

Special Feature

Joseon Paintings in Japan: Cultural Biography of Objects

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The Review of Korean Studies Volume 25 Number 2 (December 2022): 143-192

doi: 10.25024/review.2022.25.2.143

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Introduction

In June 2022, a masterpiece titled “Dokseodang gyehoedo” (Gathering of Officials at Dokseodang Study 讀書堂契會圖) (Figure 1), which has been acclaimed as a national treasure, finally returned to Korea as the result of an overseas auction. This painting depicts literati gathering at a study located in the Dongho 東湖 area along the banks of the Han River in 1531. Along with another painting bearing the same title, this work has long drawn great interest as a rare example of the true scenery landscape painting of the An Gyeon school 安堅派. It had previously been owned by the renowned orientalist Kanda Kiichiro 神田喜一郎 (1897-1984), who served as the inaugural director of the Kyoto National Museum. Around fifty paintings on literati gatherings produced in the early Joseon period (1392-1910) are known today. Among them are ten works currently held in Japan and the United States. In fact, “Donggyeong gyehoedo” (Gathering of Government Officials 同庚契會圖) and “Seonjeon lyowu junghoe gwanso do” (Painting of a Gathering of Royal Messenger in Gwanso District 宣傳僚友重會關西圖), currently held in the U.S., had originally come from Japan. This implies that a significant number of paintings of literati gatherings dated to the early Joseon period were collected by the Japanese. (Hong 2013a, 18-26). Moreover, five such paintings are listed in “The Record of Calligraphy and Painting of Joseon” 朝鮮書畫傳 which compiles information on Joseon paintings and calligraphic works literati circulated in Japan up until the nineteenth century. This illustrates that many paintings of gathering were transmitted to Japan (Park 2012, 152-55).

Along with “Donggyeong gyehoedo,” another notable Korean painting, “Sansuhwa” (Landscape Painting 山水畫), was introduced for sale at the same auction. This work, dated to the early sixteenth century, had also been taken to Japan. It was included on the list of artworks collected by the very influential New York-based art dealer C. T. Loo 盧芹齋 (1880-1957). At that time, contemporaries perceived this painting as a work from Ming China since the *hakogagi* 箱書 reads “Two scrolls of Ming dynasty landscape painting” 明畫山水壹幅.¹ Although it is unclear how C. T. Loo obtained this work, the painting

was likely to have been transferred from Japan by an art dealership such as Yamanaka & Co 山中商會 who traded Asian antiques with western counterparts when the trade in ancient artworks boomed in Japan during the Taisho (1912-1926) and Shōwa eras (1926-1989). This painting depicting disfigured rocky mountains employs “three distances” of perspective² in the composition and short lines and dots in the texture strokes.³ These techniques highlight that this work had presumably been produced in the early sixteenth century when Joseon painters were greatly influenced by the Li-Guo school style in the Yuan dynasty. This painting was assumed as a Ming work because of its mannerist features in large objects placed in the foreground. Despite characteristics reminiscent of the Li-Guo school style in the Song and Yuan dynasties, this work reveals clear similarities with “Xianshan shenglan tu” (Painting of the Outing to the Immortals’ Mountain 仙山勝覽圖) in the Princeton University Art Museum’s collection, which is closely associated with the Zhe style 浙派 of the Ming period (Itakura 2021, 33-35).

These two examples shed light on the current status and Japanese perception of Joseon paintings in the Japanese collection. Based on research materials compiled by government institutions such as the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, the Korea Foundation, and the Overseas Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation (2022), recent studies have looked at the status of Japanese collections of Korean art and how they arrived in Japan. Also, scholars in Korea and Japan have published various studies on paintings produced not just in early Joseon but throughout the entire span of the dynasty based on data concerning the overall status of Korean paintings transmitted to Japan. On the other hand, the documents on Korean Embassies were inscribed in the UNESCO Memory of the World in 2017. Since then, large-scale exhibitions have been held (Busan Museum 2018), and studies have been published to highlight the exchange of paintings between Korea and Japan from the perspective of cultural exchanges. Special emphasis is paid to paintings of embassy processions, the activities of painters on diplomatic missions, export

1. *Hakogagi* refers to a note on the box containing a work of art, such as painting, calligraphy, or porcelain. The author or appraiser writes the information of the work including the title and a signature or seal to certify the work’s value. It may also mean a brief record on the work.

2. This refers to perspectives used in Asian landscape paintings and defined as “flat and distant,” “high and far,” and “far and far.”

3. The technique appears in the landscape paintings of An Gyeon school style produced in the sixteenth century in which the texture and volume of the surface of mountain, hill, or boulder is expressed with short lines or dots.

paintings produced in the Japanese enclave in Dongnae, modern Busan, and gold-leafed screens as return gifts (Hong 1998, 2005a, 2005b; Jeong 2011, 2015, 2022; Seo 2005; Park 2010, 2015; Hwang 2019; J. Lee 2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2017; H. Lee 2012, 2016; Cha 2006; Toby 2003; Lewis 2011; Jeong 2017).

This paper aims to discuss the functions of Joseon paintings transmitted to Japan and an approach to appreciating them from the perspective of provenance and as objects with cultural biographies; further, this paper will note artistic trends in those works in Japanese collections, particularly the paintings in screens. The provenance research explores how artworks assume a new cultural context through the journey from the place of origin to their final destination and how new meanings are created through interactions between different agents in building human networks. Since the methodologies for material culture were introduced as a theoretical frame to study cultural artifacts, objects have become recognized as an essential part of human activity, not as secondary products of human activity. Studies were conducted to find social contexts and causal relationships at each time of production, exchange, and consumption of objects. The goal was to analyze history, space, and the changes in meaning accumulated between people and objects as well as to uncover the relationships between people and objects in the process. (Gosden et al. 1999, 169). This approach can be applied to the study of Korean paintings in Japan to effectively analyze the changes in the relationships between the works and the people surrounding them, their perceptions and the functions of those paintings as they moved through many different places after their creation. In other words, artworks have a social life and function as agents as they generate various identities in the social and cultural contexts surrounding them (Clunas 2004, 1-7). In particular, paintings concerning Korean embassies have survived with a relatively clear record of provenance; many of those works remain intact as they have not moved around within Japan since they departed from Korea. However, the original works were cut and mounted on silk scrolls or reborn into Japanese-style screens in combination with other paintings and calligraphic works after the occurrence of brush talks or singing events. These variations were attributable to the functions and characteristics of screens and influenced the way how viewers appreciated the works. Tracing the changes in the objects offers insight into the process of repurposing Korean paintings in cultural and material terms.

Korean Paintings in Japan: Literature Review and Research Trends

The Style of the An Gyeon School in the Early Joseon Period and in the Muromachi Period (1338-1573) Ink Paintings

The relationship between the paintings of the An Gyeon school and Muromachi ink paintings was the first theme to draw attention from modern scholars of Joseon paintings in Japan (Yamato bunkakan 2008; Tsukamoto 2009, 16-27). Ōka Tsutomu 大岡力 (1863-1913), who served as the president of *Keijōnippō* (a daily newspaper published by the Japanese Government General of Korea), authored many articles on Korean art, including “Chosen no kaiga ni tsuite” (On Joseon paintings 朝鮮の繪畫に就て). He discussed the similarities between “Sansuhwa” (Landscape) by Yang Paengson 梁彭孫 (1488-1545) in the National Museum of Korea and the paintings by Josetsu 如拙 from the Muromachi period. Ōka Tsutomu pointed out the elements of Joseon painting found in the works of priest painters Shūbun 周文 (fl. early fifteenth century) and Sesshū 雪舟 (1420-1506).

Next, the study of the influence of early Joseon ink paintings on Muromachi-era painters was pursued by scholars such as Wakimoto Sokurō 脇本十九郎 (1883-1936), Watanabe Hajime 渡邊一 (1904-1934), Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫 (1900-1972), Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫 (1925-2021), Matsushita Takaki 松下隆章 (1909-1980), and Kanazawa Hiroshi 金澤弘 (b. 1935) (Hong 2013b; Chang 2013). As a result, it was learned that Shūbun visited Joseon in 1423 and that “Sosang palgyeong do” (Painting of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers) in Daiganji 大願寺 was taken from Korea by the Japanese monk Sonkai 尊海. Also, research was conducted on the styles of painters who were classified as being of a Joseon lineage, such as Josetsu, Shūbun, Sumun 秀文, and Bunsei 文清. “Pacho yau do” (Painting of a Banana Tree on a Rainy Night 芭蕉夜雨圖) (Figure 2) with an inscription written by Yang Su 梁需, a scholar of the Hall of Worthies who visited Japan as an envoy in 1410 was thoroughly investigated. The paintings discussed in those studies show an asymmetrical three-stage composition,⁴ the concentration of objects in open

4. The asymmetrical composition is characterized by concentrations of objects on just one side, creating a lopsided composition. The three-stage asymmetrical composition refers to the three-stage perspective—short-distance, middle-distance, and long-distance views, which is used in the paintings

space, and strong black-and-white contrast, which typify landscape paintings by the An Gyeon school in the early Joseon period. However, the expressions of jagged pine tree branches bending sharply downward, a diagonal composition, and the sense of spaciousness are the strong indication of the influence of the painting style of Southern Song Academy (*wonche hwapung* 院體畫風). Notwithstanding these distinct variations in each painting, these works were labeled Joseon paintings due to the negative perception and bias rooted in Japanese academia of the 1930s and thereafter. Using “Pacho yau do” as an example, Kumagai Nobuo stated that coarseness and simplicity characterize Joseon paintings. This gives us a glimpse into modern Japanese scholarship on Joseon paintings which focused on the expression of coarse and rough strokes and black and white contrast (“coarse and rough feelings,” “coarseness,” “sense of coarseness” 疏慢之氣, 粗慢, 粗野感) of Joseon paintings (Kumagai 1932).

In Korea, scholars such as Yi Dongju, An Hwi-jun, and Choi Sunwoo, using comparative analysis, thoroughly investigated the relationship between Korean and Japanese paintings made during the early Joseon period. Those studies examined Korea-Japan cultural exchanges, the lineage of painters, and the evolving styles of landscape painting in the fifteenth century. In particular, their discussions centered around the nationality and activities of Shūbun, Sumun, and Bunsei, both known for employing a Joseon painting style (Ahn 2000, 493-95; Chang 2013). *Mukjuk hwachaek* (*Album of Ink Bamboo Paintings* 墨竹畫冊) by Sumun in 1424 and “Nugak sansu do” (Landscape with Pavilion 樓閣山水圖) with Muncheong’s seal, held in National Museum of Korea’s collection, drew interest from scholars resulting in various discussions on the life and activities of these painters. For example, “Nugak sansu do” is affixed with Muncheong seal although some scholars argue that it is a late forgery and that the forger copied Josetsu’s seal with its inscription of *bunsei* 文清 as listed in *Koga bikō* (*Notes on Old Paintings* 古畫備考) compiled by Asaoka Okisada (1800-1856) and *Honchō gain* (*Seals Impressed on Paintings in Japan* 本朝畫印) compiled by Kanō Einō 狩野永納 (1639-1697). It aimed to raise the value of the work by “camouflaging” a Joseon painting to appear to be by Josetsu, one of the greatest ink painters in Japan. This is evidenced in the *hakogaki* of “Nugak sansu do” which reads, “Painting by Monk Josetsu” 僧如拙之畫 (Stanley-Baker

1998, 18-20).

Early scholarship emphasized the influence of Joseon painters on their Japanese counterparts based on the analysis of painting styles. However, scholars active in the 2000s, including Hong Sunpyo, Burglind Jungmann, and Chang Chinsung, shifted their focus from a theoretical framework of unilateral influence to acceptance of a crosscultural approach with a transnational perspective. The goal was to identify geographical origins of works and to discuss interrelationships between Korean, Chinese, and Japanese arts in the East Asian context. That change corresponded to the movement among such Japanese scholars as Fukushima Tsunenori 福島恒徳, Hashimoto Shinji 橋本慎司, and Itakura Masaki 板倉聖哲. They made efforts to understand the artistic exchanges between Korea and Japan from a new perspective of critically reviewing the existing theory of transmission and considering organic interactions present in the process of copying, changing, and the circulation of iconography and styles. (Hong 2013b, 8-9).

Joseon Paintings among Karamono 唐物⁵

As mentioned, authenticating works as Joseon paintings often became problematic and entailed disputes among scholars. If a painting had neither a clear history of the transmission nor showed typical Chinese or Japanese attributes, it was attributed to be a Joseon work. Since early Joseon landscape paintings were influenced by the Song painting styles of the Li-Guo school or the Ma-Xia school, they are to fall into the category of Kara-e 唐畫, or Karamono, for their closeness to Chinese works in terms of painting style (Chang 2010, 106). Usually, painters of the Unkoku 雲谷 or Kanō school acted as connoisseurs of paintings from the continent. Based on their connoisseurship, the notes were written on the containers for these paintings or *kiwamegaki* 極書.⁶ Many Joseon paintings at that time were regarded as Chinese works,

5. *Karamono* refers to Chinese goods which enjoyed great popularity in the medieval Japan. The term was originally used to indicate overall those goods imported from foreign countries as opposed to *wamono* 和物 which means Japanese goods. As the Japanese objects produced by copying *karamono* were also called *karamono*, the term expanded its meaning beyond simply signifying the goods’ place of origin to embrace wider concept of Chinese high culture. *Karamono* were perceived as luxury goods and thus used as decorations in *shōgunate* villas and as gifts for cloistered emperors.

6. *Kiwamegaki* is a kind of certificate that assures the authenticity of a work of art. It is inscribed on the

of An Gyeon school style of the sixteenth century.

and that practice of attribution has been established in tradition and can be frequently found even today. “Dongjeong chuwol do” (Painting of the Autumn Moon over Dongting Lake) and “Sosang yau do” (Painting of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers on a Rainy Night) in private collections are identified as Joseon landscape paintings of the An Gyeon school the early sixteenth century, which employ short lines and dots in the texture strokes. Nevertheless, they used to be considered works by Chinese painters or by Josetsu from the Muromachi period in premodern times.

Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602-1674) judged that this work in the collection of Miura Husakiyo 三浦房清 was a Chinese painting which was in 1669. Hashimoto Gahō 橋本雅邦 (1835-1908), a Japanese painter active at the end of the Shōgunate era, recorded it as a work “by Josetsu” based on the painting’s container and *kiwamegaki* (Hashimoto 2009, 187; Hong et al. 2008, 267-68). Kanō Tan'yū also appraised the *Sosang palgyeong do* (*Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*) (Figure 3), which was later donated to the Jinju National Museum in Korea. He recorded that the work was produced by Guo Xi of the Northern Song period. The lid of the painting’s container bears a colophon that reads, “Tan'yū wrote the colophon on the lid of this container: The work is by the Song painter Guo Xi” 探幽外題付 宋画 郭熙筆 (Figure 4). Another important group of people who owned Joseon paintings was the local *daimyos*. The extant documents concerning the provenance of works in their collections and relevant history are important study materials. The Mori 毛利 clan, *daimyo* of Chōshū 長州 in Yamaguchi prefecture, have preserved many Korean artifacts, among which are two works worth noting. “Sansu do” (Landscape) in three scrolls known to be the work of Mi Youren 米友仁 (1081-1165) carries the notes “Authentic landscapes, a set of three hanging scrolls, painted by Mi Yuanhui (Mi Youren)” 眞山水豎物 三幅對 米元徽筆 on the container of the scroll. A piece of paper is attached to one of the container’s inner side it reads, “Authentic landscapes, three hanging scrolls, painted by Mi Youren. The courtesy name of Youren is Yuanhui; a son of Mi Yuanzhang (Mi Yuan). The character *hui* 徽 is a scribal error for *hui* 暉” 眞山水三幅 米友仁筆 友仁字元徽米元章之子也 徽字作暉非也. Because of this record, the work was thought to have been

painted by Mi Youren. However, the texture strokes and style expressed in the work show nothing relevant to works by Mi Youren. Rather, they are more similar to “Sosang palgyeong do” produced in Joseon in the sixteenth century (Park 2013, 534-38; S. Lee 2015, 7-60).

The Kyushu National Museum has in its collection “Sosang palgyeongdo byeongpung” (Screen with a Painting of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers) (Figure 5), which bears inscriptions by Kim Hyeonseong 金玄成 (1542-1621), the early Joseon period literatus. This work had previously been in the Mori clan’s collection for a long time. In 1584, Kim Hyeonseong calligraphed a series of the poem by Jin Hwa 陳澹 titled “Songjeok palgyeong si” (Poems on Eight Views Painted by Song Di) on paper; these were attached above each of the paintings on the screen’s panels. These landscape paintings exhibit the LiGuo school style of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties and the style of Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310). The composition, style, and brush strokes show the Joseon style of “Sosang palgyeong do” of the early 16th century (Lee 2009, 18-25). If this work is “Hakkeizu oshiebari byōbu” (Folding Screen with Eight Views 八景押繪帖小屏風), which was classified as a Goryeo painting in “Ohōzō odōgu ken chōsha” (Records on Implements of Treasures in Imperial Collection 御寶藏御道具檢張寫) composed by the Mori clan, it means that during the Edo period Tōyo 等与 and Tōteki 等的 from the Unkoku school recognized these works as Goryeo paintings (Hong et al. 2008, 226).

The Mori clan preserved Korean works of art as well as *karamono* imported from China, the Ryukyu kingdom, and Southeast Asia. Many of those works were previously owned by the Ōuchi 大内 clan of Chūgoku 中国. It was not until the clan collapsed that those works were moved to the Mori family. The Ōuchi clan self-identified as descendants of the royal clan, the Buyeo 扶餘 of Baekje 百濟, a Korean kingdom (BCE 18-660), and maintained a friendship with Joseon. The Joseon court also recognized them as descendants of Baekje for a long time and gave them preferential treatment over other *daimyos*. The Ōuchi engaged in trade with Ming China and Southeast Asian countries and continuously collected objects from Joseon through exchanges of embassies. Among the items collected was “Sosang palgyeong do byeongpung” now in the Daigan-ji 大願寺 collection, which was transferred from Joseon to Japan by the monk Sonkai dispatched by Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆 as an envoy to Joseon to secure the Tripitaka in 1539. (S. Lee 2012, 45-54). The Kikukawa 吉川 clan, one of the major *daimyos* in western Japan, also collected Korean paintings. The

inside bottom of the container or on the underside of the container’s lid or is written on a piece of paper which is kept inside the container. It provides the title of the work, the artist’s name, the sealing and appraisal date, and the signature of the appraiser.

primary example is “Yonghodo” (Painting on Dragon and Tiger 龍虎圖) by Yi Jeong 李楨, style name Naong 懶翁, which was in the collection of the Kōrai bijutsukan (Koryo Museum of Art 高麗美術館) (Figure 6). The work was signed by the painter twice, once with his personal name and a second time with his pen name. The painter and connoisseur Kanō Tan’yū and his brother Kanō Yasunobu 狩野安信 (1614-1685) appraised this painting in the seventeenth century (S. Lee 2012, 45-54). In their appraisal note, attached to the painting, Tan’yū’s set a relative high value for “Yongho do” at 250 *kan* of silver and 13 *mai* of gold and advised that Naong belongs in the same class as, albeit inferior to, Chen Rong 陳容 (1200-1266), style name Suoweng 所翁, known as a master of dragon painting during the Southern Song period. Tan’yū seems to have known Chen Rong’s dragon paintings but barely knew the works of Naong and his country of origin (Park 2013, 544-48).

Korean scholars assumed that the confusion surrounding the country of origin of those Joseon paintings circulating in Japan was due to the Japanese art community not understanding Joseon artworks or to a tendency to categorize works atypical of either Chinese or Japanese paintings as Korean (Chang 2010). Recently, however, Japanese scholars of Japanese medieval paintings such as Hashimoto Shinji 橋本慎司 and Shimao Arata 島尾新 have offered a different opinion. Hashimoto Shinji argues that Joseon paintings exerted only a partial influence on Japanese painters and not among those artists living in the capital but those in provinces. This is surmised because the influence is mainly visible only in ink paintings from the Kanto 關東 region and in Chinese style paintings—for example, the works of the Soga 曾我, Unkoku, and Sesshū 雪舟 schools in the Muromachi era. As *shōgun*-sponsored painters tended to be conservative, adhering to tradition relatively strictly, they might not have found it easy to accept the unfamiliar Joseon style (Hashimoto 2009, 116-27; 2010, 223-44). On the other hand, Shimao Arata suggested that not all works of art collected by high officials under the *shōgun* regime were masterpieces. In fact, they can be divided into two categories: “objects for ownership” and “objects for use.” The former consisted of works that were considered valuable and preserved for generations, while objects in the latter category were used as return gifts and were likely to be substitutes for *karamono*, which were requested by local *daimyos* and temples. Joseon paintings, which could meet connoisseurs’ desires for *karamono*, were deliberately reattributed as works by Chinese artists, used as substitutes for *karamono* and treated as objects of use.

Paintings Transmitted through the Network of Joseon Embassies and Japanese Enclaves

Joseon paintings traveled to Japan, in part, through trade in Japanese enclaves. It is highly likely that painters who worked in the military office in the Dongnae Magistracy 東萊府 (in modern Busan, Korea) engaged in the production and circulation of paintings (Park 2010, 79-80). Therefore, the examination of those paintings produced for export, like other objects, should be based on the investigation into the status and condition of Korea-Japan trade, bilateral diplomatic relationships, and the distribution structure in Dongnae. Furthermore, their value, any surrounding historical implications, commercial aspects, and networks of people should be analyzed based on a thorough study of the works as objects in order to discover how those paintings functioned as diplomatic gifts and goods of economic value. To that end, cross-referencing is necessary between diplomatic documents, such as *Waein gucheong deungnok* (*Transcribed Records of Japanese Requests* 倭人求請謄錄), *Jeungjeong gyorinji* (*Revised Treatise on Joseon Diplomacy for Japan* 增正交隣志), *Tongmun gwanji* (*Treatise on Joseon Diplomacy* 通文館志), and other historical records produced in Japan, including the archives of the Sō family 宗家 of Tsushima, in particular, and *Bunrui kizi taiko* (*Summary Records of Diplomatic Exchange and Trade between Japan and Korea* 分類紀事大綱) which demonstrates instances of trade requests from Japan.

The network of people in Dongnae formed on account of the diplomatic missions was the foundation of art exchanges between Korea and Japan. Monk Daiten Kenjō 大典顯常 (1719-1801) accompanied the Joseon embassy in 1763. He performed the tasks on the diplomatic relationship with Joseon as the eighty-second rotating priest of Iteian 以酌庵 between May 1781 and May 1783. When he undertook the mission in Tsushima in 1781, his close friend, the Osaka-based literatus Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736-1802), asked Daiten to obtain paintings, calligraphy, and objects from Joseon for him. In response to this request, Daiten stated that he would make the request of a monk who would be assigned to Tōkō-ji 東向寺, located in Dongnae, in the following year as there were not many fine Joseon paintings in Tsushima. This anecdote shows that Japanese dignitaries who conducted brush talks with Joseon embassies were able to acquire Joseon paintings through the Japanese enclave in Dongnae. The Sōke archives include “Otoriyosemono” (Objects

[products] to Order from Joseon and to Bring to the Peninsula [Joseon] 御取寄物), a list of objects to be secured from Joseon and items to be brought from Japan to Joseon. The names of the people who requested Joseon objects are listed in the document. The record shows that a great number of paintings were transferred to Tsushima, apparently with the goal of using them as gifts or bribery. The document also includes a list of requests by priest-envoys who were dispatched to Iteian on Tsushima Island. The list provides a detailed description of the paintings' subjects, the names of the painters responsible for each work as well as their signatures and seals. "Yuhamado" (Horse under a Willow Tree 柳下馬圖), in the collection of the Hōnen-ji 法然寺 in Takamatsu city, bears the following inscription, "Early Summer in the Year of Gihae, Byeon Bak from Joseon" 歲己亥初夏東華述齋寫. This shows that this work was painted in 1779 by Byeon Bak 卞璞, style name Suljae, a professional painter at the Dongnae Magistracy. Byeon accompanied the Joseon embassy in 1763 as chief of staff. This work was produced sixteen years later and is assumed to have made its way through Dongnae to Japan (Park 2018, 187-97). It can be surmised that Byeon produced the work based on his experience of the diplomatic mission and the human network formed at that time.

Not only did the works of local painters in Dongnae and the vicinity pass to Japan through the Japanese enclave at Dongnae, but so did works by court painters. Those include works by Kim Hongdo 金弘道 (1745- c.a.1806), Yi Uiyang 李義養 (b.1768), and Yu Unhong 劉運弘 (1797-1859). A prime example is "Jukha maengho do" (Painting of a Ferocious Tiger under Bamboo 竹下猛虎圖) (Figure 7). The inscription on this work reads, "In Joseon, Seoho (Kim Hongdo's style name) painted the tiger and Suwol (Im Huiji's pen name) painted the bamboo" 朝鮮西湖散人畫虎水月翁畫竹. The use of the name "Joseon" and the sobriquet of the painters lead people to assume that this painting was intended for export to Japan. Ryōsoku-in 兩足院, a sub temple of Kennin-ji 建仁寺 holds many works by Joseon painters who accompanied embassies, including works of Kim Yuseong and Yi Uiyang. Among these paintings, the one called "Pasu nahan do" (Painting of an Arhat Crossing the River 渡水羅漢圖) (Figure 8) with a seal reading, "Huiwon in Joseon" 朝鮮 希園 is noteworthy. Yi Hancheol, pen name Huiwon, is a painter of the "Dohwaseo" (Royal Bureau of Painting 圖畫署) at the Joseon court who was active in the middle of the nineteenth century. This painting attests to the transmission of court painters' works to Japan. Kennin-ji, one of the Kyoto Gozan, dispatched

monks to Iteian in Tsushima on the order of *shōgunate* to undertake literary tasks regarding the diplomatic relationship with Joseon and to receive the Joseon embassy.⁷ Among them were monks at the head abbot level from Ryōsoku-in, a sub temple of Kennin-ji.⁸ Ryōsoku-in seems to have been able to continuously obtain paintings from Joseon by taking advantage of its connections to those priest envoys who received Joseon embassies.

Joseon paintings held in Japan also found their way to Europe through westerners visiting Japan. The two landscape scrolls held in the National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands had previously been in the collection of Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866), a German physician and biologist who worked at a trading post in Dejima, Nagasaki 長崎 出島. The painting bears the signature "Joseon Songha" 朝鮮 松下 and a short Latin phrase at the bottom of the scroll, which reads "By a distressed Joseon person" (Overseas Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation 2016, 222-23).

Joseon Painting in the Screen Format *Screens as Diplomatic Gifts*

In 1643, the Japanese embassy to the Joseon court requested many old artworks, such as screens and hanging scrolls, for the *shōgun* Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651) and his son, *wakagimi* 若君. As most paintings and works of calligraphy in the Joseon court's collection had been destroyed during the Manchu invasion in 1636, they had to look elsewhere. They managed to obtain screens and hanging scrolls, including some by Yi Jing 李澄 (b. 1581), from the outside of court. In 1682, the painter Ham Jegeon 咸悌健 accompanied the Joseon embassy to Japan. After he returned, he produced two pairs of screens and

7. Originating from the System of Ten Temples of Five Mountains 五山十刹制 in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), Kyoto Gozan refers to five temples selected to manage all the temples across the country. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408), the third *shōgunate* of the Muromachi era, designated Nanzen-ji 南禪寺 an exceptional temple, and five temples, Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Shōkoku-ji 相國寺, Kennin-ji 建仁寺, Tōfuku-ji 東福寺, and Manju-ji 万壽寺 as Kyoto Gozan. All of them are temples of the Linji school. The *shōguns* were temple sponsors. Monks of these temples were cultured and artistically erudite intellectuals. They played an important role in cultural exchanges between Korea and Japan as they received painters accompanying the Joseon embassies and shared brush talks with them.

8. Large temples of Zen 禪 (C. Chan; K. Seon) Buddhism operate sub temples as branches.

sent them through the Tsushima governor to the *shōgun* Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709). This is an example of screens being used as official gifts from Joseon to *shōguns* as well as them being considered trade goods, deliverable upon request (Hong 1997, 3-6). Compared to fans or hanging scrolls, producing a screen took a lot of work and delivery was complicated. Thus, they were included in the list of gifts to be carried by embassies and produced in advance. Alternatively, they were produced after the embassy returned and later sent to Japan. In some cases, the written conversations and poems exchanged between members of the embassy and the Japanese, and paintings produced by the accompanying painters were collected and preserved in the form of screens.⁹ The Japanese regarded screens as a specialty product of their country and had long used them as diplomatic gifts. During China's Northern Song dynasty, "Screen of Japanese Painting" 倭畫屏風 was presented to emperor Taiyzong 太宗 (r. 976-997), and screens were always presented by Japanese embassies to the Ming court. Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) presented "Screen of Azuchi Castle" 安土城屏風, painted by Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543-1590), to Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), an Italian Jesuit when he visited Azuchi-jō 安土城 in 1581. This work was later dedicated to Pope Gregory the 13th (1502-1585) (Sakakibara 2010, 44-58). Just as gold-leafed screens decorated in elaborate colors were offered as diplomatic gifts, similar gold-leafed screens were presented to Joseon kings.¹⁰ Twenty pairs of screens were presented to the court at each embassy visit to Joseon. The paintings mostly portray the folk culture and life of the Japanese: flowers and birds as symbols of good fortune, warriors which conveyed the worship of martial prowess in Japan, famous places in Japan (*meisho-e* 名所繪), and depictions of everyday activities. Elaborate, decorative folding screens were mostly produced by *shōgun*-sponsored painters from the Kano and the Sumiyoshi 住吉 schools. Their overwhelmingly large size, aesthetic value, and the amount of resources required for their production made them appropriate for diplomatic gifts. Producing screens took a long time and

was best done before or after the trip, given their size, since they were difficult to produce during the trip. In the process, specific considerations such as subject and painting style were planned or requested before work began. These screens, therefore, offer clues to the purpose of gift exchanges and the state of diplomatic relationship at that time in contrast with other painting or calligraphic works that were improvised on site. Focusing on paintings produced in the form of screens on the occasion of Joseon embassies, this chapter dedicates to analyzing the historical background, style, provenance, and the perception of artwork by the two countries.

Extant Painting and Calligraphic Works on Screens Carried by the Joseon Embassy that Remain in Japan

Among the paintings associated with these embassies, about one hundred, produced by accompanying painters, are known to still exist in Japan. Many of them have relatively clear information concerning their production and provenance. For example, Honren-ji 本蓮寺 in Ushimado 牛窓, Fukuzen-ji 福禪寺 in Tomonoura 鞆の浦, Seiken-ji 清見寺 in Shizuoka 静岡, and Jishō-in 慈照院 in Kyoto have each preserved records of provenance for their collections of artworks such as plaques, poetry, and paintings in scroll and screen formats, left by the Joseon embassies. These temples are either members of Kyoto Gozan, which dispatched monks to Iteian on Tsushima in turn at the order of the *shōgun* to perform tasks in furtherance of the *shōgunate's* relationship with Joseon, or located *en route* to Edo, which the Korean embassy would have to pass through. They hosted Joseon embassies and exchanged brush talk and poems. Among these temples, Seiken-ji is associated with the Linji school 臨濟宗 and the Joseon embassy would stop by as it passed through Shizuoka. This temple, along with the scenic spots Suruga (駿河)湾 and Miho no Matsubara 三保の松原 command a breathtaking view of Mount Fuji. The temple place became famous as Korean envoys composed poems and wrote about the landscape in the embassy travelogue. Naturally, Seiken-ji has preserved a collection of various Joseon tablets and plaques inscribed with poems in addition to poetry, paintings, and calligraphic works such as *Chōsen tsushinshi shibunjō* (*Album of Poetry and Painting by Joseon Envoys* 朝鮮國通信使時文帖) (Joseon tonginsa munhwa saeophoe 2006; Ryu 2006, 301-38).

Kim Yuseong, a painter accompanying the embassy in 1763, was

9. It refers to a culture in which poems were composed and shared between participants at a gathering.
10. *Annals of Joseon Dynasty, Jeongjeong gyerin ji*, embassy records, and other documents use different terms such as *dogeum byeongpung* 塗金屏風, *geumjang byeongpung* 金粧屏風, *janggeum byeongpung* 裝金屏風, *salgeum byeongpung* 撒金屏風, *cheopgeum byeongpung* 貼金屏風, and *geum byeongpung* 金屏風. In *Dogeum byeongpung* and *geumjang byeongpung*, gold particles were used to coat or scatter on the screens as decoration while *cheopgeum byeongpung* is attached with gold leaf with a more glittering effect.

commissioned to paint *Sansu hwajo do apoecheom byeongpung* (*Screen of Landscape, Flowers, and Birds* 山水花鳥圖押繪貼屏風) (Figure 9), which is said to have originally consisted of six panels but only four survive—“Geumgangsando” (Painting of Mount Geumgang 金剛山圖), “Hwajo do” (Painting of Flower and Bird 花鳥圖), “Maejo do” (Painting of Flowering Apricot and Bird 梅鳥圖), and “Naksansa do” (Painting of Naksan Temple 洛山寺圖). Each scroll bears the signature “Painted by Seoam (Kim Yuseong) in Joseon in spring of the *gapsin* year” 甲申春 朝鮮 西巖寫. This indicates that the paintings were produced separately and were later put together to form a screen. This is so-called *oshi-e bari byōbu* (K. *apoe cheop byeongpung*) 押繪貼屏風 which describes the mounting on screen panels of independent paintings and thus, there is no continuity between them. Sometimes, those paintings were later detached from a screen and repurposed as a hanging scroll. In other cases, paintings were produced for the expressed purpose of building a folding screen. Records survive in Japan regarding this type of screen produced during the Muromachi era. Also, these works bear writings composed by Zen monks. Thus, some argue that they can be viewed in a continuum with hanging scrolls of poetry and paintings and as relevant to Zen culture (Komatsu 2021, 58-63).

Jishō-in, one of the sub-temples of Shōkoku-ji 相國寺, an ancient temple in Kyoto, has a collection of about fifty Joseon paintings and one hundred literary works, a legacy of the Joseon embassies. Even though the Joseon embassy did not stay at this temple, many of the paintings have been preserved because the monks who were dispatched in turns to serve at Iteian collected Korean paintings and calligraphic works (Kim 2008, 232-35).¹¹ A pair of screens with paintings and calligraphy in Jishō-in’s collection is worth noting. Both take the form of a two-panel screen. The larger one contains fifty works on colored paper while the smaller one has six pieces on a gold background. Six out of those fifty-six works are Japanese and fifty by Koreans.

Chōsen shoga harimaze ko byōbu (*Screen of Calligraphy and Painting of Joseon* 朝鮮書畫貼交小屏風) (Figure 10) is notable for its forms and style.¹² Thirty-

four calligraphic works and sixteen paintings on Japanese style paper in various shapes such as folding fans, long, thin strips of paper (J. *tanzaku*) 短冊, round fans; ginkgo leaves and apricot blossoms were mounted on the screen. Paper shapes, such as *tanzaku* or *kumogami* 雲紙, Japanese decorative paper, were not used in Joseon, and thus it can be understood that the design completely reflects Japanese taste (Katayama 2018, 151-54). The sixteen paintings include works by Byeon Jihan 卞持漢 which bears the signature of Jin Dongik 秦東益 (b.1777), a senior translator (rank 3) who served on 1811 diplomatic mission as well as works by Yi Sinul 李時訥, Noh Po 老圃, and Yi Sumin 李壽民 (1783-1839).

Paintings on *Chōsen shoga harimaze ko byōbu* include “Hosang jeongsa do” (Painting of a Studio near a Lake 湖上精舍圖), two panels of landscape, two panels of “Hwaji do” (Painting of a Flower Branch 花枝圖) by Byeon Jihan, “Poryu sugeum do” (Painting of Waterfowl and Willow Tree 浦柳水禽圖), “Seonmyeon sansu” (Landscape on a Fan 扇面 山水), “Eungdo do” (Painting of Reclusive Life 隱居圖), “Yangryu do” (Painting of a Willow Tree 楊柳圖), “Gangsang gwibeom” (Returning Boat on a River 江上歸帆), “Jukhodo” (Painting of Bamboo and Tiger 竹虎圖), “Songeum do” (Painting of Pine and Falcon 松鷹圖) by Yi Sinul; “Saeudo” (Painting of Shrimp 鰕圖), “Gwanpok do” (Painting of Viewing a Waterfall 觀瀑圖) by Nopo 老圃; “Mukran do” (Ink Orchid Painting 墨蘭圖) by Yu Ming 維明, “Mukjuk do” (Ink Bamboo Painting 墨竹圖) by Myeongdang 明堂, and “Mekkot” (Weeds) by an anonymous artist. Works by Byeon Jihan and Yi Sinul 李時訥 account for the majority of pieces. Concurrently working as both painters and military officers in the Dongnae Magistracy, they produced paintings for export (Park 2010, 79-80; H. Lee 2012, 37-70). The paintings mounted on *Chōsen shoga harimaze ko byōbu* are presumed to have been produced as diplomatic gifts before the embassy trip or as items requested for trade, produced for export.

Chōsen shoga harimaze ko byōbu (Figure 11) contains three paintings on a pair of panels—“Seonmyeon sansu do” (Painting of a Landscape on a Fan

11. The Tokugawa *shōgunate* appointed erudite monks of the Kyoto Gozan to undertake literary tasks with regard to the diplomatic relationship with Joseon and would dispatch them on rotation to Iteian for a one-to-two-year term. They composed diplomatic documents, received the Joseon embassy, and oversaw trade.

12. *Harimaze byōbu* (K. *cheopgyo byeongpung*) refers to a screen with a collage of various paintings and calligraphic works in different shapes of paper mounted on the panels. From it, such information as

the taste of the producer or owners and their social relationships can be gleaned. Jo Myeongchae visited Japan as an envoy in the late Joseon and wrote *Bongsa ilbon gyeonmun nok* (*Travel Record of Embassy to Japan* 奉使日本聞見錄). In it, he wrote about *harimaze byōbu* in the entry for the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of 1748, which records that the Japanese mounted the poems and calligraphy done by Joseon officers of the 1719 diplomatic mission onto a gold screen or a silk scroll.

扇面山水圖) and “Baekhap do” (Painting of a Lily 百合圖) by Byeon Jihan and “Songha dokseo do” (Painting of a Person Reading a Book under a Pine Tree 松下讀書圖) by Yi Sumin, and three calligraphic works by Jin Dongik written on paper in the shape of a folding fan. Byeon Jihan’s landscape is rendered with dry, course brushstrokes featuring the typical Southern School landscape painting 南宗山水畫 style of the late Joseon period, which is characterized by hemp-fiber texture strokes, Mi-dots, and the schools’ particular method for drawing tree branches.¹³ The bird-and-flower paintings employ simple layouts with clear light colors to convey a refreshing feeling. The paintings of weeds, lilies, and shrimp all use the effect of spreading ink without outlines to the shapes, which looks exotic (Hong 2008, 226-28). Yi Sumin’s “Songha dokseo do” is a typical landscape painting combining the styles of both the Zhe school and landscape painting from the Southern School; it portrays a person, conspicuously in the foreground, under a tree. No record has been found to prove that Yi acted as an envoy-painter to Japan but many of his works have been passed down in Japan up until today. These screen paintings were originally attached to a *fusuma shoji* 襖障子 in Jishō-in and repurposed as a screen when the temple was repaired in 1985. (Hisayama 2015, 16-17; Kōrai bijutsukan 2013, 78).¹⁴ Other than these works, Joseon paintings which were collected as gifts and made into screens include *Baeknap byongpung* 百衲屏風 (Figure 12) in the Busan Museum, *Cheopgeum byungpung* 貼金屏風 at Chion-in 知恩院, *Chōsen tsūshinshi iboku harimaze byōbu* 朝鮮通信使遺墨貼交屏風 at Kenin-ji Ryōsoku-in, and *Shisen harimaze byōbu* at Kōshō-ji 興昌寺 in Kagawa Prefecture.¹⁵ It is likely that these

Joseon paintings, which were appreciated in the formats of *oshi-e bari byōbu* or *harimaze byōbu* in Zen temples, were reinterpreted in the typical Japanese formats and as hanging scrolls under the Zen cultural context of the Muromachi era.

Paintings of Joseon Embassy Processions in Screen Format

Embassy processions were a diplomatic event for the *shōgunate* to show off its authority while receiving foreign envoys. They also provided an exotic scene for ordinary people in Edo to enjoy the celebration. The paintings of embassy processions were produced in various formats—scrolls, *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints 浮世絵), *e-ma* (wooden plaques 繪馬), and screens.¹⁶ The scroll was the medium of choice and was used the most frequently to display the long processions. But many screens with paintings of embassy processions are extant. Scrolls are the most appropriate form to visually document the individuals in a procession. Moreover, as viewers roll out a scroll little by little, the scroll gives the illusion that the procession is occurring right in front of the viewer’s eyes (Toby 1988, 182-84).

Interestingly, there are many documentary paintings of embassy processions with an abundance of information and scenes which were transformed into screens. The two folding screens, “Screen of Edo” 江戸圖屏風 and “Screen of Welcoming Joseon Envoys” 朝鮮通信使歡待圖 by Kanō Masunobu 狩野益信 (1625-1694) produced in the first half of the seventeenth century were originally made screens while other paintings were made into screens later. In the latter case, the most significant sections from the long scroll were cut out and pasted on a screen mount to highlight decorative qualities. The following works are examples of such methods: “Tenwa Chōsen tsūshinshi tojo gyoretsu zu byōbu” (Screen of Procession of Joseon Ambassadors to the Capital in the Reign of Tenwa 天和度朝鮮通信使登城行列圖屏風)

13. Hemp-fiber texture stroke is a technique which repeats long thin lines which look like stretched hemp fiber to express the texture of a mountain or rock. Mi-dots are a texture stroke developed by Mi Fu and his son Mi Youren, literati painters of the Northern Song period. Creating large ink dots by angling the brush, it can render the expression of the soft texture of an earthen hill or the abundant foliage of a tree during summer. The method of drawing tree branches refers to the iconographic expression of trees which appears in painting catalogues published in the Ming and Qing periods.

14. *Fusuma shoji* is a door or screen built to partition the space inside a castle, temple, or house. It is usually decorated either with brightly colored or monochrome paintings.

15. The six-panel screen in the collection of Busan Museum contains six painting—“Nanjuk do” (Painting of Orchid and Bamboo 蘭竹圖) by Kim Yuseong with the signature “Kim Yujeong in Joseon painted this for Minamoto no Kintada in the spring of 1764”; a painting similar to “Painting of a Dragon and a Tiger” 龍虎圖 known to be done by Muxi 牧谿, a Chinese Buddhist and painter in the thirteenth century, in the collection of Daitoku-ji 大徳寺; “Seonmyeon hojeop do” (Painting of Butterfly on Fan 扇面胡蝶圖) which displays a simple drawing of a butterfly by employing the *molgol* (or boneless) technique 沒骨法; “Sansu do” (Landscape 山水圖) in Southern Style; and “Sinseon do” (Painting of an Immortal 神仙圖). The screen in the collection of Ryōsoku-in is

decorated only with calligraphic works which were done by officers on the diplomatic mission of 1655 among whom were Chief Envoy Jo Heyong 趙珩 (1606-1679), Assistant officer Nam Yongik 南龍翼 (1628-1692), Invocation-reading official Yi, Myeongrim 李明琳, Kim Jisa 金知事, An Pansa 安判事, and Bak Cheomji 朴僉知.

16. *Ukiyo-e* is woodblock print that takes aspects of folk culture, *kabuki* performers, and famous places as its subjects. *E-ma* are wooden plaques dedicated to shrines or temples on which worshippers write prayers. Various subjects are painted on them.

(1682) (Figure 13), “Chōsen tsūshinshi kokusho sendōsen zu byōbu” (Screen of Vessels Carrying Diplomatic Documents of the Joseon King in the Reign of Shōtoku 正徳度朝鮮通信使國書先導船圖屏風) (1711) (Figure 14), “Chōsen tsūshinshi gorōsen zu byōbu” (Screen of the Shōgun’s Pleasure Boat 朝鮮通信使御樓船圖屏風) (Figure 15). “Tenwa Chōsen tsūshinshi tojo gyoretsu zu byōbu” depicts the embassy’s entrance into the castle in 1682. This work features a strong documentary painting with a record of the total distance between Joseon and Edo, the distance between each port of call, as well as that between Osaka and Edo. According to Shin Gisu 辛基秀 (1995), a previous owner of the screen, this work was originally in a scroll format but later reformatted into a pair of screens. The left panel of the screen was sold off after the Second World War; the right panel remains, which depicts the envoy and a band of musicians in the procession. “Chōsen tsūshinshi kokusho sendōsen zu byōbu” portrays the embassy ships passing through Yodogawa 淀川 and boats from the Sōshi 宗氏 of Tsushima in 1711. The current screen is in eight panels. However, it seems to have been reproduced from a different form of an original painting since the order of the state yachts is abnormal and the last part of the painting is cut off. This leads leading viewers to believe the original painting would have been much longer than the present version but was cut into parts to be reorganized into its current form. “Chōsen tsūshinshi gorōsen” describes a ship passing along the Yodogawa River carrying the embassy. A state pavilion is on the deck and a band of musicians is also on board. This screen was in the collection of the Tokugawa 徳川家 in Kishū. Originally in a scroll format, the work was later cut along the ship’s outline and attached to the screen (Busan Museum 2015, 108). To be reformatted type of long horizontal scroll into a screen, only the important sections were selected, cut out, and mounted on the screen, or parts of the painting were cut out and mounted as *harimaze byōbu*.

Conclusion

As long as artworks are collected and appreciated, they meet new owners, copyists 模寫者, and viewers. In the process, the meanings and functions the works take on as they are placed in different social contexts constantly evolve, just as living organisms do. This paper investigates the status of artworks at the time of production in the context of Korean art history and tracks how it

changes as the works depart from their place of origin and enter the new culture of Japan. By doing that it analyzes how the identities and values of those works have been defined and changed. Thus, it analyzes the cultural biography of Joseon paintings through examining the transmission of landscape paintings produced in early Joseon society to Japan, discussions of the origins of those works, and the discourse and engagement regarding the value and appraisal of the works. Due to limited space, this paper cannot offer an in-depth discussion of the perceptions and attitudes of the Japanese toward Joseon paintings around Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). A future study will need to go beyond the monistic perspective of cultural exchange to a multi-dimensional approach to the collection of Korean paintings in Japan and consider the changes in Japanese perception of Joseon paintings in both pre- and post-modern times and the reasons for those changes (Watanabe 2013, 108). Paintings concerning embassies retain relatively much information about their production background and provenance to help understand the process from creation to presentation as a gift. Many works concerning embassies, currently mounted in a screen format, were cut from the original painting and transformed into a screen format later. Otherwise, they were supplemented with a mix of cuttings from other paintings and calligraphic works produced during brush talks and thus became *harimaze byōbu*. This is closely related to the functions and features of the screens. A painting of an embassy procession on a lengthy scroll is useful for showing the numerous personnel and decorative insignia in detail but is difficult for showing off the spectacular scenery or grandeur to viewers. Therefore, the most important sections of the procession painting would be selected and reproduced in the form of a screen to display the magnificent scene more effectively.

The works that were reformatted using Japanese mounting style on gold paper and by rearranging and editing the original works in the collections of Jishō-in or Ryōsoku are materials that attest to lively cultural exchanges between the Japanese monks who received the embassy and the accompanying officers on the Joseon diplomatic mission. Also, this is a case in which the tradition in Zen temples of appreciating artworks such as paintings and calligraphy applied to Joseon paintings. Surviving works concerning embassies were studied mainly from the perspective of Korea-Japan cultural exchanges. In the meantime, newly discovered works in the past half-century led to notable progress in the comparative study of paintings of the two countries, including the spread of

painting style and copying paintings. Although important works held in major collections were introduced to the public, researchers have not sufficiently studied the physical characteristics of the works, for example, the significance of the formality of screens and production process, the context of reformatting onto screens, and the different perceptions of screens between Korea and Japan along with function of screens and provenance of these works. The common characteristic of folding screens is that they were used as diplomatic gifts and symbols of friendship between countries. These characteristics should be examined. At the same time, the multivalent value of folding screens should be understood in the Korean and Japanese cultural contexts.

Lastly, this paper presents recommendations for the study of Joseon paintings held in Japan. First, a multi-dimensional analysis of paintings is needed by considering evolving historical meanings and roles of embassies over time. Embassies played important roles in artistic exchanges between Korea and Japan; those Joseon works which Korean embassies left in Japan have always been understood to highlight the proud, advanced culture of Joseon with the entrenched image of Japanese being thrilled to receive something of the advanced Joseon culture (Iwakata 2016, 105-32). In this discourse, we have had to bypass understanding the purpose of embassy trips and the importance of paintings as diplomatic gifts. A future study is required to investigate the political meanings of diplomatic gifts and the importance of *sekiga* (impromptu paintings 席画), as a performance of poetry gatherings and banquets.

Second, we need to understand the political, cultural, diplomatic, and economic attributes of paintings as gifts. Now, researchers increasingly tend to study the exchange of goods for diplomacy between Joseon, Japan, and China in view of the universal act of gift-giving, or investigate the commercial aspect of goods, or the cultural exchange and network of people. Those studies will enable us to discover not just the value of the objects themselves but their various and complex historical elements (Seo 2019, 124; Lee 2021, 9-42). Exchanging gifts and the accompanying rites and banquets hold political and cultural implications and serve to facilitate friendship or engender disputes. Gifts were presented to powerful figures such as *kambaku* (chief councilor 関白), *shissei* (senior administrator of the Tokugawa shōgunate) 執政, *gōzoku* (a powerful clan), and the daimyo; the recipients and amount of gifts differed over time (Kim et al. 2007, 181-231). The gifts presented by the embassies are proportional to the recipients' political status and diplomatic capability. The

presentation of paintings was no exception.

Lastly, various primary historical materials such as travelogues, collections of brush talk and poems, and collectanea of literary works have been translated by scholars particularly in the disciplines of Korean literature and history. With these materials, studies have progressed in the fields of clothing, music, and food, yet multidisciplinary research or comprehensive methodologies are still needed to be developed. Further cross-disciplinary collaboration is needed. The study of Joseon painting in Japan starts from collecting massive amounts of materials and should find art historical significance based on the analysis of style of the works. Furthermore, understanding the characteristics of those works when they are placed in a new cultural environment is necessary. Analysis of provenance, the socio-cultural history of works, and the meanings created by various agents when they encounter those works in a new cultural context will expand the scope of research of Korea-Japan painting exchanges and suggest a new theoretical perspective.

Translated by LEE Soyun

Figures



Figure 1. "Gathering of Officials at Dokseodang Study," CE 1531, hanging scroll. ink and light color on silk, 91.3x61.9cm, National Palace Museum of Korea



Figure 2. "Painting of a Banana Tree on a Rainy Night," 1410, hanging scroll, monochrome ink on paper, 95.9x31.0cm, Tokyo National Museum



Figure 3. *Sosan palgyeong do*, sixteenth century, hanging scrolls, monochrome ink on paper, each 47.5x90.5cm, Jinju National Museum



Figure 4. Record on the container of *Sosan palgyeong do* at the collection of Jinju National Museum (photograph by 塚本鷹充)

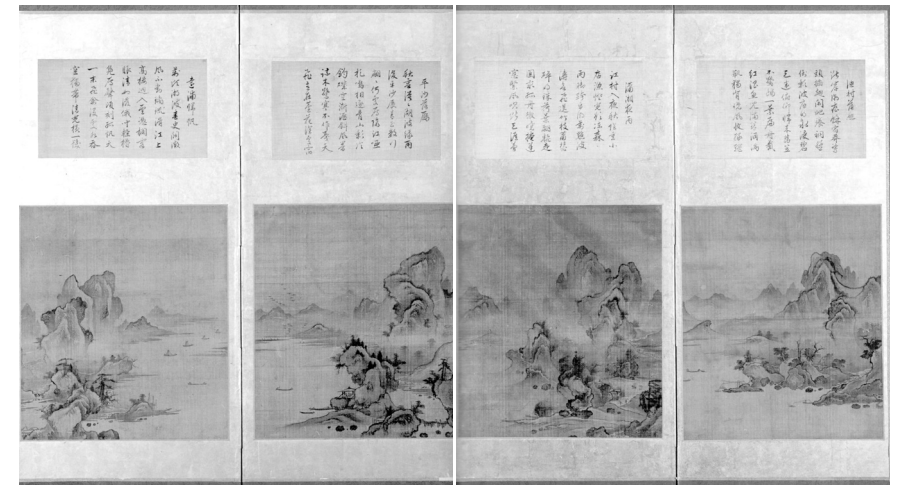


Figure 5. *Sosang palgyeong do*, sixteenth century, eight-paneled screen, ink on silk, 105.0x386.2cm, The Kyushu National Museum, Fukuoka

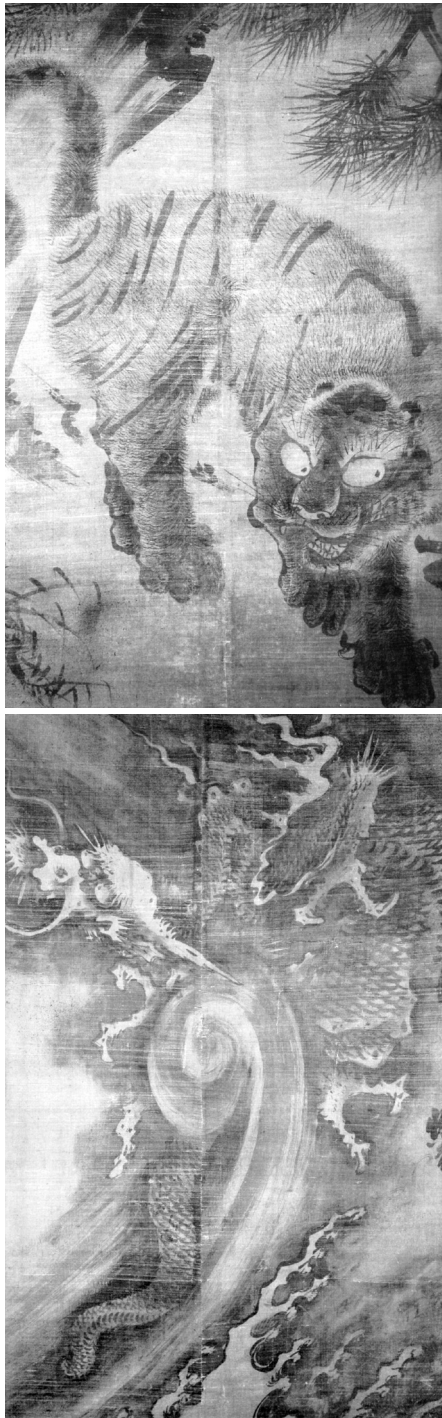


Figure 6. Yi Jeong, “Yongho do,” early seventeenth century, ink on silk, each 116.0x75.5cm, Koryo Museum of Art



Figure 7. Kim Hongdo, Im Huiji, “Painting of a Ferocious Tiger under Bamboo,” hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 91.0x34.0cm, private collection



Figure 8. Yi Hancheol, "Pasu nahan do," hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, Ryōsoku-in, Kyoto

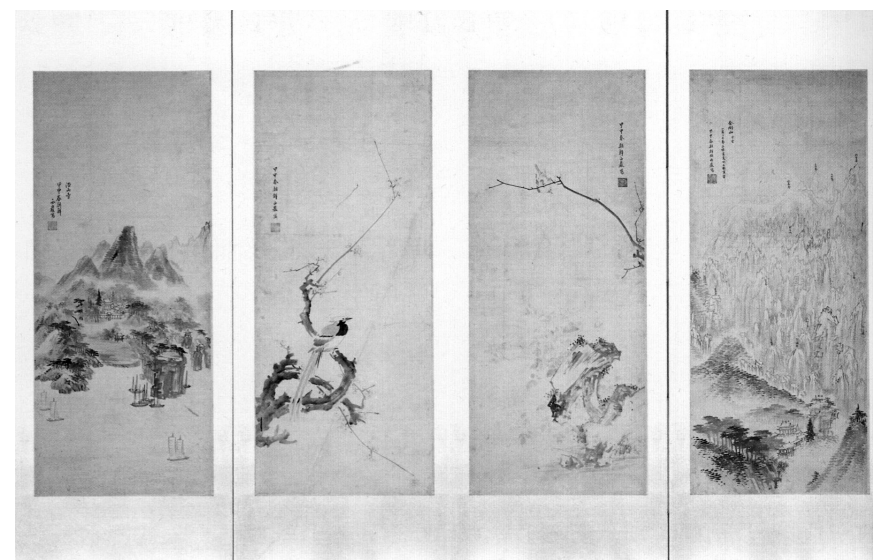


Figure 9. Kim Yuseong, *Sansu hwajo do apoecheom byeongpung*, monochrome ink and light color on paper, 52.8x125.8cm, Seiken-ji, Shizuoka

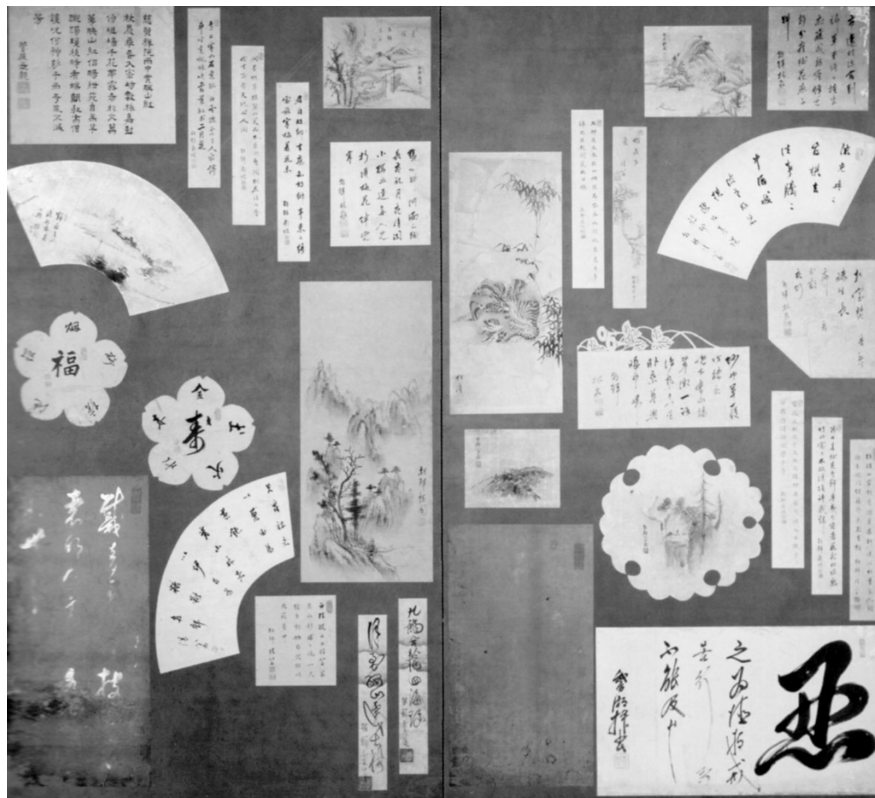


Figure 10. *Chōsen shōga harimaze ko byōbu*, one pair of one-paneled screen, 1811, calligraphy on paper, monochrome ink on paper and on silk, Jishō-in, Kyoto

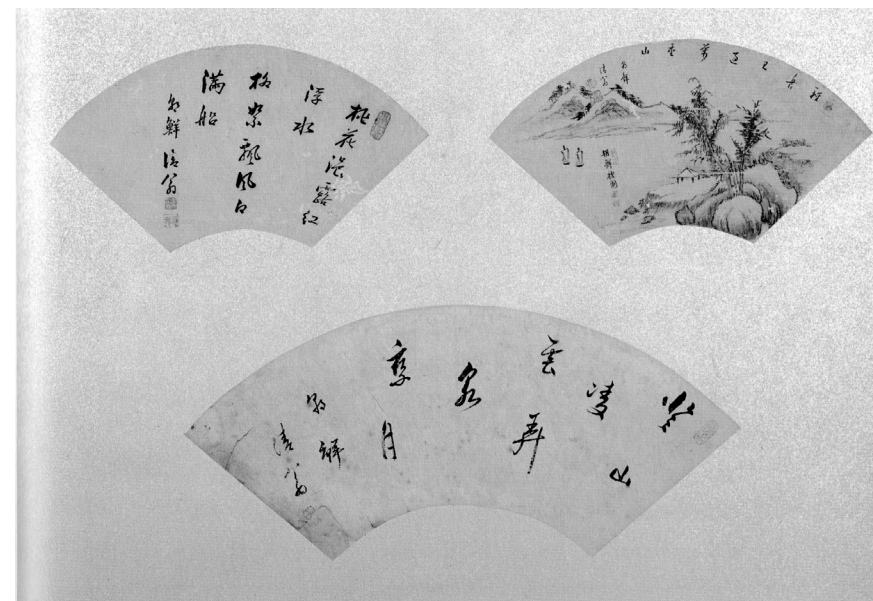
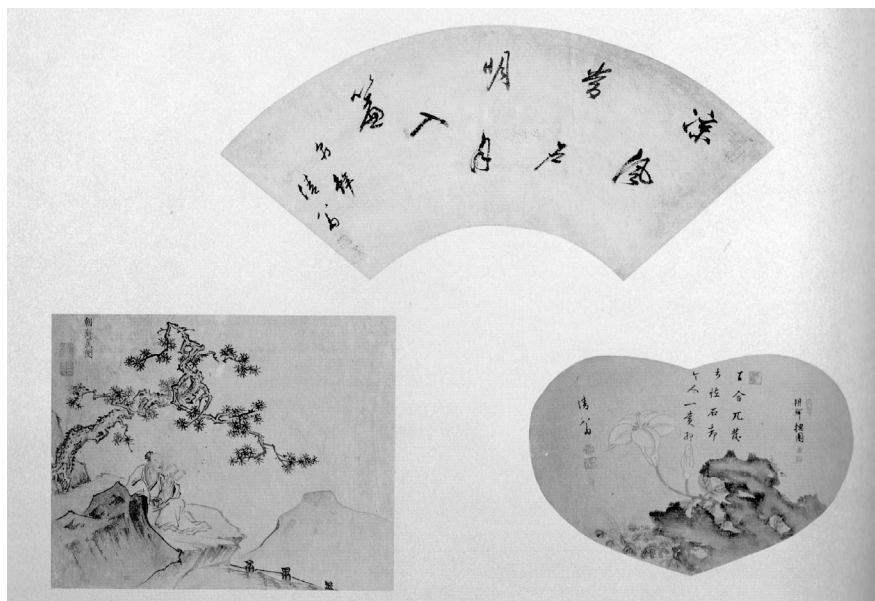


Figure 11. *Chōsen shoga harimaze ko byōbu*, one pair of one-paneled screen, 1811, calligraphy and drawing on paper, Jishō-in, Kyoto



Figure 12. *Baeknap byeongpung*, height 160.7cm, Busan Museum

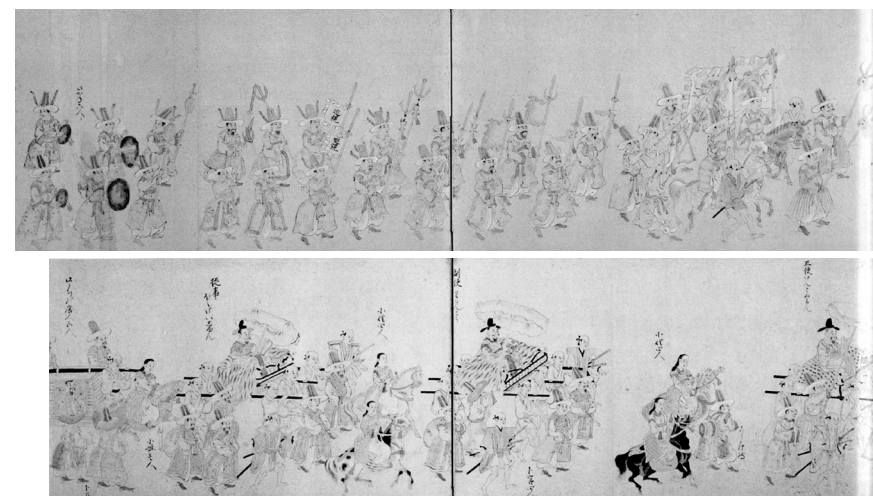
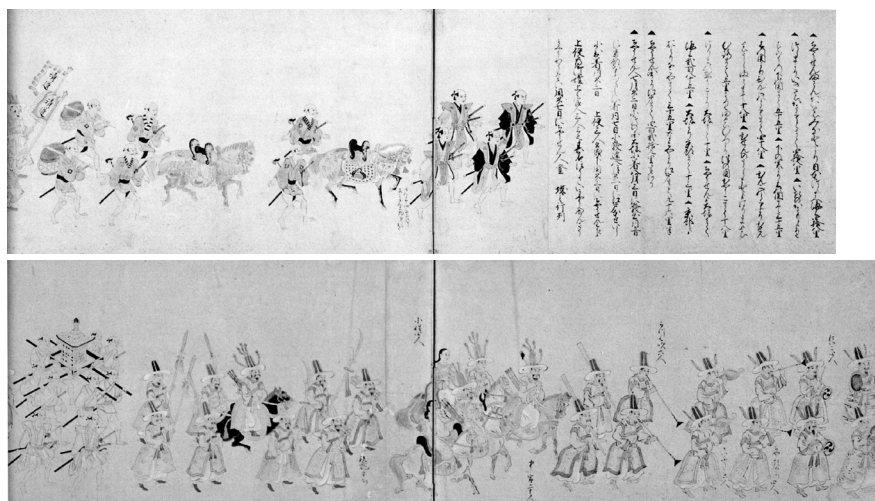


Figure 13. "Tenwa Chōsen tsūshinshi tojo gyoretsu zu byōbu," CE 1682, eight-paneled screen, color on paper, 34.3×437.0cm, The National Museum of Art, Osaka

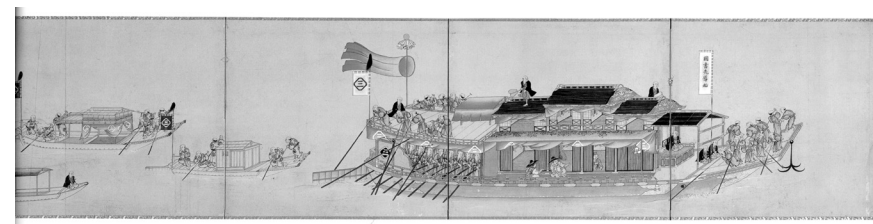
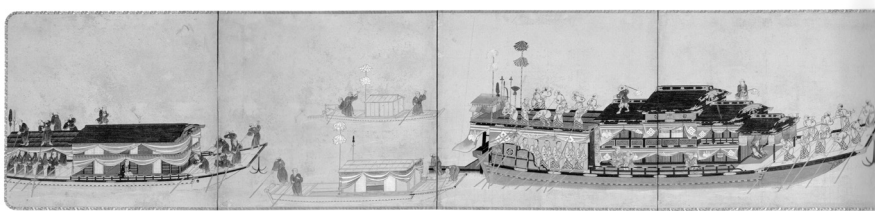


Figure 14. "Chōsen tsūshinshi kokusho sendōsen zu byōbu," CE 1711, eight-paneled screen, color on paper, 75.2×510.4cm, The National Museum of Art, Osaka

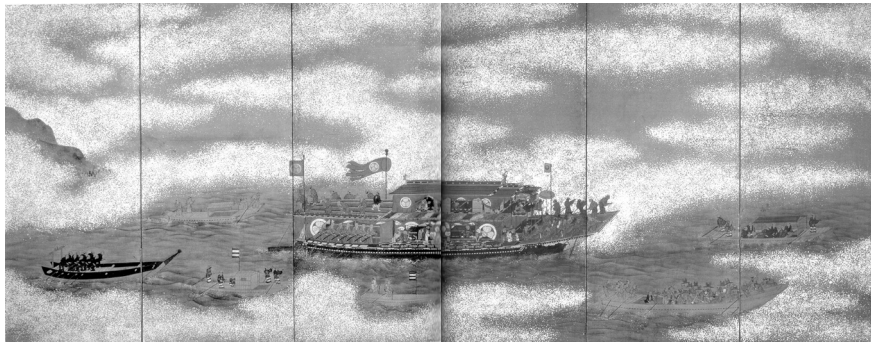


Figure 15. “Chōsen tsūshinshi gorōsen zu byōbu,” eighteenth century, six-paneled screen, color on paper, 137.2×349.8cm, The National Museum of Art, Osaka

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Abstract

This paper discusses the functionalities and styles of Joseon paintings that were transmitted to Japan by considering them in terms of provenance and as objects with cultural biographies; further, this paper will note trends in Japanese collections regarding these works, particularly paintings on screens. Research on the history of art ownership looks at how artworks assume new cultural contexts through the journey from their place of origin to the final destination, and how new meanings are created through interactions between the different actors as human networks are built. Also, the function and implication of screens as diplomatic gifts will be examined by looking at the Joseon paintings which were reproduced onto screens. Screens were produced by collecting many paintings. Analysis of this method will provide insight into how objects evolve in cultural and materialistic terms. Based on the abundance of materials collected in the past century and the analysis of painting styles of the surviving works, this paper will perform a literature review from various angles and present recommendations regarding the study of Joseon paintings held in Japan. A case analysis will illustrate how works created new functions and meanings as they met various people—viewers, patrons, connoisseurs, and owners—during their journey departing the artist’s hand and arriving in a new cultural environment, which will highlight the changes of the cultural and material biographies of Joseon paintings in Japan. In particular, paintings concerning Korean embassies have survived with a relatively clear record of provenance, and many of those works remain intact as they have not moved around within Japan since their arrival from Korea. But some were cut and mounted on silk scrolls and reborn into Japanese-style screens in combination with other paintings and calligraphic works after the occurrence of brush talks or singing events. These variations are attributable to the functionalities and characteristics of screens and influenced the way viewers sensed and appreciated the works. Tracing the changes which the objects underwent offers insight into the process of repurposing Korean paintings in cultural and material terms.

Keywords: Joseon embassy, provenance, Korean cultural overseas assets, screen, cultural biography

