

JOURNEYS TO THE PAST: travel and painting as antiquarianism in Joseon Korea

Karwin Cheung

s1487043

Universiteit Leiden 2016/2017

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the transnational interaction of Korean art during the early modern period. By examining practices of collecting and travel I aim to explore how cultural and visual patterns from Chinese antiquity are re-contextualized in Joseon Korean art. In this process not only a specific Korean understanding of Chinese antiquity was developed, but Chinese antiquity was in turn also projected upon the Korean landscape. I further argue that artistic developments during the early modern period in Korea, such as true-view painting, should be understood from this transnational perspective, rather than from sino-centric or nativist views.

Supervisor: PROF. OLIVER MOORE

2nd Reader: PROF. ANNE GERRITSEN

wordcount: 17940

CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Chapter 1: Antiquarianism and travel	8
Chapter 2: Imagined travel and collections	23
Chapter 3: Constructed landscapes	35
Conclusion	50
Bibliography	51
Plates	55

Note: Korean words and names have been transcribed using Revised Romanization. An exception to this is the bibliography, where names are romanized following the given romanization in the original publication. In some cases this means that authors are found under two different names. Chinese words and names have been romanized in Pinyin. Where I have quoted translations of others I have taken the liberty of changing the romanizations to Pinyin and Revised Romanization. Unless otherwise noted, translations and any mistakes found in them are my own.

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the relationship between travel, antiquarianism, and painting in Joseon Korea during its early modern period, roughly 1400 to 1800. What exactly ties these three together might not seem immediately apparent, but in the course of this thesis I argue that travel and antiquarianism were inextricably linked and thereby informed the artistic imagination of Joseon painters.

As antiquarianism and travel were so closely linked, it is perhaps fitting to call the interplay between the two 'Antiquarian travel'. Travel was not just inspired by models from antiquity, but also provided an opportunity to acquire antiquities. Moreover, literati used depictions and narratives of travel to connect the Korean landscape to Chinese antiquity. Travel constituted a framework through which Chinese antiquity could be mediated. It was antiquarian travel that informed Joseon painting.

One of the apparent contradictions of this period is that there seems to have been both an obsession with Chinese objects, as well as with the own Korean landscape. Likewise studies of Korean art of this period have tended to be either strongly Sino-centric or strongly nativist. Using this framework of Antiquarian travel I aim to arrive at an understanding of Korean painting and antiquarianism, which takes in regard both Chinese influences and Korean innovations.

Aims and methods

The primary aim is then to elucidate how cultural patterns from Chinese antiquity provided a model for the Joseon literati, and how in turn these literati connected Chinese antiquity with the Korean landscape through paintings and texts about travel. Yet that is not to say that Chinese models were meekly followed by the Joseon literati, but rather that they creatively re-appropriated these ancient tropes for their own use. Even if they had wished to do so, they would not have an easy task. As the ideas and discourses surrounding Chinese antiquity were transferred through books, paintings, and other antique objects, this transfer of ideas was subject to both geographical and historical circumstances. As such the reception of Chinese antiquity diverged from how it was received in China, which in itself was not a static entity either. Nor was this use of Chinese antiquity devoid of tensions. Indeed the Korean literati were often very aware of the fact that they were quite far away from the locales of the stories and persons they so admired. If for Song literati, antiques were a way to reconnect with their distant past, then what did Chinese antiquity mean for Joseon literati?

Although the perspective taken in this study is art historical and the emphasis lies on paintings made by travellers and court artists, it is not overly concerned with stylistic developments but rather focuses on the social and historical conditions surrounding painting production.

Another goal of this study is to integrate the art history of Korea into a transnational context. Until quite recently Korean art history was largely ignored in the Western scholarship of East-Asian art, with little attention to whatever influence the peninsula had on developments in China and Japan. Much of historical writing produced in Korea after liberation in 1945 was a mirror image to this, i.e. foreign influences were often downplayed in favour of native origins, as a need was felt to assert the nation after the experience of Japanese colonization during the early 20th century. Although the study of art as a separate discipline did not come into being until the 1970s,¹ these tendencies are present in the discipline of art history as well.

One example is the interpretation of true view landscape painting. Paintings of the Korean landscape, done from sketches or memory, became more popular during the 18th century and have been grouped together under the name of true view landscape painting or *jingyeong sansuhwa* 眞景山水. In conventional narratives of Korean art history these paintings are often described as the first truly 'Korean' genre of painting. Recently Korean scholars have started to question this raised profile of true view landscape painting, arguing that genres as flower painting and portraiture were far more prominent at the time. That question of whether the genre is over-emphasized will be sidestepped here. Rather I will argue that these paintings were deeply influenced by the culture of antiquarian travel.

In recent years there have been studies that sought to consider Korean art from a broader transnational perspective. One example is Burglind Jungmann's *painter's as envoys*, which considered the influence of Joseon embassies to Japan and its painters on the Nanga school in Japan. This study emphatically places itself in the larger project of transnational history.

Another aim is to align this work with earlier studies on the early modern period in East-Asia, such as those by Craig Clunas.² Early-modern as used here denotes a time period during which commerce developed and a consumption society came in to being, developments which were also present in Joseon Korea. Read in another way, this study

1 Kim, Youngna. "Korea's Search for a Place in Global Art History." *The Art Bulletin* (2016).

2 Craig Clunas, *Superfluous things: material culture and social status in early modern china* (Honolulu: University off Hawaii Press, 2004)

is also an investigation into the links between consumption and production in early modern Korea. Here again, there is little work focusing on Korea. The idea of consumption culture in Joseon Korea does not fit neatly into conventional historiography, in which the country is seen as a strict Neo-Confucian land that suppressed trade. I hope that this work can correct that image.

sources

This study is based on paintings and texts produced in Joseon Korea from 1400 to 1800. To what extent any surviving corpus of paintings and texts is representative of a time period is a problem for any historian. In the case of Korea there are few paintings on paper or silk preserved from before 1600. Fortunately, there is a rich and diverse corpus of textual sources which aid our understanding. As the extant corpus of textual and visual sources are rather unevenly divided across the period, it is appropriate to make some remarks here about their availability and my selection of them.

This study's primary concern are the social and historical contexts Korean paintings were created in. I have taken examples from across this time period and a time gap exists between some of these paintings. That is not to say there were no artistic developments during this period. Landscape paintings from the early Joseon dynasty seem to be mostly working in the idiom of the Northern Song landscape masters. Whereas during the middle Joseon period we see a shift to Chinese southern school styles, which in general had larger emphasis on calligraphic brushwork.

Human and natural disasters have led to the loss of many pre-1600 Korean paintings. Only the genre of Buddhist paintings, which were preserved in Japanese temples, are still available in somewhat considerable numbers. Only a handful of landscape paintings from the early Joseon period are still extant. While from the Goryeo period there are no surviving paintings on paper or silk with a reliable attribution. However, the few surviving examples of early Joseon landscape paintings, such as An Gyeon's *dream journey to the peach blossom spring*, are extremely rich with information.

With regard to paintings produced after 1600, I have taken an effort to not just consider landscape paintings and literati painting, but have also included some decorative painting and court paintings, in order to give a more complete view of Joseon antiquarianism and travel.

With regard to textual sources, there is a large corpus of travel diaries extant from the Joseon period. In the corpus of Joseon travel literature, it are records of travels to Beijing that are the most numerous.³ These diaries give essential information on how literati bought antiquities and other curiosities in China. Moreover, travel diaries on sightseeing trips inside Korea are another essential source. These provide information of how the literati thought about the domestic landscape.

It has to be noted that the extant sources are predominantly produced by, or for, and concerning a rather small part of society, namely the elite men of letters. Even when it came to the missions to Beijing the scholars were a minority. It were the servants, soldiers and interpreters who were the most numerous and who in actuality did most of the work. Therefore, it needs to be understood that this is emphatically a study of elite culture and certain privileged parts of the professional class.

Structure

The first chapter concerns the links between travel and antiquarianism. Travel facilitated the trade in antiquities, which in turn fuelled the transmission of Song and Ming discourses of antiquarianism. However, as in any transmission of information through different contexts meanings start to diverge from their original position. Through a close reading of texts on collectors and collections that resulted from this antiquarian travel I argue that this created a distinct Joseon antiquarianism. This antiquarian culture was characterized by tensions of morality and location. The material impulse of collecting clashed with the strict Confucian morals. In addition, the fact that Chinese antiquity laid elsewhere was problematic too.

The second chapter considers how this Korean antiquarianism influenced artistic production. Chinese landscape themes provided the main themes in Joseon landscape paintings, but these landscapes were often out of reach for painters and literati. Despite the regular missions, most literati and painters only knew China from texts and images, rather than from personal experience. This chapter argues that the Chinese landscape as it was seen in Korea was essentially a Koreanized one. As such, Joseon painters and literati were able to use Chinese landscape themes as a blank canvas which for their own artistic purposes.

3 T'ae-jun Kim, *Korean travel literature*, trans. Kyong-hee Lee (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2006), 118.

The third chapter investigates how painters and travellers sought to link Chinese antiquity with the Korean landscape. Joseon literati showed great interest in the Korean landscape. Especially after 1600 period literati produced large numbers of travel paintings and travelogues. This turn towards the own landscape is often interpreted as a turn away from Chinese models. However, my argument is that literati with their travels actually aimed at connecting the Korean landscape with Chinese antiquity. Thereby solving some of the tension of being steeped in an antiquity that has its foundation elsewhere.

CHAPTER 1: TRAVEL AND ANTIQUARIANISM

For collectors and painters in Joseon Korea travel was a necessary condition. For most of the Joseon period practically the only possibility for Koreans to enter Ming or Qing China was via the tribute missions to the Chinese capital. This chapter deals with the links between this travel and collectors back in Korea. It seeks to define the sort of antiquarianism these links created.

The first section considers the transmission of Song and Ming antiquarian discourses. These discourses formed a large part of the antiquarian culture but these discourses were not simply grafted onto the Korean context.

The second section is a short survey of how the tribute system functioned. Nominally these missions were for diplomatic and ritual purposes. However, joining a tribute mission was also a rare opportunity to see the famed Chinese capital and it served as a conduit to the intellectual world of China, and, to a smaller degree, the Western world.⁴

In the third and fourth sections I consider some of the practical difficulties for collectors. The import of antiques was by no means a limited undertaking. Although during the initial years of the Joseon dynasty, the interest in collecting antiques was limited to a few high figures, by the 18th century the rage for antiques had spread to the whole scholarly class and even to the upper middle class of professionals. However, being a foreign buyer in the markets of China was an experience fraught with all sorts of anxiety. In addition, there was also a paradox between the strict Confucian morality in Joseon Korea and the conspicuous consumption of collectors.

The last section is a case study of one of the most well known collectors of the dynasty. Prince Anpyeong is not just notable for owning a formidable collection, but there is also an extant catalogue which lists all the paintings in his collection, which allows us to take a closer look at Joseon practices of collecting.

Sources of Joseon antiquarianism

A love for antiquity had been a hallmark of East-Asian philosophy from earliest times. Confucius had already sought knowledge from the ancients, saying "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest

4 Song-mi Yi, "Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-view Landscape Painting of the Choson Dynasty," in *Arts of Korea* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 342

in seeking it there.”⁵ As we will see in this chapter, in Korea too scholars and gentlemen expended vast amounts of money and effort to acquire Chinese antiques.

Interpretations of Joseon antiquarianism tend to claim that during the early part of the dynasty it mostly draws from Northern Song art theory, whereas during the middle part of the dynasty scholars start to be more influenced by Ming discourses on antiquarianism. However, I will argue that these boundaries were not as clear cut in Korea.

It was during the Northern Song that a systematic study of antiquity starts. In this period scholars centered around Ou Yangxiu 歐陽脩 (1007-1072) and Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-1068) started with the systematic study of bronze and stone inscriptions, an activity known as *jinshixue* 金石學. Publications such as the *Kaogutu* by Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1042-1090), and the *Xuanhe bogu tu* 宣和博古圖 by Wang Fu 王黼 (1079-1126), carefully recorded measurements, inscriptions, and designs of ancient bronzes. These Song scholars lived in a time during which textual criticism questioned the authenticity of canonical texts and classics. It seemed that classical texts such as the *Shangshu* or the *Lunyu* had gone through various editions and undergone editorial changes in their long lives. As the authority of these texts was no longer carved in stone, they turned to these bronze and stone artifacts, which provided, next to the aforementioned possibility to outdo each other in the political arena⁶, a direct and tangible connection to antiquity.⁷

But then what did this connection signify for Joseon literati? A constant in Joseon writings is a sense of being in the wrong place and time. Such feelings are generally absent in China. The wrong time perhaps, but seldom the wrong place. Song scholars wrote large works of palaeography and archaeology on Chinese antiques, but doing such projects in Korea was not possible.

Whereas Song antiquarianism can be characterized as a primarily scholarly undertaking. Ming antiquarianism takes an aesthetic turn. In general collectors and scholars did not seek any longer to create works of palaeography or do archaeological work, rather they sought to derive aesthetic pleasure from their collections.⁸ Collecting antiques was one of the finer pleasures in life. As we will see, aesthetic enjoyment

5 Analects 7:20 (tr. James Legge)

6 Ya-Hwei Su, "Antiquaries and Politics: Antiquarian Culture of the Northern Song," in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alain Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

7 Peter N. Miller and Louis François. *Antiquarianism and intellectual life in Europe and China, 1500-1800*. (University of Michigan Press, 2012), 7.

8 Benjamin Elman, "The Historicization of Classical Learning in Ming-Ch'ing China," in *Turning Points in Historiography*, ed. Edward Wang and Georg Iggers (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 128.

constituted a large part of Joseon antiquarianism, one that preceded the influence of late Ming manuals. However, collections for the sake of collections would prove problematic too in the context of Joseon Korea.

Tributary relations and travel to Beijing

Before delving into the trade of antiquities, it would be appropriate to give a short overview of the institution that facilitated this trade for most of the dynasty, namely the tribute system. Diplomatic relations between the Ming and Joseon courts were initially problematic. A failure in diplomacy between the Ming and preceding Goryeo court led to the coup of general Yi Seong-gye 李成桂, the later king Taejo 太祖 (r.1392-1398). As he was an usurper, Yi was all the more interested in receiving legitimization from the Ming court, but this also made the Hongwu emperor reluctant to do so. During the Hongwu reign king Taejo was only referred to by temporary titles. It was not until 1398 that Joseon Ming relations took a turn for the better. That year king Taejo abdicated in favour of his son and the Hongwu emperor passed away, both giving way to rulers more conducive to good relations.

The system that formed after 1398 consisted of three (later four) regular missions each year, sent out on the lunar new year and the birthdays of the emperor and the crown prince. Next to these congratulatory embassies, missions were also sent out on special occasions to send messages of gratitude, obituary notices, condolences, etc. These special occasions were by no account a rare occurrence. In the period 1392-1450 there were an average 7 missions a year, a reflection of the need for regular communication. Later this number would stabilize to about three or four missions a year.⁹

After the conclusion of the peace treaty with the Qing court in 1637, it was also stipulated that there were to be four regular missions each year, though these were combined into one yearly mission after the Qing moved their capital to Beijing in 1645. These regular missions were complimented by the aforementioned irregular missions, though they now often came to be combined. After 1645 there were about 3 missions a year.

There were two routes available to the missions. The land route took about 30 days. It led from the capital of Hanseong up north, passing Pyongyang 平壤, to Uiju 義州, where the missions crossed the Yalu river into China. From there they went on to Shenyang 平壤, through the Shanhai pass 山海关 and eventually reaching Beijing.

⁹ Donald N. Clark, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming," in *The Cambridge history of China*, ed. Denis Crispin. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 280.

The sea route also took the missions northwards to Pyongyang, but from there they went up to the coastal town of Cheolsan 鐵山, where they started the crossing of the Yellow Sea to Dengzhou 登州 (present day Penglai, Shandong). From Dengzhou they continued overland to Beijing.

Except for the years directly after the Manchu takeover, the trip to Beijing was one of the most coveted assignments amongst the literati class. As official positions in the missions grew rare, scholars even started to take nominal military positions in order to join.¹⁰ Merchants also joined these missions in large numbers, as joining a tribute mission was not just an opportunity to trade in the Chinese capital but also at all the stops along the route. As a result the tribute missions grew ever larger. These mission incorporated about 50 man during the early Joseon period,¹¹ but by the 18th century they often consisted of several hundreds of people, much in part due to the lucrateness of the private trade.¹²

Buying Chinese objects and market anxiety

Nominally missions were in order to present tribute at the Chinese court and for other diplomatic purposes. These regular missions presented a considerable financial burden on the Korean court. Especially during the early Joseon period tributary demands for precious metals often outstripped the abilities of the Joseon court. Missions would receive return gifts from the Chinese court, among which books were of considerable value to the Koreans. But these did not come close to recompensing the costs incurred by the Joseon court. One estimate is that these return gifts from the Chinese court were about 10% of the value of the tribute goods offered.¹³

More considerable compensation was found in private trade. A large amount of private trade was done at stops along the way and in the Chinese capital. The Ming authorities frowned upon such activities, as it was not only off the books, but it also infringed on the policy of keeping the Koreans and various tribes along the northern borderlands apart. For the Koreans it was a welcome source of extra income. Especially the

10 Seonmin Kim, *Borders and Crossings: Trade, Diplomacy and Ginseng Between Qing China and Choson Korea*. 2006. 156-157

11 Donald N. Clark, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming," in *The Cambridge history of China*, 280.

12 Seonmin Kim, *Borders and Crossings: Trade, Diplomacy and Ginseng Between Qing China and Choson Korea*. 2006. 149-155

13 Hae-Jong Chun, "Sino-Korean tributary relations in the Ch'ing period," in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 90-91.

interpreters, who in practice did most of the work, received little pay from the Joseon government and were practically forced to supplement their pay.

Most of this trade concerned the usual commodities and luxury goods, such as silks and ginseng. More interesting is the buying of antiques and books. The enthusiasm with which the Koreans bought these in the Chinese capital was noted by Ming scholar Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) who wrote:

朝鮮人最好書。凡使臣入貢限五十人，或舊典新書，稗官小說在彼所缺者，日出市中，各寫書目，逢人遍問，不惜重直購回。故彼國反有異書藏本。

Joseon people like books the most. The envoys go to the market every day with lists of old and new books, secular novels, and any books not in Korea. They ask people, and purchase them regardless of their prices. Thus, [Chinese] rare editions of variant texts can be found in Korea. (tr. adapted from Sungrim Kim)¹⁴

Chen describes Korean buyers here in positive terms. However, as we will see, views of Korean traders of books and antiques ranged from the very positive to the extremely negative.

Another source of information on the buying practices of Joseon literati in China is the *Jehol diary* 熱河日記 of Pak Ji-won 朴趾源 (1737-1805). Pak is a well known 18th century scholar and a proponent of the Silhak school 實學, a reform oriented school of thought that arose during the 17th and 18th century as a reaction to orthodox neo-Confucianism. The *Jehol diary* is a record of the 1780 mission sent out to congratulate the Qianlong emperor on his 70th birthday. This mission was led by Pak's third cousin, which afforded Pak the opportunity to join. One of the things Pak looked forward to was buying genuine Chinese antiques.

One lengthy episode takes place in an antique shop in Shengjing 盛京 (modern day Shenyang 瀋陽, Liaoning Province). Pak meets the shopowners and gets into a spirited discussion with the shopowner named Tian. Pak says he is interested in buying antiques: "It does not have to be antiques only; I also want to buy some stationery. If the antiques are elegant and rare, I am not too concerned too much about their cost."¹⁵ The shopowner however tells Pak not to buy too enthusiastically at *Liulichang* 琉璃廠 in Beijing, as fakes are all too common on the market. Pak then asks the shopowner how he as a 'humble connoisseur from a poor corner of the ocean' could distinguish between the two.

14 Sungrim Kim, "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea," *Archives of Asian Art* 64, no. 1 (2014): 7.

15 Chi-won Pak, *The Jehol diary*, trans. Yang-hi Choe-Wall (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2010). 99

Pak's attitude of being merely a 'humble foreign connoisseur' who is ignorant of the finer points of connoisseurship is probably politeness, but it is also an attitude meant for foreign consumption. Korean literati were not above flaunting their knowledge if it was for a domestic Korean audience. However, there was a very real element to the anxiety felt by the Koreans buying at the markets of Beijing.

It would be difficult to put any precise number to the amounts Korean buyers were spending in the markets of Beijing. As we will see in the next section, the influx of antiques and other luxury goods was more than enough to worry the Korean authorities as a danger for public morality. Nevertheless, both Koreans and Chinese were at times rather dismissive of Korean art buyers.

For example, shop owner Tian tells Pak Ji-won: "I noticed earlier that in your country the way you deal with antiques are quite different from our ways in China. Even with such commodities as tea and ingredients for medicines, Koreans are not concerned with good quality but only with cheap deals. Alas, when you do so you cannot discuss genuine or false products."¹⁶ Evidently Tian thinks little of Korean connoisseurship. It was unlikely though that the average Chinese buyer did much better. Tian himself quickly admits that the larger part of his own merchandise was fake. In fact, less than exacting standards of fake and real had driven the Chinese art market since the Song. It is questionable then whether or not the Koreans did much worse in appraising antiques. However, the sentiment is indicative of the position the Koreans had in the Chinese art market.

Confronted with the pitfalls of the Chinese antique markets, the Joseon literati sought information that would help them navigate these difficulties. Concurrent with the increasing interest in antiques, Korean collectors sought Ming manuals on collecting and connoisseurship, either in their original form or compiled into collectanea. One example of such a compilation was the handbook *Imwon gyeongje ji* 林園十六志 by Seo Yu-gu 徐有榘 (1764-1845). This was purportedly a handbook on the agricultural economy, but also had chapters on antiques, which took much of their information from Mi Fu's 米芾 *Huashi* 畫史 and Zhao Xigu's 趙希鵠 *Dongtian qinglu ji* 洞天清祿集. Besides these texts from the Song period, texts from the Ming were also circulating in Korea. For example, for the compilation of *Jeungbo sallim gyeongje* 增補山林經濟, another 'economic' handbook, Yu Jung-rim 柳重臨 (1705-1771), extensively quoted from the *Zhangwuzhi* 長物志, by Wen Zhenheng 文震亨.¹⁷ Other well known manuals were also available for the Korean literati, such as the *Shuhua jintang* 書畫金湯 by Chen Jiru

16 Ibid., 100

陳繼儒; the *Gegu yaolun* 格古要論 by Cao Zhao 曹昭; the *Kaopan yushi* 考槃餘事 by Tu Long 屠隆; and the *Pingshi* 瓶史 by Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道.¹⁸

What could the Korean reader glean from these handbooks? These books showed how to navigate the Chinese world of material goods in order to become a gentleman of elegant taste. They would typically include chapters on ceramics, inkstones, bronze vessels, screens, manuscripts, calligraphy, paintings, etc. What to buy, and, especially, what not to buy.

In *Superfluous things* Craig Clunas notes some of the themes common in these handbooks. They claim that authenticity *zhen* 真 is the foremost value in connoisseurship, rather than aesthetic enjoyment. There was a great anxiety surrounding fakes. If antiques were to signify something about the owner, then what would a fake signify? Clunas notes that “There are parallels here with what the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz has identified as the ‘bazaar-style’ economy, where accurate commercial information is hard to find and where those who wield it possess considerable power and prestige.”¹⁹

For the Koreans as foreign buyers this anxiety was especially high. To go back to Pak Ji-won’s conversation with shopowner Tian in Shenjing; In order to answer his question how to distinguish between the genuine and fake, Tian decides to demonstrate the creativity of Chinese forgers. He lays out several objects from his shop in front of Pak and asks him to evaluate them. Pak takes a look at the bronzes and ceramics:

小大圓方。製各不同。鏤刻光色。件件古雅。攷其款識。皆周漢物。田生曰。不必攷文。此皆近時金陵河南等地新鑄花紋。款識雖法古式。形既不質。色又未純。

Some were big, some small, and others round or angular. The engraving and colouring of each piece was elegant. When I examined their inscriptions, I noticed they were all products of the Zhou and Han dynasties. Tian cautioned against my acceptance at face value, ‘It is not necessary for you to verify the pattern. They are newly-inscribed flower patterns, and the porcelain comes from Jinling and Henan provinces. Though the inscriptions are modeled after the old

17 Jungyon Hwang, "Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty," *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* 6 (2012): 109.

18 Chin-Sung Chang, "Ambivalence and Indulgence: The moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea." In *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Korean and Japanese Art*. Ed. Elizabeth Lillehoj, (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2013), 127.

19 Craig Clunas, *Superfluous things: material culture and social status in early modern china* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 12.

fashion, the shape lacks the simplicity and the colour still lacks the unsophisticated honesty. (tr. adapted from Yang Hi Choe-Wall)²⁰

This repeats numerous times. Pak points at something, remarking that it looks good, but Tian tells him that it is a fake. Unfortunately Park does not write down what sort of impression this experience left him. Perhaps tellingly there is no record of his experiences with the markets in Beijing besides a general description of Liulichang.

It were the markets of Beijing where the largest amounts of goods were bought. Yet despite the money that Korean missions must have brought in, sellers at the market were often less than impressed. An 1828 account of Liulichang market by Pak Sa-ho 朴思浩 (1788-?) records the following exchange at the market of Liulichang.

同行一譯執。寶石二枚。問其價則答銀八百兩。譯目瞠口喏。不敢問他物而走。他物稱是。故朝鮮人賣買者甚罕。所買者。零零瑣瑣價歇而無用者。廠人指物之賤而歇者曰。朝鮮件。甚矣。吾東人之不識羞恥也。

I was walking [Liulichang] together with an interpreter. He asked for the price of two precious stones and was answered that they are 800 taels of silver. The interpreter's eyes widened and his mouth fell open. He did not dare to ask about the other wares and left. The other wares were also similar in price. Therefore the people of Joseon do not buy or sell much. And, as for what they buy, it is low in price and has not much use. Whenever sellers at the market point at objects at the bottom of the price scale, they say it is a Joseon object. This is truly a grave matter. The fact that we eastern people are lacking in connoisseurship is shameful.

How much did the Korean actually buy in Beijing? In contrast to this account are the many stories of collectors who spent enormous amounts of money. The most famous 18th century collectors in Seoul, Yi Ha-gon 李夏坤 (1677-1724) and Nam Gong-Cheol 南公轍 (1760-1840), were famous for needing multiple buildings to store their collections.²¹ It is clear that despite the nominal Confucian moral prohibition on flaunting wealth Korean collectors still spent considerable amounts of resources on their collections.

Conspicuous consumption in Joseon Korea

The experiences of Pak Chi-won illustrates that the rage for antiquities, which at the start of the dynasty had been limited to people of high standing, had by the 18th century spread amongst all scholars. By this time a mature art market had developed in Seoul with professional art dealers. Unjongga 雲從街 (present day Jong-no), was one of the main streets in the capital and also the location of the authorized market. Here one

20 Chi-won Pak, *The Jehol diary*, trans. Yang-hi Choe-Wall, 104

21 Chang, *Ambivalence and Indulgence: The moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea*, 134

could find many shops specializing in all sorts of Chinese bronzes, paintings, and ceramics imported from Beijing.

In fact the buying of antiques became so popular that the court of king Jeongjo (r.1776-1800) issued sumptuary edicts in order to limit the trade of Chinese luxury goods and antiques.²² The fact that Jeongjo saw himself forced to issue these edicts points at some of the moral incongruence that came with the collecting of antiquities and luxury goods. After all, the scholarly class espoused values of self-cultivation and study, rather than reckless spending and conspicuous consumption.

Perhaps even more troubling for the scholarly class than accusations of hypocrisy was the fact that not only scholars and upper classes took part in the activity of collecting antiques. As the amount of money in the economy increased, rich merchants and middle class professionals also started to take part in the collecting of antiques. Such developments triggered in the scholarly class an anxiety surrounding the breaking down of class barriers.²³ Such developments were not unique to Korea. A similar phenomenon was seen in Ming China as well and was also combatted by several decrees there.²⁴

Despite the successes of Confucian morality in especially the later parts of the dynasty, the inhibition on material flaunting was never quite that effective. Throughout the dynasty we find depictions of literati enjoying and showing off their collections. Especially in the 18th century such depictions become more common. Increased commerce had led to an increase of money in the economy, which fuelled the further spread of antiquarianism. There are many anecdotes from this period of collectors spending great amounts of money on antiquities. As mentioned before, this was not just current amongst the scholarly class, even the Jungin 中人, the middle class of professionals, started to pour their money into their collections.

One example of such a professional was Kim Hong-do 金弘道 (1745-?), who was the most famous court painter of his time. As such his paintings were in high demand and he was able to ask high amounts of money for his work. He was known to have spent almost all his money on buying antiques. A painting now in the Pyongyang museum of art has been argued to be his selfportrait (fig.1). The portrait depicts a man sitting in his study and holding a fan. On the table next to him various scholarly objects are laid out. We can see writing articles, ceramics and a bronze of the *zun* type. In the background

22 Ibid., 125

23 Ibid., 122.

24 Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, 149

hangs a mechanical clock, which was perhaps the most expensive object here. It shows that the culture of collecting was not just limited to antiquities and books, but also to such curiosities as Western clocks.

How did the literati resolve this tension between all this conspicuous consumption and the Confucian discourse of modesty? In practice it was often ignored, much like the edicts of the king, or subsumed under nominal Confucian values. That is to say, they took a cue from late Ming sensibilities in which collectors started to describe themselves as scholarly recluses.²⁵ One of the most famous collectors of the 18th century Nam Gong-Cheol is found saying:

置亭龍山廣陵之間, 多植梅菊松竹, 時以幅巾野服, 出往逍遙, 客至, 焚香清坐, 討論經史, 傍列古今法書, 名畫· 銅玉· 彝鼎, 評品賞玩, 泊然無榮利之慕。

I built a pavilion between Yongsan and Gwangneung, planted plum trees, chrysanthemums, pine trees, and bamboo, and took walks in casual dress. When guests visited, I burnt incense, discussed Chinese classics, and appreciated and evaluated rare antique books, master paintings, bronzes and jades, and antiques. By doing this, my mind became simple and modest, so that I no longer longed for worldly pursuits. (tr. Sungrim Kim)²⁶

Nam does not linger on the contradiction here. Apparently for him it was possible to practice simpleness and modesty through his wealth and possessions.

A Joseon collector: Prince Anpyeong

Anpyeong was the third son of king Sejong (r. 1418-1450) and a major cultural figure during one of the high points of the Joseon period. The fifteenth century was a prosperous time for the Joseon dynasty; during Sejong's reign in particular culture and the arts flourished. From his father he received the sobriquet of Bihaedang 匪懈堂, the hall of not being idle. Anpyeong received a rigorous education in the Chinese classics and the Neo-Confucian canon and at the age of 12 he entered Seonggyungwan 成均館, the national academy. As an adult Anpyeong led several publishing projects together with scholars of the hall of worthies or the Jiphyeonjeon 集賢殿. In 1443 he annotated and published the poems of Du Fu. In 1445 he compiled the poems of Bai Juyi, and the next year he did the same for Mei Yaochen. In 1447 he compiled a large ten volume anthology with 668 poems from the Tang and Song, for which he wrote a preface and

25 Hwang, *Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty*, 105.

26 Kim, *Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea*, 10.

asked many leading scholars of the day to contribute colophons.²⁷ He was surrounded with an entourage of scholars and artists, who in turn drew from his extensive library and art collection. He often hosted elegant gatherings where he and the guests took turns in composing poetry and prose.

Anpyeong started collecting from a young age and by adulthood he had put together a considerable art collection. The collection has by now been dispersed, but a record of his collection is still available in the text *Hwagi* 畫紀, record on painting, written by Sin Sukju 申叔舟(1417-1475) in 1445 when Anpyeong was 27 years old. At the time Sin Sukju was one of the most promising young officials²⁸, holding a position in the hall of worthies. The initial goal of the hall of worthies was to organize the palace lectures but later the office also managed various research projects. Sejong staffed the hall of worthies with young promising scholars who had excelled in the palace examinations. In turn, Anpyeong drew many of his friends from the ranks of the hall of worthies. In the first lines Sin notes about Anpyeong:

匪懈堂愛書畫。聞人有尺牋片素。必厚購之。擇其善者。粧潢而藏之。一日。悉出而示叔舟曰。余性好是。是亦病也。窮探廣搜十餘年。而後得有是。

Bihaedang loved calligraphy and painting. [Whenever] he heard that someone owned a fragment [of calligraphy or painting] on paper or silk he definitely purchased it, paying generously. Selecting the good pieces, he had them mounted and preserved them in his collection. One day he took them all out, showed them to me, Sukju, and said, "I am fond of this by nature; it is also an obsession. After exploring exhaustively and searching widely for more than ten years I finally gained [all] this." (tr. Burglind Jungmann)²⁹

Evidently Anpyeong put his collection together personally, buying pieces from other collectors rather than drawing from palace collections. Unfortunately Sin does not give any further information on the sources of these paintings, but limits himself to listing all the works in the collection. Anpyeong's collection is mostly centered on works from the Yuan and Northern Song dynasties. That paintings from these periods were available in Korea is not altogether surprising. Guo Ruoxu recorded in the *tuhua jianwenzhi* 圖畫見聞志, that king Munjong of Goryeo (r.1047-1082) had sent out missions in the 1070s to the Northern Song in order to buy paintings and to copy paintings at the Xiangguosi temple.³⁰

27 Lee Jong-muk "Anpyeong daegun ui munhak hwaldong yeongu" 安平大君 文學活動 研究 [Research on the Literati Activities of Prince Anpyeong], *Jindan hakbo* 震檀學報 93 (2002): 257-75

28 Sin Sukju would later serve as head of the state council, the highest civil position in the country.

29 Burglind Jungmann, "Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," *Archives of Asian Art* 61, no. 1 (2011): 115.

30 See 圖畫見聞志, 卷六, 高麗國

The Goryeo court also held close relations with the Yuan court. The Mongols had launched several invasions into the Korean peninsula during 13th century and in 1259 the Goryeo court capitulated, signing a peace treaty. Though the Yuan did not formally take over the peninsula, Goryeo became de facto a vassal state. Relations between the two courts were affirmed through intermarriage. Korean princesses married into the Yuan imperial family and Goryeo princes took Yuan princesses as their wife, who undoubtedly brought large dowries to their new homes. One of the theories surrounding the formation of Anpyeong's collection is that large parts of his collection were initially from these dowries.

Sin's account records 171 Chinese paintings and works of calligraphy. As aforementioned, works from the Song and Yuan were the most numerous. 31 were from the Song period and 129 of the Yuan period. The most numerous painter in his collection was Guo Xi, 17 works by him are listed in the catalogue. The Yuan artist Anpyeong was most fond of was Zhao Meng-fu, who is present with 28 works.

Works from older masters were also present in Anpyeong's collection. A print of Gu Kaizhi (346-407) named 'water and rocks' is listed but there were also four works by Tang painter Wu Daozi (680-760), one of which had an inscription from Su Shi, and a landscape from Wang Wei (701-761). It is questionable if even in China there were any authentic works from the hand of Wang Wei by this time. It is more likely then that these were later Song copies ascribed to the Tang masters. However, the catalogue treats these as authentic paintings from the masters. That Anpyeong was not completely free from concerns of authenticity can be seen in contrast to the listed print of Gu Kaizhi, of which is said that it only gives the smallest impression of the master's hand.

Just as interesting is what the prince deemed not collectable. First of all, is the lack of any Ming painters. Apparently Anpyeong was not interested in contemporary painters. Nor are present some of the painters that today are considered the most representative of the Yuan period, the four great masters of the Yuan: Huang Gongwang, Wu Zhen, Ni Zan, and Wang Meng. These four painters were active in the south of China, from where it would have been more difficult to reach Korea, and had also by this time not yet gained their status as paragon of Yuan painting.³¹

Another conspicuous gap in Anpyeong's collection is the almost complete absence of Korean painters. The court painter An Gyeon was the only Korean painter named in the *hwagi*. This is remarkable, considering there were other painters among Anpyeong's

31 Jungmann, *Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism*, 116

retinue.³² Jungmann suggest that the prince's preference for An Gyeon was due to his antiquarian style, which drew from the Northern Song manner the prince was fond of. However, during Anpyeong's lifetime there were no doubt many extant paintings left from the preceding Goryeo dynasty. Although today there are no extant Goryeo landscape paintings, it is quite likely that these Goryeo paintings were done in a Northern Song manner too and a few Goryeo painters even had connections to the Northern Song court.

One example is Yi Nyeong 李寧, a well known Goryeo courtpainter active during the first half of the 12th century. His biography in the *Goryeo sa* 高麗史, the history of Goryeo, records that he visited the court of emperor Huizong and lectured in painting at the Hanlin academy. Moreover, it is recorded that Huizong asked Yi to compose a landscape painting of the Yeseonggang river, which runs in the far north of the peninsula. Huizong was so impressed with the resulting painting that he ordered that the painter was to be given a thousand pieces of gold.³³ One would expect that Anpyeong, who obviously had a great love for Song painting, to have at least some works of a painter with such a connection to the Song court. This was no ordinary connection either, the Huizong emperor was known as one of the biggest aesthetes in Chinese history, with one of the finest collections ever put together. According to the *hwagi*, one of the paintings in Anpyeong's collection even carried an inscription of Huizong, namely *Travelling on the River in Clearing Snow* 雪霽江行, by Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (ca. 910-977). Such a connection to a famous figure as Huizong was apparently not enough, as Yi Nyeong, or any other Goryeo painter for that matter, are noticeable only through their absence.

It is from all of this clear that the prince was mainly informed by Northern Song art theory and antiquarianism. This has also been noted by Burglind Jungmann's article on the prince's collection, who writes that this fits a pattern of interest in Song thought during the late Goryeo and early Joseon period.³⁴ Though from this perspective there is also an interesting differences. One is the lack of interest in anything besides paintings, such as the bronzes that fuelled Song antiquarianism. Admittedly the *hwagi* was explicitly a text on painting, but there is neither here or elsewhere any indication that the prince systematically collected any bronzes, ceramics, or other antiquities. Although the prince was obviously an aesthete in all of his activities. A description of him from a near contemporary Seong Hyeon 成俔 (1439-1504) says he not only always used the

32 Ibid. 107.

33 See: 高麗史, 卷一百二十二, 列傳, 卷第三十五

34 Jungmann, *Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism*, 116.

finest silks and papers to write on, but also played the game of go (ch. Weiqi, kr. Baduk) with jade stones.³⁵ Admittedly, collecting bronzes came with some more logistical difficulties than the easier to transport paintings, though later Joseon collectors did collect smaller bronzes.

Another difference is an apparent reluctance to alter these antique paintings and scrolls through inscriptions. Although this cannot be said with complete certainty because of the collection's dispersion, but it does not seem that the prince ever used any collection seal or inscribed the antique paintings in his collection. There are several paintings still extant today that correspond to descriptions in the *hwagi*, for example there still exist two copies today of the aforementioned *travelling on the river by snow* by Guo Zhongshu and carrying the inscription of emperor Huizong, but whether these were the same paintings or that Anpyeong owned a third copy cannot be ascertained, precisely because of the lack of any known collection seal.³⁶ This reluctance to alter antiques would however fit into a general pattern in Joseon Korea, in which collectors were far more reluctant than their Chinese counterparts to put inscriptions or seals on antiques.

What was Joseon Antiquarianism?

Discussions of Joseon antiquarianism tend to connect these back to Chinese schemes of classification, e.g. Song or Ming antiquarianism. Although Joseon thought and antiquarianism was deeply influenced by these discourses, we should especially pay attention to the changes, differences, and modifications in the adaptation of these discourses. With regard to painting styles, Burglind Jungmann pointed out that periodization of Joseon painting according to Chinese models is problematic. Although styles like the Zhe school and the Southern school were adopted, their popularity in Korea did not follow the fashions in China. In China the Zhe school, a development on the style of the Southern Song academy, was mostly popular in the early Ming before being superseded by the literati paintings of the Southern school. Whereas in Korea these styles were but practised side by side for long periods. This happened as newly fashionable styles only entered slowly into the peninsula. Moreover, these changes in style were free from the political and geographical connotations they carried back in China. As a result Korean court painters also painted in literati styles and styles of Chinese local schools were mingled freely. Artistically, though not socially, the division

35 Ahn, Hwi Joon. "An Kyon and A Dream Visit to the Peach Blossom Land." *Oriental Art* 26, no. 1 (1980): 68.

36 Jungmann, *Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism*, 108.

between amateur and professional was much less strict.³⁷ It seems to me that perhaps the same mechanism was at work for discourses on antiquarianism.

Several studies mention that from the 18th century onwards Joseon collectors begin to adapt the late Ming pose of the collector as a recluse.³⁸ However, this tendency is already visible during the 15th century in prince Anpyeong, who is usually described as being inspired by Song antiquarianism. In other words, these discourses of antiquarianism were mixed and re-adapted. This indicates that just like painting styles, imported antiquarian discourses do not necessarily hold to the same boundaries as in their point of origin.

Ya-Hwei Hsu has noted how Song scholarship on bronzes was heavily dependent on factional struggles, in which factions tried to outdo each other in the production of detailed and illustrated catalogues.³⁹ As Song and Ming discourses Antiquarianism entered Joseon Korea they took on rather more free roaming character. That is not to say factional struggles were not a factor in Korea, but rather that those were fought out using different means. As such, collectors as Anpyeong had little interest in the more political elements of Song antiquarianism. As we can see from his lack of interest in contemporary and older Korean painters, Anpyeong shared in the canon, but his interest was predominantly aesthetic rather than political. There are none of the detailed and illustrated catalogues that were produced in China, nor were there large efforts to programmatically study stone inscriptions. Rather, the Joseon literati took from Ming and Song antiquarian discourses what fitted the Korean context and adapted these.

As such, Joseon antiquarianism was defined by the fact that its sources were abroad. This would lead to different sort of tensions. As if the transmitted Song and Ming discourses on antiquity did not neatly fit into the Korean framework. The first problem was that literati had to justify their collections from a very strict Confucian morality. The second problem was perhaps bigger. Located on the edge of the Sinosphere, Joseon literati had to justify their interest and use of Chinese antiquity.

37 Burglind Jungmann, *Painters as envoys: Korean inspiration in eighteenth-century Japanese Nanga* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 17.

38 Hwang, *Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty*, 105.

39 Ya-Hwei Su, *Antiquaries and Politics: Antiquarian Culture of the Northern Song*.

CHAPTER 2: IMAGINED LANDSCAPES AND COLLECTIONS

Having defined what Joseon antiquarianism precisely was, I move on to the question of how this antiquarian culture influenced Joseon art. In particular this chapter looks at the adaptation of particular themes and styles, some of which were forgotten in China but gained great popularity in Korea. The argument is that these themes gained popularity because they fitted the specific Korean form of antiquarianism. In this way, Chinese themes and even the Chinese landscape itself were reimagined according to the Korean context.

The first section discusses the artistic genre of *Chaekgado*. These decorative paintings of bookshelves seem to have been inspired by Western paintings or Chinese interpretations of Western paintings. The previous chapter has noted the essential disconnect between Confucian values and collecting antiques. The *Chaekgado* however managed to satisfy both these demands.

The second section discusses the use of Chinese landscape themes. As one might expect these adaptations were not without their frictions. In the previous chapter we have already seen that the acquisition of antiques and paintings in China was accompanied with all sorts of anxieties. Tensions of a similar sort run throughout literature and painting production. One particular problem was the lack of knowledge. Even those who had the chance to travel to China would not have seen the famous landscapes of Chinese painting and literature. How then does one paint an unseen landscape?

One rather ingenuous solution is of course to dream about it. Korean literature is filled with poems and stories in which the protagonist dreams about far away journeys or meeting persons from Chinese antiquity.⁴⁰ The last section analyses the dream journey of prince Anpyeong, who was introduced in the previous chapter.

Images of morality and wealth

The *chaekgado* 冊架圖, also called *chaekgeori* 冊巨里, are decorative paintings that started to gain popularity in Korea from the 18th century onwards. They are often in the form of a room screen or table screen, and usually show bookshelves and all sorts of objects from the scholar's study, i.e. brush holders, ink stones, scrolls, waterdroppers, etc. Until quite recently they received little scholarly attention. One of the reasons is that these paintings had been categorized as *minhwa* 民畫 or folk art, a result of

40 Peter H. Lee, *A history of Korean literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 50, 217, 277.

categorization by Japanese and Western collectors in the early 20th century, following the framework of the Japanese *Mingei* 民芸 movement.⁴¹ Although the genre did by the 19th century trickle down to the common painters, the *chaekgado* actually gained its initial popularity in the court of King Jeongjo 正祖 (r.1776-1800), who used them as a backdrop to his throne and made the genre part of the examinations for court painters in 1784.⁴² Although studies have noted how this genre went from court art to folk art⁴³, but less noted is another semiotic change these screens underwent, namely the moral and visual content of their depictions, which changed from exhortations to study to pictures of conspicuous consumption.

Screens made for king Jeongjo were probably devoid of antiquities. A well known text concerning these screens is a conversation recorded in the *Hongje jeonso* 弘齋全書, or the collected works of Jeongjo:

顧視御座後書架，謂入待大臣曰，卿能見之乎？對曰，見之矣，笑而教曰，豈卿真以為書耶？非書而畫耳，昔程子以為雖不得讀書，入書肆摩挲帙，猶覺欣然，予有會於斯言為是畫，卷端題標，皆用予平日所喜玩經史子集，而諸子則惟莊子耳，仍喟然曰，今人之於文趣尚，一與予相反，其耽觀者，皆後世病文也，安得禱之？予為此畫，蓋亦有寓意於其間者矣。

Looking back at bookshelf behind the throne, His Highness asked his officials, 'Do you see them?' 'Yes, we see them,' answered the officials. Then, His Highness smiled and said, 'These are not real books but paintings. [Cheng Yi] once said that if one occasionally entered one's study and touched one's books, it would please one, even though one was unable to read books regularly. I came to realize the meaning of the saying through this painting. For the titles of the books [in painting], I wrote the Confucian Classics and those of Zhuangzi. (tr. Sunglim Kim)⁴⁴

It is clear from this that Jeongjo valued the illusionistic element of these paintings, but these paintings were not only meant as decoration but also as exhortation to study. As noted earlier, Jeongjo was extremely concerned with the influx of Chinese luxury goods into Korea and the effects it had on public morality. There are no surviving examples of screens made for Jeongjo, but they probably reflected *chaekgado* which only contain books (fig.2).

41 Kumja Paik Kim, "Re-evaluating Court and Folk painting of Korea," in *A companion to Asian art and Architecture*, ed. Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Sutton (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), 341.

42 Ibid., 344.

43 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean culture: paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 277.

44 Kim, *Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea*, 7.

Despite Jeongjo's best intentions, Chinese luxury objects soon found their way onto the shelves. An eight fold screen by court painter Jang Han-jong 張漢宗 (1768-1815?) is one of oldest surviving screens. (fig.3) The screen has the typical configuration of multilevel shelves, although here there is the addition of a curtain, further heightening the illusion of life-likeness. Several Chinese objects are depicted on the screen. We see a small bronze tripod, indigo glazed monochrome ceramics, lidded cups, and Zixing teapots. These were all empathically objects to admire and to look at. Even the objects that were use objects, such as the teapot and lidded cups, would have had little use in the Korean context. Though the drinking of powdered tea enjoyed great popularity during the Goryeo dynasty, by the 18th century the custom of drinking tea had fallen out of fashion amongst the literati class.

The *Chaekgado* are rather remarkable for their use of perspective and shading. There are no textual sources on where the Koreans got this inspiration from, but we know that these painting techniques from Europe are something they encountered at the imperial court Beijing. There are several travel diaries of Joseon scholars that remark on the Western paintings they saw in Beijing. Moreover, some Korean collectors even had Western engravings and maps in their collections.⁴⁵

During the Qing period there were several Western painters working in Beijing. The most well known of these painters is Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) who worked for fifty years at the imperial court and served three successive emperors: Kangxi (r. 1661-1722), Yongzheng (r. 1723-1735), and Qianlong (r. 1736-1795). Castiglione fused together the techniques of Western oil painting with those of Eastern ink painting. The Qianlong emperor was especially fond of this style, and even promoted Castiglione to chief painter. Several studies have pointed to a painting of a *duobaoge* 多寶格 attributed to Castiglione, as a prototype for this sort of painting (fig.4).^{46 47} The term *duobaoge* translates as cabinet of many treasures and refer to the multi-level cabinets in the Chinese court filled with all manner of collectables and valuable. Here too, the shelves are painted in a precise manner, with the use of perspective and shading. Although the painting is inscribed with Castiglione's Chinese name Lang Shining 郎世寧 the authenticity of this painting is not beyond question. When the painting came up for auction in 2013 it was listed as being a 20th century example.⁴⁸ Even if this painting

45 Jungyon Hwang, "Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty," *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* 6 (2012): 112.

46 Kim, *Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea*, 5.

47 Yi Song-mi, *Joseon Sidae Geurim sokui Seoyang Hwabeop*, (Seoul: Sowadang, 2008), 67-68

48 Sotheby's, *Fine Chinese Ceramics & Works of Art*, New York, 19-20 March 2013, Lot. 466.

would be a genuine one, it seems that the genre of painting *duobaoge* never enjoyed great popularity in China.

What explains the enthusiasm with which the theme was used in Korea? It seems that painters and buyers of *Chaekgado* were quite flexible as to what could be depicted on them. Thereby the *Chaekgado* were able to both satisfy demands of scholarism and conspicuous consumption. The previous chapter had noted that in Joseon Korea there was an especially strong tension between Confucian morality and antiquarian obsession. The success of the *Chaekgado* was that it managed to be both an image of conspicuous consumption, as well as an image of moral exhortation.

The seen and unseen landscape

If for the Korean literati a trip to Beijing signified a chance to buy antiques, then what did the landscape of China itself signify? During the Joseon dynasty, Chinese landscape themes such as the eight views of the Xiao 潇 and Xiang 湘 rivers or the nine bends of Wuyishan 武夷山, were enthusiastically used by Korean painters. Curiously almost none of these painters would have had any chance to see these landscapes in real life. Unlike in some earlier periods, there was little chance to travel beyond the Chinese capital, and in general Korean visitors were not too impressed, or even underwhelmed, with the landscapes on offer in the North-East of China on their way to Beijing.⁴⁹

Thus the landscapes beyond the route to Beijing were unknown and inaccessible to the Koreans. As such, there was a very real demand for accounts that went beyond these boundaries. Take for example the travel account of the Korean official Choe Bu 崔溥 (1454–1504). Choe's ship got caught in a storm and drifted southwards reached shore near Taizhou 台州 in Zhejiang province. He recorded his ordeals in his work *Geumnam pyohaerok* 錦南漂海錄, or Geumnam's record of drifting across the sea. The work received great popularity and was reprinted multiple times.

In the study of Joseon literature, it has been pointed out by Marion Eggert that Chinese settings in Korean fiction were essentially Koreanized Chinese landscapes. The experience of travel in Korea was superimposed on the idea of the Chinese landscape. Therefore travel distances seem greatly shorter in Korean fiction set in China.⁵⁰ The same mechanism was at work for painters. Chinese landscapes depicted in paintings

49 Marion Eggert, "The Meaning of Mountains: Culture and Nature in Chosŏn Dynasty travel writing," in *The AEAS symposium: Korea in travel writing* (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University, 2005), 21

50 Marion Eggert. "Views of the country, visions of self: Chosŏn dynasty travel records on Chiri-san and Paektu-san." *Asiatische Studien* 52, no. 4 (1998), 1096

were landscapes based on other paintings and the own experience, in other words they too were painting essentially a Koreanized Chinese landscape.

Nevertheless, this unfamiliarity also allowed Joseon literati to project any ideals on the blank canvas of the Chinese landscape. Consider the popularity of the Nine bends-stream of Wuyishan 武夷山 in Joseon painting. The mountains of Wuyishan lie far away from the Korean peninsula in the south-east of China's Fujian province. They were not only known as a place where Daoist hermits roamed, but more importantly, at least for Joseon literati, was the fact that it was there that Zhu Xi retreated to after being dismissed from his government post. Here Zhu Xi composed the *Wuyi Zhaoge*, the boating songs of Wuyishan, that describe the imagery of the nine bends. As such, Wuyishan became for Korean scholars a symbol of Zhu Xi's integrity.

Although the theme was used in Chinese painting, it never really achieved great popularity. However some of these Chinese works were exported to Korea where they were copied. One example is this album done by Gang Se-hwang. (fig.5). Gang Se-hwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791) was both a well known high official as well as a famous artist. He had travelled to China on official missions, although he would not have seen the mountains of Wuyishan. Gang has depicted the different bends of the river, and included extensive inscriptions, naming all the different bends, mountains, and buildings. In addition he added the poems of Zhu Xi. Paintings of Wuyishan were done in a variety of formats: large hanging scrolls or smaller albums like this. However, a common feature were these inscriptions. These explanatory inscriptions probably find their origin in pictorial maps. Considering the flexibility with which Korean artists adapted their depictions of Wuyishan to different formats, it is unlikely that any of these depictions would have much use as an actual map. These inscriptions were to allow the viewer to travel along vicariously, and the folding album format would have been especially suited for such an activity.

Why did this theme of Wuyishan gain such popularity in Korea whereas in China it fell back into disuse? An essay by Jiyeon Kang argues that this theme of Wuyishan was perfectly suited for the specific social and political situation at the time. In particular the harshly fought factional struggles between different Confucian schools made this theme full of meanings and possibilities for Joseon literati.⁵¹ That gives some indication how different contexts changed paintings, themes, and knowledge. The next section will be

51 Jiyeon Kim, "Shared Legacy, Recreated Sites: Nine-Bends Stream Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty," in *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Korean and Japanese Art*, ed. Elizabeth Lillehoj (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2013), 185.

about another painting theme that was enthusiastically taken up by a collector we saw in the previous chapter, prince Anpyeong.

A Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Spring

One night in 1447 prince Anpyeong (1418-1453) had a dream in which he suddenly found himself together with his friend Bak Paengnyeon 朴彭年 (1417-1456) in a landscape where valleys and ridges were layered over one another till the far distance. Nobody could be seen in this landscape but after some time walking aimlessly they came upon an old man in simple dress. The old man told the two to follow the path up north and at the end of the path to go through the cave. There, he said, they would find the peach blossom spring. Following the man's instruction the prince and his friend arrived at the spring, where they together with other friends composed poems and admired the landscape. After the prince awoke he ordered his favourite court painter to compose a painting after his dream.

About the painter, An Gyeon 安堅, there is relatively little information available to us today. We do not know the precise dates of birth or death but he was mostly active in the first half of the 15th century and he was already during his life considered as one of the foremost painters in Korea. He was employed at court and he initially held the rank of Seonhwa 善畫, a 6th rank position at the academy of painting 圖畫院, but was later promoted to the 4th rank position of Hogun 護軍, a nominal military position which was only given to painters a handful of times during the Joseon period.⁵² From the *hwagi* we know that he created a great number works for his patron. The resulting painting of Anpyeong's dream, *a dream journey to the peach blossom spring*, is the only extant painting with his signature.

Today *dream journey* is in the collection of the Central library of Tenri University (fig.6). The work has been remounted some time in the past. It was probably originally mounted as an album, but now consists of two long handscrolls. Next to the painting of An Gyeon it holds a large number of colophons by well known figures of the day. It is not only considered as one of the masterpieces of the early Joseon period but is also one of the relatively few surviving ink paintings made during the early Joseon period.

The story of Anpyeong's dream is known to us through his inscription which is the first one appended to the paintings. Apart from the plausibility of the story, there is good

52 Kim Yeong-won, *Hanguk yeokdae seohwaga sajeon* 韓國歷代書畫家事典. (Seoul: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2011), 1129

reason to believe that the story is at least somewhat embellished. After all he only wrote his inscription after the painting was completed and he had seen it. The composition of the inscription was an opportunity to mention friends. Near the end of his dream friends inexplicably appear to join in the composition of poems. That could of course be explained by the fact that it is a dream, but more likely Anpyeong altered aspects of the story according to social obligations.

Choice and treatment of theme

The dream itself is inspired by the tale of the peach blossom spring from the Chinese poet Tao Yuanming (365-427). In this fable a fisherman drifts off on the river before finding a narrow grotto. Behind the grotto he finds a secluded village where people lived in a pastoral idylle. The ancestors of the villagers had come to this place fleeing the Qin conquest and they have no knowledge of the outside world. The villagers are stunned by the fisherman's tales and he is treated as an honoured guest. After some days the fisherman returns home and promises his host not to tell anyone of this village. The fisherman however breaks his promise after which others go out in vain to search the peach blossom spring. In later times this tale with strong Daoist overtones would be often used as an utopian metaphor. In Korea the earliest extant references to the tale are from the Goryeo period, during which several poems are written on the theme.

The dream as recounted by Anpyeong and painted by An Gyeon however differs in some rather important aspects from the tale of Tao Yuanming. In his inscription Anpyeong tells about the peach blossom spring that he finds in his dream:

四山壁立，雲霧掩靄，遠近桃林，照映蒸霞。又有竹林茅宇，柴扃半開，土砌已沈，無雞犬牛馬。前川唯有扁舟，隨浪游移，情境蕭條，若仙府然。

Four mountains stood like walls, their appearance hidden behind clouds and mist. Far and near were groves of peach trees, shining numerously in pink clouds. There were bamboo groves and thatched huts, their brushwood doors stood halfopen and their earthen walls had already fallen to ruins. Nor were there any chickens, dogs, oxen, or horses to be seen. At the river in front there was only a small boat, which followed the waves and moved about. The landscape was desolate and it was as if it were the home of the immortals..

The prince's description of the landscape is almost tailor-made for a painting in the Li-Guo style: clouds and mist that hide desolate landscapes. Which again suggests that the story of the dream is at the very least embellished.

In Anpyeong's description there are only a few remnants of past activity and the people who were here must have left a long time ago. The painting itself also shows no sign of human activities or human figures, not even those of the prince and his friends. This is a contrast to Tao Yuanming's tale the village is a prosperous little farming town filled with families, and the fields are rich with livestock.

A dissertation by Dorothy Chen-Courtin has surveyed the use of the theme of the peach blossom spring in Chinese painting. From literary sources she finds that the theme was already used in Chinese decorative painting during the Tang and Song, and was also popular theme during the Ming. However, few pre-Ming examples have survived.⁵³ It seems however that in Chinese paintings the painters sought to create narrative paintings of Tao Yuanming's tale. The manner of *dream journey*, in which the peach blossom spring has been re-imagined as a desolate landscape is, thus, a Joseon innovation.

If we compare *dream journey* to a painting with the same theme from a Chinese counterpart that is roughly contemporary. A handscroll attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494-1552), now in the collection of the MFA in Boston (fig.7), is painted in an archaic Tang blue and green style. However in its treatment of the theme this painting keeps much closer to the pastoral fantasy told by Tao Yuanming. Qiu depicts grazing livestock and farmers hard at work. In addition, in one of the houses we can see four men talking and drinking lively.

Thus whereas Qiu Ying's painting seeks to represent the tale of Tao Yuanming, Anpyeong and his painter An Gyeon apparently had little interest in depicting such a scene. Rather they take Tao Yuanming's tale as inspiration and appropriate it for their own purposes. In the colophon written by Anpyeong's friend Bak Paengnyeon, who also accompanies Anpyeong in his dream, Bak gives a justification for the appropriation of this ancient tale.

東晉去今日數千載矣。武陵距我國萬餘里矣。在萬餘里海外之國。得見數千載之上迷路之地。乃與夫當時物色相接。不乃為奇怪之尤者乎。

The period of Eastern Jin is several thousands of years removed from today. While Wuling is over ten thousand miles away from my country. I am in a country more than ten thousand miles across the seas, yet I manage to see a lost place that is thousands of years away. Thus together with [prince Anpyeong] I am connected to an appearance of things from that time. Is that not most extraordinary!

53 Chen-Courtin, Dorothy. *The Literary Theme of the Peach Blossom Spring in Pre-Ming and Ming Painting*. Dissertation. Columbia University, 1979.

As I have mentioned before such sentiments are seen quite commonly in writings of this period. The writer laments his distance in time and space from the (Chinese) ancients before asserting he has just as much a claim on Chinese antiquity.

There have been differing interpretations of what Anpyeong's dream and painting could have meant. In an essay in *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400-1600* Sunpyo Hong and Chin-Sung Chang relate the imagery in the painting to Confucian ideals of 'peace under heaven' and 'grand peace and prosperity' 太平. They do so through a reading of the colophons attached by Anpyeong's friends.⁵⁴ However, that still leaves the question whether or not it held a more personal meaning for Anpyeong himself. Considering the many daoist tropes that Anpyeong uses in his colophon, such a strict Confucian interpretation of the painting is perhaps not completely appropriate. Anpyeong tells us in his inscription:

古人有言曰：“晝之所爲，夜之所夢”余托身禁掖，夙夜從事。何其夢之到於山林也？又何到而至於桃源耶？余之相好者多矣。何必遊桃源而從是數子乎？意其性好幽僻，素有泉石之懷，而與數子者交道尤厚，故致此也。

The ancients had a saying: "What one does during the day is what one dreams of during the night." I work in the palaces, where day and night I am involved with tasks. How could I dream of reaching the mountain forests? And how did I reach the peach blossom spring? My good friends are with many. Why must it be so that only several followers travelled to the peach blossom spring? Perhaps it is because my character favours seclusion. I tend to have affection for springs and rocks. And the few followers that accompanied me, I am exceptionally close to them. Perhaps that is why it was like this.

Burglind Jungmann interprets the painting as an example of escapism. In her view Anpyeong's uses cultural patterns from Chinese antiquity to flee away from the reality of court intrigue. She sees in the painting a premonition of things to come, in particular the political upheaval after king Sejong's death in 1450, which would lead to Anpyeong's death at the hand of his brother prince Suyang, the later king Sejo (r.1455-1468).⁵⁵

Whether court intrigue had already grown that bad by this date (1447) cannot be stated with certainty, but Anpyeong definitely makes use of cultural patterns from antiquity. The most interesting parallel to this imagery can be found in the essay *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致, the lofty messages of forest and streams, attributed to the painter Guo Xi. The

54 Lee, Soyoun, JaHyun Kim Haboush, Sunpyo Hong, and Chin-Sung Chang. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400-1600*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009. pp.71-75

55 Burglind Jungmann, "Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," *Archives of Asian Art* 61, no. 1 (2011): 116.

text was compiled by his son Guo Si 郭思 after the painter's death. It not only records Guo Xi's views on painting but also records some of his thoughts on the meanings of landscapes. In the introduction we find the following lines:

煙霞仙聖，此人情所常願而不得見也。直以太平盛日，君親之心兩隆，苟潔一身出處，節義斯系，[...] 然則林泉之志，煙霞之侶，夢寐在焉，耳目斷絕。

Immortals and sages in mists and vapors are what human nature constantly longs for and yet is unable to see. It is simply that, in a time of peace and plenty, when the intentions of ruler and parents are high-minded, purifying oneself is of little significance and office-holding is allied to honor. [...] But, are the longing for forests and streams, and the companionship of mists and vapors, then to be experienced only in dreams and denied to the waking senses? (tr. Susan Bush)

Just as in Anpyeong's colophon, landscape here is described as being hidden behind mists and clouds. Guo Xi makes use here of the common juxtaposition of solitude in the mountains versus the politics at court. So far these are common tropes in Chinese writing, but less common is the question that Guo Xi poses at the end of this paragraph. Guo Xi asks whether these landscapes and mists are perhaps only experienced in dreams.

Another point made by Guo Xi is reflected in the experiences of Anpyeong. Guo Xi makes a distinction between landscapes suited for travel and sightseeing and landscapes suited for wandering and living. He asserts that paintings that achieve the effects of wandering and living are superior. As we will see in the next chapter, Anpyeong would build a hut in the mountains north of the capital, reminiscent of his dream.

There are no ways to be sure that Anpyeong took inspiration from this essay. But, considering his interest in Guo Xi and his activities as a compiler of Tang and Song literature it does not seem unreasonable that it might have served as an inspiration. Moreover, readings from his library apparently did inspire other cultural projects. For example, in the collection of the National Museum of Korea there is an album of poems on the eight views on the Xiao and Xiang river. In the preface it is recounted that Anpyeong took the initiative to ask his friends to contribute poems after reading a set of poems by emperor Ningzong of the Southern Song.⁵⁶

56 Park, Haehoon. "Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Its Relationship to Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers from the Former Yugensai Collection in Japan." *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* 10 (2016): 123-136.

Choice of Style

With regard to artistic style, the painting of the dream journey is done in the idiom of the Li-Guo style of the Northern Song (960-1127) period. Ink monochrome washes form the landscape and jagged rocks and parts of the landscape dissolve into mist. Only a few dots of colour can be seen in the peach blossoms. The painting closely follows the description given by prince Anpyeong and in its depiction does not show any signs of human activities.

The Li-Guo style is one that by this time had fallen out of favour in China and the painters of Ming China had moved on to other styles in the idiom of literati painters or southern-school painting. Though there are few extant examples of paintings from this period it seems that at this time Korean landscape paintings were made in a variety of styles.⁵⁷ Which brings us to the question whether the style of the painting was a conscious choice of archaism.

However there is some scholarly disagreement to what extent the painting is antiquarian in style. Whereas Ahn Hwi-joon who has written extensively on the painting finds later influences in the treatment of mountain forms: “The precarious mountain forms of the *dream journey* may have been inspired by certain Chinese landscape paintings of the late Yuan and early Ming periods in which manneristic tendency was a strong factor”⁵⁸ Ahn points at one painting in particular which has some features in common: *Buddha's Conversion of the Five Bhiksu* by the painter Li Sheng (act. mid-14th century). Li Sheng was active during the late Yuan period and only a handful of his paintings are extant. Li Sheng composed this painting in a manner similar to *dream journey*. From right to left, the viewer sees exaggerated rock formations creating an enclosed space, after which the landscape becomes more tranquil.(fig.8) There are no works of Li Sheng mentioned in the catalog of Anpyeong's collection, but it is not unthinkable that at the time similar compositions were in circulation.

There is also some indication as to the styles An Gyeon worked in from a slightly later source. Sin Sukju wrote in the *Hwagi* that An Gyeon had viewed many ancient paintings and learned from various masters. A slightly later text, the *yongcheondamjeoggi* 龍泉談寂記 by Kim An-Ro (1481-1537) wrote that An Gyeon was able to paint in a variety of styles, whether they be by Guo Xi or Ma Yuan.

本朝安堅字可度。小字得守。池谷人也。博閱古畫。皆得其用意深處。式郭熙則爲郭熙。式李弼則爲李弼。爲劉融爲馬遠。無不應向而山水最其長也

57 Yi, Söng-mi. *Korean landscape painting: continuity and innovation through the ages*. Hollym Intl, 2006.

58 Ahn, *An Kyon and A Dream Visit to the Peach Blossom Land*, 68.

The style name of our dynasty's An Gyeon is Ga Do. His smaller style name is Deok Su and he is a man from Jigok. He studied ancient paintings extensively and obtained their intentions and profundity. If he painted in the manner of Guo Xi, then it became a Guo Xi. If he painted in the manner of Li Bi then it became a Li Bi. In painting in the manners of Liu Rong or Ma Yuan he would always correspond to them, and in the genre of landscape painting he was the greatest.

There are no paintings extant made by An Gyeon in these different styles but it does not seem unlikely that his patron Anpyeong specifically asked him to make a painting in the manner of Guo Xi. After all, Anpyeong owned several paintings of Guo Xi.

Rather curiously the direction of the painting seems to run counter to the usual direction of handscrolls in East-Asia. The convention is for handscrolls to be 'read' from right to left. However here the painting appears to start from the left. Going right, the mountain peaks get ever wilder, until we arrive at the peach blossom spring, which is closed off on all sides by fantastic rock formations. Perhaps this direction of reading was chosen to signify that this painting was a depiction of a dream.

From this it can be seen that *dream journey* was not a purely antiquarian painting. Although it worked in the Northern-Song manner, the painting also shows modifications and innovations in its style and composition.

China reimagined

The examples presented in this chapter showed how Chinese themes and landscapes were chosen and adapted to fit certain demands in Joseon Korea. These themes were not simply copied but strongly modified. Prince Anpyeong turned the literary theme of the peach blossom spring into a dream land for his escapism. The painting he commissioned is often described as being strongly antiquarian in style, however a stylistic analysis has also showed modifications.

Thus, Chinese models from antiquity were reinterpreted to fit the Korean context. However, as the *Chaekgado* show, antiquarianism was not necessarily always expressed in antiquarian styles. The use of Western techniques as perspective and shading was probably something Joseon painters had learned either directly in Beijing or through a Chinese intermediary. However, as these paintings were so flexible in their contents, they managed to fit perfectly into the Joseon antiquarian culture. The *chaekgado* were able to satisfy both the demands of scholarly collectors and collecting scholars.

CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTED LANDSCAPES

This chapter looks at how paintings and antiques were used to construct the Korean landscape. The object of inquiry here is not the physical landscape but rather the cultural construction or the ideas surrounding the landscape of Korea. Joseon elites held great interest in the Korean landscape. This turn towards the Korean landscape is often interpreted as a turn away from Chinese models. My interpretation is that that they are an attempt to connect the Korean landscape with Chinese antiquity. The goal was to integrate the Korean landscape in the bigger Sinosphere by latching to and building on existing literary or artistic tropes.

This, I should say, was not a new phenomenon, neither in Korea nor East-Asia as a whole. For example, the Japanese of the Momoyama period (1568–1615) also aimed to claim Chinese antiquity as part of their cultural heritage. One of their strategies was to remount Chinese landscape paintings in order to let them function better in their new Japanese context. Another was to assign Japanese place names to antique Chinese vessels used in the tea ceremony.⁵⁹ One simple way of how this was done in Korea was through the usage of poetic names for locations. These poetic names were often derived from Chinese antiquity. For example, in poems Seoul was commonly referred to as Jang-an 長安 (ch. Chang'an), one of the capitals of the Han and Tang dynasties.

In the first section I analyse how literati made antiquity something that could be found in the mountains. In the travelogues of literati we often see that during their travels literati made it a point to seek out antiquities. Some literati even physically inscribed antiquity into the mountains by creating buildings inspired by Chinese antiquity.

The second section covers the question of true-view landscape paintings. In the 18th century paintings of the Korean landscape become more popular. The usual interpretation is that these paintings are a turn away from Chinese models, as they present true Korean landscapes rather than imaginary Chinese landscapes. I argue that true-view rather refers to the use of painting techniques from mapmaking and Western painting.

The last section analyses some of the works of Jeong Seon, the painter most associated with the genre of true-view painting. Considering that Jeong Seon seemed to often use compositions and elements from Ming painting manuals and pictorial paintings, it

59 Andrew M. Watsky, "Locating 'China' In the Arts Of Sixteenth-Century Japan," *Art History* 29, no. 4 (2006): 602.

becomes untenable to hold the position that true-view painting was a turn away from Chinese models.

Finding antiquity between mountains and streams

Travel and sightseeing were extremely popular during the Joseon period. A ten-volume anthology of Joseon sightseeing and travel records published in 1996 collects 577 of these texts, while the compiler estimates that this only constitutes about a third of the total.⁶⁰ This mass interest in travel and writing about travel was a new development in Korea, and by the 18th century literati would complain about the hustle and bustle at the more popular sites of tourism. In contrast to this, during the early Joseon period literati felt there was a lack of travel writing.⁶¹

Marion Eggert has written on how Joseon travel writing aimed to integrate the landscape of Korea into the Chinese literary universe. Not only did the literati try to put the Korean landscape into the Confucian order, by creating works of geography and removing Buddhist associations, they also aimed at putting Korean mountains on the same level as famous mountains in China.⁶²

The most popular destination for Korean travellers was Geumgangsan 金剛山, or the diamond mountains, a mountain range along the east coast of Korea. The mountain range takes its name from the diamond sutra. Accordingly, the diamond mountains were a locus of Buddhist activity and it was one of the most famous Buddhist sites in the country, famed for its numerous temples and its many sights.

The Joseon period was a difficult time for the temples at Geumgangsan. Buddhism was no longer a state sponsored religion as it had been in previous dynasties. It was now seen as a heterodox teaching that disrupted the correct Confucian order by taking sons away from their family obligations. As such Buddhism became strictly regulated by the state. Temples were no longer allowed inside city walls, the many orders were combined into two and eventually one, and many monks and all nuns were forced to disrobe. As in all over the country, many temples at Geumgangsan fell into disrepair. Nevertheless, the many temples still guided travellers who came to the diamond mountains. They were not only welcome places to rest but their monks were also helpful labour in carrying luggage up the mountains.

60 Jeong Min, *Hanguk yeokdae sansuyugi chwipyeon* vol. 1 (Minchang munhwasa, 1996), 1.

61 Eggert, *The Meaning of Mountains: Culture and Nature in Chosŏn Dynasty travel writing*, 14.

62 *Ibid.*, 6

Travellers often had a strong fascination for any antiques kept at the temples. The text *Dongguk myeongsangi* 東國名山記, famous mountains of the Eastern country, by Seong Hae-eung 成海應 (1760-1839) is a compendium of information surrounding the mountains of Korea, meant for travellers or those who sought to travel vicariously. The information on the diamond mountains is laid out in the order of the popular route taken by scholars.⁶³

A large part of the information that Seong provides are on connections to earlier Korean dynasties. For example, the first sight travellers would see of the Diamond mountains was a place called Danballyeong 斷髮嶺, or cutting hair ridge. From this ridge travellers were able to see the mountain range in its entirety, an impressive sight. Seong tells two myths that explain the name. One tells that a prince of Silla climbed up to this spot in the past. The prince was so touched by the expansive view that he cut off his hair to become a monk.

Parallel to these connections to former Korean dynasties is historical information that aims to integrate the mountains in a larger international context. About the highest peak in the mountains, Birobong peak, Seong says:

大明中貴人鄭同嘗奉使入楓嶽。及其歸也。刻千佛於燕中之洪光寺。以象毗盧。

A favoured courtier of the great Ming, named Zhengtong, once came on a diplomatic mission and entered Pungaksan (Geumgansan). When he returned he carved a thousand Buddhas at the Hongguangsi temple in Yan. These all resembled Biro.

Here a connection is made to the past through a person and a famous Chinese temple, but this could also be done through objects or antiquities. The first temple in the mountains that the traveller would arrive at was Jangansa temple 長安寺. Seong tells of the artifacts found here.

寺中有銀絲鐵香爐三枚。書至正號。元順帝所捨施也。

In the temple there are three iron incense burners inlaid with silver. On them is written the Zhizheng mark (1341–1368). They were bestowed by the emperor Shun of Yuan.

These individual entries on temples are short, thus Seong spends as much effort on these objects as on the practical information of location, environment, and architecture. With regards to the almsgiver, Emperor Shun of Yuan was the last emperor of the Yuan

63 Maya Stiller. *Kūmgangsan: Regional Practice and Religious Pluralism in Pre-Modern Korea*. (University of California, 2013), 134.

and had a Korean empress, who most probably took the initiative in this gift to the temple.

This was not just trivia. The search for antiques was a major preoccupation for travellers. Another travel account, *Haeakgi* 海嶽記 by Hong Gyeong-mo 洪敬謨, mentions another set of incense burners at Pyohyunsa temple 表訓寺.

烏銅香爐在表訓寺般若堂。元公主捨施者也。製樣奇巧。爐趾以銀細鏤至正十二年壬辰閏三月。

A dark copper incense-burner is kept in the Banyadang hall of Pyohyunsa temple. It was given as an alms gift from a Yuan princess. Its appearance is exquisite. On the foot of the brazier is inscribed in silver inlays 'The twelfth year of the Zhizheng period, Renchen year, third leap month.'

Travellers at other mountains also made sought out antiques. A handscroll by Gang Sehwang in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art combines both a travelogue and paintings of a journey to Byeonsan 邊山 in Buan prefecture 扶安郡 (fig.9). Gang had a son working in Buan as a postal clerk, and though there is no dating on the handscroll it was probably made after a 1770 trip to visit his son.⁶⁴ From right to left we see a larger ink landscape, then the travelogue in cursive script, and lastly four smaller paintings.

Just like the diamond mountains, Byeonsan was also a site inscribed with Buddhist meanings, though Kang shows little interest in Buddhist history and keeps to lyrically describing the natural surroundings. However, the following exchange with the monks happens in Silsangsa temple.

寺甚宏壯。今多頽圯。寺僧出示古物。有烏銅香爐。烏銅龜鶴。烏銅楊枝瓶。製作亦皆奇雅精巧。龜鶴僧輩不知爲何物。余曰此乃含線香於鶴口以薰之。亦香爐類也。僧輩相顧不信。爲之一笑。

The monastery, [once] of rather splendid scale, was now largely dilapidated. The monks brought out some antiques to show to me: a black bronze incense burner, a black bronze turtle and crane, and a bronze vase [decorated] with willow branches. The artisanship of all this was elegant and exquisite. As for the turtle-crane, the group of monks did not know what object it was. I said: "this is used for holding stick incense in the mouth of the crane and burning it, also a kind of incense-burner". The group of monks glanced at each other in disbelief, to which I responded with a smile. (tr. Burglind Jungmann and Liangren Zhang)⁶⁵

64 Burglind Jungmann and Liangren Zhang, "Kang Sehwang's Scenes of Puan Prefecture – describing actual landscape through literati ideals," *Arts asiatiques* 65, no. 1 (2010): 80.

65 Ibid., 94

What stands out here is the contrast between the unknowing monks and the Confucian scholar who has to explain with apparent bemusement the function and identity of the objects in the monks' possession. The first chapter showed some of the trepidation with which the literati approached antiquities in the Chinese art market, but there is little of that here.

From the words that Gang uses we cannot know whether he asked the monks specifically for the antiques or that the monks presented them out of their own accord. But evidently others did not hesitate to ask the monks to present antiques for their enjoyment. In the *yugeumgangsangi* 遊金剛山記 by Yi Ui-hyeon 李宜顯(1669-1745) we find the following rather brusque exchange:

早起，令僧輩出示寺中古蹟，僧輩以高麗閔漬所記建寺本末冊子進。披覽訖，又問曰：“此寺舊聞多有貝葉書及他書法、器用、什物之可賞玩者，盍一示之？”

I woke up early and told the monks to show the antiquities of the temple. The monks brought out woodblocks with a record from Min Ji of Goryeo on the establishment of the temple. After having finished perusing it I again asked: “this temple is old and I heard that there are many sutras and other works of calligraphy, or utensils and other odds and ends that could be brought out to appreciate. Why not show one of them?”

The implicit statement here is that the literati are the only ones that are capable of appreciating these antiquities. After all, they had the historical and technical knowledge learned from years of study of the classics and the more recent Ming handbooks on connoisseurship.

Parallel to the search of antiquities was the projection of whole landscapes from Chinese antiquity. For example, Confucian scholars copied the manner and times from travelogues of Zhu Xi, for their own travelogues.⁶⁶ Often this projection of the Chinese landscape was done through buildings. The construction of Confucian academies in the mountains were a way to transform the landscape into Confucian spaces and remove Buddhist meanings. One example is the first Confucian academy in Joseon Korea, which was opened in 1542 under the name Baekundong Seodang 白雲洞書堂, white cloud grotto academy, a direct reference to the Chinese white deer grotto academy 白鹿洞書院 in Lushan. Another example is how the nine-bends stream of Wuyishan, became printed on the Korean landscape, with several sites getting their own nine-bends, such

66 Jung Min, "Constructing Sectarian Pilgrimage Sites in Neo-Confucian Schools," *Korean Histories* 3, no. 1 (2012): 28.

as the nine-bends of Kosan, on which the famous 16th century scholar Yi Yi composed his *Gosan gugok ga* 高山九曲歌, songs of the Nine-Bends stream of Gosan.⁶⁷

The most explicit example of how idealized imagery from Chinese antiquity was projected onto Korea can be found in a previous example: Prince Anpyeong. Four years after Anpyeong had commissioned a painting of his dream of the peach blossom spring he would build a house called Mugyejeongsa 武溪精舍 in an area north of the capital Hanseong that reminded him of the landscape he saw in his dream. Yi Gae 李塏, a friend of Anpyeong, who also composed one of the inscriptions on *dream journey*, visited the house and wrote the following in the year 1451:

匪懈堂乃携余散步。觴余而命之曰：『吾嘗夢遊桃源矣。及得此。髣髴乎夢中之見。豈造物者有所待耶？何其千載之秘一朝軒露而必于吾之歸歟？[...]』

Bihaedang walked and led me the way. He invited me for a toast and called out: "Once I dreamt of the peach blossom spring. When I acquired this place it seemed as what I saw in my dream. How could nature have held what I waited for?! How could a secret of a thousand years, one morning become visible and bring about my return?"

Quite literally here Anpyeong has taken imagery from Chinese literature and his painting to project it on the Korean landscape.

True-view painting

From the 18th century onwards paintings that referred back to Korean landscape became more popular. These paintings were named *jingyeong sansuhwa* 眞景山水畫, or true-view landscape painting. These works do not constitute a unified body of paintings, but rather refer to a wide variety of paintings done in different styles. The name true-view suggests to the reader paintings of the typographical variety, but this is not correct in all cases. Although true-view paintings typically refer back to Korean locations, the degree of topographical details varies greatly. Some paintings are done in a highly detailed style, whereas others are far more schematized or stylized. In essence, there was no unified method in which these paintings were done. They could be both done from memory or from earlier made sketches.⁶⁸

True-view landscape painting is one of the most popular topics in Korean art history. It is presented as a turn away from Chinese models. For example, Yi Song-mi connects the

67 Kim, *Shared Legacy, Recreated Sites: Nine-Bends Stream Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty*, 177.

68 Tae-ho Lee, "Painting from Actual Scenery and Painting from Memory: Viewpoint and Angle of View in Landscape Paintings of the Late Joseon Dynasty," *Korean Art and Archaeology* 3:.

development of true view landscape painting with with antipathy to the 'barbarian' Manchu Qing and the intellectual currents of the *Silhak* 實學 school.⁶⁹ In this view, true-view is equivalent to real Korean landscapes as opposed to imaginary Chinese landscapes. This leads us to two questions. (1) What is exactly meant with 'true' in this case. (2) Could this be characterized as Korean?

To what extent was there a turn away from China? To be sure, anti-Manchu sentiments were present in the years after the Manchu takeover, and can be seen in the continued use of the Ming year count in private writings. However, an ambiguous relationship vis-a-vis the ruling Chinese dynasty was business as usual. Diplomatic relations with the Ming court were also characterized by difficulties and misgivings. Moreover, although in the initial years after the Qing takeover some refused to join the missions to Beijing, by the 18th century attendance of the diplomatic missions had regained its former prestige.⁷⁰

We also have to consider that many of the figures involved with true-view paintings enthusiastically took part in the antiquarian culture described so-far. For example, the painter Kim Hong-do was known to spend all his money on Chinese antiques, a rather questionable hobby for those who supposedly try to move away from Chinese models.

Thus, rather than taking this anti Qing sentiment as a factor in true-view landscape painting, I propose that it is rather the intensified contacts and trade described here and in previous chapters that form the intellectual background to true-view landscape painting. Seen from this perspective, these paintings aimed to try to take part in larger developments in East-Asia, rather than break away from it.

We can find some indication of this when we look closer to how the term *Jingyeong* is used. Take for example, this inscription by Gang Se-hwang on a painting (fig.10) of Inwangsan mountain by Gang Hui-eon (1710-1784) saying:

寫真景者，每患似乎地圖，而此幅既得十分逼真，且不失畫家諸法，豹庵

True-view painters are all worried that their work might look like maps. However, this painting manages to be true to life while not sacrificing the laws of painting.
Pyoam (Gang Se-hwang).

The laws of painting that Gang here refers to are most likely the six laws of paintings by Xie He 謝赫, a painter and theorist of the 6th century. In his preface to his book *Guhua pinlu* 古畫品錄, classification of ancient painters, he posits six laws or principles which

69 Song-mi Yi, "Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-view Landscape Painting of the Choson Dynasty," in *Arts of Korea* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 340.

70 Kim, *Borders and Crossings: Trade, Diplomacy and Ginseng Between Qing China and Choson Korea*, 156

painters ought to follow. In the following centuries these six laws would become one of the cornerstones of painting theory. Gang contrasts them here with the methods of true-view painting. The conclusion however is that they are not mutually exclusive, with the implication that they should not be either.

The precise manner in which Gang Hui-eon painted Inwangsan here is indeed rather reminiscent of the pictorial maps that were produced at the time. The problem with resemblance to maps is twofold. First, maps were produced by court painters and other professionals. Although, I have noted before stylistic differences between professional and amateur painters were not necessarily as strong as in China, where this dichotomy of amateur versus the professional was first developed. There were enough other social practices to keep the distinction between the two groups in Joseon Korea, without falling back on these stylistic differences. Perhaps the real problem is the second one. There is an implication that pictorial maps do not follow the laws of painting, whereas true view or jingyeong does.

What is then exactly meant with true view? The term jingyeong 真景 can be found in older Chinese texts, but in its Korean usage it was Gang Se-Hwang himself who popularized the term true-view painting as an art critic.⁷¹ As we have seen in the previous chapter, Gang Se-Hwang was not just a famous art critic but also an enthusiastic painter and calligrapher. He painted a variety of subjects in different styles. I have shown his album of Wuyishan and his scroll of Ugeumam, but he also painted other literati themes such as the four gentlemen. In an inscription on a 1751 painting of Dosan academy he wrote:

夫畫莫難於山水以其大也。又莫難於寫真景以其難似也。又莫難於寫我國之真境以其難掩其失真也。又莫難於目所未見之境以其不可臆度而取似也。

Now in painting nothing is more difficult than landscape, because of its vastness. Again, [in landscape painting] there is nothing more difficult than to sketch true scenery (jingyeong), because of the difficulty [in catching] its resemblance. Again [in painting true scenery] nothing is more difficult than to sketch the true scenery of our country, because of the difficulty in concealing a loss of trueness. Again [in painting Korea's true scenery] there is nothing more difficult than to sketch a scene one has not seen with one's own eyes, because of the impossibility of grasping its resemblance from conjecture. (tr. Burglind Jungmann)⁷²

71 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean culture: paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 149.

72 Ibid.

Conventional scholarly interpretations of true-view painting tend to understand it as real Korean landscapes as opposed to imaginary Chinese landscapes.^{73 74} Gang's message in these lines is subtly different. True-view landscape paintings are not necessarily of Korean landscapes. The landscapes of Korea were, owing to their proximity, the most convenient to observe, yet that also made them the most difficult to paint. However, it was not absolutely necessary to visit these landscapes to paint them. Rather, it was necessary for a true-view painting to allow for a sense of visual participation, letting the viewer see the scene as it would be in real life.

Based on these examples, I would argue for a technical understanding of the term true-view painting. As such, true-view did not so much refer to the objects being painted, but rather the way in which they were painted. In particular these were visual methods and painterly tropes derived from mapmaking and Western paintings.

Such an understanding would be supported by Gang Se-hwang's inscription on Gang Hui-eon's painting of Inwangsan, in which he remarks that true-view painters often fear to be mistaken for mapmakers. This tension between realism and traditional technique is also present in his most well known work is a true-view painting, namely his painting album of his 1757 journey to Songdo 松都 (also known as Kaeseong). Songdo was the capital of the Goryeo dynasty and was still a large city during the Joseon dynasty. Gang travelled here on the invitation of his friend O Su-cha, who was the magistrate of the city.

The work is so well known, as Gang Se-Hwang experiments with different painting techniques in the album, such as shading and perspective. Gang belonged to the political faction of the Namin, which was known for its interest in Western painting techniques. Moreover, in his circle of acquaintances there were persons with extensive collections of antiquities, curiosities, and Western objects.⁷⁵

The most striking painting in the album is the seventh leaf, the entrance to Yeongtong. (fig.11) Gang has depicted a valley near Yeongtongsa temple 靈通寺, one of the famous temples surrounding Kaesong. This valley was well known for its large rocks and on the inscription Gang relays the story that these rocks were created when a dragon flew up from a nearby lake. In painting the scene he seems to have used two different registers of painting. The hills have been painted in a traditional style, in which thin outlines

73 Ibid, 152

74 Song-mi Yi, "Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-view Landscape Painting of the Choson Dynasty," in *Arts of Korea* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 343

75 Joan Kee, "The Measure of the World: Scenes from a Journey to Kaesŏng," *Art History* 38, no. 2 (2015): 375,

gives shape and Mi-dots, small strokes of colour, provide structure. However, the large rocks that litter the valley have been painted very differently and almost seem to jump out at the viewer. They are also formed by outlines but Gang has filled the outlines with overlapping washes of ink and colour. This technique is a departure from the usual way of painting rocks, and it is usually understood that Gang took this technique from Western painting.⁷⁶ He thereby manages not to only suggest the volume of the large rocks, but he also realistically conveys the changing of colours.

Painting antiquity into the mountains: Jeong Seon

The painter most personified with the genre of true-view is Jeong Seon 鄭叡 (1676-1759). Despite his fame there is relatively little known about his life. For example, it is a matter of contentious debate in Korean scholarship whether or not Jeong Seon ought to be classified as a literati painter⁷⁷ or as a professional painter who worked at the bureau of painting or *dohwaseo*.⁷⁸ It is clear though that he was born into an impoverished literati family and that he became a popular and enormously productive painter, who at times even outsourcing paintings.

I have mentioned before the popularity of the Diamond mountains as a travel destination. Jeong Seon travelled to the Diamond mountains multiple times and painted them more often than any other location. For now I want to turn my attention so some of the influences of Ming paintings manuals on Jeong Seon's depictions of the diamond mountains.

In the previous chapters I have discussed the import of Ming manuals on connoisseurship, but next to these textual sources, there was also a parallel genre of illustrated books. These were books such as the *Gushi Huapu* 顧氏畫譜, master Gu's painting album; the *Tangshi Huapu* 唐詩畫譜, album of Tang paintings and poetry; and the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳, the mustard seed garden manual of painting.

For example, the *Gushi Huapu* holds 106 illustrations. These illustrations were claimed to be reproductions of paintings by past and present masters, from Gu Kaizhi to Dong Qichang. Direct access to paintings of painters from the Six dynasties periods was

76 Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean culture: paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 169

77 Kumja Paik Kim, "Chŏng Sŏn (1676-1759): His Life and Career," *Artibus Asiae*, 1992.

78 Hwi Joon Ahn, "Gyeomjae jeongseon gwa geuui jingyeongsansuhwa, eotteoke bol geosinga," *Yeogsahagho* 歷史學報, 2012.

already by Ming times an idle fantasy, but, as the popularity of these manuals show, it was an extraordinarily seductive fantasy.⁷⁹

These albums had a rather ambiguous status in China. Feigning highbrow pretensions, they were mainly (but by no means exclusively) consumed by a middle class audience. In the process of being transported to Korea these manuals gained new meanings. It was not the case that manuals were re-printed with the same zeal as in Japan, where publishers enthusiastically fed the demands of the dynamic publishing market of Tokugawa Japan. Rather it seems that the copies that were bought in China became treasured possession in Korea, where scholars would write inscriptions and put seals on their copies.⁸⁰ Evidently scholars believed that these albums were true and reliable gateways to Chinese antiquity.

One illustration from *Tang Jieyuan fang gujin huapu* 唐解元倣古今畫譜, Tang Yin's Manual of Ancient and Modern Paintings (fig. 12) was especially influential in Korea. Jeong Seon seems to have used it for his own depiction of Danballyeong 斷髮嶺, in a 1711 album, the earliest dated work of Jeong Seon (fig. 13). As mentioned before, Danballyeong was the first stop of a sightseeing trip to the Diamond mountains. From this ridge travellers could for the first time see the mountains in their entirety on the horizon. In Jeong Seon's album leaf, the ridge forms the main mass of the picture, taking up most of the right half. The texture of the ridge is provided by the small horizontal strokes or mi dots, giving a rather soft painterly feel. This is contrasted with the visage of the Diamond mountains in the upper left, which derive their rough craggy shapes from sharp outlines.

There are many parallels between Jeong Seon's album leaf and the composition from Tang Yin. Both have the main mass in the bottom right half and a background of mountains in the far distance in the upper left half. There is just one modification. Jeong Seon has replaced the temple buildings with travellers just arriving to the scene.

Jeong Seon depicted Danballyeong multiple times in this manner. The same composition is found in another undated album of Geumgangsán paintings, now in the collection of the Gansong museum. This composition became the standard manner to depict Danballyeong. We see it used again by the later court painter Yi In-Mun 李寅文 (1745-1821). Although the composition is more broadly spaced, it remains recognizably

79 Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 138-140.

80 J.P. Park, "The Anxiety of Influence: (Mis)reading Chinese Art in Late Chosŏn Korea (1700-1850)," *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015): 311.

the same, with again the mountains of Geumgang rising up in the far background and travellers arriving in the lower right (fig. 14).

This basic composition even came to be used for decorative screens of the diamond mountains. A 19th century eight panel screen from the Newark Museum, again shows the shows the arrival of travellers in the right foreground and the Diamond mountains in the left background (fig. 15).

This commonality between the album leaf of Jeong Seon and the *Tangshi huapu* has been pointed out before, but there are also scholars who question it. For example, J.P. Park finds it unlikely that Jeong Seon would consult Ming manuals. He holds that true-view landscape painting was a genre that sought to move away from Chinese models and Jeong Seon was the exemplary painter of the genre.⁸¹ However, to what extent Jeong Seon's use of Ming manuals is likely cannot be determined from the contemporary view of Jeong Seon as founding father of true-view painting.

Perhaps the most well known painting by Jeong Seon is his *geumgang jeondo* 金剛全圖, a complete view of the Diamond mountains (fig. 16), which is at present in the collection of the Ho-Am museum. The title of the painting uses the character *do* 圖, meaning map or diagram. This suggest at least some connection to pictorial mapmaking. Jeong Seon had made multiple versions of his complete view and an earlier version has names for all the different peaks and buildings, much like a map. Jeong Seon made this large painting in the winter of 1734 and as one can gleam from the name, this painting compresses all of the Diamond mountains into one composition.

The result is a startling composition in which the mountains rise up precipitously toward the sky forming a half circle together. Completing the circular theme is the artist's inscription, which has the rather uncommon composition of a half circle.

Korean art historians have connected the circular motions of the painting to Jeong's Seon apparent interest in the book of changes.⁸² Sadly there are no prose writings by Jeong Seon extant in which he records his view on painting. Perhaps the closest thing we have is his poetic inscription on the 1734 version of his *complete view of the Diamond mountains*:

萬二千峰皆骨山，何人用意寫真顏。
衆香浮動扶桑外，積氣雄蟠世界間。
幾朵芙蓉揚素彩，半林松栢隱玄關。
從今脚踏須今遍，爭似枕送看不慳。

81 J.P. Park, "The Anxiety of Influence: (Mis)reading Chinese Art in Late Chosŏn Korea (1700–1850)," *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015): 310.

82 Yi, *Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-view Landscape Painting of the Choson Dynasty*, 346.

The twelve thousand peaks of Gaegolsan, who could portray their true image?
Their scents drift beyond the furthest reaches, its Qi swells throughout the world.
The hibiscus flowers radiate lustre, while the pine and cypress hide the profound.
To go on foot everywhere, how could it be compared to the view from your pillow?

The final line is a reference to the Chinese painter and art theorist Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443), who wrote that once he was too old to climb the mountains he painted their likeness instead. The suggestion is that, like Zong Bing before him, Jeong Seon too has painted something here that can contend with nature itself.

Curious in this inscription are also some of the religious overtones with which Jeong Seon describes the mountains. It calls up the question why exactly Jeong Seon and other literati travelled to the Diamond mountains. The literati usually talked of their journeys in terms of sightseeing and travel, which were proper activities for Confucian scholars. In her dissertation Maya Stiller has argued to interpret the diamond mountains in terms of religious pluralism. She found that there was very much an element of religious pilgrimage to the travels of literati to the diamond mountains.⁸³

Considering the religious overtones of the Diamond mountains, one could suggest a parallel to depictions of other pilgrimage places. One parallel to such an overview of the diamond mountains, one that is seldom referred to, are Chinese topographical paintings. One example, are topographical paintings of Huangshan 黄山, which became popular from late Ming times onwards in order to record and guide pilgrimages. These too were done in a variety of forms. Some were very schematic in character, whereas others were done in a precise pictorial style.⁸⁴ Some of the woodblock printed pictorial maps compress the mountains of Huangshan in to a single leaf (fig.17), and show something reminiscent of Jeong Seon's depictions of the diamond mountains, although they lack the strong circular movement. The closest Chinese parallel to Joseon travel albums is Wang Lü 王履 (1332-n.d.). He was a doctor by profession but it seemed his true interest was painting. He travelled to Huashan multiple times and not content with tradition he looked for new ways to document its forms in his travel album of Huashan, which contains forty scenes of the mountain.⁸⁵

83 Maya Stiller. *Kūmgangsan: Regional Practice and Religious Pluralism in Pre-Modern Korea*. (University of California, 2013), 134.

84 James Cahill, "Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Pictures," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

85 Kathlyn Maurean. Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: a Chinese physician's illustrated travel record and painting theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

It is hard to say to what extent these practices and painters were known in Korea. In the case of Wang Lu, his painterly activities were already forgotten rather quickly in China, and the few references to him in Korean sources only concern his work in medicine. Paintings and depictions of Huangshan might have been a more likely source. Especially the woodblock printed maps that were collected in books such as *Sancaituhui* 三才圖會 or *Huangshan Tujing* 黃山圖經. We know that images from the *Sancaituhui* have served as inspiration for other Joseon painters.⁸⁶ Jeong Seon was most likely aware of these paintings too. We have seen from the above examples that he was not above using compositions from Ming painting manuals, and Chinese topographical paintings might have provided another model.

Locating Joseon in Chinese antiquity

This chapter discussed how Joseon literati viewed the Korean landscape. During the Joseon dynasty scholars showed an increasing interest in the own Korean landscape. This phenomenon is in itself fairly well established, but there are different ways of interpreting it. Conventional historiography tends to interpret it as a turn away from Chinese models and a development of national sense. I have argued against such an interpretation. In their travels the literati did not just drew from cultural patterns derived from Chinese antiquity, but also used knowledge they acquired from travels to Beijing, e.g. Western painting techniques. With their travels they sought to create connections between Korea and Chinese antiquity.

The most tangible result of this are the true-view paintings. In conventional art histories these paintings are often described in nativist terms and they are viewed as a turn away from Chinese models. In this chapter I have argued against such a view. Rather, the term true-view did not exclusively refer to the landscapes it depicted, but also referred to the usage of painting techniques from map making and Western painting. Moreover, some of the paintings by Jeong Seon show usage of compositions taken from Ming painting manuals. Thus, it would be more appropriate to see true-view painting as a phenomenon that could only happen through the rich cultural interactions between Joseon Korea and China.

I do not mean to say that Chinese models were copied uncritically. As we have seen in this and previous chapters, there was always a process of selection and modification in

86 J.P. Park, "The Anxiety of Influence: (Mis)reading Chinese Art in Late Chosŏn Korea (1700–1850)," *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015): 309.

the transmission of discourses and models. Nor does this mean Joseon literati meekly gave in to Chinese superiority. As connections were made to antiquity, they put the landscape of Korea on par with that of China. The 15th century literatus Kim Chongjik wrote in his travelogue that “As lofty and wonderful as Jirisan is, if it stood on the Middle Plains, it would be more revered than Mount Tai.”⁸⁷

87 Eggert, *The Meaning of Mountains: Culture and Nature in Chosŏn Dynasty travel writing*, 6

CONCLUSION: THE MANY GUISES OF CHINESE ANTIQUITY

The essential identity of the scholar and painter during the Joseon dynasty was that of a traveller. By night they dreamt of travel, by day they painted their travels. The act of travel not only made Chinese antiquity available, but also provided a method to connect the Korean landscape to Chinese antiquity. However, what did Chinese antiquity precisely mean for Joseon literati?

Chinese antiquity informed a large part of the cultural world of Joseon literati. For example, prince Anpyeong was deeply steeped in the Chinese classics. Joseon painters adapted landscape themes from Chinese antiquity, and took styles and compositions from imported paintings and painting manuals. However, this process of adaptation was not without its difficulties. Owing to their position outside of the locales of Chinese antiquity, Joseon literati had to justify their use of Chinese antiquity and antiquities. The literati did not just do this by adapting Chinese themes and cultural patterns to the Korean context, but they also connected the Korean landscape itself to Chinese antiquity. Chinese antiquity was central to the Joseon understanding of the world, but it was essentially a Koreanized Chinese antiquity. In this process, Chinese antiquity was Koreanized, while the Korean landscape was Sinicized.

Studies of Joseon art have often been marred by either sino-centrism or nativism. The problem is that in this period, Joseon scholars showed great fascination for both Chinese antiques and antiquity, as well as for their own country. In this thesis I have tried to move beyond this binary of sino-centrism versus nativism. Perhaps for the Joseon scholar it was possible to do both.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahn, Hwi Joon. "An Kyon and A Dream Visit to the Peach Blossom Land." *Oriental Art* 26, no. 1 (1980): 60-71.

Ahn, Hwi Joon. "Gyeongjae jeongseon gwa geuui jingyeongsansuhwa, eotteoke bol geosinga" 겸재 정선과 그의 진경산수화, 어떻게 볼 것인가 [A New Understanding of Jeong Seon and his True-View Landscape Painting]. *Yeogsahaghoe* 歴史學報 127 (2012): 1-30.

Cahill, James. "Huang Shan Paintings as Pilgrimage Pictures." In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, 246-92. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Chang, Chin-Sung. "Ambivalence and Indulgence: The moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea." In *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Korean and Japanese Art*. Edited by Elizabeth Lillehoj, 118-142. Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2013.

Chen-Courtin, Dorothy. *The Literary Theme of the Peach Blossom Spring in Pre-Ming and Ming Painting*. Dissertation. Columbia University, 1979.

Chōng, Yang-mo, and Judith G. Smith. *Arts of Korea*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.

Chun, Hae Jong. "Sino-Korean tributary relations in the Ch'ing period," in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, edited by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1968), 90-91.

Clark, Donald N. "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming." In *The Cambridge History of China*., edited by Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, 272-300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Clunas, Craig. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Clunas, Craig. *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 2004.

Eggert, Marion. "Views of the country, visions of self: Choson dynasty travel records on Chiri-san and Paektu-san." *Asiatische Studien* 52, no. 4 (1998): 1069-1102.

Eggert, Marion. "The Meaning of Mountains: Culture and Nature in Chosŏn Dynasty Travel Writing." In *The AEAS symposium: Korea in travel writing*, 1-21. Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University, 2005.

- Elman, Benjamin. "The Historicization of Classical Learning in Ming-Ch'ing China." In *Turning Points in Historiography*, edited by Edward Wang and Georg Iggers, 101-46. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002.
- Hwang, Jungyon. "Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty." *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* 6 (2012): 102-13.
- Jeong Min. *Hanguk yeokdae sansuyugi chwipyeon* 韓國歷代山水遊記聚編 [anthology of Korean travel writings]. Seoul: Minchang Munhwasa 民昌文化社, 1996.
- Jungmann, Burglind. *Painters as envoys: Korean inspiration in eighteenth-century Japanese Nanga*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Jungmann, Burglind, and Liangren Zhang. "Kang Sehwang's Scenes of Puan Prefecture—describing actual landscape through literati ideals." *Arts asiatiques* 65, no. 1 (2010): 75-94.
- Jungmann, Burglind. "Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism." *Archives of Asian Art* 61, no. 1 (2011): 107-126.
- Jungmann, Burglind. *Pathways to Korean culture: paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910*. London: Reaktion Books, 2014.
- Jung, Min. "Constructing Sectarian Pilgrimage Sites in Neo-Confucian Schools." *Korean Histories* 3, no. 1 (2012): 23-34.
- Kee, Joan. "The Measure of the World: Scenes from a Journey to Kaesŏng." *Art History* 38, no. 2 (2015): 364-85.
- Kim, Jiyeon. "Shared Legacy, Recreated Sites: Nine-Bends Stream Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty." In *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Korean and Japanese Art*, edited by Elizabeth Lillehoj, 166-88. Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2013.
- Kim, Youngna. "Korea's Search for a Place in Global Art History." *The Art Bulletin* (2016).
- Kim, Seonmin. *Borders and Crossings: Trade, Diplomacy and Ginseng Between Qing China and Choson Korea*. Dissertation, Duke University, 2006.
- Kim, Sunglim. "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea." *Archives of Asian Art* 64, no. 1 (2014): 3-32.
- Kim, Tae Joon. *Korean travel literature*. Translated by Lee Kyong-hee. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2006.
- Kim, Yeong-won, *Hanguk yeokdae seohwaga sajeon* 韓國歷代書畫家事典. Seoul: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2011

- Korea foundation. *The Korean Relics in Japan 4: Tenri University Central Library, Tenri University Sankokan Museum*. Seoul: Korea Foundation, 1997
- Lee, Soyong, JaHyun Kim Haboush, Sunpyo Hong, and Chin-Sung Chang. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400-1600*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009.
- Lee Jong-muk. "Anpyeong daegun ui munhak hwaldong yeongu" 安平大君의 文學活動 研究 [Research on the Literati Activities of Prince Anpyeong], *Jindan hakbo* 震檀學報 93 (2002): 257-75
- Lee, Peter H. *A history of Korean literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Lee, Tae-ho. "Painting from Actual Scenery and Painting from Memory: Viewpoint and Angle of View in Landscape Paintings of the Late Joseon Dynasty." *Korean Art and Archaeology* 3:106-50.
- Liscomb, Kathlyn Maureen. *Learning from Mount Hua: a Chinese physician's illustrated travel record and painting theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Miller, Peter N., and François Louis. *Antiquarianism and intellectual life in Europe and China, 1500-1800*. University of Michigan Press, 2012.
- Paik Kim, Kumja. "Chŏng Sŏn (1676-1759): His Life and Career." *Artibus Asiae* 52, no. 3/4 (1992): 329-343.
- Paik Kim, Kumja. "Re-evaluating Court and Folk painting of Korea." In *A companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Sutton, 341-64. Chichester: Blackwell, 2011.
- Pak Chiwŏn. *The Jehol Diary*. Translated by Yang Hi Choe-Wall. Kent: Global Oriental, 2010.
- Park, Haehoon. "Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Its Relationship to Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers from the Former Yugensai Collection in Japan." *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* 10 (2016): 123-136.
- Park, J.P. "The Anxiety of Influence: (Mis)reading Chinese Art in Late Chosŏn Korea (1700-1850)." *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015): 301-22.
- Song, Min-seon, *Bihaedang Sosangpalgyeong sicheop* 비해당소상팔경시첩. Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2008.
- Stiller, Maya. *Kŭmgangsan: Regional Practice and Religious Pluralism in Pre-Modern Korea*. Dissertation, University of California, 2013.

Su, Ya-Hwei. "Antiquaries and Politics: Antiquarian Culture of the Northern Song." In *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Alain Schnapp, 230-48. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013.

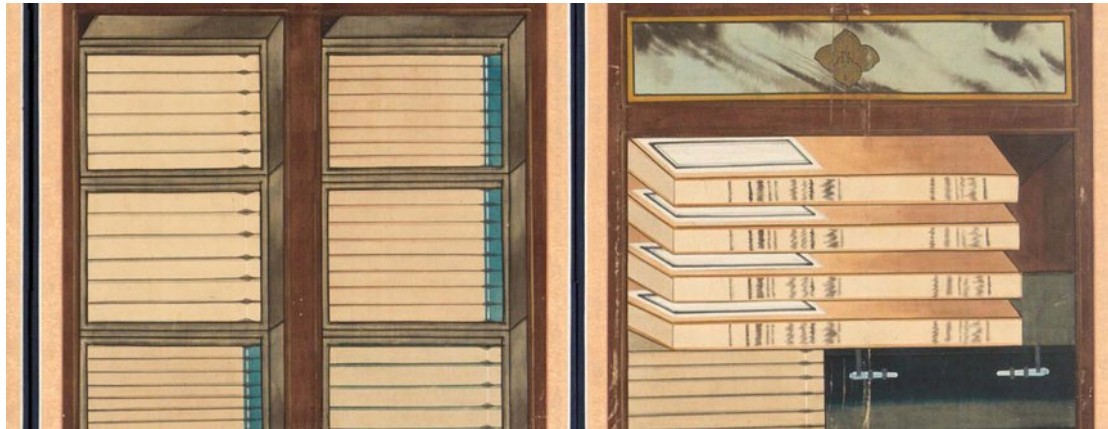
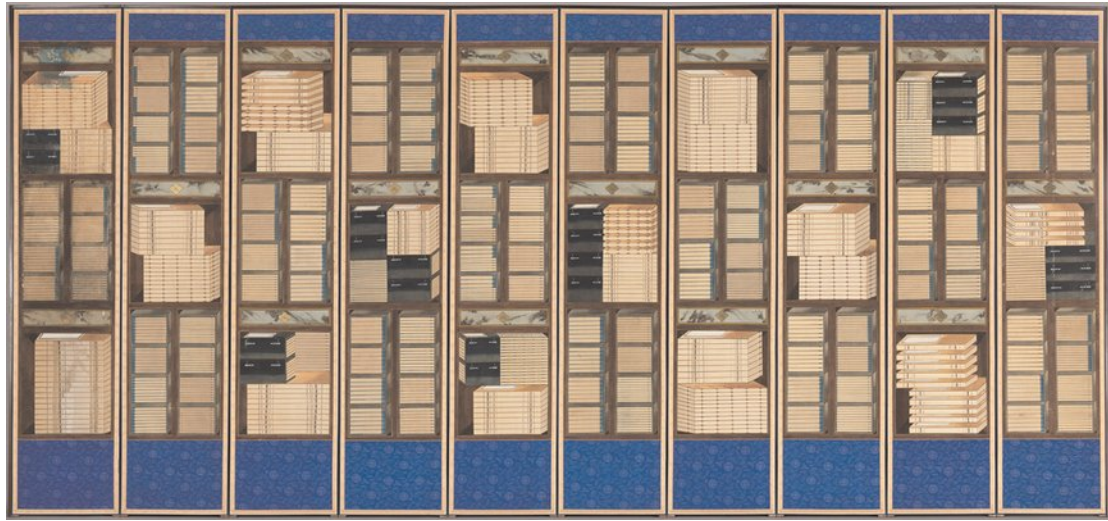
Watsky, Andrew M. "Locating 'China' In the Arts Of Sixteenth-Century Japan." *Art History* 29, no. 4 (2006): 600-24.

Yi, Sŏng-mi. *Korean landscape painting: continuity and innovation through the ages*. Seoul: Hollym, 2006.

Yi, Sŏng-mi, *Joseon Sidae Geurim sokui Seoyang Hwabeop* [Western Painting Methods in Joseon dynasty paintings]. Seoul: Sowadang, 2000



FIG. 1 PORTRAIT WITH ANTIQUITIES
Kim Hong-do 金弘道 (1745-n.d.)
Joseon, 18th century, Paper, Pyongyang Museum of Art.



(detail)

FIG. 2 CHAEGADO 冊架圖
Anonymous courtpainter
Joseon, 19th c., ink and colours on silk, 162 x 40cm (panel), National Palace Museum of Korea.



(detail)

FIG. 3 CHAEGGADO 冊架圖

Jang Han-jong 張漢宗 (1768–1815)

Joseon, ink and colours on paper, 195 x 361cm, Gyeonggi Province Museum, Gyeonggi-do.



(detail)

FIG. 4 DUOBAOGE 多寶閣
attr. Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (1688–1766)
Qing(?), ink and colours on paper, 125 x 245cm, Private Collection.



FIG. 5 FIFTH BEND OF WUYISHAN
Kang Se-hwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791)
Joseon, 18th century, Paper, Private Collection.

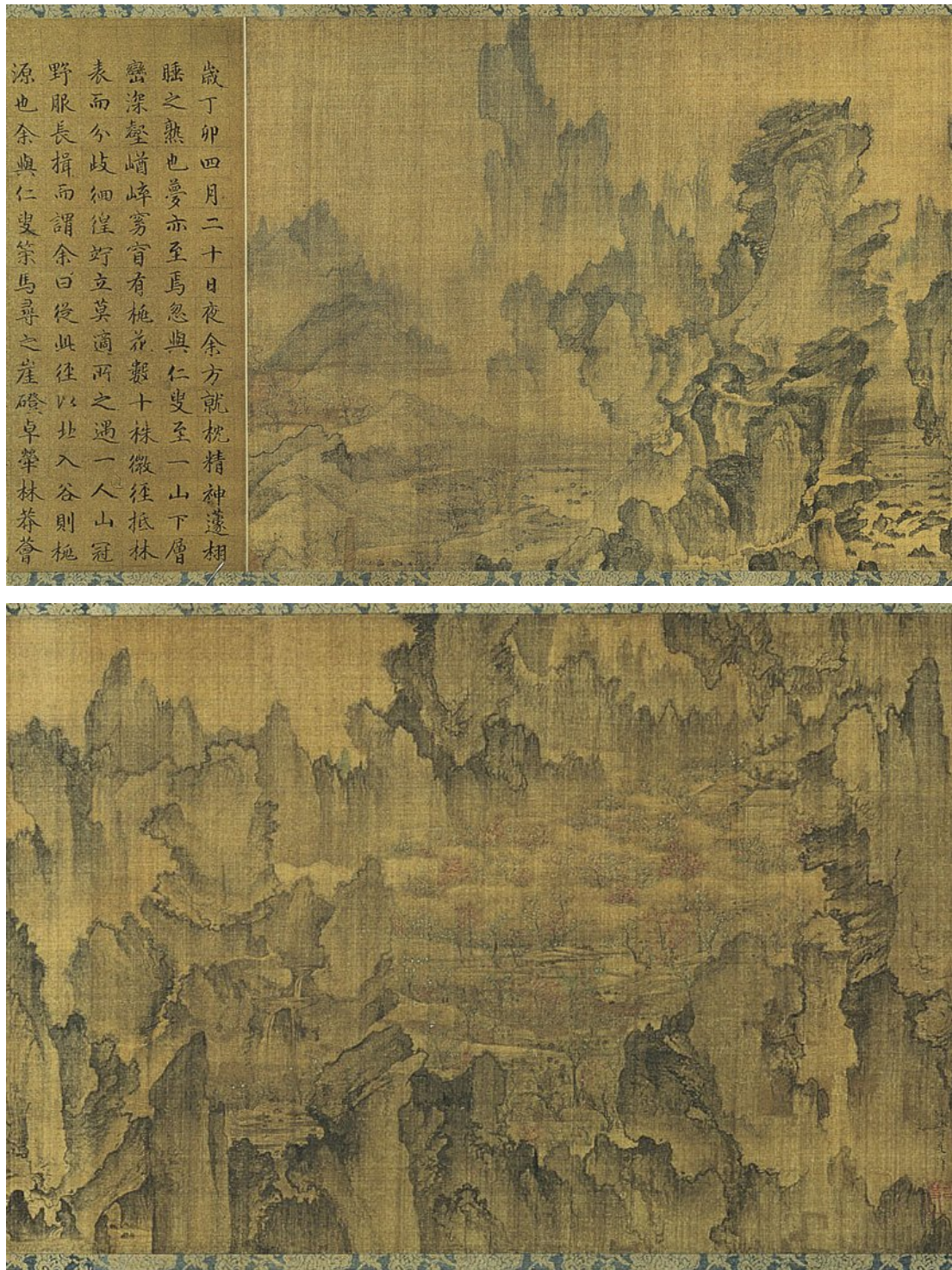


FIG. 6 DREAM JOURNEY TO THE PEACH BLOSSOM SPRING 夢遊桃源圖
 An Gyeon 安堅 (act. 15th century)
 Joseon, 1447, Ink and light colours on Silk, Tenri University Central Library, Nara.



FIG. 7 THE PEACH BLOSSOM SPRING 桃花源圖卷
Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca.1494-ca. 1552)
Ming, ink and colours on paper, 33 x 472cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



(complete painting)



(detail)

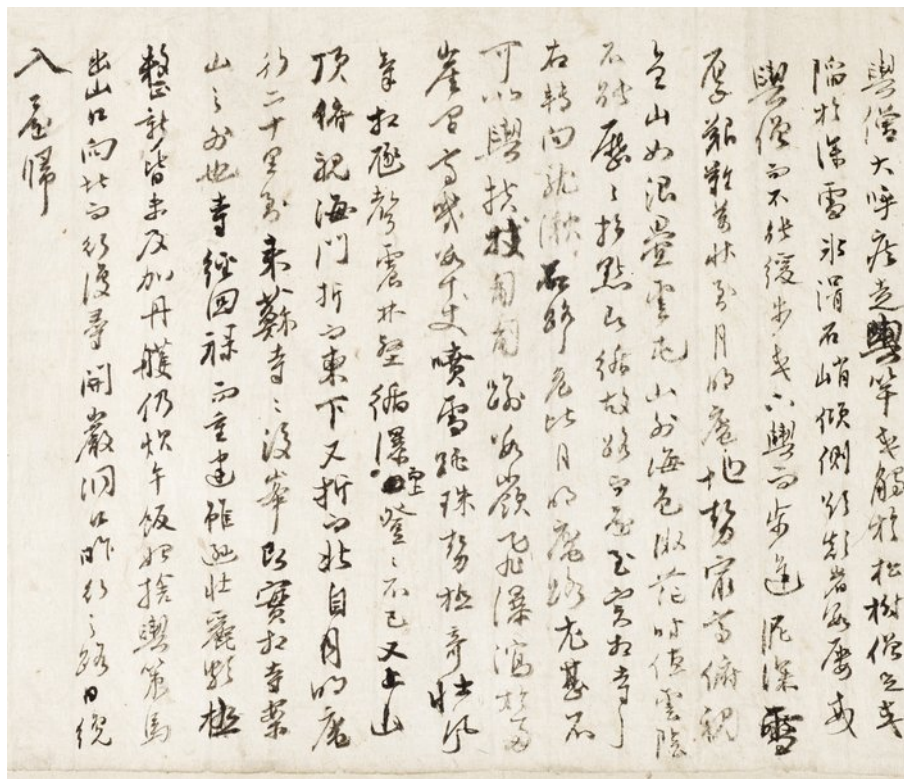
FIG. 8 BUDDHA'S CONVERSION OF THE FIVE BHIKSU 桃花源圖卷
Li Sheng 李升 (act. mid 14th century)
Yuan, ink on paper, 26.7 x 110.5 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art.



(whole scroll)



(detail 1)



(detail 2)

FIG. 9 TRAVELLING TO UGEUMAM 禹金巖圖

Kang Se-hwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791)

Joseon, ca. 1771, Ink on Paper, 25 x 267cm, LACMA, Los Angeles.



(detail)

FIG. 10 INWANGSAN SEEN FROM TOHWA-DONG 仁王山
 Kang Hui-eon 姜熙彦 (1710 - 1784)
 Joseon, 18th century, Ink and light colour on Paper, 25 x 43cm, Private Collection.



(detail)

FIG. 11 TRAVEL ALBUM TO SONGDO 松都紀行帖
 Kang Se-hwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791)
 Joseon, 18th century, Paper, 33 x 53cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

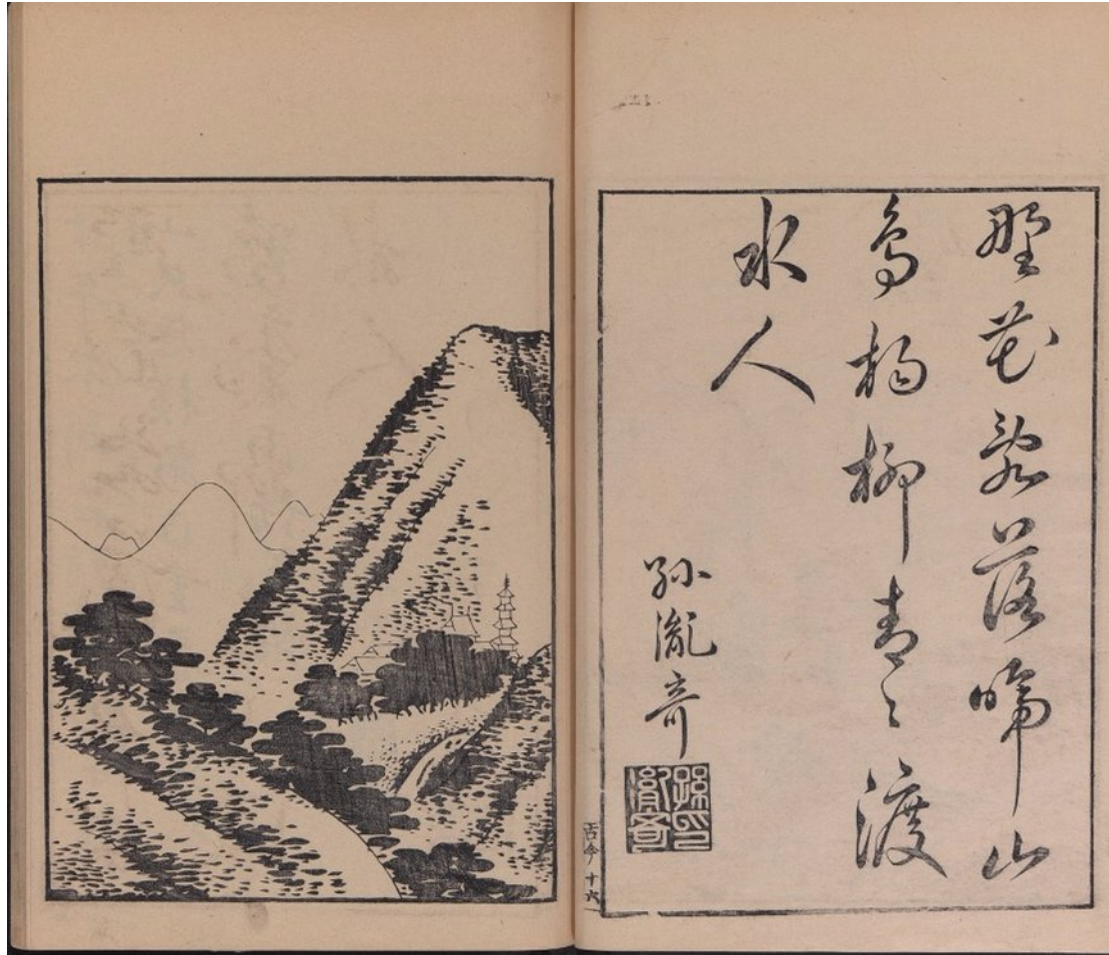


FIG. 12 TANG YIN'S MANUAL OF ANCIENT AND MODERN PAINTINGS 唐解元倣古今畫譜
 Vol. 7 of Tangshihuapu 唐詩畫譜
 Japanese reprint, 1672, woodblock print, 24 x 17cm, Marquand library, Princeton University

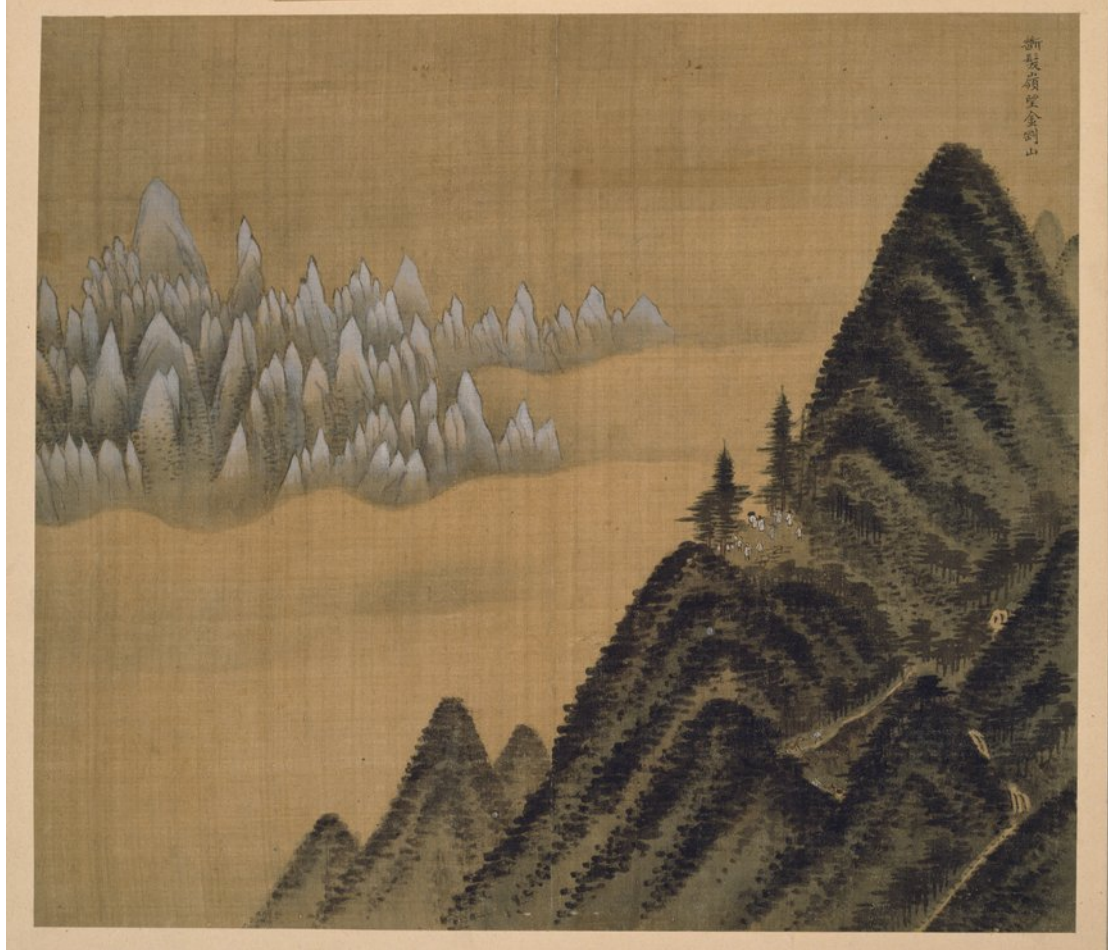


FIG. 13 SEEING THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS FROM DANBALLYEONG 斷髮嶺望金剛山
Jeong Seon 鄭澈 (1676-1759)
Joseon, 1711, Light colours on silk, 36 x 38cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul

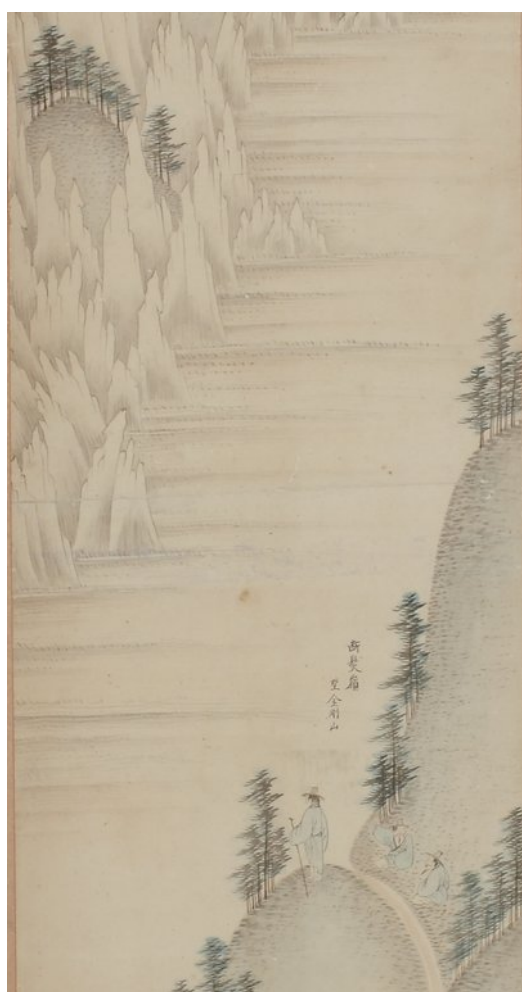


(detail)

FIG. 14 SEEING THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS FROM DANBALLYEONG 斷髮嶺望金剛山
Yi Inmun 李寅文 (1745-1821)
Joseon, 18th century, Light colours on paper, 45 x 23cm, Private Collection



(whole screen)



(detail panel 1)

FIG. 15 DIAMOND MOUNTAINS 12 PANEL SCREEN

Anonymous

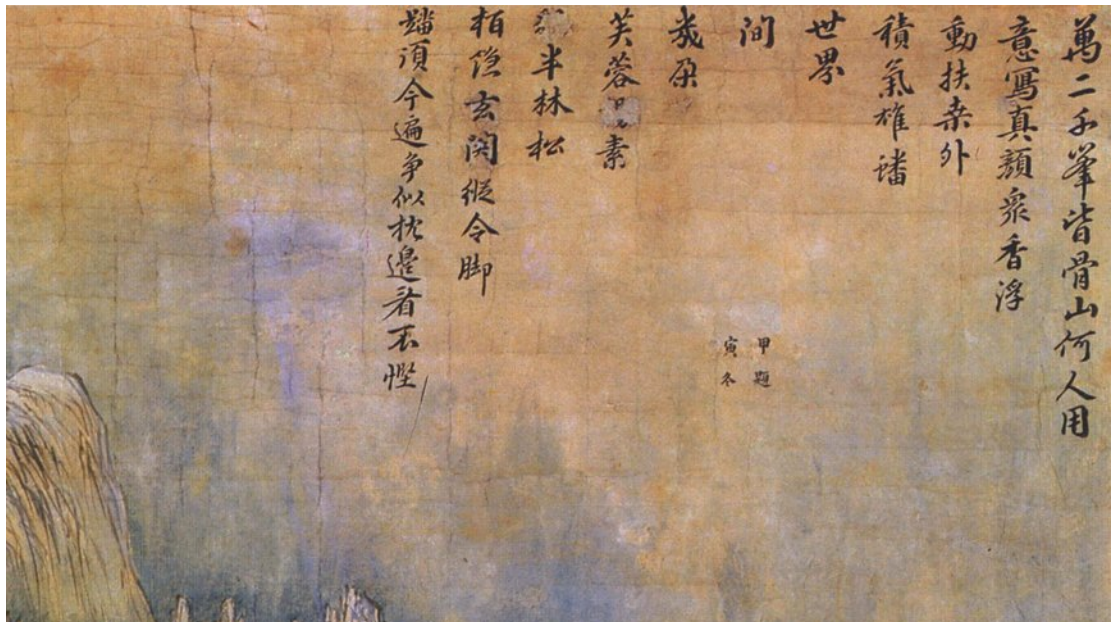
Joseon, 19th century, Light colours on paper, Newark Museum



FIG. 16 COMPLETE VIEW OF THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS 金剛全圖
 Jeong Seon 鄭敥 (1676-1759)
 Joseon, 1734, Ink and Light colours on paper, 131 x 94cm, Ho-Am museum of Art.



(detail 1)



(detail 2)

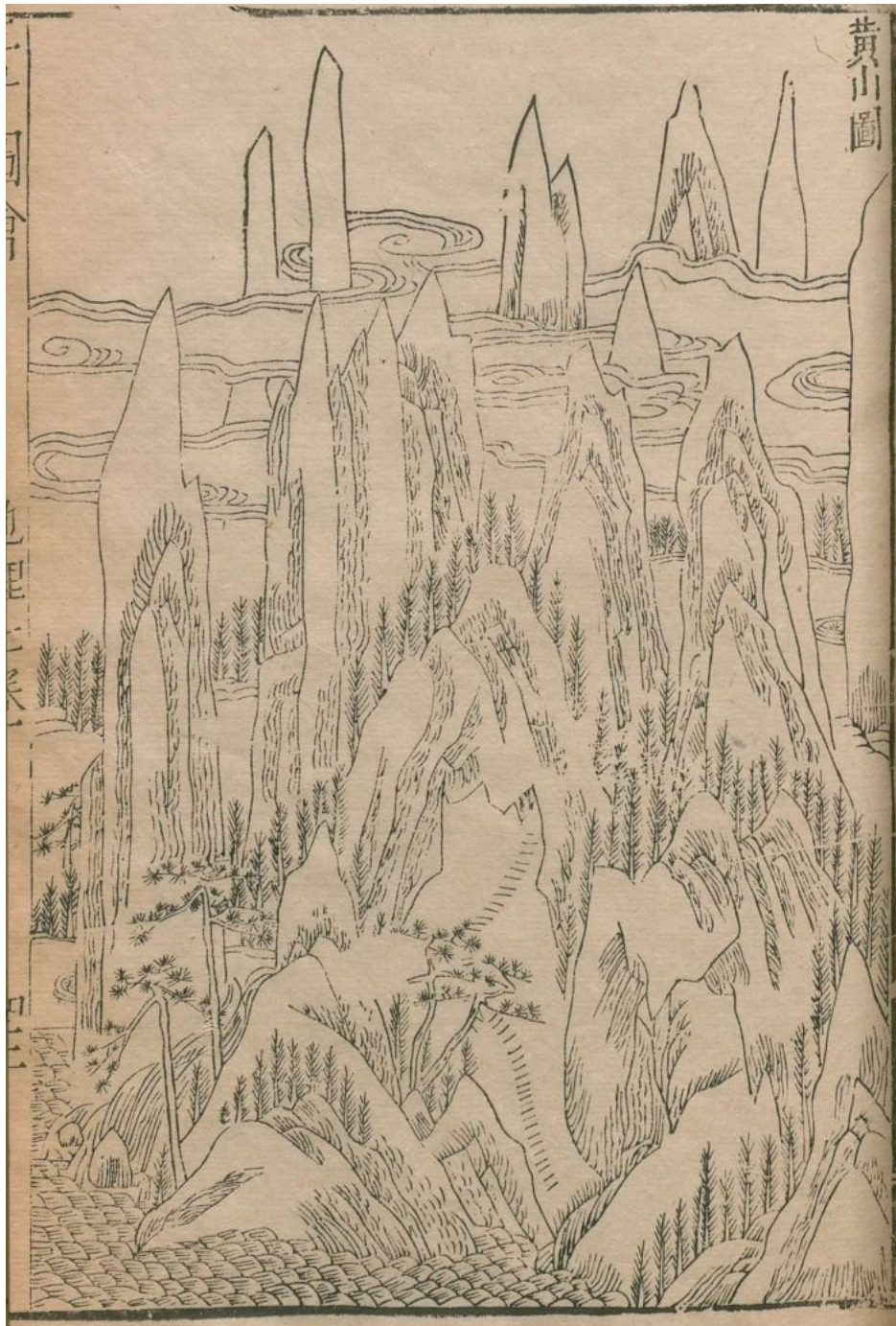


FIG. 17 MAP OF HUANGSHAN FROM THE SANCAITUHUI 三才圖會 黄山圖
Compiled by Wang Qi 王圻
Ming, 1607, woodblock printed book, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek.