Korea Journal, vol. 64, no. 2 (Summer 2024): 17–48.
doi: 10.25024/kj.2024.64.2.17

Another Look at the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, a Gift of King Chungseon

Minkyung JI

Abstract

King Chungseon of Goryeo, the grandson of a Yuan emperor, commissioned from renowned 14th-century Chinese artist Chen Jianru a portrait of Yi Je-hyeon, a prominent Goryeo scholar-official. Despite the portrait's fame as a rare Yuan work and evidence of the Goryeo-Yuan relationship, its purpose remains a mystery. This study aims to explore how the Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon was a personal gift of King Chungseon, but also served the subtler purpose of strengthening the king's political position by connecting Yi with southern literati through the cultural act of painting appreciation. Firstly, this study demonstrates works of art such as paintings and poems were one way for southern literati to reinforce their sense of solidarity and commonality. Secondly, this study seeks to argue the people involved in the creation and appreciation of the portrait, as well as its compositional elements and motifs, suggest that it was a means to establish Yi Je-hyeon's legitimacy within orthodox southern literati circles. Ultimately, this study argues King Chungseon, who sought to form a power base in the Yuan court with the support of southern literati, attempted to establish and strengthen connections between these factions and certain members of the Goryeo elite, including Yi Je-hyeon.

Keywords: Goryeo-Yuan relations, King Chungseon, Yi Je-hyeon, portraiture, Chen Jianru, Zhu Derun, Hangzhou Circle

---

This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2022S1A5C2A02092293).

Minkyung JI is an associate professor in the Department of Art History and Theory, Hongik University. E-mail: minkyji@hongik.ac.kr.

Introduction

The *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, currently on display in the National Museum of Korea, is a portrait of the prominent Goryeo scholar-official Yi Je-hyeon 李齊賢 (1288–1367) painted by Chen Jianru 陳鑑如 (fl. early 14th century), a renowned early 14th-century Chinese artist hailing from the region of Hangzhou (Fig. 1). In contemporary scholarship, this portrait has become widely understood as a rare representative work of Yuan dynasty portraiture. The piece also has the exceptional distinction of being one of the few works of art to be designated a Korean National Treasure, despite not having been created by a Korean artist. Along with a similar work, the bust portrait of An Hyang 安珦 (1243–1306), The *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* was granted this honor largely in recognition of its merit as an exceedingly rare original painting of

Figure 1. Chen Jianru (attrib.), *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, 1319, Yuan dynasty, ink and color on silk, 177.3×93.7 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul

Source: https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=1260.

a historical figure from the Goryeo dynasty, rather than a replica or a commemorative reproduction. Along with an accompanying inscription believed to be composed by Yi Je-hyeon himself, the date of production and process of transportation for the portrait are verifiable with relative accuracy and thus cast the work as a highly valuable artifact for historical research.

Yi Je-hyeon was a distinguished scholar and literary figure, as well as a trusted retainer to King Chungseon 忠宣王 (r. 1298, 1308–1313) of Goryeo. Summoned to Dadu, the capital of the Yuan dynasty, he served the Goryeo king, a member of the royal lineage of the Mongol Yuan, who spent a significant part of his life there. While serving in the Yuan imperial court, Yi Je-hyeon was tasked in 1319 with accompanying the king, a devout Buddhist, on a pilgrimage to Baotuo-si 普陀寺 in Zhejiang Province. During this particular voyage, King Chungseon commissioned Chen Jianru, widely known to be the greatest painter in Hangzhou at the time, to paint a portrait of Yi Je-hyeon, and further requested that Tang Binglong 湯炳龍 (1241–1323), a renowned writer native to Hangzhou, write an epigraph in celebration of this portrait. At some later point, Yi Je-hyeon lent the portrait to another party, and it was subsequently lost. However, he serendipitously recovered his lost portrait during a visit to Yanjing (now Beijing) 21 years later and famously inscribed his impressions of this incident on the surface of the portrait itself.

This dramatic anecdote was relayed in the inscription left by Yi Je-hyeon himself upon the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, providing crucial historical data such as the date of origin of the painting and the verifiable identity of the painter, while also adding a considerable element of mystery to the piece. Meanwhile, the uncommon process of the painting's creation and its journey to Goryeo, as revealed in this inscription, add a considerable element of mystery to the piece. Indeed, this anecdote is imbued with much more significant implications beyond the cut-and-dry information it provides. These inferences include: 1) the particularity of the time and place at which King Chungseon commissioned Yi Je-hyeon's portrait; 2) the process by which the painter of Yi Je-hyeon's portrait and the author of its epigraph were selected; 3) the significance of Yi Je-hyeon *lending* his portrait to another party; and 4) the question of how Yi Je-hyeon's portrait was

preserved undamaged for over 20 years and thus could be recovered unscathed by its original owner. In other words, the reason King Chungseon specifically chose to commission a portrait of Yi Je-hyeon, the circumstance of how this portrait was utilized, and the process of its transportation from the Yuan Empire to Goryeo, all remain a mystery. Until now, these aspects have not been the main focus in our understanding of the painting, as the clear nature of the portrait and the explicit message it conveys, supported by information from the owner about the artist, subject, and commissioner, seemingly preclude further investigation.

The objective of this study is to illuminate the significance of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* by addressing unresolved issues. Central to these inquiries is the fundamental question of why King Chungseon opted to present Yi Je-hyeon with a portrait of himself rather than a conventional gift. The keywords in focus, namely *portrait* and *gift*, evoke social mechanisms that transcend material significance, playing a pivotal role in establishing interpersonal networks within the Yuan-Chinese societal framework. This study contends that, while the artwork may initially appear as a gift to a favored vassal, the entire process of creating and employing the *Portrait of Yi Je-Hyeon* is intricately linked to King Chungseon's efforts to bolster his standing within the Yuan imperial court, leveraging the influence of traditional Confucian scholars from southern China. Consequently, an analysis of the Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon provides insights into the political positioning and actions of King Chungseon during his tenure at the Yuan court.

Re-examining Formal Aspects of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*

There are many historical records that provide insight into the figure of Yi Je-hyeon, a bureaucrat and neo-Confucian scholar of the Goryeo dynasty. A relatively full image of the man's life can be pieced together from official annals such as the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (History of Goryeo), *Goryeosa jeoryo* 高麗史節要 (Essentials of Goryeo History), and *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of Yuan), and from the poetry anthologies of Goryeo and Yuan writers who

communed with him, and even from Yi Je-hyeon's own writings, such as *Ikjae nango* 益齋亂藁 (Random Jottings of Ikjae Yi Je-Hyeon). What's more, many of these records also make meaningful mention of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*. As such, the process of creating the portrait and the circumstances of its introduction to Goryeo appear to have been sufficiently explained by previous research conducted on such records. However, in many such cases, the academic tendency to rely heavily on textual records as fact has overlooked subtle differences between texts and the actual paintings the texts deal with. Therefore, this study aims first to present several formal aspects that must be reconsidered for a more thorough and accurate understanding of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*.

Various relevant studies have gradually built a consensus attributing the creation of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* to Chen Jianru, and in this process, the portrait naturally invited comparisons to other artistic portraits produced during the Yuan Empire.[1] Given that Yi Je-hyeon was a Neo-Confucian scholar, and his portrait was crafted in the Zhejiang region, a stronghold of southern literati during the late Yuan dynasty, the piece has often been regarded as an archetypal portrait of an intellectual from southern Chinese regions in the late Yuan period (Sensabaugh 2009, 124–125). However, the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* evinces several stylistic elements that are markedly different from the more typical Yuan portraiture to which it is most frequently compared, and thus far, very little attention has been paid to these disparities and their implications.[2] Thus far, this uniqueness has simply been attributed to the dearth of surviving Yuan-era portraits and thus the lack of stylistically similar examples. In order to either assert or deny that the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* is indeed a quintessential example of portraiture from southern China, a closer analysis of the typical stylistics is necessary, along with a re-examination of the formal elements in question. First, let us

1. The *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* housed in the National Museum of Korea is widely acknowledged as Chen Jianru's genuine work, as evidenced by the inscription left by Yi Je-hyeon on the portrait. However, given the painting's condition, there is a real possibility that the portrait is a later reproduction or copy created in subsequent generations.
2. The *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* has been recognized and regarded as exhibiting the typical features of Yuan portraiture. For example, see Sensabaugh (2009).

examine and identify the typical style of portraits from the time and place where the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* was created.

Yi Je-hyeon stated that his portrait was lost in China after he lent it to someone else. Although, unlike most typical portraits, the utility of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* and the key locations relevant to its creation, display, and usage are not clearly understood, from Yi Je-hyeon's statement, we can glean that the piece functioned as a lendable and borrowable personal possession. The borrowing and lending of portraits was a unique cultural custom of the literati at the time. Within a Neo-Confucian context, observing and appreciating a painting was seen as a method of seeking to understand the true nature of the subject, as a form of *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 (gaining knowledge by the study of things) (Daewon Kim 2013). Appreciating the portrait of a noted scholar was believed to help the viewers emulate and learn from the subject's meritorious character and fulfillment of Confucian values. The fact that the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* was painted and inscribed by a well-known local artist and scholar suggests a likely connection to the cultural milieu of the intellectual elite in southern China.

Other representative works that were similarly painted and appreciated by the literati include *Portrait of Yang Zhuxi* 楊謙 (1283–?) by artists Wang Yi 王繹 (1333–?) and Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), and *Portrait of Wu Quanjie* 吳全節 (1269–1346) which is attributed to Chen Zhitian 陳芝田 (second half of the 14th century), the father of Chen Jianru (Figs. 2, 3).[3] Although these two pieces differ in size and in the fact that the figures depicted are respectively a scholar and a Daoist priest, they do share common characteristics in that both depict the central figure against a background of trees and rocks on a scroll. Through these examples, we can see that the portrayal of figures against a landscape background on a scroll was likely a typical style of portrait painting during this period. Unlike other painting genres that focus on abstraction and ideation, portraits are often relatively true to life, while retaining the capacity to use symbolism and metaphor to convey meaning beyond what is immediately visible. In particular, since the Southern Song

3. Though the title of this work is *Portrait of Yang Zhuxi*, Chang (2014) argues that the portrait actually depicts Yang Qian.

Figure 2. Ni Zan and Wang Yi (attrib.), *Portrait of Yang Zhuxi*, 1363, Yuan dynasty, ink on paper, 27.7×86.8 cm. Palace Museum, Taipei

Source: https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/228452.html.

Figure 3. Chen Zhitian (attrib.), detail of *Fourteen Portraits of the Daoist Priest Wu Quanjie between the Ages of Forty-three and Sixty-three*, second half of the 14th century, Yuan dynasty, ink, color, and gold on silk, 51.8×834.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Source: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/29361.

dynasty, Chinese literati popularly practiced a custom of writing poetry that characterized and extolled a figure's personality by analogizing them to elements and objects of nature. Similarly, the art of portraiture developed the custom of positioning various objects around the central figure, the particular characteristics of which were intended to provide some insight into the nature of the portrait's subject (Chang 2014, 119).

The process through which the form of literati portraits in the Yuan era was typified can be inferred from the works of Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322). Considering the status and position of Zhao Mengfu within the literati society of southern China, it was perhaps natural that the prominent characteristics of Zhao's artistic style would become intertwined with the widespread elements of literati portraiture. For example, Zhao's *Portrait of Su Shi* reflected the reclusive characteristics of Su Shi and thus set a template for subsequent portraits of isolated scholarly personages (Fig. 4). Furthermore, although *Luohan in a Red Robe* cannot quite be considered a portrait of a real-world historical figure, the work nonetheless shares much in common with the previously mentioned portraits in that it is a scroll depicting a central figure against a landscape backdrop (Fig. 5). Zhao Mengfu played a crucial role as a mentor to the portraitists of his time and he contributed significantly to the formation and dissemination of the literati portrait style in southern China, teaching the art of portrait painting to Chen Jianru and other noted artists.[4] Thus, it stands to reason that Zhao Mengfu's style had an extensive impact on shaping the conventional styles of southern Chinese literati portraiture.[5] However, the dimensions of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* measure 177.3 cm×93.7 cm, and thus it diverges

4. A Grand Scribe (*taishiling* 太史令) of the Yuan empire and Zhao Mengfu's student, Yang Yu 楊瑀 (1285–1361) relays such through anecdotes in his *Shanju xinhua* (New Sayings from the Mountain Dweller).
5. While discussing self-portraits, Gao Nianhua (2022) has argued that, beginning with Zhao Mengfu, Chinese self-portraiture underwent a shift in focus. It was no longer primarily concerned with expressing appearances; instead, the emphasis shifted towards conveying emotions and constructing identity. Furthermore, the style of depicting figures evolved from portraying independent individuals to placing figures and landscapes in parallel.

Figure 4. Zhao Mengfu, Detail of *Ode on the Red Cliff and Portrait of Su Shi*, ca. 1301, ink on paper, 27.2×10.8 cm. Palace Museum, Taipei

Source: https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=425&Dept=P.

Figure 5. Zhao Mengfu, *Luohan in a Red Robe*, 1304, Yuan dynasty, ink and color on paper, 26×52.1 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum

Source: China Museum Online, https://www.comuseum.com/?s=mengfu.

from the typical form of literati portraits of the Yuan period. In other words, the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* embodies a style that is closer to portraits commissioned for specific purposes, such as ancestral rituals, rather than the type of portraits created for the more general custom of intellectual appreciation.

By analyzing whether or not the motifs and style of depiction in *the Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* deviate from the formal styles typical of Yuan-era southern China literati portraiture and in turn, analyzing the motives for these possible deviations, we can gain a clearer understanding of the formal structure of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*.

In the painting, Yi Je-hyeon is dressed in *simui* 深衣 (Confucian ritual robes) and sitting in a chair with his hands folded in front of him, thus depicted in a pose and appearance typical of a Chinese literary or Confucian scholar. A red cloth lines the back of his seat, and a blue cloth is draped over it with a decorative knotted tassel hanging below slightly to the left of his carved and lacquered chair, a piece of traditional furniture known as a *diaoqi* 雕漆 (carved lacquerware). Behind him on his left is a lacquered table inlaid with mother-of-pearl ornamentation and holding several books, including the *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Book of Changes*, also known in the West as the *I Ching*), a *ding* 鼎 (bronze ritual vessel), and a classical *qin* 琴 (plank zither). Each of the objects depicted are imbued with specific significance. The style of furniture depicted in the painting was primarily produced in Hangzhou, and the surrounding items were popular among southern Chinese scholars at that time and thus indicative of the tastes of the literati. Moreover, the *Zhouyi* on the table and the *simui* worn by Yi Je-hyeon can be understood to emphasize his identity as a scholar of Neo-Confucianism.[6] In short, the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* serves to depict him not as an intellectual of the Goryeo kingdom but rather as a prototypical Confucian scholar of southern Chinese origin and tradition.

Given that the portrait was painted in Hangzhou by Chen Jianru, a

6. Lu Xuanfei argues that the *Zhouyi* on the table in particular represents Yi Je-hyeon's interests in southern Confucianism and was intended to signal such to southern Confucians (Lu 2017, 202–207).

famous painter from the region, perhaps it is only natural that this work should illustrate Yi Je-hyeon as a member of the southern Chinese literati. However, if we overlook the fact that the surrounding accoutrements in the portrait are representative of the literary culture of south China, the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* is otherwise more similar to those of Chan Buddhist monks than to those of southern Chinese scholars (Lu 2017, 201). The items around Yi Je-hyeon in the portrait can be explained as characteristic of portraits from the Zhejiang region of China, but it is difficult to account for the other elements that diverge from that characteristic style. Although no extant examples of literary portraits from Yuan-era south China depict the same style as the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, the thoroughly southern Chinese cultural elements of its temporal and geographical markers established a comparative similarity to portraits of Song dynasty emperors and Chan Buddhist masters from the Song and Yuan dynasties. These parallels thus were interpreted as confirmation that the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* was indeed created in the southern Chinese literary style and era. And yet, the fact that the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* nevertheless demonstrates more stylistic similarities to portraits of Chan Buddhist masters than to those of his contemporaries reasonably suggests some additional insight into the artistic and cultural context in which the painting was produced, as well as how the subject of the portrait was perceived by the painter and viewers of the piece.

The compositional aspects of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* that are most similar to the portraits of Chan Buddhist monks of the Song and Yuan dynasties are the subject's three-quarter profile, the ceremonial furniture set of chair and footrest, and the decoration of the furniture. Artworks such as the *Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan* 無準師範 (1177–1249) from the Southern Song dynasty and the *Portrait of Zhongfeng Mingben* 中峰明本 (1263–1323), originated in the Yuan Empire and housed in the Kogenji 弘源寺in Japan, are among the pieces most frequently invoked in stylistic comparisons to Yi Je-hyeon's portrait (Figs. 6, 7). However, the latter portrait differs from the two former in the specific type of chair on which the central figure sits. The closest facsimile to the *diaoqi* 雕漆 chair of Yi Je-hyeon's portrait appears in the *Portrait of Kokan Shiren* 虎關師錬 (1278–1346), painted in 1343 in Kaizoin 海藏院of Tofukuji 東福寺 (Fig. 8). Yet even so, the backrest of the

Figure 6. Artist unknown, *Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan*, 1238, Southern Song dynasty, ink and color on silk, 124.8×55.2 cm. Tofukuji, Kyoto

Source: https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=2554&lang=en.

Figure 7. Li An, *Portrait of Zhongfeng Mingben*, early 14th century, ink and color on silk, 122×54.7 cm. Kogenji, Hyogo

Source: https://www.kyohaku.go.jp/old/jp/theme/floor2_5/f2_5_koremade/2F-5_20200128.html.

Figure 8. Artist unknown, *Portrait of Kokan Shiren*, 1343, Yuan dynasty, ink and color on silk, 122×57 cm. Tofukuji, Kyoto

Source: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (2007).

chair in the Kokan Shiren portrait is markedly different from the *jiaoyi* 交椅 chair in Yi Je-hyeon's portrait, which features a rounded back and foldable legs. The shape of the chair in the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* can be examined in terms of its practical and decorative aspects. The form of the chair serves not only a practical function but also symbolizes the sitter's social role and status. In particular, the *jiaoyi* chair shown in Yi Je-hyeon's portrait is a chair that officials or high-ranking persons would be seated on in a *tingtang* 廳堂 (main hall). Since there is no evidence of a *jiaoyi* chair in earlier portraits of Chan Buddhists, it can be assumed that the use of this chair in Yi Je-hyeon's portrait is indicative of his identity as a high-ranking official. An interesting point to note can be found when comparing this chair to another in the painting, *Sima Caizhong's Dream of the Courtesan, Su Xiaoxiao*, housed in the Cincinnati Museum of Art and often considered an example of depic-

Figure 9. Liu Yuan, *Sima Caizhong's Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao*, early 13th century, ink and color on silk, 30×411.2 cm. Cincinnati Museum of Art

Source: https://www.cincinnatiartmuseum.org/art/explore-the-collection?id=11911846.

tions of Yuan scholar-officials in the early 13th century. The chair in this latter portrait, in which Sima Caizhong is shown sleeping while sitting, is not a *jiaoyi* chair (Fig. 9). Thus, the *jiaoyi* chair in which Yi Je-hyeon sits can be considered a type of chair particular to officials in the southern region of China.

Meanwhile, the table behind Yi Je-hyeon, holds books, a bronze vessel, and a classical zither. While the individual items reflect his personal preferences and characteristics as a scholar and a Confucianist, this particular combination is unique and rarely found in other portraits or figure depictions (Fig. 10). Therefore, this is likely symbolism endemic to Yi Je-hyeon, rather than common amongst scholars. For one, the book on the table is the *Zhouyi*, the central text of the Southern Zhu Xi school of Confucianism, which was advocated by scholars such as Jin Luxiang 金履祥 (1232–1303) and Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333) (B. Kim 2003, 216–217).

Tang Binglong and Xu Qian, who composed epigraphs for Yi Je-hyeon's portrait, were also known as expert scholars of the *Zhouyi*, with Xu Qian being a disciple of Jin Luxiang. Several high-ranking officials in the Yuan court, such as Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348) and Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269–1332), worked to uphold the teachings of the Southern Zhu Xi school, and they were members of King Chungseon's inner circle, represented by the Mangwondang 萬卷堂, the king's private academic institution. For this

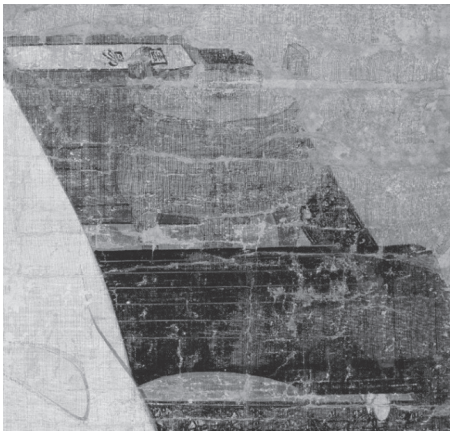

Figure 10. Detail from *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, 1319, Yuan dynasty, ink and color on silk, 177.3×93.7 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul

Source: https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=1260.

reason, Yi Je-hyeon naturally would have been familiar with the Southern Zhu Xi school. As a key figure in the lineage of *Zhouyi* scholars stretching from Kwon Bu 權溥 (1262–1346) and Baek Yi-jeong 白頤正 (1247–1323) to Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396), and Kwon Keun 權近 (1352–1409), Yi Je-hyeon played a significant role in introducing and spreading the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism in the late Goryeo period (B. Kim 2003, 210).

Therefore, the placement of the *Zhouyi* in his portrait not only represents Yi Je-hyeon's understanding of the Zhu Xi school of Confucianism, but also symbolizes his role as a leader in propagating the Neo-Confucian philosophy and continuing the philosophical lineage of the Song and Yuan dynasties represented by Cheng Yi 程頤, Zhu Xi 朱熹, Wu Cheng, and others.

The type of classic bronze vessels featured in the portrait were very popular at the time and many replicas were produced due to a trend of antiquarianism amongst southern Chinese literati, thus the item can be seen in and of itself as a representation of southern Chinese literati tastes. However, in most cases where such vessels were included as elements of literati portraiture, they would typically be depicted only as objects for aesthetic appreciation rather than being used for their intended purpose (Fig. 10). Furthermore, the bronze vessel in the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* is unusual in that it is holding red embers, thus indicating the vessel's use as an

incense burner. Though it is possible that the depiction of embers is a detail added while copying the work, if it was indeed a part of the original artistry then it would seem that the inclusion of this item has significance other than representing the hobbies of southern Chinese literati. Finally, the inclusion of the zither, or *qin*, is also noteworthy. Although the zither has frequently been mentioned in literature as a prized possession of literati,[7] it is rarely depicted in portrait paintings. Only a few exceptions can be found in paintings and images from the Song to Qing dynasties, including *Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜 (Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden), which includes a depiction of a figure with a zither. Yet even in such cases, the instrument is positioned to the left of the central figure, with the head of the instrument pointing leftward to suggest that the figure in the painting is playing the zither (Figs. 11, 12). However, in the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, the positioning of the zither is reversed, which implies the possibility that the painter may have had a limited understanding of the instrument.

Overall, other than the figure depicted in the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon*, the various motifs represented in the painting convey inconsistent messages. Most fundamentally, we can be sure that the painting represents a metaphor for the literary and cultural scene in south China, taking into account where the painting was produced and first viewed. Crucially, Yi Je-hyeon is portrayed not as an official of Goryeo or a servant of the Yuan, but rather as a traditional Confucian scholar befittingly clad in *simui*. The motifs of the *diaoqi* chair, lacquerware table, books, bronze vessel, and zither were doubtlessly artifacts with specific significance within the cultural sphere of southern Chinese literati. However, the specific depictions of these motifs within the portrait do not hew to the traditional expressions of southern Chinese customs. Contextually, two possible reasons can be suggested for this. First, even though Yi Je-hyeon may sit in a *jiaoyi*, he was not fully integrated among the literary figures of southern China. He was still

7. Starting from the Southern Song dynasty and flourishing in the Ming, many literati wrote and enjoyed books on antiques, with zithers often one of the central focuses, as seen in Zhao Xihu's 趙希鵠 (fl. 1195–1242) work *Dongtian qinglu* (Pure Records of the Cave Heaven).

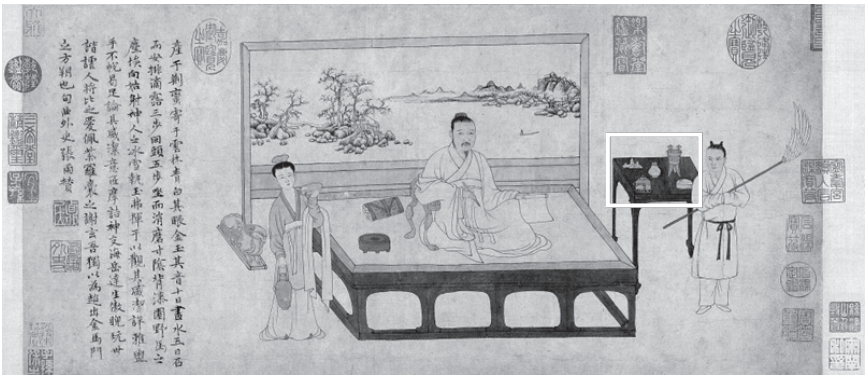

Figure 11. Artist unknown, *Portrait of Ni Zan with Zhang Yu's inscription*, Yuan dynasty, ink and color on paper, 28.2×60.9 cm. Palace Museum, Taipei

Source: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/inscribing-a-portrait-of-ni-zan-zhang-yu-1283-1350/7AEFwIRt4QudDQ.

Figure 12. Artist unknown, *Figure*, Song dynasty, ink, color and gold on silk, 29×27.8 cm. Palace Museum, Taipei

Source: https://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh107/MyriadPlants/en/page-2.html.

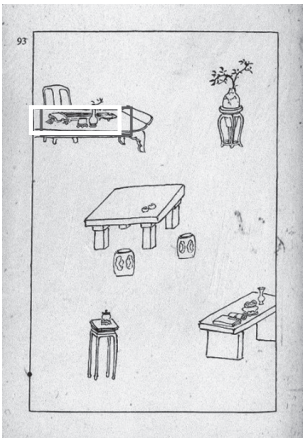

Figure 13. From "The Book of Persons and Buildings" in *Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden*, 1679–1681, printed in Suzhou (Reprinted in Shanghai 1887–1888, 1956)

perceived as a guest or a bureaucrat from another region; therefore, the objects around him are intentionally expressed in a way that differentiates them and him from the typical portrait of a literary figure in south China. Thus, the result is a truly singular portrait for which no similar case exists in the artist's native China. While associating with the officials of the Yuan court from southern China appointed by King Chungseon, Yi Je-hyeon may have attained a certain level of recognition within the literary and bureaucratic circles of southern China. Nevertheless, he may have found it difficult to find full acceptance within those rarified, closely guarded spheres of the Chinese elite. The second theory is that the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* we know today is a later recreation of the original, and thus the objects on the table cannot be interpreted as symbols of the southern literati, but rather as a newly created image of Yi Je-hyeon as he was interpreted by later generations (Ji 2022). In other words, the *Zhouyi* simply symbolizes Yi Je-hyeon's role in spreading Neo-Confucianism, and the bronze vessel and zither were general representations of Yi Je-hyeon's familiarity with southern literati culture. However, the later artist's understanding of these objects and their visual symbolism was inexpert, resulting in an anachronistically idiosyncratic image.

The Social Network between King Chungseon, Yi Je-hyeon, and the Southern China Literati as Seen through the Portrait Gift

The significance of the formal particularities seen in the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* can be understood more clearly by grasping the circumstances surrounding the painting's production and presentation as a gift. The portrait was first created as a gift for Yi Je-hyeon, who was a loyal servant of Goryeo's King Chungseon. While there were instances where monarchs had portraits of their subordinates painted and presented to them, these were typically created to praise such vassals' achievements or preserve their legacies for the betterment of future generations, and such portraits were usually hung in special halls or shrines (Hong 2017). However, the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* was different, as upon its completion it was immediately

rotated between the literary for customary admiration and praise, and Yi Je-hyeon lent it to others for subsequent viewing afterward. Therefore, it was evidently not created for the more typical purposes of portraits given by monarchs to servants. Moreover, historical records indicate that the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of the portrait were also unusual. Even though King Chungseon was stationed in the Yuan capital of Dadu 大都 (present-day Beijing), he did not call upon a painter near his usual residence to create the portrait, but rather, commissioned the painting from a local artist during his visit to south China. On the surface, this pilgrimage was intended to convey royal favor to Baotuo Temple by offering incense; however, in reality, this was not a normal trip but rather a disguised attempt to alleviate a time of political crisis for the king (Ahn 2013, 345). Why, then, was the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* created as a gift within this unconventional context? Does the gift genuinely function as an expression of the king's gratitude towards his loyal subject, or might it be interpreted as a commemoration of the extensive journey? Instead of isolating the gift, it is crucial to delve into the underlying significance of the act of gift-giving. The bestowal of the gift not only strengthens the bond between the king and Yi Je-hyeon but also validates the commissioning of the portrait. The inherent *agency* of the gift prompts subsequent actions among southern literati, potentially aligning with the intended purpose of the gift.[8] In order to elucidate the purpose behind the creation of the portrait, it is imperative to initially comprehend the intricate dynamics of the relationship between King Chungseon, Yi Je-hyeon, and the prevailing political circumstances.

The actual commissioner of the portrait of Yi Je-hyeon was King Chungseon, who was the grandson of Kublai Khan (Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Yuan) and a direct descendant of Genghis Khan through the Altan Urug (golden lineage). At a young age, King Chungseon followed his mother, a Mongol princess, to the Yuan court and spent most of his youth in the Yuan

8. *Agency* is defined as the capacity of an object (such as an artwork or artifact) to act or produce an effect, often within a social context. According to Gell (1998, 17–18), objects possess a social *agency* when they are involved in shaping human actions, relationships, and perceptions.

capital of Dadu instead of in Goryeo (H. R. Koh 2001, 22–23; C. Kim 2010). Although his position and power within the royal family were not enough to challenge the emperor's power or seek the throne for himself, he comprised a core faction within the imperial family and helped the enthronement of his family members—emperors Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1307–1311) and Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1311–1320), with the support of their mother, Empress Dowager Dagi. However, during the struggle for succession to Renzong, Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1320–1323), Renzong's son, came to perceive King Chungseon as a threat to his power, leading to a series of events resulting in the latter's loss of standing and eventual exile (Choi 2015).

In the context of the aforementioned history of alliances and conflict with the Yuan imperial family, King Chungseon is often seen as a steadfast and proactive collaborator within the Yuan royal family. But more accurately, he did not actively participate in political disputes and did not try to seize power directly but rather maintained his position as a devout Buddhist and faithful Confucian scholar who attempted to distance himself from royal politics. One of the most notable descriptions of King Chungseon in the historical record is that he possessed an exceptional interest in learning and an expertise in Buddhism and Confucianism; he was among the most knowledgeable figures in the Yuan imperial family about Confucianism and often took a leading role in promoting and upholding Buddhism (Jang 1999). This extensive interest in Confucianism and Buddhism formed the foundation of his relationships with Confucian scholars and Buddhist monks.

Despite the instability of his position at the court, King Chungseon wanted to remain in the Yuan palace. This desire was driven not only by his identification as a member of the Yuan imperial family but also by the belief that maintaining a close relationship with the Yuan empire, and even with the Yuan people, would prove practically advantageous for Goryeo.[9] Part of

9. Goryeo-Yuan political relations have often been binarized into dominance and resistance, but recent research argues that this supposed antagonism does not account for how Neo-Confucianism came to be adopted by the Yuan and became the foundation of political power for the ruling classes (M. Lee 2020, 53–54).

this advantage stemmed from the phenomenon of the Goryeo-Yuan relationship giving rise to a newly emerging paradigm of Song Confucianism and literary culture that was rapidly propagating and gaining power. Although Kublai Khan established the Yuan and adopted many Chinese-style systems, he was known to despise literati from the Southern Song, and yet paradoxically accepted Neo-Confucianism as a governing ideology. As a result, the Yuan employed many Confucian scholars and adopted the imperial examination system under Renzong's rule, and while these changes may have come about organically to some extent in response to the demands of the times, King Chungseon's influence is fairly clear. In particular, when Renzong was the crown prince and King Chungseon his mentor, the latter invited many literati from the south to the court and established relationships with them. When he later established the Confucian academic institution of Mangwondang, he naturally drew upon those relationships and connections (I. Kim 2016). These facts ultimately imply that the status and influence of southern literati in the Yuan were not at all low. In other words, contrary to the existing perception that only Mongolians and Semu 色目 (central and western Asians) held power and favor in the Yuan, we can understand that the influence of Chinese literati based in the southern regions was also considerable. King Chungseon seemed to be well aware of this and actively utilized Confucian scholars and literati to strengthen his own position as a Goryeo king while maintaining a close relationship with the key figures of the Yuan. This illuminates the circumstances in which King Chungseon attempted to maintain close relationships with key figures in the Yuan, while also seeking to establish relationships with scholars and intellectuals from the southern regions of China.

Considering the oppositional relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism, it is interesting that King Chungseon displayed such great interest in both thoughts. Mangwondang the academic institution he founded, was commonly called Jemigideokdang 濟美基德堂, and records indicate that it was a Buddhist hall for personal use. In addition to the fact that King Chungseon converted palaces into Buddhist temples and spent many funds on commissioning statues of Buddha, the king's zeal for Buddhism is well-recorded (Do-young Kim 2011). When tensions arose in

the imperial court, King Chungseon fled to places such as Sichuan and Zhejiang, ostensibly claiming that he was going to study Buddhist scriptures. And when he fell into disfavor and was exiled to Tibet following Yingzong's enthronement, Chungseon again claimed he was going there in order to study Buddhist scriptures. Such behavior suggests that, even within the imperial court, King Chungseon was recognized more as a devout Buddhist than as a political figure. Additionally, King Chungseon played a role in reviving the Bailianzong 白蓮宗 sect of the Song dynasty, which was a faction of the Jingtuzong 淨土宗, and received Buddhist commandments from Tibetan monks. Although there are countless records of King Chungseon's activities as a Buddhist, it is important to note that the type of Buddhism he actively supported was not Tibetan Buddhism but Chan Buddhism, which was rooted in the southern Chinese regions. King Chungseon was even recognized as a married monk by Zhongfeng Mingben,a revered religious figure among the literati of south China, and inherited his Chan Buddhist traditions. Meeting Zhongfeng Mingben was one of the main objectives of King Chungseon's several journeys to Zhejiang. Given that Tibetan Buddhism was dominant in the imperial court at the time, King Chungseon's devotion to Chan Buddhism can be seen as unconventional.

In the Zhejiang region, both Neo-Confucianism and Chan Buddhism found common ground in their emphasis on the importance of controlling one's mind through methods of cultivation and practice, and thus managed a co-existent relationship. Neo-Confucian scholars maintained particularly close relationships with Chan Buddhist monks. For example, Zhao Mengfu would transcribe the *Diamond Sutra* (*Jingangjing* 金剛經) to give it to Zhongfeng Mingben and would have his students, such as Chen Jianru, paint portraits of the monk as part of their studies (Weitz 2013). King Chungseon's interest in and passion for both Confucianism and Buddhism continued in the company of officials from south China and played into his appointment of and confidence in Yi Je-hyeon. Yi Je-hyeon's exceptional talents and King Chungseon's relationship with Yi's father may have influenced his admission to the court, but more basically, it is likely that his ideological and familial background played a key role in his appointment.

Many aristocrats who entered government positions in the late Goryeo period pursued and followed Confucian studies while practicing Buddhist customs in their daily lives. Yi Je-hyeon, while also a Confucian scholar, likewise adhered to the devout Buddhist faith inherited from his long-standing family traditions. Like his father before him, Yi Je-hyeon was a devout follower of state patriarch Muoi 無畏國統, a monk of the Cheontae-jong 天台宗 sect,[10] and instructed that after his own death, his funeral should be carried out in accordance with Buddhist rites. His second brother Chewon 體元, was a Hwaeomjong 華嚴宗 sect monk of the school of Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973), and Yi Je-hyeon himself also had both a daughter and grandson who became Buddhist nun and monk. Yi Je-hyeon's in-laws, the Kwon clan, also produced many renowned figures in the Buddhist community. Yi Je-hyeon's brother Chewon, was also a monk who had achieved high scores in the ordination examinations and received his appointment from King Chungseon, suggesting that Yi Je-hyeon's appointment may also have been influenced by his brother (Park 1993). This ideological tradition that Yi Je-hyeon followed may have been especially appealing to the Goryeo court, most chiefly King Chungseon, who had a highly negative view of the Goryeo officials and aristocrats who demonstrated anti-Buddhist tendencies (S. Lee 2012).

King Chungseon's interest in Neo-Confucianism and Chan Buddhism led to his enthusiastic assignment of southern Chinese officials. King Chungseon had learned early on that he could form a political faction based on Buddhism and Confucianism from his experience with palace officials during Renzong's reign. The key figures who attended the Mangwondang of King Chungseon included several individuals who had served as officials under Renzong, such as Yao Sui 姚燧 (1239–1314), Yan Fu 閻復 (1236–1312), Zhao Mengfu, and Zhang Yanghao 張養浩 (1270–1329). While the appointment of individuals from the southern regions had been occurring since the reign of Kublai Khan, it occurred on a much larger scale during the

10. "Myoryeonsa jungheungbi" 妙蓮寺重興碑 (Epigraph for the Restoration of Myoryeon Temple) in *Ikjae nango* 益齋亂藁 6.

reign of Renzong and led to the formation of an internal class of individuals from the southern region within the bureaucracy of the imperial court. King Chungseon summoned those whom he helped advance to central official positions to Mangwondang and introduced them to figures such as Kwon Han-gong 權漢功 (?–1349) and Yi Je-hyeon. Such actions indicate that the king apparently wanted to raise the profile of promising court officials from Goryeo and facilitate the opportunities to strengthen his relationship with literati from the south. By forming a support base that was differentiated from those of other ruling factions within the royal family, he aimed to fortify his position amidst a precarious political situation.

Indeed, the exchange of poetry between Yi Je-hyeon and key southern officials such as Zhao Mengfu, Zhang Yanghao, Yu Ji, and Zhu Derun 朱德潤 (1294–1365), proves that Yi Je-hyeon established and maintained amicable relations with these officials. Yuan officials and literati, including Zhao Mengfu, had a long-standing tradition of exchanging paintings and poems as a means of strengthening their interpersonal solidarity and bonds (Y. H. Koh 2012). Therefore, the degree to which a particular individual participated in such artistic exchanges was considered a measure of their recognition and acceptance in literati circles. The poems written by the Yuan literati for Yi Je-hyeon are included in works such his *Ikjae nango*, allowing us to gauge the extent to which Yi Je-hyeon was acknowledged and accepted by the literati of the Yuan.

However, the relationships that Yi Je-hyeon established with central officials and literati from south China cannot be simply attributed to his own achievements or efforts. The formation of such relationships was facilitated by King Chungseon's intentions and Yi Je-hyeon's faithful adherence to those aims. This supposition is supported by the fact that, except for a few cases, the poems exchanged between Yi Je-hyeon and high-ranking Chinese officials can only be found in the records of the former, not in the poetry collections of the latter. Furthermore, the occasions on which Yi Je-hyeon received these poems were mostly for commemorating and exalting his public activities, rather than simply for friendship and camaraderie. For example, the bulk of the poems he received were given to him as farewell poems when he visited the provinces alone or with the king

(Park 1990). One notable example is when Yi Je-hyeon went to Sichuan as a proxy to perform a sacrificial rite for the Yuan state, a trip which is currently recognized as a journey that broadened his knowledge and enriched his experience in China, but in actuality had much more complex significance. Yi Je-hyeon's pilgrimage to Sichuan was not conducted under the command of King Chungseon, but by command of the Yuan imperial family. In the second year of Emperor Chengzong 成宗 (r. 1294–1307), all royal princes and in-laws, save for the emperor himself, were prohibited from performing state rituals at sacred sites—the *wuyue sidu* 五嶽四瀆 (Five Mountains and Four Rivers) (Kim 1964). Since the Tang dynasty, the emperors had their subjects perform such state rites on their behalf, and the Yuan also followed this custom of sending envoys to perform state rituals in the emperor's stead. It was customary to send a Daoist or Confucian familiar with the rituals as a proxy. It is speculated that Yi Je-hyeon was recommended by King Chungseon because he wanted to show that Goryeo literati were just as capable as Chinese envoys. Most of the poems Yi Je-hyeon received from the most noted literati of the time, such as Zhao Mengfu, Yuan Mingshan, and Zhang Yanghao, are farewell poems written for this occasion. The event may have been an opportunity for Chinese literati and bureaucrats to re-evaluate Yi Je-hyeon, in recognition of the performance of a months-long traditional Chinese state ceremony.

King Chungseon's trust and support for Yi Je-hyeon did not end there. In order to more actively integrate Yi Je-hyeon into traditional literati society, King Chungseon had Yi Je-hyeon accompany him on his pilgrimage to Zhejiang in 1319. King Chungseon's commission of Yi Je-hyeon's portrait in Hangzhou was not a chance occurrence but a thoroughly planned event. The people involved in the creation of the *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* indicate the implicit intentions behind the commission of the painting. The portrait was drawn by Chen Jianru, a prominent painter from Hangzhou who was also a student of Zhao Mengfu. Additionally, Tang Binglong, a renowned writer from Hangzhou, wrote an epigraph in praise of the portrait. It is believed that after the portrait was completed, it was widely viewed and appreciated by local dignitaries in the Hangzhou area, as suggested by Xu Qian 許謙 (1270–1337)'s *Li Qixian zhenzan* 李齊賢眞讚 (Praise of Yi Je-hyeon's

Portrait). Among the literati in the southern region at the time, painting portraits of scholars and appreciating them together while extolling the sitter's personal qualities and character became a practice of local culture. King Chungseon's commission of the portrait, and the celebration of Yi Je-hyeon by literati from Hangzhou, who were known for their unique cultural practices, can be seen as a social maneuver to introduce and integrate Yi Je-hyeon into the literati society of the southern China region. In other words, the king's intention was to establish Yi Je-hyeon, who can be regarded as a representative of the literati of the Goryeo dynasty, within the circle of literati in the southern region centered on Zhao Mengfu, and in doing so, fortify his own social and political standing and relationships.

Tang Binglong, who wrote the epigraph of praise for Yi Je-hyeon, was a Confucian scholar and a famous figure in Hangzhou known for his annotations of all the Confucian classics, while Xu Qian, who wrote another poem of praise, was a scholar who led hundreds of students in the region of Dongyang 東陽, south of Hangzhou (Ju 1996, 155). It is difficult to say for certain whether Yi Je-hyeon was widely known enough to receive praise from these famous scholars of Zhejiang on his own merits. However, at this time, the significance of the *materiality* of the portrait that mediated the cultural activities of scholars was already prominent, so the facts about who created the painting and who appreciated it, rather than the identity of the figure depicted in it, may indeed have been more important factors in raising the value of *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* as a work of art meant for viewing. Therefore, it is highly likely that a painting created and epigraphed by a painter and scholar famous among the southern Chinese literati, would be valuable as a means of experiencing the culture of southern Chinese literati when Yi Je-hyeon later brought it to the capital city. The reason the painting remained undamaged for over 20 years after it left Yi Je-hyeon's possession is likely because its value as a work of art was recognized and well-preserved. This may be related to the period culture of appreciating portraits among literati.

The efforts that King Chungseon made to incorporate the influential figures of south China area into his own power base, as well as his relationship with Yi Je-hyeon and the Chinese literati, seem to have deteriorated

after the king's exile and eventual death. The procession of this situation can be traced through the life of Zhu Derun, who was the closest of the southern Chinese figures to Yi Je-hyeon.[11] Zhu Derun, a scholar and painter from Hangzhou, was introduced to King Chungseon by his teacher Zhou Mengfu when he was 25 years old, and later recommended by the king to a central bureaucrat position. It seems that King Chungseon intended Zhu Derun as a successor to fill Zhou Mengfu's place when the latter returned to Hangzhou after completing his life at the Yuan court. When King Chungseon traveled to the Zhejiang area the year after commissioning Yi Je-hyeon's portrait, Zhu Derun accompanied him. This was not only because Zhu Derun was part of King Chungseon's inner circle, but also due to his background as a south China-born bureaucrat. In other words, the king was relying on his capacity to liaise between the King and the influential figures of the south China area. King Chungseon's relationship with Zhao Mengfu was more of a scholarly collegial relationship than a ruler-vassal relationship, but his relationship with Zhu Derun was different. Zhu Derun's role was much closer in nature to a servant of the king, as he not only attended King Chungseon as his close aide but also showed more sorrow for his exile and death than anyone else. Perhaps out of solidarity, the relationship between Yi Je-hyeon and Zhu Derun was likewise different from that between other southern Chinese literati or bureaucrats. Yi Je-hyeon occasionally enjoyed painting and calligraphy with Zhu Derun, and especially enjoyed appraising his works. Furthermore, examining Zhu Derun's poetic works reveals that he presented Yi Je-hyeon with the most poems amongst the Chinese literati, and even created for him a painting *Yanshan xiaoxuetu* 燕山曉雪圖 (Dawn Snow on Yan Mountain, *Yeonsan hyoseoldo* in Korean) although the painting has been lost. After the death of Emperor Yingzong, Zhu Derun is said to have left the capital and lived out the remaining 30 years of his life in hiding, but it is likely that his retirement was not due to the emperor's death, but rather due to changes that occurred as a result of King Chungseon's exile and death, which happened around the same time. The connections between the

11. For the relationships between King Chungseon, Yi Je-hyeon, and Zhu Derun, see Jang (2011).

southern Chinese literati and the central Yuan court, which was achieved through the efforts of King Chungseon, became difficult to maintain after his death, and Zhu Derun recognized the changes befalling his position and decided to depart the capital.

Conclusion

The National Museum of Korea's *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* allows us to trace the role of the painting in strengthening the relationships between those involved in its production and appreciation. In this article, we examined the activities and relationships of individuals other than Yi Je-hyeon, the subject of the portrait, who played key roles in its creation in order to clarify the significance of the *portrait gift* that mediates cultural and social interactions. King Chungseon, who commissioned and gifted the portrait for Yi Je-hyeon, was a scholar of Confucianism and a political advisor who sought support from Chinese Confucian scholars and bureaucrats to consolidate his position at the imperial Yuan court, where Confucianism was a governing principle. He also favored and supported Yi Je-hyeon, choosing him as a figurehead for promoting Korean scholars within Chinese literary circles, in order to strengthen cultural and intellectual ties between the two countries. The *Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon* thus served as a means of strengthening the bonds between intellectuals by facilitating social activities and functions beyond the painting *per se*. King Chungseon understood the significance of portraiture and used it as a device to achieve his ends. As a result, the participation of intellectuals from south China was actively sought in the production and appreciation of the portrait, allowing both Yi Je-hyeon, the figure of the portrait, and King Chungseon, its commissioner, to be acknowledged and appreciated by southern Chinese intellectuals.

REFERENCES

Ahn, Woe Soon. 2013. "Won ganseopgi goryeo gugwang chungseonwang-ui jeongchijeok dilemma" (The Political Dilemmas of King Chungseon between Korea and Mongolia [China]). *Onji nonchong* (Journal of the Onji Society) 35: 333–362.

Brinker, Helmut. 1973–1974. "Ch'an Portraits in a Landscape." *Archives of Asian Art* 27: 8–29.

Bush, Susan. 1971. *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cahill, James. 1976. *Hills beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279–1368*. New York: Weatherhill.

Chang, Junegu. 2014. "Wondae-ui wangyeok yechan hapjak 'Yang Jukseo sosang' yeongu" (A Study of 'Portrait of Yang Zhuxi' Housed in the Palace Museum in Beijing). *Munhwajae* (Korean Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies) 47.2: 114–131.

Choi, Yoon-jung. 2015. "14-segi cho (1307–1323) won jeongguk-gwa goryeo: 1320-nyeon chungseon wang tobeon yubae wonin jaeron" (Goryeo and the Politics of the Yuan in the Early 14th Century: Review of the Reasons for King Chungseon's Exile to Turfan). *Yeoksa hakbo* (Korean Historical Review) 226: 287–320.

Fong, Wen. 1992. *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy 8th–14th Century*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Gao, Nianhua 高念華. 2022. "Zhongguo gudai zi huaxiang tushi chongxin de qianyi yu renwenhua yanjin, yi Zhao Mengfu 'Zixiexiaoxiang' wei zhongxin" (Transition and Cultural Evolution of the Pictorial Center in Ancient Chinese Self-Portraits: Centered around Zhao Mengfu's 'Self-Portrait'). *Xinmeishu* (Journal of the China Academy of Art) 43.2: 158–167.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hong, Sunpyo. 2017. "Goryeo chogi chosanghwa jedo-ui surip" (Establishment of Portraiture in the Early Goryeo Dynasty). *Misulsa nondan* (Art History Forum) 45: 7–27.

Jang, Dong Ik. 1999. "Sin jaryo-reul tonghae bon chungseon wang-ui jaewon hwaldong" (Activities of King Chungseon in the Yuan Seen through the New Data). *Yeoksa gyoyuk nonjip* (History Education Review) 24: 703–735.

_____. 2011. "Yi Je-hyeon, Kwon Han-gong geurigo Ju Deok-yun: Goryeo hugi

seongnihak suyonggi-ui inmul-e daehan saeroun ihae" (Yi Je-hyeon [李齊賢], Kwon Han-gong [權漢功] and Ju Deok-yun [朱德潤]: A New Understanding of the Figures in the Period Accepting Neo-Confucianism in the Late Goryeo Dynasty). *Toegyehak-gwa yugyo munhwa* (Toegye Studies and Confucian Culture) 49: 1–44.

Ji, Minkyung. 2022. "'Yi Je-hyeon chosang' jejak-e gwanhan saeroun ihae" (A New Understanding on the Creation of the Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon). *Misulsa yeongu* (Journal of Art History) 42: 177–200.

Ju, Seo-pyeong. 1996. "Ikjae Yi Je-hyeon-ui jungguk-eseo-ui haejeok-gwa wondae insadeulgwa-ui gyoyu-e daehan yeongu" (A Study on Ikjae Yi Je-hyeon's Activities in China and Relationship with Yuan Figures). *Nammyeonghak yeongu* (Journal of Nammyeong Studies) 6: 143–156.

Kim, Bo-kyeong. 2003. "Goryeo hugi juyeok insik-ui teukseong-gwa geu uimi: Baek Mun-bo-reul jungsim-euro" (Characteristics and Implications of Baek Mun-bo's Perception of Juyeok). *Hanguk hanmunhak yeongu* (Journal of Korean Literature in Classical Chinese) 32: 207–239.

Kim, Chang-hyun. 2010. "Chungseon wang-ui tansaeng-gwa gyeolhon, geurigo jeongchi" (Birth and Marriage of King Chungseon and His Politics). *Hanguk inmulsa yeongu* (Research on Korean Historical Figures) 14: 101–151.

Kim, Daewon. 2013. "Jehwa simun-e natanan goryeo sidae hoehwa sajo" (Painting Trends of the Goryeo Period Represented in Jehwa Simun [Poetry over Painting]). *Misul munhwa yeongu* (Journal of Art and Culture Studies) 2: 21–49.

Kim, Do-young. 2011. "Mangwondang-gwa jemigideokdang-e daehan jaegeomto" (Review on Mangwondang and Jemigideokdang). *Yeoksa hakbo* (Korean Historical Review) 210: 59–95.

Kim, In-ho. 2016. "Goryeo hugi Yi Je-hyeon-ui jungguk muningwa-ui gyoryu-wa mangwondang" (A Study for Mangwondang and Yi Je-hyeon). *Yeoksa-wa silhak* (History and Silhak) 61: 215–242.

Kim, Sang Gi. 1964. "Yi Ikjae-ui jaewon saengae-e daehayeo: Chungseon wang-ui sijong-ui sin-euroseo" (Yi Je-hyon's Life in Yuan China as Consort to the Former King Chungseon). *Daedong munhwa yeongu* (Daedong Journal of Korean Studies) 1: 219–248.

Koh, Hye Ryung. 2001. "Won gungjeong-e pyeolchyeojin goryeoin sahoe" (Goryeo Society in the Yuan Court). *Hanguksa simin gangjwa* (Civic Lectures on Korean History) 28: 21–42.

Koh, Myung-soo. 2019. *Mongol-Goryeo gwangye yeongu* (Research on Mongol-Goryeo Relationship). Seoul: Hyean.

Koh, Youen Hee. 2012. "Jo Maengbu-ui mukjuk: Won nara gwallyo sahoe-eseo-ui uimi" (Zhao Meng-fu's Bamboo Painting in the Bureaucracy of the Yuan Dynasty). *Onji nonchong* (Journal of the Onji Society) 33: 185–214.

Lee, Myungmi. 2016. *13-14-segi Goryeo-Mongol gwangye yeongu* (Research on the Relationship between Goryeo and Mogol in the 13th–14th Centuries). Seoul: Hyean.

_____. 2020. "Goryeo-Mongol gwangye gipi bogi: Georisaek mokpyo-wa cheongdongsaekmokpyo" (A Deep Look at the Goryeo-Mongol Relationship: Georisaek mokpyo and Cheongdongsaek mokpyo). *Yeoksa gyoyuk yeongu* (Studies on History Education) 37: 51–99.

Lee, Seog-Ju. 2012. "Yi Je-hyeon-ui yu-bul sasang-gwa 'Hyohaengnok'" (Yi Je-hyeon's Confucian-Buddhist Thought and 'Hyohaengnok'). *Hanguk sasang-gwa munhwa* (Korean Thought and Culture) 64: 317–349.

Lu, Xuanfei 盧宣妃. 2017. "Meng Yuan jiangnan huajia de gaoli wenchen xiaoxiang: Chen jian ru 'Yi Je-hyeon sang' (1319) yanjiu" 蒙元江南畫家的高麗文臣肖像: 陳鑑如 "李齊賢像" (1319) 研究 (Portrait of a Goryeo Official by a Jiangnan Painter in the Mongol Yuan Dynasty: A Study of Chen Jianru's 'Portrait of Yi Je-hyeon' of 1319). *Gugong xueshu jikan* (National Palace Museum Research Quarterly) 35.1: 181–236.

McCausland, Shane. 2012. "Discourses of Visual Learning in Yuan Painting: The case of Luo Zhichuan's 'Snowy River.'" *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 42: 375–405.

_____. 2015. *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271–1368*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

National Museum of Korea. 2011. *Chosanghwa-ui bimil* (The Secret of Joseon Portraits). Seoul: National Museum of Korea.

Park, Hyun Kyu. 1990. "Yi Je-hyeon-gwa won munsa-deul-gwaui gyoryugo" (A Study on the Exchanges between Yi Je-hyeon and the Yuan Literati). *Daedong hanmunhak* (Greater East Asian Classical Chinese Studies) 3: 129–158.

_____. 1993. "Yi Je-hyeon-eul dulleossan bulgyo hwangyeong-e daehan yeongu" (A Study on the Buddhist Environment around Yi Je-hyeon). *Suncheonhyang eomun nonjip* (Suncheonhyang Journal of Language and Literature) 2: 93–110.

Sensabaugh, David Ake. 2009. "Fashioning Identities in Yuan-Dynasty Painting: Images of the Men of Culture." *Ars Orientalis* 37: 118–139.

Shea, Eiren L. 2020. *Mongol Court Dress, Identity Formation, and Global Exchange*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Silbergeld, Jerome. 1985. "In Praise of Government: Chao Yung's Painting, 'Noble Steeds' and Late Yüan Politics." *Artibus Asiae* 46.3: 159–202.

Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, ed. 2007. *Kyōto Gozan Zen no bunkaten* 京都五山禅の文化展 (Zen Treasures from the Kyoto Gozan Temples Exhibition). Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbunsha.

Watt, James C. Y., et al. 2010. *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Weitz, Ankeney. 2013. "Art and Family Identity during the Yuan Dynasty: The Zhao Family of Wuxing." In *The Family Model in Chinese Art and Culture*, edited by Jerome Silbergeld and Dora C. Y. Ching, 423–458. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yang, Yu 楊瑀. 2001. *Shanju xinhua* 山居新話 (New Sayings from the Mountain Dweller). In vol. 6 of *Song-Yuan biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋元筆記小說大觀 (A Collection of Documentary Essays of the Song and Yuan Dynasties), edited by Shanghai guji chubanshe. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Yi, Jae-hyeon. 1698. *Ikjae nango* 益齋亂藁 (Random Jottings of Ikjae Yi Je-Hyeon), Hanguk gojeon jonghap DB (DB of Korean Classics), accessed May 21, 2024, https://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=MO#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_MO_0011A_0090_030_0010.

Received: 2023.10.08. Revised: 2024.01.21. Accepted: 2024.01.22.