교재 모두에서 한국 미술에 대한 접근 방식은 단순한 끼워넣기 식이고 단편적이다. 두 교재에 소개된 한국 미술 작품 갯수의 많고 적음을 떠나서, 미술 작품을 해석하는 방식이 한 국가에 국한되거나 언어를 중심으로 한 분류 방식을 채택하고 있고 미술 작품 간의 연관성을 설명하면서 누가 누구에게 ‘영향’을 주었느냐 하는 것에 집중하고 있다. 따라서 이들 교재는 현재 널리 통용되는 유럽-미국 미술사 내용에 변화를 일으키기에는 역부족이다. 세계 미술사를 더 깊이 이해하고 그 속에서 한국 미술의 역할을 제대로 알기 위해서는 단순히 한국 미술을 이들 교재에 포함하는 것에서 끝낼 것이 아니라 유물, 예술가, 예술적인 생각 등의 범문화적인 이동을 보여주는 실질적인 전략이 동반되어야 한다.

본 논문에서는 현재 사용되는 미국 교재를 분석한 후 세계 미술사에서 한국 미술에 대한 이해를 제고할 수 있는 전략을 논의하고자 한다. 미술사 교재에서 미술사를 국가 역사 대용으로 쓰는 경우가 있기 때문에, 첫 번째로 미술사와 국가 역사를 구분할 필요가 있다. 두 번째로 한 국가에 국한되지 않는 국경을 초월한 주제를 중심으로 미술사를 기술할 필요가 있다. 이러한 기술 방식은 한 국가에 국한되거나 언어를 중심으로 한 분류 방식을 보완하거나 대체할 수 있을 것이다. 마지막으로 ‘화려한 이동 이력’이 있는 유물이나 예술가를 내세울 필요가 있다. 이들은 문화와 국경을 초월해서 활발하게 이동한 이력이 있는 유물이나 예술가를 말한다. 이들을 예시로 내세우면 미술사 기술의 설득력이 제고될 뿐만 아니라 상호 연결성, 예측 불가능성, 유연성 등의 특징도 잘 보여줄 수 있다. 이러한 특징이야말로 역동적인 세계 미술 역사의 본질이다. 이러한 세 가지 전략을 이용하면 한국 미술이 고유의 특성을 정립할 수 있을 뿐만 아니라 이를 넘어서 세계 미술사에서 그 입지도 구축할 수 있다.

A New Vision of Korean Art in Art History Textbooks in the US

In a recent state-of-the-field article, Kim Youngna recognized that the field of Korean art history is sufficiently established, thereby diminishing significantly the “urgency of the search for the uniqueness of Korean art.” To advance the field, Kim calls on art historians to “chart the circulation of...culture.” Just as museums play a crucial role in facilitating this art historical shift, so too is there a place for introductory art history textbooks.

In recent decades, instructors wanting to teach Korean art as part of an introduction to art history have had several textbook options, including two introductory surveys with global coverage. Although the inclusion of Korean art in these two textbooks is laudable, unfortunately, their common strategy is additive and piecemeal. Regardless of how many examples of Korean art are included, the interpretive frameworks rely on national or linguistic categories to organize artwork as well as on the idea of “influences” to connect artworks. Thus, these textbooks fall short of the potential to shift the dominant, normative narrative of Euro-American art history. In order to achieve a deeper understanding of the global and the role of Korean art therein, inclusion must be accompanied by substantive strategies that illuminate the cross-cultural flows of artworks, artists, and ideas.

After examining the current textbook options in the US, this paper discusses three strategies for advancing the understanding of Korean art in a global art history. Recognizing that some art histories tend to use art history as a proxy for national history, the first strategy calls for decoupling national history from art history. The second strategy seeks to develop art historical narratives that are driven by transnational themes. These narratives could substitute for or complement ones based on national or linguistic categories. Finally, a third strategy pursues examples of “flamboyant circulation,” which describes artists and artworks characterized by histories of circulation that cross cultural and national boundaries. These examples not only generate compelling stories but also reveal qualities of interconnectedness, contingency, and fluidity—those characteristics intrinsic to a dynamic, global point of view. These three strategies have the potential to help advance the study of Korean art beyond the establishment of uniqueness and toward the promise of a global art history.

A New Vision of Korean Art in Art History Textbooks in the US

Intoduction: Advancing the Field

In the March 2016 issue of *Art Bulletin*, Director-General of the National Museum of Korea, Kim Youngna published a state-of-the-field article discussing Korean art history. The modern study of Korea art, Kim observed, has been affected by a history of colonialism and war, and as a consequence, the thrust of historians of Korean art has been to demonstrate how artistic expression in Korean art is distinct and independent from Japanese, as well as Chinese, traditions. Now, however, the field is sufficiently established, thereby diminishing significantly the “urgency of the search for the uniqueness of Korean art.” In order to advance the field, Kim calls upon art historians to “discard the close-minded emphasis on the excellence and specificity of Korean culture.”¹ Instead of pursuing questions with a “nationalist bent,” Kim sees the need to “chart the circulation of···culture.” In this project, museums play a major role as custodians of artwork and information. Additionally, museum activities can facilitate and support access to promote global, holistic, and dynamic approaches to art history.² As Kim describes it, advancing the field of Korean art history is not merely consistent with advancing global art history, but rather the two are inextricable. Furthermore, just as museums play a crucial role in that project, so too is there a place for introductory art history textbooks.³

This essay begins with an overview of major art history textbooks in the US and their inclusion of Korean art. Following the overview, a closer examination of two leading examples will illuminate the role that Korean art currently plays in textbooks that aspire to global coverage. This examination will be both quantitative and qualitative, delineating the number of Korean artworks included and characterizing the interpretive framework of those artworks.

The assessment of how these textbooks include Korean art informs my strategies for

1 Youngna Kim, “Korea’s Search for a Place in Global Art History,” *Art Bulletin* XCVIII.1 (March 2016): 7-13, 11.

2 Kim discusses, for example, the VCM Website (Virtual Collection of Asian Masterpieces), which would feature work from seventy-eight museums in fifteen Asian countries and fifty-two museums in eighteen European countries. Kim, 12.

3 Ladislav Kevsner notes the possibility and the need for global art history at the introductory level in his “Is a Truly Global Art History Possible?” in James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 81-111. Additional essays in Elkins volume are provocative and instructive on the topic of global art history.

more fully integrating Korean art into a global art history.⁴ These strategies include: 1) setting aside an art historical narrative that functions as a proxy for national history, 2) developing art historical narratives driven by transnational themes, and 3) discussing examples of “flamboyant circulation.”⁵

Introductory Art History Textbooks in the U.S.

Art history instructors in the US have several options for introductory art history textbooks. Before making a selection, however, they must decide whether to pursue the subject region-by-region or to attempt an integrated, global approach.

For the first option, many choose *Janson’s History of Art*.⁶ The title here is somewhat misleading, and the publisher’s internet site uses *Janson’s History of Art: The Western Tradition*, which makes explicit the exclusive narrative beginning with the Ancient Near East and ending with “The Postmodern Era: Art Since 1980.” The book does include a discussion of a contemporary Korean artist in the section titled. “Television Art: Nam June Paik.”⁷ If the region-by-region approach is to introduce students to Korean art history, however, it must supplement *Janson’s History of Art* with another textbook such as *Art beyond the West*.⁸ Covering Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Americas, *Art beyond the West* captures in a single, handy volume art traditions omitted by *Janson’s History of Art*.⁹ In *Art beyond the West*, arts of Korea and Japan are discussed together in Chapter 5. More substantive opportunities for students to think cross-culturally, or more synthetically arise in the first and last chapters, as indicated by a subheading such as “Non-Western Art and Aesthetics” and a title such as “Art Without Boundaries.”

Alternatively, *Janson’s History of Art* may be supplemented with multiple texts, each

4 Although my knowledge of Korean art is limited, however, I bring other strengths to the task of introducing the study of Korean art to students enrolled in US colleges and universities. Having taught at seven different institutions of higher learning (Williams College, Stanford University, St. Mary’s College of Maryland, Colorado College, Bowdoin College, Deep Springs College, and Emerson College), I frequently played the role of cultural translator in the college classroom. In addition, I am deeply committed to an overarching humanities perspective that sees art history as our common human inheritance. Thus, regardless of whether the particular course is global or regional in scope, I strive to make the familiar strange and to minimize the Othering of the unfamiliar. I want to express my gratitude for the opportunity to participate in the 2017 NMK Museum Network Fellowship to learn more about Korean art.

5 I first heard of “flamboyant circulation” from Yukio Lippit, in his comments to the panel, “Connected Art Histories: A Global Flow of Images,” at the College Art Association annual conference, New York City, February 17, 2017.

6 Penelope J.E. Davies et al, *Janson’s History of Art*, reissued 8th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2015).

7 Davies et al, 1063.

8 Michael Kampen-O’Riley, *Art beyond the West*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2012).

9 Note that *Janson’s History of Art* comprises 1184 pages, while *Art Beyond the West* is 368 pages long.

dedicated to a single region. For the East Asian region, which includes Korea, possibilities include Sherman Lee's *A History of Far Eastern Art*, John LaPlante's *Asian Art*, and the jointly authored *Asian Art* by Dorinda Neave, Lara C.W. Blanchard and Marika Sardar.¹⁰ Published in 2014, the last text is the most recent and up-to-date. In *Asian Art*, Neave, Blanchard, and Sardar continue a region-by-region approach by dividing the book into Part 1 South and Southeast Asia, Part 2 China, and Part 3 Korea and Japan. Within Part 3, chapter 11 is dedicated to Korean Art from the Neolithic to the present.¹¹ Students encounter 48 works of art and architecture, including three examples from North Korea. Synthetic treatment across Asia arises in the Introduction, which discusses cultures and languages, artists and patrons, media and formal analysis, and art history in Asia. In that introduction, the authors draw examples across the continent, but none are from Korea.

One advantage of the region-by-region approach is clarity, as students know at the outset the particular cultural focus. No student should therefore mistakenly attribute a South Asian Buddhist icon to the Silla period, for example. However, a drawback of this approach is that it minimizes and, in some instances, eliminates cultural contact and the dynamic processes informing art creation. Traditions become somewhat artificially separated and identities reified. Isolated from the rest of the world, the art historical narrative of the West all too easily lays claim to a monopoly on modernism, for example, creating a problematic and entrenched dichotomy that relegates other cultures' arts to the peripheral realms of "pre-modern," "backward," and "traditional."

Including Korean Art, Currently

Instead of limiting an introduction to art history to one or another region of the world, two current textbooks offer at the outset a global scope.¹² These two textbooks are *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History* and Stokstad and Cothren's *Art History*.¹³ After initial publication in 1926, Helen Gardner's *Art through the Ages* has remained in continuous print,

10 Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5th ed. (Prentice Hall, 1994); John LaPlante, *Asian Art* (McGraw Hill, 1992); Dorinda Neave, Lara C.W. Blanchard, Marika Sardar, *Asian Art* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2014). For discussion of Lee's treatment of Korean art in his *History*, see Kim, 8.

11 By comparison, chapters 12 through 15 of Part 3 focus on Japan.

12 Earlier books, such as Sheldon Cheney's *A World History of Art* (Viking Press, 1937), predate the current editions of the two textbooks selected for analysis here. However, none of the earlier books is currently in wide use for college instruction.

13 Fred S. Kleiner and Christin J. Mamiya, *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History*, 15th ed. (Wadsworth, 2015); Marilyn Stokstad and Michael W. Cothren, *Art History*, 5th ed. (Pearson, 2014)

attesting to its on-going positive reception. In later editions, Gardner stated explicitly her efforts to "break down our Eurocentric attitude toward art."¹⁴ Both her progressive view and her limitations may be seen in another comment in her preface:

...each culture takes its position in historical sequence. ...the influences of one culture on another within an era can be clearly discerned. ...the influence of earlier periods on later ones can be seen; for example, ...the influences of the ancient Far East, of Egypt, and of the primitive peoples on modern art.¹⁵

Progress and limitations are both evident in the most recent edition (2015) of *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, in which two chapters treat Korean art alongside Chinese art. Chapter 16 is titled, "China and Korea to 1279," and Chapter 33 is titled, "China and Korea, 1279 to 1980."¹⁶ Additional Korean artwork, by Nam June Paik and Do-Ho Suh, are featured in Chapter 30, "Modernism and Postmodernism in Europe and America, 1945-1980," and Chapter 31, "Contemporary Art Worldwide," respectively. In total, the student encounters eight pieces of Korean art and architecture. (See chart 1.)

From the perspective of a Korean art partisan, the laudable scope of *Gardner's Art through the Ages* is unfortunately compromised by a lack of attention to the Korean material, demonstrated not merely in a quantitative comparison of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese artworks.¹⁷ A qualitative lack of attention, too, is evident, for example, in the chapter summary charts. In Chapter 16, the chronology chart is titled "China and Korea to 1279," but subdivisions—Neolithic to Shang, Zhou to Qin, Han and Period of Disunity, Tang, and Song and Liao—clearly privilege China. References to Korean art and history are found under the "Tang" heading ("Koreans embrace Buddhism and Buddhist art during the Unified Silla Kingdom...") and "Song and Liao heading ("Goryeo potters in Korea produce fine celadon pottery").¹⁸ In combination, the apportionment (or relative quantity) of Korean material in chapters titled

14 Helen Gardner, *Art through the Ages*, 2nd ed. (1948), ix; cited in Tehmina Kader, 170, "The Bible of Art History: Gardner's "Art Through the Ages," *Studies in Art Education* 41.2 (Winter 2000): 164-177.

15 Gardner, 1948, p. x; cited in Kader.

16 By comparison, chapters 17 and 34 focus entirely on Japan until 1333 and Japan from 1333 to 1980, respectively.

17 Forty-six Chinese artworks are discussed in Chapters 16 and 33, compared to six Korean artworks in the same chapters. The two chapters on Japanese art include thirty-nine artworks.

18 The oversight is somewhat rectified in the chapter's closing feature, "The Big Picture: China and Korea to 1279," when "Tang" becomes "Tang Dynasty and Korean Unified Silla Kingdom" but now no reference to Korean art is made in the subsequent category, called "Song and Liao Dynasties." Kleiner and Mamiya, 462.

“China and Korea,” the appearance of neglect toward Korean art and history in the pedagogical features as in the chapter chronology, and the absolute quantity of Korean art together suggest an additive, rather than an integrated approach to including Korean art in a global art history.

Marilyn Stokstad first published her *Art History* in 1995. The fifth edition (with Michael Cothren sharing the author credit) was published in 2015 and the sixth edition is scheduled for publication in 2018, attesting to robust usage. In its treatment of Korean art, *Art History* bears striking similarity to *Gardner's Art through the Ages*. Chapter 11 is titled, “Chinese and Korean Art before 1279,” and Chapter 25 is titled, “Chinese and Korean Art after 1279.”¹⁹ These two chapters feature a dozen Korean artworks, roughly doubling the number *Gardner's Art through the Ages* illustrated. (See chart 1.) However, only a single work, Nam June Paik's *Electronic Superhighway: Continental U.S.*, appears in the book's concluding chapter, “The International Scene since 1950.”

Because images are essential for art history instruction, the number of images here serves as a quantitative indicator. With 13 illustrations of Korean art, *Art History* demonstrates more attention to Korean art compared to the 8 illustrations in *Gardner's Art through the Ages*.

In terms of qualitative treatment, however, the texts are remarkably similar. The decisions to group art in China and Korea together, to use 1279 (the year the Mongols unified Chinese territories) as a chronological divider, to separate and privilege China within those chapters, and to include Nam June Paik's work in a chapter with global parameters demonstrate a common approach that is additive and arguably outdated.

The accompanying interpretive texts rely on national, political narratives that traffic in cultural accomplishment and distinction. In one text, the student reads:

“The early Joseon era was a period of cultural refinement and scientific achievement, during which Koreans invented Han'geul...and movable type, not to mention the rain gauge, astrolabe, celestial globe, sundial, and water clock.”²⁰

I do not dispute the inventions, but does their mention advance the student's knowledge of art history? Several paragraphs later, the student reads:

19 As was the case with *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, the chapters on Chinese and Korean art are following by chapters dedicated to Japanese art alone.

20 Stokstad and Cothren, Vol. 2, 809.

“...from the fifteenth century onward, the painting on the best Korean porcelains closely approximated that on paper and silk, unlike in China, where ceramic decoration followed a path of its own little reference to painting traditions.

In another unique development, Korean porcelains... In typical Korean fashion, the painting spreads over a surface unconstrained by borders, resulting in a balanced but asymmetrical design that incorporates the Korean taste for unornamented spaces.”²¹

Finally, the end of the chapter concludes with a discussion of Gim Hwangi's 5-IV-71:

“Despite these privations, some modern influences did reach Korea indirectly via China and Japan... Among these [few Korean artists], Gim Hwangi (1913-1974) was influenced by Constructivism and geometric abstraction and would become one of twentieth-century Korea's influential painters.”²²

The student rarely encounters a paragraph discussing a Korean artwork that does not mention China. Moreover, in the paragraphs that do not refer to China, “modern influences” present in another form the underlying, structuring narrative: how Korean art becomes distinctive in the face of near overwhelming “influences.”

A New Vision

To advance the current view of Korean art provided by introductory texts to art history, I propose three strategies: 1) setting aside an art historical narrative that functions as a proxy for national history, 2) developing art historical narratives driven by transnational themes, and 3) discussing examples of “flamboyant circulation.”²³ The first strategy recognizes the logistical limitations of the introduction in terms of the physical textbook, the instructor, and the student. Curbing the impulse to include national accomplishments unrelated to art history will facilitate

21 Stokstad and Cothren, Vol. 2, 809.

22 Stokstad and Cothren, Vol. 2, 812.

23 For vigorous critiques about the history, value, content, and theoretical underpinnings of a global, or world art history, see Elkins, *Is Art History Global?* and David Carrier, *A World Art History and Its Objects*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

the focus on Korean artworks.²⁴ This first strategy requires careful attention and editing of the text.

The second strategy challenges the organization of material according to relatively static and reified national or linguistic categories. Instead, it assumes greater fluidity for images, objects, ideas, and people across time and space, and it selects common themes that bind artworks together. For example, instead of discussing Buddhist art as part of art in China, followed by Buddhist art as part of art in Korea, and finally Buddhist art as part of art in Japan, this strategy would use Buddhist art as the overarching category, invoking examples from the Turkic Wei period, Unified Silla kingdom, Asuka period and so forth to discuss topics such as iconography, temple construction, and liturgical practice. This second strategy represents more substantive change to the current paradigm.

The third strategy selects artists or artworks that are characterized by exemplary histories of circulation. For example, Nam June Paik appears commonly in many art history survey texts. Generally, emphasis is given to his role in pioneering the field of video art, a new medium for the international avant-garde in the post-war era. Paik's pioneering work is, however, part and parcel of his peripatetic and cosmopolitan travels, including study at the University of Tokyo and Munich University, work in New York City, and an academic posting in Dusseldorf. The trajectory of his life argues for a mobile avant-garde community nourished by cultural contact and unfettered by national borders. Artworks, too, can demonstrate "flamboyant circulation." Jane Portal includes, in her *Korea: Art and Archaeology*, a photograph of Austrian-born potter Lucie Rie (1902-1995) seated next to a Joseon period "full-moon" jar. ^{Fig. 1} In the caption, Portal notes that Bernard Leach (1887-1979) acquired the jar in 1935, and later (in 1943) gave it to Rie.²⁵ Finally, the jar entered the British Museum collection in 1999. The circulation of this "full-moon" jar—geographically from Korea to England, and in terms of situation from an original context of manufacture and use into the hands of a Leach, a foreign promoter of Korean and Japanese ceramics, thence to Rie, a woman potter and Jewish emigrée who fled the Nazis and settled in London, and finally into the collection of the premier British art museum—not only makes for a compelling narrative but also reveals qualities of interconnectedness, contingency, and fluidity intrinsic to human experience and history. This third strategy requires heightened attention to and discussion of examples of artwork and artist that demonstrate dynamic, cross-cultural movement.

24 Moreover, a tight focus on the artwork has the salutary effect of facilitating student engagement and learning. Students are more apt to develop a meaningful understanding of Korean art if they are not overwhelmed with unrelated or tangentially related information.

25 Jane Portal, *Korea: Art and Archaeology* (London: British Museum, 2000), 19.

Conclusion

In recent decades, instructors wanting to teach Korean art as part of an introduction to art history have had several textbook options, including two introductory surveys with global coverage. Although their inclusion of Korean art is laudable, unfortunately, their common strategy is additive and piecemeal, thus falling short of the potential to shift the dominant narrative of Euro-American art history. In order to achieve a deeper understanding of the global and the role of Korean art therein, inclusion must be accompanied by substantive strategies that illuminate the cross-cultural flows of artworks, artists, and ideas. Three strategies—decoupling national history from art history, using themes instead of nations as interpretive frames, and attending to instances of "flamboyant circulation"—offer possibilities for advancing the instruction of Korean art in a global art history.

chart 1. Comparison of Korean art in two global art history textbooks.

| Gardner's <i>Art through the Ages</i> (2015) | <i>Art History</i> by Stokstad and Cothren, 5th ed. (2014) |
|--|---|
| China and Korea to 1279 (ch. 16) | Chinese and Korean Art before 1279 (ch. 11) |
| 16-29 Crown [Cheonmachong tomb, Gyeongju National Museum] | 11-26 Crown [Gold Crown Tomb, NMK] |
| 16-30 Meditating Bodhisattva Maitreya [NMK] | 11-27 Ceremonial stand with snake, abstract, and openwork decoration [Sackler Museum, Harvard, 1991.501] |
| 16-31 Shakyamuni Buddha, Seokguram | 11-28 Bodhisattva seated in meditation [NMK] |
| 16-32 Maebyeong vase [Philadelphia Museum] | 11-29 Seated Shakyamuni Buddha, Seokguram |
| | 11-30 Maebeyong bottle with decoration of bamboo and blossoming plum tree [Tokyo National Museum, TG-2171] |
| | 11-31 Seated willow-branch Gwanse'eum Bosal (The Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara) [Sackler Museum, Harvard, 1943.57.12] |
| China and Korea, 1279 to 1980 (ch. 33) | Chinese and Korean Art after 1279 (ch. 25) |
| 33-19 Nandaemun, Seoul | 25-16 Horizontal wine bottle with decoration of a bird carrying a newly caught fish [Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka, 20773] |
| 33-20 Jeong Seon, <i>Geumgangsan Mountains</i> [Hoam Art Museum] | 25-17 Broad-shouldered jar with decoration of a fruiting grapevine [Ewha Women's University Museum, Seoul] |
| | 25-18 An Gyeon, <i>Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land</i> [Central Library, Tenri University, Japan] |
| | 25-19 Jeong Seon, <i>Panoramic View of the Diamond Mountains (Geumgang-san)</i> [Lee'um, Samsung Museum] |
| | 25-20 Sin Yunbok, <i>Picnic at the Lotus Pond</i> [Kansong Museum of Art, Seoul] |
| | 25-21 Gim Hwangi, <i>5-IV-71</i> [Whanki Museum, Seoul] |
| Modernism and Postmodernism in Europe and America, 1945-1980 (ch. 30) | The International Scene since 1950 (ch. 33) ²⁶ |
| 30-57 Nam June Paik, video still from <i>Global Groove</i> , 1973 | 33-61 Nam June Paik, <i>Electronic Superhighway: Continental U.S.</i> , 1995 |
| Contemporary Art Worldwide (ch. 31) | |
| 31-42 Do-Ho Suh, <i>Bridging Home</i> , 2010 | |

26 The publisher's internet site describes the forthcoming 6th edition of 2018 that Chapter 33 on contemporary art "...has been reorganized and reworked for greater clarity and timeliness. Coverage of numerous new works has been incorporated into this chapter." www.pearsonhighered.com.

Figures

Fig. 1
Glazed white porcelain
"full moon" jar
Joseon dynasty, 18th c
Height: 47 cm
British Museum 1999,0302.1



**샌디에고미술관의 한국 미술품:
대표 작품, 풀리지 않는 신비 그리고 도전 과제**

**Korean Art Collection at the San Diego Museum of Art:
Highlights, Mysteries, and Challenges**



다이애나 초우
Diana Chou

미국 샌디에고미술관 아시아미술 학예사
Associate Curator of Asian Art,
The San Diego Museum of Art, USA

샌디에고미술관의 한국 미술품: 대표 작품, 풀리지 않는 신비 그리고 도전 과제

샌디에고미술관은 1925년 샌디에고미술갤러리로 출발했다. 이 갤러리는 재력 있는 투자자와 사업가의 지원을 받았던 단체인 샌디에고 미술협회에서 분화된 것으로, ‘샌디에고미술갤러리’라는 이름은 1950년에 ‘샌디에고미술관’으로 바뀌었고, 미술관 50주년을 기념해 1975년 아시아관을 건립했다.¹ 중국, 일본, 한국, 이란 등 아시아 국가의 유물은 미술관 소장품 중 가장 큰 비중을 차지한다. 그리고 현재 아시아관은 전체 아시아 소장품 중 5~6퍼센트를 전시하고 있다. 비록 미술관이 인도 필사본과 회화로 이루어진 비니(Binney)컬렉션으로 세계적인 명성을 얻고 있기는 하지만, 아시아 미술품도 미술관의 자랑거리 중 하나이며 향후 성장 가능성도 있다.

한국 미술품 중에서 국제적으로 가장 잘 알려진 것은 청자를 비롯한 한국 도자기다. 미술관이 소장한 한국 미술품 중에서도 청자와 도자기가 대부분을 차지한다. 그리고 이들의 연대도 삼국시대부터 조선시대에 이르기까지 광범위하다. 또한 미술관은 김기창(1917~1982), 조중현(1917~1982) 등 현대 한국 작가가 그린 회화 작품도 몇몇 보유하고 있다. 본 논문에서 샌디에고미술관에 있는 한국 미술품 전체를 소개하려는 것이 아니라, 여기 모인 박물관 전문가들과 한국미술 연구자들에게 우리 미술관이 소장하고 있는 한국 미술품을 간략하게 소개하고자 한다. 한국미술 연구자들이 우리 미술관이 소장한 한국 미술품을 향후 연구 주제로 생각해보고 그들의 전문적인 의견을 제시할 수 있으면 하는 것이 나의 바람이다. 또한 동 논문을 통해서 우리 미술관과 아시아 다른 박물관에 있는 한국 미술품을 포함한 아시아 미술품 전반에 대한 중요성이 다시 한 번 조명되기를 바란다.

¹ 이 정보는 현재 샌디에고미술관에서 도슨트프로그램을 관리하고 있고 예전에는 기록보관을 담당했던 제임스 그레블 박사가 제공해 준 것이다.

Korean Art Collection at the San Diego Museum of Art: Highlights, Mysteries, and Challenges

The San Diego Museum of Art began as the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego in 1925, which was derived from the existing Fine Arts Society, an organization supported by several wealthy investors and businessmen. The name of the Fine Arts Gallery was changed to the San Diego Museum of Art in 1950; and the Asian Art Gallery was created in 1975 for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Museum.¹ The collection of Asian art, including China, Japan, India, Korea, and Iran, is the largest depository at the San Diego Museum of Art; and today's gallery display showcases about five to six percent of the entire Asian art collection at the SDMA. Although the SDMA celebrates the fame of worldly-known Binney collection of Indian manuscripts and paintings, the Korean art collection has its unique feature and a potential growth.

Korean pottery and celadon are the most representative and best-known art of Korea to the world. At the SDMA, the majority of Korean art collection also constitutes pottery and celadon, and these objects are ranged from Three Kingdoms (ca. 50 BCE – 688 CE) to Choson (Joseon) Dynasty (1392-1897). In addition, the SDMA also have a few of Korean Modern paintings of Kim Ki-Chang (1913-2001) and Cho Jung-Hyon (1917-1982). This paper does not intend for a comprehensive study of Korean art collection at the San Diego Museum of Art, but as an introduction to museum professionals and scholars of Korean art. It is my hope to seek for Korean art scholars, who will provide their expertise and consider this collection for their future research projects. In addition, by sharing this preliminary report, it will perhaps establish and further the importance of Asian art collection, including Korean Art, at the San Diego Museum of Art in the US and Asia.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. James Grebl, Manager of Docent Program and former Library Archivist at the SDMA, for this information.

Korean Art Collection at the San Diego Museum of Art: Highlights, Mysteries, and Challenges

Introduction

In 2011 and 2012, the San Diego Museum of Art was under new leadership, Ms. Roxana Velasquez, and Dr. Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, who was then the curator of Asian art, embarked on a renovation of the Asian Art Court that created a small gallery dedicated to the Arts of Korea, with about fifty objects on display. ^{Fig. 1} This newly designated gallery contains collections mainly from gifts of three local collectors—Dr. Horace N. Allen (deceased), Mr. Isamu Kawaguchi, and Mr. Eugene Gabrych. The latter two currently still reside in Southern California. The relationships between the San Diego Museum of Art and its donors have been a significant factor in how this Museum acquired and built its art collection, and the collection of Korean art is a good example of this process.

SDMA began as the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego in 1925, which was derived from the existing Fine Arts Society, an organization supported by several wealthy investors and businessmen. The name of the Fine Arts Gallery was changed to the San Diego Museum of Art in 1950. The collection of Asian art began with Earle Grant (1890-1971), a trustee from 1965 to 1971, who left all his estate and collections to the Museum. However, the Asian Gallery of the SDMA was not established until 1975, under director William Thompson Stevens (1913-1985), when the Asian Gallery was created for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Museum. Although it is less than five decades old (from 1975 to 2017), the collection of Asian art, including China, Japan, India, Korea, and Iran, is the largest depository at the San Diego Museum of Art. In this Pan-Asian collection, one of the best-known collections is Chinese Buddhist sculptures from Xiangtang Shan of the Northern Wei dynasty, which was included in the traveling exhibition organized by Smart Museum of Art, the University of Chicago, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in 2010 and 2011.¹ The other, which is celebrated as its own entity,

is the Binney collection of Indian (Mughal and Deccan) manuscripts and paintings.² This collection constitutes more than 1400 pieces given by Edwin Binney 3rd (1925-1986) in 1990, many of which have been in traveling exhibitions in the US and other countries. This collection is also the largest single collection of Indian manuscript outside of India.

Korean Art on Display & Its Highlights

As I mentioned earlier, the Asian art gallery at the SDMA was first created and named “Asian Court” in 1975 ^{Fig. 2} and was modified. ^{Fig. 1} At its initial stage, only very few Korean art objects were on display ^{Fig. 3}, because of the gallery layout with an open-ceiling structure. In addition, the gifts from Isamu Kawaguchi and Eugene Gabrych did not enter the collection until between 2002 and 2010. The renovation of East Asian Art Galleries in 2012 provided a space for Arts of Korea, which display about 50 objects. Its current display showcases the range of media including celadon, bronze Buddhist sculpture, large lacquer trunk, and several miscellaneous objects; and the time span ranges from Three Kingdom to the Joseon dynasty of early 20th century. The quantity of celadon included in this display suggests it is the strength of the collection. However, there are some important pieces and objects that are worth highlighting in this collection that are not on display. I would like to illuminate the Korean art collection from the SDMA collection by introducing a few examples.

Pottery & Celadon

One of the earliest examples of Korean pottery at the SDMA is this stoneware ^{Fig. 4}, a bowl with a lid, and it is loosely dated between 55 BCE and 935 CE. A similar object is found in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (40.721 a & b).³ This stoneware is likely from the Silla Period of the 8th-9th century, as is the one in the Brooklyn Museum. Although Tang China influenced Korea during this time, Silla pottery has its unique techniques and quality that differ from the Tang glazed tri-color ware. Silla gray stoneware is incised and impressed with patterns and natural ash glaze. The repeated patterns on the lid suggest the stamp was applied before the pottery was dry and fired.

1 *Echoes of the Past: the Buddhist Cave Temples of Xiangtangshan*. Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2010.

2 B.N. Goswamy & Caron Smith, *Domains of Wonder: Selected Masterworks of Indian Painting*. CA: San Diego Museum of Art, 2005. Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, *Visiones de la India*. San Diego Museum of Art & Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2013. *Epic Tales from Ancient India: Paintings from the San Diego Museum of Art*, San Diego Museum of Art, 2016.

3 Robert J. Moes, *Korean Art from the Brooklyn Museum Collection* (NY: Universe Books, 1987).

A Goryeo celadon jug, with underglaze inlaid decoration (dragon and floral motifs), is one of the unique pieces of celadon ware in the SDMA collection.^{Fig. 5} Goryeo celadon is probably the most celebrated type of object in Korean art, because of its innovative technique and unique beauty in form. Although the handle and sprout are missing, this object is unique in shape and design—I have not found a comparable piece. In contrast to the gourd-shape ewer and Maebyeong vase, which are in most museums, this object is a jug or pitcher.⁴ The dragon motif, although it bears auspicious symbolism in East Asian art in general, is likely specifically associated with kings. Perhaps this type of celadon was made for special occasions and imperial use. It is rare to find a comparable object for this study.

Painting

Ten Views of Mt. Diamond ^{Fig. 6}, 19th century, Joseon dynasty, ten-panel screen painting (69 1/8 x 136 1/2 inches), ink and colors on silk, was signed as “喜帆” (Xi Fan in Chinese, Kiho in Japanese). On each panel, there is a poem corresponding to the landmark and scene. The theme of the panels is suggested to be the Diamond Mountain, *Kumgang San* (or *Geumgansan*).⁵ Kumgang San, currently located in North Korea, is known for its scenic beauty since ancient times and has been the subject of artworks with a variety of formats (screen painting, album leaf, and hanging scroll) in Korean art. In addition, the mentions of several temples on this screen painting indeed suggest the location, the Diamond Mountain. For examples, Pyohunsa, Pyohun Temple 表訓寺, one of several temples that were built in the Silla Era of the 7th century at the Diamond Mountain, is depicted on a panel. Unfortunately, not all the temples are identified. Although the information and identification of temples remain unstudied, the Diamond Mountain has been associated with Korean beliefs of Buddhism, Daoism, and Shamanism from the ancient times that signified its importance in Korea.

Although the background of artist is unknown, the topic of the painting has art-historical significance in Korean landscape painting. It is derived from the “true-view” landscape painting tradition that was fashioned during late 17th-century Korea. Chong Son 鄭壽 (Jeong Seon, 1676-1759), a court painter of the Joseon era, was the first Korean artist who transformed the Diamond Mountain into a theme for Korean landscape painting.⁶ Chong Son, apart from

4 Katherine Anne Paul, ed., *Korea: Highlights of the Newark Museum's Collection* (Newark Museum, 2016)

5 The identification of this panel was studied by late Dr. Kao Y-li, Curatorial Assistant of Asian Art at the San Diego Museum of Art (2005).

6 *Geumgang-jeondo* (*The Panoramic View of Mt. Diamond*), date 1734, is one of Chong Son's major works. This painting is in the collection of Ho-Am Art Museum.

the traditional Korean landscape painters who followed the literati tradition and painting of China, painted actual Korean landmarks and scenery which he travelled to. In addition, Chong Son's “realistic” approach to subjects influenced later painters in considering native Korean landscape and everyday Korean activities in their works as their interpretation of “true-view.” The painter of the SDMA screen inherited the literati painting tradition of China; however, the idea of following the pilgrimage to Mt. Diamond was likely inspired by Chong Son.⁷

Kim Ki-Chang's 金基昶 (1913-2001), *Twelve Months of Activities* ^{Fig. 7}, d. 1946, watercolors on paper (twelve leaves, each folio is 14 x 20 inches), is another important object of Korean art at the SDMA.⁸ Kim Ki-Chang, one of the most important and best-known 20th-century Korean painters, chose seasons and celebration from Korean culture as themes of this twelve-leaf set.⁹ This set showcases various aspects in the celebration of traditions in Korea.

Unsolved Mysteries and Present Challenges

Although several objects are identified as Korean art, there are some questionable elements in their styles. For examples, SDMA has a pair of *Sun, Moon and Five Peaks* screens ^{Fig. 8}, tempera and gold leaf on paper, 20th century. This theme is depicted for the backdrop for Imperial throne of Joseon Kings; however, the two-color tone (red and blue) of the background differs from the known screens that are only painted in blue. In addition, the placement of the sun and moon on SDMA's screens are reversed, which are different from other comparative works.¹⁰ Another three four-panel screen of Daoist deities ^{Fig. 9}, dated to the 19th century, is a puzzle. Because of the subject, it could be Chinese as well. In addition, no comparable works are found for this study. At the same time, there are a few Korean objects that were placed at the area of China. This confusion is probably caused by the use of Chinese characters still in the Joseon dynasty and earlier. For example, a painting *Tigress and Cub* was placed in Chinese art; however, the painting style and subject are much associated with Korean folk painting than

7 Other comparative works include *Mt. Kumgang*, ten panels, in *The Collection of Korean Folk Paintings* (Kyonggi University Museum, 2000); Chong Son's *General Views of Inner Mount Kumgang* (hanging scroll, ink and color on silk) at Gansong Art Museum Seoul; Kim Chang-up's (1658-1721) *Myong-kyong Tae in the Diamond Mt* at the Brooklyn Museum Collection; and *Twelve-Panel Folding Screen of the Diamond Mountains* at Newark Museum (*Korean: Highlights of the Newark Museum's Collection*, 2016).

8 I am indebted to Dr. Kim Youngna for her insights and identification of the artist and themes of this set.

9 Kim Ki-Chang was a devoted Christian, and he also painted Christian subjects. It awaits a further study if the set of SDMA convey Christian themes and interpretation.

10 I am indebted to both Dr. Sooa Im McCormick, Assistant Curator of Korean Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, brought this attention to me; and to Dr. Cho Insoo, Professor of Art History at Korea National University of Arts, for his insight and locating comparative works.

Chinese.¹¹

The unsolved mysterious objects also partially contributed to the current challenges from the curatorial perspective. The challenges faced at the SDMA are multifaceted: 1. Because of a lack of comprehensive study of Korean art collection at the SDMA, some re-identification and re-attribution of objects is needed, particularly in the area of Buddhist art, which shares similarities in iconography and styles among China, Japan, and Korea; 2. There is a great need for conservation of paintings in the Asian art department. *Ten Views of Mt. Diamond* is one of the good works that requires conservation, including some repair, cleaning, and perhaps remounting of the panels. However, the SDMA has no conservation lab at present, and relies on the service from the Balboa Art Conservation Center (BACC), which provides paper and painting conservation service to the SDMA and other Museums in Balboa Park, San Diego. Unfortunately, the conservation of Asian silk painting and painting remounting are not provided by the BACC. Therefore, the SDMA will need to ship paintings to contracted conservators in other cities that will require investments in time, money, and effort. Such tasks greatly rely on external funding. 3. Although it is still a tentative study of Korean art collection the SDMA, there are some noticeable gaps in the collection, including textiles, traditional painting, and contemporary art. 4. A moderate reconfiguration of the gallery layout of East Asian Art would not only showcase the strength of the Korean art collection, coherently in a conjunction with art of China and Japan at the SDMA, but also provide a vision for the future display and growth of the collection that will last decades and educate a greater community both regionally and internationally.

11 The comparative works are mainly from the collection of National Museum of Korea (www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/list, accessed on April 30, 2017); *Selected Treasures of National Museums of Korea* (Samhwa Publishing Co., 1985)

Figures

Fig. 1

Entrance to Arts of Korea Gallery
The San Diego Museum of Art
photographed in 2013.



Fig. 2

Asian Court
The San Diego Museum of Art
1980s
Image collection of SDMA library
archives



Fig. 3

Asian Court
The San Diego Museum of Art
1975
Image collection of SDMA library
archives



Fig. 4

Bowl with a Lid
Silla Era (ca. 55 BCE – 668 CE)
Stoneware
4 3/4 x 6 5/16 x 6 5/16 inches
The San Diego Museum of Art
Bequest of Samul Hindel
(2003.296. a-b)



Fig. 5

Asian Court
The San Diego Museum of Art
1980s
Image collection of SDMA library
archives



Fig. 6

Unknown Artist
 Ten Views of the Diamond Mountains
 19th century
 Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897)
 Ten-panel screen painting

Ink and colors on silk
 69 1/8 x 136 1/2 x 1/2 inches
 The San Diego Museum of Art
 Gift of Eugene & Marian Gabrych
 (2002.191)

**Fig. 7**

Kim Ki-Chang (1913-2001)
 Playing Go (from Twelve Months of Activities)
 1946
 Twelve album leaves
 Ink and colors on paper
 The San Diego Museum of Art
 Gift of Dr. Paul S. Anderson
 (1966.203.e)

**Fig. 8**

Unknown artist
 Sun, Moon, and Five Peaks
 20th century
 Screen painting
 Tempera and gold leaf on silk
 The San Diego Museum of Art
 Gift of Admiral Fedrick. J. Horne
 (19572.a)

**Fig. 9**

Unknown artist
 Daoist Deities
 19th or 20th century
 Screen painting
 Ink and colors on paper
 The San Diego Museum of Art
 Gift of Eugene and Marian Gabrych
 (2002.175.1)



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137 Seobinggo-ro, Yongsan-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea
02.2077.9229
hyeonjikong@korea.kr
www.museum.go.kr

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